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Image, Aesthetic and Tourism in postmodern times

Maximiliano E. Korstanje*

Guest Editor

University of Palermo Argentina

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The present special issue was a personal challenge because the existent maturity of research respecting to destination image was evident. Over years of investigation a valuable conceptual framework was accompanied with high-quality empirical studies. Nonetheless, image should not be circumscribed to the perceptual traits perceived from destinations. There are many forms of images that have not been explored. Following this reasoning, I posed the theme of image to be developed from an interdisciplinary field ranging from psychology to anthropology, from management to geography and so forth.

Image plays a pivotal role in the configuration of tourism beyond what can be said on the attractiveness of a destination. And this happens because image is an important facet of human life that not only is limited to the ocular-centrism. The Greek legacy posed a serious question respecting to how the image is constructed, and of course perceived for reminded. Symbolically, the presence of founding parents was of paramount importance to illuminate communities in turbulent times. In ancient times, some tribes crafted masks of their ancestors so that their legacy not to be lost. Whenever a king

dies, some communities copied his/her face in a mask. This master-work served as a religious and political instrument of indoctrination to gain further legitimacy. As the previous argument given, image and death seems to be inextricably intertwined. Nowadays, things seem to be changed a bit. These relics have been stored at museums and technologies facilitated the times and efforts to design landscapes and experience. The world of photography sets the pace to a new revolutionary way of creating digital landscapes from a PC terminal. As a social construct, image represents our attempt to control not only the time, but also the life. One might speculate that many tourist destinations have made from their image their primary resource to success. Undoubtedly, image and aesthetic are of paramount importance to grant the growth of this industry. Tourist destinations appeal to create a meaning, and this meaning evokes an image. Understanding how this image is built and negotiated, we would expand how in diverse contexts tourism works.

As above noted, a discussion of image not only should be limited to what can be seen, interesting research has recently conducted in anthropological field respecting to other additional

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themes such as patrimony, heritage, sustainability, development, literature, customer loyalty, branding, event-management, governance, risk, modernity, movies, cultural entertainment, technology-TICS, and so forth. Most likely, in these digital times, the camera captivates and puts events in any corner of the globe in minutes, but this acceleration generates a great dependency of the media. Any event, whatever its nature, does impact on tourism ... Policy makers and governments devote considerable time and spend money in designing the image of tourist destination, but their failure depends on the lack of uncertainty of how it evolves. More important, we strongly believe in the needs to open a new debate in tourism-studies to expand the current understanding of image from an interdisciplinary viewpoint.

Readers who want to inspect this volume will find the paper of Geoffrey Skoll who traces the role of arts preventing the alienation of spaces in the process of gentrification in Riverwest city, US. Capital in post modern times has been expanded to the extent to make from consumers consumed goods. This is exactly the point addressed by Korstanje and Tarlow in the second paper. Authors recognize that disasters, such as the quake whipped Japan a couple of years back, may be commoditized to provide a message to a broader audience. In context of disasters, nationalism arises in order to avoid the identity to be fragmented. Mass-death and suffering wake up the best of our instincts to strength the social bond. The problem is that sometimes this is manipulated by the mass media.

As the previous backdrop, Juan Carlos Monterrubio presents a valuable research where the key factors that influence in the formation of organic image are analyzed. Based on the precautionary principle of warning, he examines the connection of risk, image and attractiveness. Babu George, Tony Henthorne, Alvin Williams place the contributions of S. Plog under the lens of scrutiny. The outcome of this work shows that even if allocentric tourists prefer for nascent destinations, others in the end of the cycle are chosen too. The philosophical sense of image and aesthetic is given by Maximiliano Korstanje to expand the current understanding of Immanuel Kant's account. Rather, R. Rajesh developed a dichotomy between destination image and tourist satisfaction. Equally important, four key factors are introduced in the formation of destination image: tourist perception, infrastructure, satisfaction, and loyalty. Shorter but no less important, the notes authored by

Margarita Barretto not only shows why she is still the most prominent lucid mind in tourism, but also combines the sociological view of W. Benjamin with studies of mobility as John Urry and D. Maccannell. She insists in finding the anthropological roots for tourist-consciousness beyond the hegemony of any discipline.

I strongly recommend the eighth manuscript, where Agustin Santana Talavera explains that attractiveness depends on the previous development of image-distinction. The existent specialized literature, Santana adds, seems to be focused on the process of image-control. This work discusses the benefits and limitation of such a view-point. By the way, Matthew Smith and Ericka Amorim argue that the attractiveness of tourist destinations are determined by the aesthetic factors but further investigation is needed on the dilemma the industry poses. At some extent, policy makers devote considerable attention to the factors that attract people but at the same time, this saturates the landscape. Questions of risk perception and crisis management are widely managed by Bingjie Liu, Lori Pennington-Gray and Ashley Schroeder. If we, as analysts, understand the psychological effects on risk over destination, we will strength the existent capacity of mitigation to avoid serious damage to the destination. Past travel experience is of paramount importance to build predictors of crisis.

Over years, the constructing of romantic gaze has been prioritized in Europe and Western civilization. Susana Gastal unearths the legacy of Roland Barthes to re-visit the social and economic factors that form the landscape. As a social construe, landscapes signal to the hospitality and welcoming garden. In view of that, Gastal finds the roots of modern tourism in the romantic texts and pictures of XIXth century.

Dolors Vidal Casellas, Silvia Aulet Serrallonga and Neus Crous Costa exhibit the potentiality of Catalonia to offer religious tourism. What seems to be important to debate here is the connection between cultural heritage and branding logic. Evidently, though government has struggled to pose Catalonia as heritage destination, a growing segment of demand linked to religion is surfacing. This poses a good question on how organic image is formed. Top-down policies sometimes are not enough, as researchers our duty is to know why.

Jaime Alvarez de la Torre and Diego Rodriguez Toubes Muñiz delve into the current positive stereotypes on Brazil based on egalitarianism and happiness. Nonetheless, negative assets as

insecurity, crime and violence have not declined in the social imaginary of tourist-delivering countries. To balance the coherent adequacy of the country as venue of the next World-cup and Olympic Games, it is necessary the articulation of an all encompassing plan of risk-reduction. Unless otherwise resolved, Brazil's image would be negatively affected. Last but not least, Olga Araujo Perazzolo, Marcia Maria Capellano Dos Santos and Luciane Todeschini Ferreira develop a psychological model to understand image. The pleasure –and displeasure- as emotional drives alter the frames of perception to produce specific Mnemic records. The importance of tourism as a social activity is not given by business but its hospitable nature and success to re-signify the sensoriality of tourists. This research stimulates a hot discussion on tourism epistemology simply because it considers the self in the quest of disrupting events to inspire discovery but at the same time returning to the secure-place of hospitality.

The fourteen papers gathered for this issue consist in high-quality approaches that deal with the aesthetic nature of leisure and tourism. First and foremost, I would like to thank Editor in Chief Agustin Santana Talavera who kindly invited me to take part of this project but this would never have been possible without the participation of authors, who have made a substantial contribution that will initialize the debate in next years. Let me clarify though the language in this special issue is English, we respected other texts, because of their academic profundity, in other language as Portuguese and Spanish. Certainly, we feel that the issue should remain in its original version.

**A antropologização do turismo e a turistificação
da antropologia**

Co-Coordenadores

Xerardo Pereiro (Universidade de Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro)

Chair: Prof. Dr. Agustín Santana

Debatedor: Prof. Dr. Roque Pinto

Resumo Longo

Pretendemos neste encontro analisar as convergências, sinergias e divergências entre antropologia e turismo, focando a atenção nos papéis e exemplos profissionais dos antropólogos do turismo em Portugal, Espanha, Brasil e outros contextos. Se antes se verificava uma relação distante e desconfiada entre antropologia e turismo, hoje em dia, os antropólogos participam cada vez mais numa antropologia do turismo enquanto o mesmo objecto de estudo impregna, em termos gerais, a própria disciplina antropológica. Tal é assim, que é estranho encontrar num território não afectado, uma ou outra forma pelo sistema turístico, ou os múltiplos problemas abordados interferidos por variáveis que implicam o consumo e o movimento ocioso das pessoas. Se a antropologia começou por ser crítica com o turismo, hoje encontra-se implicada e aplicada em minorar os efeitos não desejados provocados pelos desenvolvimentos e pela implantação de produtos turísticos, existindo já uma inserção da antropologia do turismo na mercadologia turística (análise e intervenção nos mercados turísticos). Desta forma, o turismo, inspira e desafia a antropologia, do mesmo modo que turistifica os seus objectos.

Propomos como objectivo deste encontro a análise da produção de conhecimentos sobre a turistificação da antropologia (as adaptações metodológicas e epistemológicas ao objecto de estudo por parte da disciplina) e a antropologização do turismo a partir de uma pluralidade de objectos, métodos, teorias e práticas profissionais.

Proposta de comunicação: <http://www.nomadit.co.uk/apa/apa2013/paperproposal.php5?PanelID=2353>

Tourism, art and urban neighborhoods

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Abstract: One of the most troubling aspects of cultural studies, is the lack of comparative cases to expand the horizons of micro-sociology. Based on this, the present paper explores the effects of gentrification in one neighborhood, Riverwest in Milwaukee, Wisconsin USA. This essay-review explores the role of arts, not only as creating an image of neighborhoods, but as a mechanism to prevent the commoditization of spaces. Riverwest has never been commoditized as a tourist-product like many other tourist-sites. The concept of patrimony and heritage are placed under the lens of scrutiny in this investigation. To some extent, some cities are produced to be consumed while others do not, is one of the intriguing points this research explores.

Key Words: Art, Modernity, Capitalism, Commoditization, Tourism.

1. Introduction

Tourists come to the neighborhood of Riverwest for several events that serve as tourists attractions. The first of these arranged events started in 1979. Named 'Artwalk,' it takes place annually in the second weekend of October. Originally meant to support local artists by attracting people who live in the neighborhood and close by surrounding neighborhoods, it now attracts tourists from a several hundred mile radius, including Chicago which is 90 miles (145 Km) to the south. Somewhat similar, subsequent tourist events are two block parties, a pub crawl, and a 24 hour bicycle race. Artwalk was not only first, but reveals a fundamental characteristic of the neighborhood. Moreover, Artwalk is unusual, if not unique, in that it did not come from external interests and forces, but was and continues to serve indigenous interests and ends.

2. The Neighborhood

Riverwest is fairly centrally located in an upper Midwest former industrial city, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The city comfortably fits the 'rustbelt' name. The city reached its population apex in the early 1960s, topping three quarters of a million. It has declined to slightly more than 600,000 in 2010. Before the post-WWII in-migration of African Americans, Milwaukee's ethnic composition reflected extraction from middle Europe--German, Polish, Italians mainly, who came in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By the mid-twentieth century, the economy was mainly manufacturing, favoring heavy industry along with beer and dairy. The manufacturing base employed a relatively highly skilled workforce. Politically, the city was exceptional, having socialist mayors through 1960.

Riverwest is former industrial and residential neighborhood. Today the heavy industry

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that once interspersed housing, mainly duplexes and small tenements, has largely, although not entirely, disappeared. The neighborhood, like the city, and the entire upper Midwest went through deindustrialization since the 1970s. For most such neighborhoods, deindustrialization resulted in deterioration in the quality of life for their denizens. With the loss of the industrial economic base came a host of urban problems: a shrinking tax base, flight by long term residents to suburbs, depopulation, racial and ethnic segregation, concentrated poverty, increased interpersonal predatory crime, and so on. Riverwest did not experience these ills. Moreover, today it shows vigor and vitality without gentrification. It has remained a working class neighborhood, now more racially and ethnically integrated than ever. It has a thriving artistic community, and has attracted new migrants from around the world because of its character.

3. Situating Riverwest

Milwaukee fits with the other industrial cities in virtually every respect, with some slight variation on the timing of socioeconomic shifts. In late modernity, beginning in the 1970s, it ranked among the most residentially segregated by race (Massey and Denton 1993). More diversified than Detroit or Pittsburgh, its industrial base rested on various ferrous metal products: machine tools and dies, castings, forgings, and heavy equipment, most notably. Its workforce reflected a relatively high degree of skill, in part a heritage of the 'Forty-eighters,' German democrats who fled the failure of the 1848 rebellion. Unlike the contemporary wave of Irish immigrants fleeing the potato famine, Milwaukee German immigrants tended toward what today would be called middle class, at least in the United States. Literate, skilled in various technical occupations, they formed a template that would persist in Milwaukee and its central institutions, especially education and government (Ortlepp 2009).

Riverwest has reflected the ethnic makeup of Milwaukee, which by the 1920s had a German-Italian-Polish character. By the 1940s, a small Puerto Rican contingent along with a smattering of other ethnic heritages made the neighborhood one of the more diverse in the city. It remained ethnically stable until the 1970s, when Black residents began to populate its northwestern quadrant. The workforce also reflected Milwaukee's traditional composition: about one-third skilled workers, one-third semi-skilled, and the remainder clerical-sales, mana-

gerial, and a few professionals. Among working class neighborhoods, Riverwest also boasted of relatively high levels of educational attainment. About 20 percent were high school graduates in 1950 rising to 25 percent in 1960 and about one-third by 1970. Demographic characteristics began to change in the 1970s with more Black residents, out-migration of long term residents with an influx of households with more diverse backgrounds. Although losing population since 1940 when it had about 40 thousand residents to the present with approximately 30 thousand, the housing stock remained much the same.

Riverwest is a walkable neighborhood. It is about 20 blocks on its north-south axis and 12 to 15 blocks on its east-west axis. It has three parks, schools, churches, small stores, restaurants, and many taverns. Several bus and trolley buses have run through it, and some still do. Riverwest is the western part of the northeast quadrant of the city. Topographically, the neighborhood slopes downward toward the river. The Milwaukee River forms its eastern boundary and partially its southern boundary as the river makes a southwesterly bend. Its northern boundary is less physical than social, as the site had heavy industry in the earlier years and retail outlets since about 1980. The western boundary has shifted through time and has always been less well defined. The southwestern boundary has been problematic, as that part of Riverwest bordered the traditional Black neighborhood, Milwaukee's so-called Bronzeville (Greenen 2006, Trotter 1988). By the later 1960s Bronzeville ghettoized (O'Reilly et al. 1965). Since 1990 the area gentrified and became what today is called Brewer's Hill. The southwestern part of Riverwest has had disputable boundaries. The area has shifted back and forth over the years according to social changes, especially regarding race and the political economy. These changes and the reasons for them constitute one of the focuses of this study.

Other defining sites in and about Riverwest include industry, parks, schools, and churches. Heavy industry concentrated in the north and south parts of the neighborhood with medium and light industries such as dry cleaning plants, lumber yards, and food packing scattered throughout. Light and heavy industry has largely given way to retail space with a concomitant decrease in capital concentration and wage decline. Three municipal parks modestly sized but with attractive recreational facilities, are situated in the north east corner, the central eastern area along the river, and the central southern part of Riverwest. In the past, there

was a public indoor swimming pool, but that site is now a non-school educational center. Three public grade schools still operate. In the early part of the period four Roman Catholic and one Lutheran school served the neighborhood, but by 2010 that had diminished to one Catholic and one private non-denominational school. All the schools were associated with churches that still serve the neighborhood. Since the 1970s small Pentecostal churches have appeared in addition to a Society of Friends meeting house. Significantly, the pattern of industry, recreational facilities, schools, and churches does not differ from most neighborhoods in Milwaukee.

4. Social Change

Beginning in 1940, just before the United States entered the Second World War, Riverwest was dotted with machine shops along with a few large metal and electrical fabricators and assembly plants. The neighborhood economy began to thrive with the looming war's armament demand. It became a center of specialty machining and tool and die manufacture during and after the war. The post war period well into the 1960s was what Michael Johns (2003) called "a moment of grace." Many residents of the neighborhood walked to work at nearby factories and shops. After work, they repaired to neighborhood taverns, often accompanied by children, for leisure and recreation. They could shop at neighborhood groceries, bakeries, butcher shops, get their clothes and shoes repaired, buy hardware items, and so on, all within the neighborhood and through commerce with their neighbors.

Neighborhoods to the west and northwest of Riverwest had similar configurations of geography and demographics until the 1970s. The exception was the neighborhood to the southwest, Bronzeville, which contained most of Milwaukee's Black residents. The Black population expanded beginning after the Second World War but tended to remain geographically cohesive. It was an expanding circle. Due to deindustrialization and persistent discrimination, that Black core experienced ghettoization. The neighborhood to the southwest ghettoized, then gentrified; those to the west and northwest ghettoized. In a microcosm, the area of Milwaukee's central city north went through what Sugrue and others described for industrial cities (O'Reilly 1963, O'Reilly et al. 1965, Palay 1981). Nonetheless, with no physical boundary to the west, Riverwest defied the pattern: no ghettoization and no gentrification.

Thomas J. Sugrue's 1996 *The Origins of the Urban Crisis* offered a pivotal if not definitive account of urban decline in the United States. In his preface to the 2005 reissue of the book, he summarized his historical argument. Using Detroit as a model case study, Sugrue attributed the decline to three forces: deindustrialization, workplace racial and ethnic discrimination, and residential racial segregation. He argued that grassroots conservatism, especially regarding race, had been built into the "New Deal's 'rights revolution'" (Sugrue 2005: xix). His case for Detroit as exemplary rests on similar studies of Detroit (Farley et al. 2000) along with those of Baltimore, Brooklyn, Chicago, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, to name a few (Bauman et al. 2000, Bluestone and Stevenson 2002, Bobo 2002, Diamond 2009, Durr 2003, Jones 2009, Meyer 2000, Pritchett 2002, Rieder 1985, and Wolfinger 2007). Sugrue traced the origins of decline to several turning points. Capital mobility especially beginning in the 1970s made possible and potentiated deindustrialization of the centers of capital. The developing world became the global workshop. Urban devastation followed (Harvey 1973, 2005). Demographic changes exacerbated shifts in the political economy. Suburbanization reflected the obverse of urban depopulation. Sugrue also pointed to gentrification as an attempted solution to urban decline, but argued that it did not trickle down to older, industry dependent neighborhoods. The result for most working class neighborhoods, especially in the rust belt cities, but also in places like Los Angeles and Oakland, revealed a now familiar story of crumbling infrastructure, housing dilapidation and abandonment, rising street crime, racial segregation, concentrated poverty—in sum, ghettoization (Orfield 1985).

While generally cogent, the argument by Sugrue and similar arguments by other scholars have some cracks. It is in those cracks that the present research focuses. Cultural anthropology has an old saw about the Bongo tribe. For any generalization about the human condition at least one exception, the Bongoes, calls it into question. By doing so, the Bongoes render an important service to the science. They show the faults in an explanation and call forth more exacting thought and revealing research. The neighborhood of Riverwest in Milwaukee is the Bongo tribe of contemporary critical urban theory. One of the most important of those lacunae appeared as early as 1970 in Henri Lefebvre's *The Urban Revolution*. In Neil Smith's forward to the translation, he summarized one of Lefebvre's main points: "For Lefebvre, by con-

trast, space holds the promise of liberation... Space is radically open for Lefebvre" (Lefebvre 1970:xiii). Lefebvre implies the liberating potential of space comes from the power and promise of social force among people in their interactions. In the 1930s and 1940s the site for creative social change was on the shop floor, but late modern capitalism with its changing nature of work militated against that space. Neighborhoods, in contradistinction, might still resist and offer a site for resistance against the interpenetration of capital into social relations.

5. Frameworks and Explanations

Bongoism, however fascinating as a case study in exceptionalism, still cries out for explanation. Bongoes may be unique, but the student of society still must explain their way of life, even if it turns out to be *sui generis*. Several explanations follow. Drawing heavily on the Chicago School tradition of urban studies leads to an appreciation of Riverwest's exceptionalism. That tradition stretches from Jane Adams and Albion Small in the late nineteenth century, through Park, Burgess, and Louis Wirth ([1925] 1964) to the recent work of Robert J. Sampson, his collaborators and students (Sampson 2008a, b, Sampson and Wilson 1995, Sampson et al. 2005, Sampson 2011). Another explanatory framework derives from perspectives that link urbanism, culture, and developments of late capitalism such as Mark Gottdiener (1985), David Harvey (1985, 1989, 2005), Henri Lefebvre ([1970] 2003, [1974] 1991), Saskia Sassen (1994), Edward Soja (1989), and Sharon Zukin (1995). The third trajectory of the research explores the transformative potential for creative work among working class people. It builds on historical studies by, for example, George Lipsitz (1994) and Michael Denning (1996). As Karl Marx famously observed in his *Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, "Man makes his history, but he does not make it out of the whole cloth; he does not make it out of conditions chosen by himself, but out of such things as he finds close at hand" (Marx [1885] 1963:5). The present research examines how people used their neighborhood and its close to hand materials to make a sustainable and resistant culture.

6. Enter Art

Art entered, and like the Dude in the movie, *The Big Lebowski*, the neighborhood abided. For

a while it looked shaky: declining population, declining home ownership, a shift in racial composition from Euroamerican to various minorities, closing small businesses. This was most noticeable in the 1980s into the early 1990s. But it stopped declining. Now there are a few new businesses: a large hardware store adjacent to an older lumber yard, a furniture manufacturer, a coffee roaster and café, and several new restaurants and bars. Population has not soared, but it stabilized. True, there are a few condominium units made from remodeled factories, but they fail to dominate the neighborhood. Art entails artists, of course, and there are many different kinds of them. There are painters and poets, sculptors, musicians, ceramicists, wood workers, and so on. Riverwest has them. In fact, Riverwest has always had them—working class artists, at least since 1940. They are artists who made and did their art in addition to their day jobs, or night jobs in the days when factories ran three shifts. They are not the Hemingways and Fitzgeralds, the Dalis and Picassos, the Josephine Bakers, and the like. Riverwest is not Paris in the 1920s, or Greenwich Village in the 1940s and 1950s, or Harlem in the 1920s, Chicago in the 1930s, or Weimar Berlin. Riverwest does not have the world famous artists, writers, and musicians. Like it always has, and along with the non-artists, it has the worker artists: the school secretary artists, the tofu factory poets, the house cleaning photographers, and so on.

The art and the artists are not important for Riverwest because of their renown, because they have very little of that. What they have is social form, to borrow an idea from Georg Simmel and applied to art by Howard Becker. Their effectiveness lies in making and sustaining the neighborhood for three or four generations, at least, depending on how one counts generations. It comes from an old Chicago School discovery—cultural transmission. Cultural transmission operates despite changes in populations, because the artistic cultural tradition is passed from one generation of residents to the next. The secret to Riverwest is art, workers' art. It is the art of people creating; something unique to our species, even in the face of humanity-robbing political and economic systems.

7. Work, Creativity, and Species Being

Karl Marx famously analyzed the nature of capitalism and described the capitalist system. In his early writings on the subject in his *Eco-*

nomic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844 (EPM) He distinguished work under capital to work before capitalism. He also distinguished human work from the labor of all other creatures. According to him, work under capital is estranged, alienated from the workers: “the worker is related to the *product of his labor* as to an *alien* object [sic]” (Marx 1844 EPM XXII). He argued that it is alienated because it is forced and forced by someone other than nature. In simple, non-capitalist societies, people have to work to sustain themselves—subsistence activities—but no one else forces them to work. In slave-based economies masters do the forcing. In capitalism the social system does it—nameless and faceless it appears as a natural condition, although it is anything but natural. Compared to other creatures, human labor is always mediated through culture, of which the time and place bound political economy is a part. For other creatures, work is not mediated. “The animal is immediately one with its life activity” (Marx 1844 EPM XXIV). Humans’ life activity consists not only of subsistence but also the production of consciousness and human culture, both unique to the species. That is what Marx meant by his reference to species-being. “Man is a species-being, not only because in practice and in theory he adopts the species... as his object, but... also because he treats himself as the actual, living species; because he treats himself as a *universal* and therefore free being” (ibid). That is, humans create; they create human culture—languages, political systems, economic systems, reproductive systems, and so on—and as each individual contributes to these creations, they create universal humanity.

“In creating a *world of objects* by his personal activity, in his *work upon* inorganic nature, man proves himself a conscious species-being, i.e., as a being that treats the species as his own essential being, or that treats itself as a species-being...” (ibid). It could not be otherwise. Basic human productions are things like language; essentially human; essentially social; therefore essential to humanity and humanness. In contrast, “An animal produces only itself, whilst man produces all of nature” (ibid.). Another way of saying this is to say that the ecological niche in which people live is culture—their own production. Marx goes on to argue that animals produce only in accordance with their animal needs, whereas humans produce according to social standards, which they themselves have set and continually re-invent. One of those standards is a Kantian judgment, a value, which by definition is a cultural product: “Man therefore

also forms objects in accordance with the laws of beauty” (ibid)—that is, people as species-beings produce art, defined according to their own standards of art and beauty.

Art shields against capital’s penetration by resisting commodification. It offers an imperfect shield. A moment’s reflection reveals its lacunae and aporias. Paintings and sculptures have become investments, for instance. Technologies allow mass production of artistic products from illuminated manuscripts to Gutenberg’s Bible, streamed music and videos, plastic replicas of the Venus de Milo. Walter Benjamin (1936) began his “The Work of Art in an Age of Mechanical Reproduction” by quoting Paul Valéry.

Our fine arts were developed, their types and uses were established, in times very different from the present, by men whose power of action upon things was insignificant in comparison with ours. But the amazing growth of our techniques, the adaptability and precision they have attained, the ideas and habits they are creating, make it a certainty that profound changes are impending in the ancient craft of the Beautiful. In all the arts there is a physical component which can no longer be considered or treated as it used to be, which cannot remain unaffected by our modern knowledge and power. For the last twenty years neither matter nor space nor time has been what it was from time immemorial. We must expect great innovations to transform the entire technique of the arts, thereby affecting artistic invention itself and perhaps even bringing about an amazing change in our very notion of art.” Paul Valéry, *Pièces sur L’Art*, 1931 *Le Conquete de l’ubiquite*.

Benjamin goes on to lay the foundation for Theodore Adorno’s invidious distinction between high and low art, the art of the connoisseurs versus that of the masses (1970). In popular art, according to Benjamin, the masses uncritically enjoy the conventional (11). Inevitably the popularization of art leads to fascism and war (Benjamin 1936:15). While Benjamin and later Adorno see popular art as a vehicle for fascism, they neglect the truly social aspect of art—art as social action and relation. Moreover, Adorno especially fails to see art works as texts in which each painting, song, performance, and so has its own integrity (Gendron 1986, 2002; Lefbvre 1974:70). Adorno’s, and his epigones’ vituperative comparison overlooks the point by Paul Magritte in his painting *La Trahison des Images* (The Treachery of Images) (1928-9) or *Ceci n’est pas une pipe* (This is not a pipe), or in another way by Marcel Duchamps notoriously signing urinals and similar common

objects, or painting a mustache on a reproduction of the *Mona Lisa*. What makes a work of art is always already and thoroughly social. One finds a singular work of art no more than an idiosyncratic language. Neither can exist. Moreover, there is no art without technology, as the earliest examples of art, the cave paintings from the dawn of humanity, required and relied on the latest technology of 40 thousand years ago. Where Benjamin ascribes the artistic aura to the singular and original, its real origin is the socialization of what David Lewis-Williams (2002) calls the autistic end of the spectrum of consciousness.

Lewis-Williams argues that the cave paintings of the Upper Paleolithic found in France, Spain, and several other locations in western Europe represent images of altered states of consciousness, which when inscribed on the rock walls, became a socially circumscribed cultural product. He further argues that the emergence of higher level consciousness, the reflective and reflexive kind that relies on symbols, co-emerged with anatomically modern humans, social stratification, and symbolic representation. The latter most relevantly realized as art and language. Art's aura, to use Benjamin's trope, is that of the sacred, the socially sacred as opposed to the socially profane in Emile Durkheim's (1912) formulation. Lewis-Williams also proposes that the cave art objectified a basic if not defining characteristic of humanity: the conflict between the individual and the group. Such a conflict presupposes reflective consciousness, an awareness of the self as a distinct and autonomous entity.

8. Why Here and Not There?

Some of the explanations are simple and apparent with knowledge of social fundamentals in this city. The region of the city on the other side of Riverwest's eastern boundary, the Milwaukee River, known as the East Side, seemingly would offer more genial conditions for an artistic neighborhood. With its major university, and relatively upper bourgeois character, it had a historical claim to a bohemian, avant-garde pedigree, somewhat on the order of Paris' Montmartre. Several factors militated against it. First, it is and has been a high rent district which most artists and their studios could ill afford. Second, its bourgeois character had two consequences. The bourgeois subculture of Milwaukee partakes strongly of its German heritage, which remains culturally conserva-

tive, even when, as in its history of socialist city government, promises a more left leaning and liberal atmosphere. Also, the bourgeois character might encourage the consumption of art, but fails to permit much in the way of conditions for production. This is where it stops resembling Montmartre. The critical period of Riverwest's differentiation emerges from its period of crisis in the 1980s, most visibly with its deindustrialization. The other, surrounding neighborhoods largely succumbed to the expectable urban decline and decay; Riverwest did not. In its crisis years a number of civic organizations, with varying degrees of formality, fought against the decline in a variety of ways, ranging from political movements and pressure groups to attempts at cultural renaissance.

Some of these efforts promoted art. Significantly, the kind of art promoting movement that anticipates gentrification fell flat and its entrepreneurs gave up after a few years. The alderman who represented both the East Side and Riverwest, tried to convert a space formerly occupied by a co-op grocery and a co-op natural foods store—two separate establishments next to each other. On the contrary, some of what became institutions—the Riverwest Artists Association, Woodland Pattern Bookstore, most prominently—had no such gentrifying goals. Moreover and more importantly, they were indigenous efforts, not primarily aimed at enhancing real estate values. These and similar efforts earn the 'grass roots' sobriquet. They were indigenous, working class, and oriented toward production rather than consumption of art.

Identity and judgment emerge from art, but so does social space, a creation of social actors from whom it is concealed by a double illusion. "These two aspects are the illusion of transparency on the one hand and the illusion of opacity on the other" (Lefebvre [1974] 1991:27). The quotidian is the ordinary physical, social, and cultural surround within which neighbors live, work, play, and so on. The opaque presumes the barrier between as noted above, between those who think and those who work with their hands, because "the producers of space [thinkers] have always acted in accordance with a representation, while the 'users' passively experienced whatever was imposed upon them" (43). By creating symbolic representations through whatever medium—writings, music, paintings, sculptures, and so on—the 'users' become the producers. They then transcend the master servant dichotomy first articulated by Hegel, which forever separates a real view

of nature into a class perspective (Hegel [1807] 1977). Art works provide observation platforms by which we humans know ourselves as species-beings who create the world in which we live. Our primary ecological niche, after all, is culture. Also, it is through art that people produce space, including and especially neighborhoods.

The answer is: through the production of space, whereby living labour can produce something that is no longer a thing, nor simply a set of tools, nor simply a commodity. In space needs and desires can appear as such, informing both the act of producing and its producers.... In and by means of space, the work may shine through the product. (Lefebvre [1974] 1991:348)

And so it is that Riverwest became a created space by those who live and work in it. By their own productions, by their institutionalization of transcendent visions, they broke the barrier that sequesters users from producers. They broke out of the prison of the class barrier. They refused to allow ghettoization of their own space, their own creations. Because they were no longer passive users and recognized themselves and each other as creators.

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Disasters, tourism and mobility, the case of Japan earthquake

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Abstract: It is not uncommon to note that during emergencies or natural disasters a number of socio-psychological triggers come to the forefront so as to help the public the event and place it in a comprehensible context. Without these socio-psychological triggers the public would be left not only in an anomic state, but social disintegration would begin to set in. One way that we begin to sort out and make sense of these negative tragedies is through the twin social mechanisms of nationalism and consumerism. During moments when societies must face potential exterminations, survival may occur through the strengthening of individuality and group identity. These two social phenomena act as antidotes to the tragedy and allows for group survival. Thus after a tragedy such as a tsunami or earthquake, national (or group) pride permits the social healing process to begin. It is against this backdrop that we analyze the media coverage and the reaction of the Buenos Aires Japanese community to the earthquake and tsunami that decimated Japan in 2011 and the dangers that ensued from the damage to the Fukuyima reactor. Although this work is about one small community within the Japanese Diaspora, it serves its social psychological insights are not confined to this community but rather should be replicable throughout the world.

Key words: Culture, Earthquake Fear, Risk, Travel, Tourism,

1. Introduction

At 2:46 pm on March 11, 2011 Japan suffered one of its most intense and devastation earthquakes. The earthquake measured some 7.9 on the Richter scale. It was so intensive that world's media provided almost non-stop 24-hour news coverage. The reports spoke about the number of victims, and behind the reports the "ghost of a Chernobyl-like nuclear disaster" was ever-present. The earthquake followed by a tsunami not only devastated the Japanese coast

but also posed a serious risk should Fikushima nuclear reactor suffer a meltdown. Such a meltdown was more than a serious threat to life; it also was symbolic in that:

- a) The potential for a nuclear accident or worse now became a real possibility, such a possibility made the public aware that what occurred in Chernobyl might be repeated. This potential nuclear threat dominated the public's anguish.
- b) No one was sure what would be the negative results on the locale's children

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- c) Humanity once again had to note that in the face of the earthquake and tsunami it was powerless.
- d) Television viewers saw the harm that nature had done both on the land and on the sea.
- e) Television viewers in other countries realized that no one was immune from the uncontrollable effects of a natural disaster, thus viewers once again noted their impotence in the face of natural disasters. For example, the mass media showed pictures of water invading Japanese cities and destroying all that lay in its path.
- f) The media's emphasis on personal "miracles" not only reinforced the notion of impotence in the face of natural disasters but also introduced an element of the mystical into the tragedy. Media reports of people who saved their lives against all odds served not only as examples of the exception to the rule, but also introduced an element of humility into the arrogance of modernity. Science simply could not solve everything and once again we noted the concept of *machina ex deus*
- g) The story was brought home by eyewitness accounts of other visitors to Japan

E. Quarantelli (2006), a senior sociologist who devoted his life in themes of disasters, revealed that the way lay-people perceive the world has changed. To the classical disasters whereby cinema narrates its stories, another type of new virtualized disaster has taken place. The latter one signals to events which never happened in reality. Based on suppositions, speculations and hypothesis (risks), these new types of mediated disasters have become in a cultural entertainment, as never before. Quarantelli's upshot led Korstanje to argue we are living the end of resiliency because our ability to learn from events is being undermined (Korstanje, 2011). Any virtual disaster not only set the pace to other, but the boundaries between reason and cause is being blurred. More apocalyptic, more intriguing, more striking the virtualized disasters poses a serious challenge for Science in the next millennium. A careful review of the media accounting of natural and manmade disasters demonstrates that the media often has its own agenda. For example, although denied, a careful observer will note that the media's experts often seem to have predetermined roles. These "scripts" demonstrate that the media hosts not only guide the expert's message, but should the

expert go off script, then s/he faces being cut off. Media personalities not only control the microphone but also give themselves a sense of self-importance. Thus, news often becomes a spectacle in and of itself. Television reporting often becomes a mixture of sensationalism mixed with scientific truth in which media personalities create an apocalyptic image. The report leaves the viewer with the sensation that: "the worst is yet to come". If we apply this principle to the case of Japan, we note of how the media spoke about the possibility of a "nuclear Armageddon." However, just as in the majority of other disasters stories, the case of the potential "nuclear catastrophe" may have had us on the edge of our seats for a while, but then it vanished as the media turned its attention elsewhere.

Undoubtedly, one of the philosophers who have devoted his attention to the study of fear and media was Jean Baudrillard. His legacy poses the question in a serious debate considering not only how reality is built, but also how disasters are covered and interposed. His contributions played a pivotal role in what Korstanje (2010) called the emergency of a new resilience in the study of disasters and culture. Stimulating a fertile ground to discuss to what an extent the media created a parallel reality, enrooted in the uncertainty of future, Baudrillard reminds that the absence of a clear diagnosis of reasons that ushered communities to a state of emergency, it is impossible to conduct success plans of risk-mitigation. Even, any attempt to reduce risks in the real, will create new unplanned risks (principle of reversibility). Secondly, the attacks perpetrated against the World Trade Center represent the success of the individual being, over the world of cloning. WTC or twin towers are alike, as cloned from the same model. Any suicide exhibits the last individual effort of self-annihilation in the world of hyper-reality. Like buildings, news are copied and distributed to a broader audience, which is pressed to live in an eternal present. If causes and effects are blurred in the same setting, one disaster will set the pace to the other undermining our capacity to learn of tragedies. National-being and patriotism play a pervasive role, Baudrillard admits, because for one hand it achieves the social cohesion in context of uncertainty or emergency, but on another, it gives the blindness enough to the disaster to be repeated again, and again.

In this paper we present culture and travel as two important elements in trying to comprehend the relationship between disasters and consumption. By means of content analysis as a

principle methodology, this study uses a letter sent by the FCAJ (Spanish acronym for “Argentine – Japanese Cultural Foundation”) with its main offices in Buenos Aires’ Japanese Gardens district. In the letter the FCAJ invited its members to make a cultural journey to Japan soon after the earthquake. This essay uses this letter to explore the different narratives that comprise the cultural axis of a trip; an aspect rarely studied within the academic literature. Tourism philosophy is presented as a useful tool to figure out questions attached to the symbolic elaboration of misfortune and how tourism deals with human and natural misfortunes.

The main thesis in this work is that both, tourism and nationalism operate as ideological instruments so that the nation not to be fragmented. Beyond the trauma and suffering, the survivor develops an exaggerated self-image that leads to ethnocentrism and chauvinism. After all, survivors have passed the proof of death. Their invulnerability is often accompanied with stories linked to the strength, fate, pride and courage. This sentiment, which at a short-run, helps people to overcome the wounds post-disaster, at a later day becomes in a iron-cage because upends the causes and consequences of the event. As a result of this, the responsible for the event elude their culprit. As Baudrillard put it, in a world where the events has been emptied and transformed in pseudo-events, disasters are commoditized to entertain a much broader audience.

2. Travel as an attraction

Currently travel and mobility have been transformed into two of modernity’s complementary activities. This activity suggests that not only has travel increased but also the speed in which we travel has increased. Connected to this increase, but not necessarily due to it, humanity’s capacity to transmit information across the world has also increased. (Lew, 1987; Virilio, 1991; 2007; Urry, 2007; Lash y Urry, 1998; Giddens, 1991; Birtchnell y Buscher, 2011). This increase in both the transmission of information and the increase in travel, while not irrevocable, is hard to stop. Although governments in countries such as China, Iran, and Syria have worked hard to stop the flow of information, their populations have found new and innovative ways to absorb the ever-increasing flow of cross-border information. Often the number of trips made have to do with types of dangers associated with the place to where the

trip is to be made or the type of trip. Dangers may include such things as: terrorism, diseases, crime and natural disasters. However, the (tourism) trip also functions as a place where fear and social (class) distinction converge. (Douglas 1997). There is no trip without the possibility of an accident (risk). Despite the risks involved, people do not shy away from travel because they falsely believe that they can avoid all risks. It should be noted that the risk of accidents, and above all it’s the inherent thrill of danger, is a determining factor in how adventurous a trip is perceived to be. This is one reason that people may travel to places that are known for being off the beaten path. For example, a volcano’s eruption may constrict demand for visiting a specific locale for a while, but once the danger has been removed the destination often becomes even more popular. Tourism destinations, be they places where there have been battles, or disasters, or have emerged as a product of a previous accident, often become tourism beacons. (Bianchi, 2007; Lennon and Folley, 2000; Korstanje, 2010b; Kaelber, 2007; Poria, 2007; O’Rourke, 1988; Ryan, 2005; Seaton, 1996; 1999; 2000; Urry, 2001; Stone, 2005; 2011).

George, Inbakaran y Poyyamoli (2010) emphasize that tourism is different from a trip of journey. A trip takes us from one place to another, but tourism is circular and the goal is to visit a place and then return, it is a trip that takes us to where we began. One tourism motivation is curiosity and the sense of danger inherent in any tourism experience leads both adventure and excitement. It is a paradox that we search for safe places in which to stay and it is the industry’s responsibility to maximize the traveler’s security while permitting a sense of danger and excitement at the same time. Elías and Dunning (1992), on the other hand, note that we classify business or pleasure trips by a sense of controlled environment that separates us from fear. A limited dosis of fundamental risk provides a social distinction. It would appear one aspect of tourism is that it dislocates our sense of belonging and our identity by placing us in an anomic situation in such a way that systems. need to be established that allow for accommodation to the new environment. (Tang y Wong, 2009).

The German philosopher C. Wenge proposes three theories to explain the reasons that we travel. According to Wenge we travel because: a) we seek to evade something, b) we seek some form of status or c) we go on a pilgrimage. In the first case, the idea of avoidance or evading, Wenge suggests that we seek to travel to sepa-

rate ourselves from life's routines and drudgery. The traveler then seeks relief from work that both "alienates and oppresses". Using this perspective, we see a converging of the aspiration for something new with the desire to get away from life's daily routines. On the contrary, the thesis of conformity or status explains that we travel to fit into the norms of the dominant class from which comes the ostentatious consumption of experiences and social recognition. Finally, travel as pilgrimage rerefers to the need for movement and implies obligation and exhibition. In the modern world pilgrimages often interconnected with messages that the media send forth, thus what we read in a novel or see on television or the movies becomes a tourism pilgrimage, be that pilgrimage of the secular or religious variety. For example, a visit to many of the monuments in Washington, DC can be seen as a secular pilgrimage. In a like manner many people wanted to visit the train station from which Harry Potter left for the mythical world of Hogwarts School of Witchcraft and Wizardry or the churches mentioned in Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*. (Wenge, 2007). Wenge does not clarify if his pilgrimage thesis is due to a necessity of underlining the "faults" or an exhibitionist form of being different. On this point Korstanje and Busby (2010) have explained the origin of tourism may be from the Biblical texts where the sin implies a movement outside of the norms as a form of evasion of responsibility. In the Hebrew verbal root for the verb "to sin: (chet-tet-alef) literally means to miss the mark or for the arrow to miss its target.

In agreement with the above authors, S. Larsen introduces a new category which he calls "worry" as a form of normative reinforcement. Worry is an inference that transcends the cognitive field exclusively with the appearance of probable results and coupled with a person's or group's negative energy that created a desire for travel, thus worry is related to danger. Furthermore, as worry increases; there is a decline in our willingness to assume risks. For this reason travelers have greater worries when they are at home imagining their trip in comparison to when they are on a trip. (Larsen, 2007; 2009). In the last decades, professional advice has become a way for people to seek an efficient way to put outside threats intellectually understandable context. The travel professional has been become the go-to person in order to obtain technical advice and to measure risk. Professionals are precisely those who are empowered by society (or in some places the state) to

protect individual's lives maximize earning and reduce dangers. (Bledstein, 1978; Beck, 2006; Bauman, 2008).

In the case of tourism, the professional's familiarity with potential dangers sends a reassuring message to the client giving her/him a certain sense of security that s/he can take on the trip. (Fielding et al, 2005). Moving beyond the field of travel we note that Sjöberg considers that there exists a differentiation in the way in which an expert analyzes a threat with respect to public opinion. For example, a professional who is dedicated to a nuclear threat will view the threat through the lens of his knowledge base and in a different way from that of someone with a lesser knowledge base. This type of knowledge is often called "High knowledge" rather than low knowledge. A person may have high knowledge in one area but in other areas only The author admits that there is no consensus in the literature. For example, there are studies that demonstrate in the field of medicine that doctors and patients perceive "high levels of risk" in the face of high potential illnesses. According to Thomas Kuhn, (*The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 1962) experts are often committed to their paradigm and therefore hold onto this belief with a high level of confidence, To be an expert is to believe in one's ability to grapple with and seek ways to treat the problem. Politicians, on the other hand, must react to public trends and therefore tend to hold much lower confidence levels.

There are two roles that expert plays in the management of risk, protector and promoter. The first type refers to the professionals who are part of the public information services with the goal of informing the public so as to avoid states of emergency. The "protectors" tend to be upset that the public may have scarce information about a determined risk and these experts will put their efforts into shaping the debate regarding specific societal questions (for example, doctors, first aid workers or experts in natural disasters). This desire to shape the debate may mean that the so-called "experts" at times become part of the problem. In much of the population there exists the perception that there is a relationship between technology and risk, a pessimistic perspective which signals that technology is responsible for the risk.

3. Risk and Technology

The sociologies of Beck and Giddens have examined the relationship between technology and

risk. From Beck's perspective, a society's means of production is ever changing even when it is in the world of "as if or might be". Beck argues that societies feign practices and customs from previous decades, even when the market and its forms of production have changed direction. In the social world we observe a preliminary state that stands between an industrial society and a risk society. The globalization of risk assaults the individual's integrity. Beck is conscious that the process of modernity regressed soon after the Chernobyl accident in the Ukraine. Chernobyl altered radically the way in which we perceive risk and threats. These post-Chernobyl risks differ from the risks that medieval travelers faced. The medieval traveler evaluated his personal risks before setting forth on his/her adventure. Modern risks on the other hand are presented not on the micro scale but rather on the macro scales as: global risks, world catastrophes and chaotic situation in which the traveler is enveloped into a sense of impotency. (Beck 2006).

According to Beck, minor threats or individual risks eventually become tolerated by society, but as these risks accumulate they become major threats. For example, the random murder of innocent civilians by terrorist groups in places such as Israel is often tolerated by the word, but when the numbers become such that Israel must take action, then the individual tragedies of rocket attacks on school children become international threats to world peace and the United Nations becomes concerned. The saying that the destruction of even one life is the destruction of an entire world has now been lost to the modern media. In this way, as opposed to the business class that maintains a strict line of separation between economic classes, modern society confronts a new configuration in its social order. This new society receives the name "a risk society" whose principal characteristic lies in the risks that are equally distributed throughout the classes and social groupings. Against the logic of material appropriation of merchandise, we now are presented with the antithesis: the logic of denial. Partially, by means of journalism or science privileged-groups hide information with regards to risks and minimize the collateral damage produced by hyper-consumption. Thus, the responsibilities and the rights blur the borders between innocence and culpability. From this perspective, risk production is proportional to the distribution of wealth. Beck's sociology's main thesis is that the imposition of risks on the consumer involves the idea of a limited stimulation by the market. From this perspective,

fear is the only necessity that has no end point and there is always room for more (Beck, 2006). Consequently, as production increases then so do risks.

Anthony Giddens proposes to understand modernity and technology as an epistemological break that is divorced from the ideals of the illustration even to the point of creating fragmentation and uncertainty. According to Giddens, capitalism needs a degree of risk to maintain its *raison d'être*. The mediation of capital fulfills a primordial role in the configuration of risk as it absorbs the dangers derived from fear. For example, an insurance company that assumes third party risks as its own demands a specific amount of money as compensation. Traditional societies are nourished by trust in the past while at the same time blurring the past. In a like manner, modern technology has eroded on of the other basis of trust, religion, even to the point of transforming itself into its own god. Thus, we observe that experts have replaced priests in the selling of fear. In the Christian world the notion of "hell" has been replaced by modernity's use of risk. Thus experts work around this notion in a discourse of risk (Giddens, 1991; 1999; 2000).

According to Leo Marx the conception of technology during the Enlightenment began to change radically with the arrival of modernity. With post-modernity, the idea of progress and moral reform, the enlightenment created a utopian ideal with respect to progress. However, technology played a limited role in its relationship to this ideal. Technology and fear did not fulfill its own ends. With modernity, the relationship became reversed creating a "technocratic /technological" truth in which technology begins to gnaw at the enlightenment's ideals. Post modernism criticizes the use given to technology by the Enlightenment; nevertheless, postmodernism's argument is summed up as dogmatic and authoritarian. Postmodern critics argue that if these goals rest only in the technical then these goals are amoral and irrational in and of themselves. From its creation, soon after the French involvement in its Vietnam War, postmodernism has been pessimistic regarding the use and role of technology. This questioning of technology is one of the concepts that this movement rejects. As such it rejects not only the Enlightenment's ideals concerning technology, but also in the narrative constructed around the notion of historical progress. Nevertheless, there is an internal contradiction in that postmodernism offers a much more technological vision than that which it aims to destroy. This

contradiction holds especially true in the excessive role that the communication industry has taken in this process. In its diehard criticism of ideology and the system of ideas, postmodernism demonstrates multiple contradictions (Marx, 1994: 25).

R. Pippin expands this line of reasoning when he writes, if the first Marxists (including Karl Marx) considered technology as a leap backwards in the course of a society's progress, it was after the intervention of Lukacs and especially after the Frankfurt school that technology was begun to be seen as an instrument of alienation within Capitalist sociology. (Pippin, 1994: 99). On the other hand, it was clear that technologies, such as medical technology, firmed up dominant groups with respect to risk. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that with the decline of technology we have seen the decline of the basis of scientific authority. The fragmentation (called specialization) of knowledge accompanied by a strong no one set of established norms resulted in an increase in each society's threshold of uncertainty. The fear is determined by the degree of narcissism developed by the self.

According to Lasch, there exists an almost irreversible tendency to conceive of the external world as dangerous, catastrophic and/or chaotic. This tendency is a product of a values-change and cosmic vision that appeared for the first time in Modernity. The current situation in which, despite the political rhetoric, no one really seeks a solution to problems that can take us to a state of catastrophe, but rather stress individual survival. Lasch argues that in a narcissistic culture that characterizes the "I" it is hard to understand the future of the "we". Modern man shows a great deal of disinterest in the past and above lacks a sense of tradition. The past only represents in a narcissistic culture a trivial form of commercialization and exchange (see cultural patronizing). While, fear has been converted into a way for therapists to make money (being empowered to examine this phenomenon), moderns have subordinated all of their inhibitions to the "company" and are incapable of satisfying their own needs. Personal self-fulfillment is presented as the maximum measure of success in a narcissist society. There exists an entire cultural critique that holds that psychological therapy tends to indoctrinate the lower classes in upper class goals, such as personal development and self-control. Modern society and its productive system appeal to division of social relations and subsuming them before technical and expert dominance (Lasch, 1999)

4. Spectacles and Cultural Dominance

Scaremongering, explains E. Berbeglia, comes out of a double tendency to reconcile opposites. On one hand, there is fear, while on the other hand there is hope. Both stake their claim in reconstructing a new form of linkage between members of a society. The imposition of panic by means of multiple mechanisms is complemented by political messages whose ultimate ends are indoctrination and control. If on one hand, scaremongering emphasizes worst-case scenarios, on the other hand it provides sufficient security to present a solution to the problem. In this way, threats that promise to destroy civilization converge with possible solutions that are presented by Science and the Community of Experts. Catastrophes imply a cultural rupture (produced by human intervention in nature or by nature itself) in which humans either adapt or perish. Catastrophic events generate discussions that serve as warning and alternate between hope and fear. For those who follow plans, such as evacuation plans there is hope and for those who choose to ignore these plans or disobey them fear is ever present. Examples of this hope/fear continuum are hurricane warnings given along the US's Gulf Coast. Residents are routinely told to follow evacuation orders or they risk death. The Katrina disaster that struck the city of New Orleans in 2005 versus this year's hurricane season with the arrival of hurricane Isaac demonstrates the political symbolic construct of a disaster (Berebgia, 2002).

Another scholar, S. Zizek (2011) discusses the paradox of a modernity in which certain things are permitted, but only when they link people with mobility and technology but prohibit other things, when this same mobility leads us to question the precepts of capitalism. Thus, our world allows us to get to the moon as tourists, we can travel more rapidly and comfortably, but it is not permitted to break with the ideas of the bourgeois or with a distorted idea of modern democracy. In short, experts' roles and the content that they produce generate only serves to aid the market's ideological machinery. In the book *Blaming the Victim*, William Ryan (1971) validated the belief that some subtle tactics not to face the responsibility for their decisions. Ideology serves as a system of belief that preserves the power of aristocracies or elites, event the injustices many citizens should tolerate day by day. These types of ideas are "a distortion of reality" reflecting intentional purposes. Blaming the victim seems to be an ideological process that distorts the real causes of emergencies. To put

this in bluntly, if the poverty is a state of disaster, which shows the “inequality of American society”, pours are overtly blamed by their socio-economic conditions. The background or social forces that generate these unfair situations not only are not criticized but also are preserved. The dichotomy between assistance (charity) and subordination is not clear in the Blaming-the-victim strategies. In this respective, blaming the victim happens with exceptionalist frameworks that apply on universal values. To put this in another way, whenever journalists portray that poverty is a reason that leads people to disasters is blaming the victim (Ryan, 1971: 16-17). It is safe to affirm that social problems and disasters play a vital role in configuring the ideological discourse to blame the victims for the events. As ideology, tourism engenders a specific discourse which sometimes is not clear and sometimes is self-explanatory.

If, as Baudrillard surmises, we are living in a time of the decline of the nation-state and of religion, its resurgence can be explained after a natural tragedy occurs. It is important to examine “in how and with what semantic elements” nationalism constructs a discourse tending to feed its own logic before adversity, chaos, anarchy, and disorders. Nature is neither tamable nor always understood, and we often perceive it as hostile. Yet there are symbols that offer hope in the desolate social and political environment. Hope is often found in symbolism. For example, the figure of the rescue dog trained to save human lives transforms the harshness of nature. The Chilean or Swiss rescue dog inspires patriotism and these nations citizens wave their flags in unison as a sign of pride. Symbols can also be human. For example the Israeli medical teams that came to Haiti’s aid before any other nation and within some forty-eight hours had tent hospitals up and running created a great sense of pride in Israel. The theme there was as Europe and the American nations talked, Israel acted. The central thesis is that far from having disappeared, nationalism and the nation-state appear to have been transformed and are doing quite well.

Another example is that Chilean nationalism became activated in the face of the earthquake that occurred there during the end of February (2010) Words as courage, uprising, and battle appear in the testimonies of the survivors as well as in the announcers’ voices or those of the commentators who came on the air. The survivor served his/her society by construction a “national feeling” by which s/he can give testimony to the event. This tes-

timony is necessary for the national dialogue that permits healing. The same phenomenon can be found both in both the Jewish world and Germany after World War II. However no such dialogue took place in France and so the nation never healed. France has no equivalent to writers such as Ellie Weisel and only now some 60 years later is coming to terms with its political earthquake.

5. Jean Baudrillard and the sense of reality

In post modernity, the event succumbs before the logic of the spectacle, and thus is transformed into a non-event. By transforming the event into a media tale, the story comes to symbolize the lack of real events and becomes the production of non-events. Thus, September 11, 2001 attack against the Twin Towers inaugurated the end of history and the re-elaboration of potentiality (efficiency). The media decided which events became facts and then transmits daily thousands of similar events that numbs the senses and makes the unique common, as noted by Baudrillard. Interestingly this same method is used by academicians who produced so many “scholarly” articles that they succeed in “dumbing down” society. Ever since SARS and until September 11 (2001) the concept of efficiency has created a system of functional non-events for a market that produces ever greater amounts of gradually subjective publicity (Baudrillard, 1995^a; 1995b; 2001; 2002). Modern capitalistic society lives under two cultural principles: the proliferation of the computer and a high degree of sexuality as expressed in the media. Threats mobilize resources with the end of legitimizing the social order. AIDS, terrorism, crack deals, electronic viruses put into play a process whereby society examines a whole series of processes and speculations that it may have on one of these subjects.

The event creates a break between “the before and the after”, the succession of events are the result of history. Extreme phenomena acquire great virulence to the extent that they falsify human tools that are destined to the examination of the internal world and its surroundings. Baudrillard argues that humans need catastrophes so as not to be lost in emptiness or absolute nothingness. Baudrillard writes: “*the total catastrophe would be that of the omnipresence of all information, of that which is totally transparent whose effects are luckily eclipsed by the computer virus. Thanks to it (the virus) we will not go on a straight line until the end of*

information and communication which would be death" (Baudrillard, 2000: 16).

The catastrophe has turned into a kind of tool with the end of avoiding that worse occurs. Emergencies and catastrophes, danger paralyzes our social lives with the objective of avoid a state of disintegration. Global threats function as a virus taken from the physical body, that in this case is a fact or event X and moves into it to be virtually disseminated to other bodies from which it can infect other organisms. In this way, the mass media functions as a perfect mechanism in the making the disaster spread.

In this respect, the French philosopher writes "electronic viruses are the expression of information's homicidal transparency throughout the world. AIDS is the emanation of the homicidal transparency of sexual liberation on group scales. The stock market Cracks are the expression of murderous transparency of the economy between itself, of the rapid circulation of values that are the base of both liberation from production and interchange. Once liberated, all of the processes enter into super-fusion on the scale of nuclear fusion that is its prototype." (Ibid.: 42). Given the right conditions, political manipulation proposes an objective, an evil, a problem that only it can solve or exorcize. The superiority of certain groups to define that which is good or evil, is accompanied by an ideological conversation whose maximum tool is the diffusion of fear. However to differentiate from Beck, he admits that we have weakened quite a lot in creating satanic energy, which metaphorically implies that evil has been devoid of its symbolic function. It no longer acts as a deterrent, but in an objective manner a fetish blurring the limits about which we must be afraid. This fear does not have an objective. It is similar to an existentialist anguish. The Western World lives in a protected capsule, not unlike riding in a pressured airplane capsule, and terrorism is implicit the effect of depressurizing. Violence practiced on the East turns against the West each time weaker in its ethical and moral values

In a penetrating, clear and eloquent manner, Baudrillard calls attention to the fact that threats mobilize resources with the end of legitimizing society's order. AIDS, terrorism, financial crack, and electronic viruses put into play a process whereby society reviews a series of procedures and assumptions that touch upon a specific theme. The event creates a break between "a before and an after", and linking these events becomes history. Extreme phenomena acquire greater sensitive virulence to the measure that

they become sophisticated human tools destined for the exploitation of the internal and surrounding world. Catastrophes become a tool with the end of avoiding that something worse might happen. The pursuit of manufactured events erases the principle of reality in the mind of the media.

G. Coulter reminds that Baudrillard proposes a new concept of reality originally based on Greek Philosophy, an allegory of the second thermodynamic law. To understand his legacy, one might take attention to the concept of reversibility, which denotes the system-weakness. Any structure, like empires, is subject to the possibility to collapse because of its own strength. If the linear evolution of technology poses the idea of moving forth to a next stage, reversibility evokes the poetics as a form of replaced dialectics. (Coulter, 2012). Of course, as post-structuralist, Baudrillard knows the virtualization of the media blurs the bridge between fiction and truth. Unlike other philosophers, he does not look the truth of events. What today people know about history is by means of movies. Not only, this reveals certain ignorance respecting to the past, but the history has ended. Starting from the premise reversibility is a natural antidote against determinism, Baudrillard argues that poems resulted from ambiguity and uncertainty, which are enrooted in the language. Like truth, language determines the boundaries of being but since any meaning are subject to proper understanding. Alluding to the metaphor of precogs in *Minority Report*, who anticipated to the crime before it was committed, his most intriguing point of debate is that fiction, like theory, give sense in order for us to understand the world, preceding everything one might feel. The construction of concepts reveals that nothing can be said about events. Therefore, the visual appearances seem to replace the meaning of pastime. The "vertigo of interpretation" imposed by the media, not only was based on an immediate future, but also destroyed the history. As Coulter adds, we are not able to find the truth simply because it keeps covert for human mind, only affordable by means of fiction. However, fiction may not be empirically verified as facts. After all, truth is only an illusory construction designed in order for human beings to reach nothing. To put this in brutally, the truth is as the fish that bites its own tail. Therefore, Baudrillard is convinced that 9/11 never existed. He is not the philosopher of non-sense as some other scholars proposed. The Baudrillard's legacy consists in a sharp criticism against modernity and hyper-

reality, to the extent to defy on the compliance of science with market. Following this, the hyper-reality (media) have been paved the ways to create a show to be sold to an international audience where the reason and effects of disasters are covered. As reality is not necessary in modern times, history has been commoditized to work together nationalism and patriotism. Philosophers should take away distance from the illusory nature of patriotism and tradition. What are the underlying dangers of nationalisms?.

6. Intellectuals, experts and Nation-state

It is important not to lose the sight that Baudrillard exerted a criticism against the work of Susan Sontag and Noam Chomsky arguing both intellectuals is moved by certain chauvinist interests. In the case of Sontag, she departs from a false-solidarity, mediatized, by humanitarian gestures in Balkans, but these acts not only are not real, are counter-productive for the same goals she pursue. Sontag, at some extent, acts in complicity with status quo. The splendid coverage she receives, represents not only hypocrisy but a hidden patriotism that does not defy on American partisanship. (Baudrillard, 1985; 1986). What intellectual do not appreciate is terrorists do not hate US, because she is the freest, prosperous, wealthier and democratic republic of the world (values imposed by means of war and violence) but they received everything from US. In other terms, Baudrillard explains masterfully how hate is caused by humiliation not by exploitation. US and West colonized the Middle East mind from long time ago. 9/11 exhibits a reactionary response to the humiliation inflicted by global powers. Nor Sontag neither Chomsky seems to realize they are using suffering to populate the American values in the world. Their inability to see the problem of democracy, or Anglo-democracy as well as the asymmetries given by globalization, allude to a much broader change in the ways of production. Nation-state and capitalism are inextricably intertwined.

Other interesting view-point is given by Paul Virilio (2010) who complemented the thoughts of Baudrillard. Is the technology responsible for human disasters?. He responds to this that technologies and mobilities not only have created new forms of displacements, but also have blurred the relation between time and space. As a result of this, people have full access to any geographical point of this globe in hours. The time of waiting has changed forever. Travelers

now are moved by the indifference and visual consumption. There is not genuine contact in the visited lands. The events in the past formed history as a continuation of ordered facts, but global transportation and communication technologies make anew kind of real time in which people can no longer synchronize watches. Citizens have been transformed in consumers. History has been emptied into a fragmentation of events, dispersed globally and broadcast repeatedly. The function of modern university is not producing knowledge any-longer. Now, the university is producing experts conducive to the insurance policies and market demands. Virilio argues that everything happens at the same time in the hyper-reality without a logical sequence. The world stage is represented outside the planet, in an exo-earth. The days of Science, as an all-encompassed instrument based on rational understanding, has changed. Transformed in an exo-science that promotes the simultaneous globalization of fear, whilst biology and astronomy are eclipsed by the "eternal present". Virilio emphasizes the "mea culpa" of science for its failure to create an ethic of life. Based on the belief that the global warming is not reversible in the short-run terms, science should explore issues from the perspective of homeland safety and security. To be protected, big corporations, banks, and the capitalist elite call climatologists and geographers (experts) to design catastrophe simulation software that provides some information about where the next disaster will take hit. In this vein, a new profession is rising, the "economic-disaster-modeling-geek". This expert seems to be more interested in finding and eliminating the risks to businesses, or finding ways to profit from such risks, than in protecting the environment. The philosophy of the science is today determined by the logic of digital screens. The simulation of future that characterizes the digital world has replaced the daily life (Virilio, 2010).

What is important to debate here is to what an extent the Science has become in an irreducible ally of market. Not only the software, but the geologist today are posed to the assistance of insurances companies, to know where nature will beat tomorrow. The problem of ecological risk seems not to be of extreme importance of experts, unless by the economical losses they generate. The modern science lacks of criticism to discern the information it produces. More interested in anticipating to the future than understanding the past, the science coupled to technology, simulates reality to mitigate risks. In this respect, Virilio and Baudrillard agree.

"We might note a recent project whereby detection of major risks is reversed, since the computer in question is involved in producing said major risks. At the end of 2006, IBM effectively decided to build the most powerful super calculator in the world. To do so, it will use processors capable of up one million billion operations per second, accelerating by as much the reality of the disastrous progress in weapons of mass destructions... which prompts personal question: after having resorted to meteorologists and other climatologists to calculate the economic risk of catastrophe, will the insurance and reinsurance companies one day have to call on the army and their new strategists to detect major ecological risk of nuclear proliferation" (Virilio 2010: 18).

Although the specialized literature up to date has focused on the probabilistic nature of risk, it is socially negotiated and communicated. Skoll & Korstanje (2012) said that risks are conducive to economic production. At some extent, risks only can be mitigated once occurred, not before. This links mind to future. If a correct decision, is made in basis with a scientific evaluation of risks, specialists admits the negative effects of disaster can be reversed. Rather, risks seem not to be a result of human's ignorance but a gradual process that allowed the replication of capital. The dangers travelers would face to carry goods from one to another point of the globe (from eighteenth century onwards) determines the final transaction price. Under this viewpoint, risk was functional to the expansion of mercantilism and later capitalism. Besides, each society develops particular forms of living democracy according to a sentiment of autonomy that alternates between efficiency and institutionalism. Given this argument, Skoll and Korstanje (2012) explain that risk works by the introduction of a text, a discourse, mediated, produced and defended by experts. While some properties may be widely exchanged depreciating their value, others are banned but strongly requested. The value of the latter goods is so exorbitant that they become inalienable possessions. Furthermore, those actors that monopolize the possession of these taboos enhance their prestige and gain further legitimacy than others. This generates an economic asymmetry between the citizens. Validated only in the future, lay-people only may buy for insurance-related protection prior to the disaster takes room. As Baudrillard and Virilio

put it, risks enable some tactics of capital reproduction based on the future. As a result, the present and history do not exist anymore. The disaster-related news leads people to mass-consumption, while nation-state introduces nationhood to legitimate the use of violence in case of internal dispute.

In her book *Unspeakable Violence*, Nicole Guidotti-Hernandez alerts about the disciplinary instrument employed by state in borderlands to domesticate the otherness. In doing so, the selective memory and the belief of nationhood awakening were of paramount importance. Nation states are formed under process of differentiation and its economic re-organization of territory. The centre of hegemony, like ideology, works by the control of what we denominate authenticity. Mexico, for instance, promoted an image to the world based on the multiculturalism and respect for aborigines. However, less is said about how the government reserves the monopoly of force to discipline some other peripheral ethnicities. Although, The Aztec (lo indio) heritage is being selected to denote greatness, power and intervention, other indigenous groups are relegated to secondary positions (Guidotti-Hernandez, 2011). The Guide-texts that are offered to international visitors not only trivializes the history, but inflicts an unspeakable violence to legitimate the cultural values of elites.

Last but not least, the events in Japan makes one forget the causes and the effects of other catastrophes of the same magnitude as that of Haiti (whose circumstances are similar (¿a qué) or of Chile, New Zealand or New Orleans. In that context, culture fills the vacuum generated by modernity through which each actor and member of the group receives a value (identity) that distinguishes him/her. Personal value is assigned to each citizen by means of his/her salary. We connect this personal value to the person's capacity to be able to operate with other outside risks, by means of providing professional advice. Thus, when we affirm that an accident impacts the market we are not only harmed but we underestimate its internal logic. The accident gives value to the product. Natural disasters or manmade disasters are valued in the market place according to the specific demands of the consumer. It is not the same to travel to ground 0 where the Twin Towers were located as to go to location X on the globe without media representation.

The importance of Baudrillard for disaster-related Research has been ignored by some specialists, in part because few risk-related researchers are aware with philosophical texts.

Epistemologically speaking, Baudrillard was a pioneer who envisaged the connection between risk and future by the sufficient perspective to present an all-encompassing framework to understand the psychological impacts of disasters in our daily life. Baudrillard's studies influenced the work of many other philosophers and sociologists, interested in risk research as Niklas Luhmann or Anthony Giddens.

7. The Episteme of Risk

Although risk perception studies note highly complex algorithmic mathematical categories, there is no fundamental epistemology to study risk from a qualitative perspective. Unfortunately for researchers in tourism who are interested in studying risk phenomenon the threat of the natural disaster, these scholars do not publish their studies from the qualitative side. From projection techniques to diverse ethnographies or content analysis there exists a never-ending variety of techniques that permit a scientific study of risk in such approved by consensus categories and socially constructed that escape the logic of a number to take root in the technical language. (Luhmann, 2006). In accordance with the development of the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, one of the characteristics of risk is that despite being placed in a limited possibility of being avoided, it also becomes a product within the decision making process. An airplane crash, the stealing of luggage from an airplane, or a suicide bombing among others provides the subject choices of risk. The individual assumes his/her own risk when s/he participates in the decision making process that results in the expected or not expected results. Events are presented outside of the subject's decision-making process must be understood as a threat or danger. This is one of the most common conceptual perceived theoretical errors as applied to travel. However, as we shall see in the following section when the subject avoids the formal professional channels risk then increases.

8. From Disasters to Cultural Travel

The Administrative council of the FCAJ (Fundación Cultural Argentino-Japonesa/ Japanese-Argentine Cultural Foundation) headquartered in Buenos Aires' Japanese Garden (Jardín Japonés) organized a cultural trip to Japan to take place in 2012. The trip was organized prior to

the country's 2011 earthquake. The event (earthquake) did not cancel the trip but postponed it. However, the way in which it was organized changed considerably. This travel, post disaster context, engendered a risk associated to the exposure of radioactivity. Defying more than four decades of literature in risk avoiding studies, what in moral circumstances would be a motive of rejection, here was the steppingstone of travel.

The pamphlet or flier published by this association makes mention of the quantity (quantification of the desire as an argument for sale) of questions that the association had received with respect to the potential trip:

"A bit more than a month had passed since the terrible event in Japan, we gathered our forces to revisit the subject about the Cultural Trip to Japan to occur in 2012 and answered some of the questions. We received in those days a visit from the Ms. Srta. Mariko Hamamoto, a member of the Advisor Council of the Foundation's administration who currently was residing in Kyoto. She transmitted to us information about the current situation in Japan. With these concrete data, the FCAJ was able to evaluate the subject and decided to continue the trip".

Although the trip was planned prior to the earthquake, FCAJ could not avoid the fact that the situation had changed. The cultural trip to Japan was based on the ideal of "brotherhood" between communities and as such this implied sharing of the risks. The narrative of the trip to Japan, however, presents specifics that distinguish it from other narratives. The mediated image of disaster, the virtual danger, the professional advice and the culture are current matters when we read the official letter of the FCAJ.

Likewise, it is of interest to note that the trip's tours had been scheduled so as to maintain a considerable distance from the Fukuyama nuclear plants. As for the "rapid recovery" of Japan, that the Japanese descendants longed for, is added the layout of a centerfold showing places to where they were making a pilgrimage. The trip literature indicated that despite everything that had happened it the danger had not increased over other excursions that the FCAJ had previously made to Japan. The organizers indicted a high degree of professionalism. For example they informed the travelers that the trip would go through Canada rather than the United States to avoid visa issues and were

there to be any danger that the trip would then be cancelled.

"The travel plan remains without modifications. For everyone's tranquility, we are informing you that the cities to be visited, according to our itinerary are some 500/600 kilometers to the south of where the tsunami struck and where the explosion at the Central Nuclear Electrical plant occurred (see details on map below) We are confident in a rapid Japanese recovery. We further want to inform you that our first meeting of about our Cultural Trip to Japan was a complete success, last Friday (March 4). We thank everyone who attended and we remind you of the topics to be discussed." ... "Two possible itineraries have been handed out; these are the ones that the travel agencies with which we are working have given to us. Once the final group is formed the final itinerary will be developed. Although the majority of those interested are confident in that which has been proposed until now. With respect to the travel route, we will try to avoid the USA due to difficulties in obtaining visas. A possible route is through Canada. Getting a Canadian visa is a simple process. (Remember that these procedures are your responsibility) We calculate (including time on board, layovers) more than 30 hours of travel until we reach Japan. Once we have ten confirmed reservation the trip is confirmed".

A second aspect of tourism must be the cost-benefit analysis. The FCAJ, just as any organization that is sponsoring group travel must weigh the trip's desired results, maximize earnings and minimize losses. Toward this end the FCAJ had to take into account security concerns, and assure the traveling public that they would be safe while demonstration cognizance of the risks involved. Like the Sontag's trip widely criticized by Baudrillard, there is nothing real in this travel. Tourists want to feel an outstanding experience, previously labeled by Television. At a first glance, they seem to be risk-taker travelers, but in fact, the cultural adventure is fully safe. Commoditized, framed and sold before starting, the cultural travel may be equaled to what Baudrillard calls pseudo-events.

The Baudrillard model is helpful in understanding that cultural consumption is related to the rational estimates of the outcomes. The traveler must evaluate the costs and benefits emphasizing his/her own ontological security; in such a process culture becomes secondary in

importance to security. Yet it is culture that is being consumed and cannot be overlooked. The FCAJ trip demonstrated that unfortunate incidents, the pain of others and/or catastrophes in many cases do not break the logic of consumption but when combined with nationalism may add to its potential. In a hyper reality risks are not real, are figured by the media. Modern man seeks the spectacle and the unique and yet seeks a deepening of his/her cultural roots. We see this exemplified in the following paragraph of the FCAJ missive: "We look forward to your confirming that you will be on this spectacular Cultural Trip"

The spectacle has two possible semantic definitions. The first is connected to "differences" that is to say, that trip is characterized not only by being in an area of supposed radioactive danger, but also by the unique Japanese. Secondly, the abnormal situation in which the trip was undertaken is for many exceptional and this re-enforces the need to maintain limits between a superlative ego and the radicalization of the other. In this context, the voyage can only be carried out if the members have all paid which indicates a subordination of the cultural with respect to the financial economic aspects.

"We emphasize that this trip is organized by FCAJ, that it is NOT a tourism business. We count on the experience of more than 30 trips made by the Federation's president. Moreover, one of the members of the Foundation's Executive Council currently lives in Japan, and can guide us directly on subjects such as those mentioned at our meeting. (Potters, important painters of sumi-e, kabuki theater, calligraphy, martial arts, government themes etc)".

Note that the professional advice given by the travel agent in the organization of tours has in this case been relegated to being less important or not important at all. The organizers suggest that the trip to Japan will be carried out in a secure environment while doing without an external organization. The FCAJ notes that it has conducted some thirty trips to Japan and has the assistance of one of its members who is a native of that country and who currently lives there. Thus through shared knowledge and enhanced communication the FCAJ has eliminated the necessity of a travel agent and demonstrates assumed risk (as an example of the insurance company) without the perceived need for professional advice.

The ACAJ literature stated subliminally that a tourism agency might detract from the

seriousness of the cultural visit and for this reason who better than the ACAJ to organize the voyage? As in this case and in other cases, the lack of professional advice in the tourism organization, that is to say the decline of the travel agent, is present as a characteristic of the process of re-**liableness** on modernity and the gathering of individual risks as understood by Beck and Giddens. As professional advice declines individual risks become greater. The experiences along with other fundamental aspects of professional advice are explained by the historic role that advisors have provided in the life of men, from the ecclesiastic confessors to the therapists and travel agents. All of them have fulfilled a similar function, the adding knowledge to the sense of possibility for civilization.

Reviewing the institutional letter, analyzed and sent by a Japanese association permits us to understand sociologically the following elements.

- 1) Modern travel and tourism is found rooted in a finical-economic matrix whose characteristics subordinate the social but do not eliminate it entirely.
- 2) Travel needs a symbolic construction, a narrative with sufficiently attractive and powerful to assure the travelers' interest. This criteria has varied throughout the centuries, however in our age it is characterized by being anchored in the cultural, in tradition and in folklore.
- 3) The indigenous does not only represent a greater group cohesion as in the case of the Japanese tour as it mentions the privilege of "being Japanese", but also prearranges as a product ready for collective consumption. The culture absorbs the anguish of the unknown by means of the building of risk.
- 4) For the exposed, the danger or the potential danger that the Japanese earthquake represented and the ensuing difficulties in that country to deal with its problems in its radioactive plants play an ambiguous role. On one hand, they attract a Japanese public hurt/upset from the tragedy in a kind of rapprochements, while on the other hand, they alienate certain spaces that are now off-grounds. The tour is possible thanks to this combination of attraction and contained danger

It is not strange to observe as in moments of emergency and/or natural disasters, that diverse mechanism come forth that help these groups to understand that which is happening to avoid

disintegration. As explained by Baudrillard in his vast bibliography, nationalism and the proclivity for consumer-culture are the social mechanisms whose function lies in understanding the world's events and making sense of them. Tragedy supposes a radical extermination, but at the same time individual and group strength to overcome the same. It is in this context, national pride is demonstrated soon after an event of such proportions as an earthquake or tsunami. What we find in play is the necessity of making sense of something that appears to make no sense. The missive's message was simple stating: yes a great part of Japan has been destroyed with a high cost in human life and materials, the survivors realize that despite all the community is still standing.

9. Conclusion

After review, we consider that Baudrillard texts would be of importance for the risk related research in next decades. They allude to a fertile ground to study the connection between cultural entertainment, media and nationalism. Further, Baudrillard reminds us that the exacerbation of the group strength for going forward toward the reconstruction and the role of nationalism are important at the time of confronting reality. That in that instant are where the national and the traditional converge and the market as the capable entity of organizing individual passions and turning them (or sublimating them) in established relationship modes (Baudrillard, 1995^a; 1995b). The analyzed document, issued by ACAJ shows any travel, even the cultural one, is ascribed to an economical matrix, which delineates the boundaries between safe and unsafe geography. Experts and specialists, in this case the tour-operators suggest to travelers who is the best options for achieving a unique experience, but this does not mean such an experience is real. The national-being represents serious attractions for travels in a type of brotherhood, which is not altered even in spatial distance. Being Japanese not only is a reason of pride, because after the quake, Japan is still working to recover the obliterated industries, schools and households, but alluding to a sentiment of ethnocentrism respecting to the rest of the world. Following the explanation of C. Lasch, this process of victimization is narcissistic, closed to the dialogue with others. As a result of this temporal blindness, where the real causes of Fukuyima's tragedy are not debated, will be a fertile source for a next disaster. The concept of hyper-reality

coined by J Baudrillard is of paramount importance to expand the current understanding in how any disaster sets the pace to the other. This setting is conducive for status quo to introduce radical changes that otherwise would be rejected by public opinion. After a catastrophe, capitalism offers higher new recycled buildings, taller skyscrapers, further modern infrastructures, faster mobile technologies. The important aspect that lies below the surface in these processes is the need to be able to create future order out of chaos. The market recreates new fictions by which possibility of new disasters may be borne. In this context, the disaster can be transformed also into a symbolic mediator and product of consumption giving rise to what (tourism) specialists call "Dark Tourism". Modern society not only sells "tranquility and security" to its consumers, but also through crisis management gives birth to a new product. Tourism, culture and the travel industry are part of the never-ending cycle of creation that perhaps first started with the Big Bang. Thus, we are in the presence of "the end of disasters" as events really structured that provide social meaning. Today catastrophes are socially and journalistically enshrined in the world of consumerism. After all, what nobody discusses is, as noted Voltaire, earthquake does not kill people, buildings do ... disasters are human inventions, produced by human intervention into environment.

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Destination image and crime in Mexico: An analysis of foreign government travel advice

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Abstract: Destination image has been recognised as an influential component of travel decision processes. Although organic sources of information play an important role in shaping destination image, researchers have often ignored the types of sources and the information they deliver. In particular, official websites where government travel advice is given, especially in relation to crime, have been widely excluded from scholarly research. This paper analyses the relationship between crime-related travel advice given by foreign governments and Mexico's destination image. Qualitative content analysis of official websites from the US, Canada, the UK and Spain reveals that the travel advice given relates largely to the violence and insecurity that Mexico is currently experiencing. "No advisory in effect", "Exercise caution" and "Defer non-essential travel" are messages commonly found in the governments' travel advice about Mexico.

Key words: destination image, crime, travel advice, Mexico, qualitative content analysis

1. Introduction

It is well documented that destination image is an influential part of the traveller's decision process. Analysing destination image is thus important for exploring the mental and emotional constructs of both potential and actual travellers to specific destinations. Also, it is useful for understanding how destination choice is made and how tourists behave once they are at the destination. For these reasons, destination image has become one of the most studied topics in the literature, at least in the tourism literature in English.

Destination image is influenced by several factors such as an individual's motivations, previous travel experience, films, advertisements,

perceived safety, to name but a few. However, little has been investigated in terms of the information provided by, and the effect of, sources that have not been exclusively created to market tourism. That is, the type of information and the potential influence on image formation of sources such as films, news, documentaries and the internet have not been sufficiently elucidated.

This paper focuses on the type of online travel advice provided by foreign governments. Due to the potential credibility and the wide penetration into potential and actual tourism markets in several parts of the world, official online information regarding governments' travel and tourism advice deserves specialised academic attention. The favourable and unfa-

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vourable contribution to image formation by foreign government travel advice can be used for improving the image of specific destinations especially those in which social issues such as crime remain a serious concern.

Bearing this in mind, this paper analyses the travel advice given by foreign governments as related to crime and destination image in Mexico. In this vein, the purpose of this research is twofold. Firstly, it aims to contribute to the understanding of government travel advice as information sources for image formation; secondly, it aims to contribute to the development of the study of destination image in the so-called developing countries, particularly Mexico, where there is a significant paucity in the study of the topic in question.

This paper is structured as follows. First, a literature review on destination image and its relation to crime issues is presented. In particular, both cognitive and affective components and the role of information sources in destination image are discussed. Then, an overview of Mexico in terms of tourism and crime issues is provided, so as to give the contextual elements needed to understand how tourism, crime and image are interrelated. Next, the description of the study is presented; the identification of websites' content for analysis and the specific methodological approach adopted for this study are described. Finally, findings, implications and conclusions are presented.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Destination image as a research topic

The study of destination image appears to be one of the most frequent topics of scholarly analysis, at least in the academic traditions of the so-called developed countries. For almost four decades, several issues have been specifically studied around the world. These include, but are not limited to, the review of existing literature on destination image (Chon, 1990; Echtner & Ritchie, 1991; see also Gallarza, et al., 2002; Pike, 2002), models representing the determinants of destinations' image formation (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999), models featuring the complex, multiple, relativistic and dynamic nature of destination image (Gallarza, et al., 2002), and models explaining the different factors which form the post-visit image of a destination (Beerli & Martín, 2004).

According to the literature review of main tourism journals undertaken by Gallarza, et al. (2002), the major topics covered by the begin-

ning of the 2000s were conceptualization and dimensions; destination image formation processes; assessment and measurement of destination image; influence on destination image; destination image change over time; active and passive role of residents in image research and; destination image management policies. It is also worth noticing that most of the studies on destination image derive from the perspective and the experience of developed countries. In his review of literature on the topic, Pike (2002) observed that the most popular region for the study of destination image was North America, which was discussed in 58 academic papers. This was followed by UK/Europe (45), Asia (25), Australasia (19), Africa (14), Central America/Caribbean (9), South Pacific (5) and South America (1). This reveals that little is known about issues of destination image in developing countries, including Mexico.

2.2. Definition

Although destination image has often been the focus of academic enquiry, it is of interest to notice that its conceptualisation lacks general agreement. Whilst there may be as many definitions of destination image as academics devoted to its study (Gallarza, et al., 2002), as Beerli and Martín (2004) observe, authors have not tended to conceptualise the term precisely. This can be easily observed when reviewing some of the existing literature. The work of Gallarza, et al. (2002), in particular, demonstrates that destination image conceptualisations are various and diverse to some extent. By recognising that there exist several disciplinary approaches for studying destination image, the authors identify several attempts defining the concept in terms of impressions, understanding, imaginations, mental constructs, ideas or conceptions, beliefs, representations, and even prejudice. Therefore, image is generally considered as "an attitudinal construct consisting of an individual's mental representation of knowledge (beliefs), feelings, and global impression about an object or destination" (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999, p. 870). For Baloglu and McCleary (1999) destination image is thus closely associated to cognitive constructions and emotional responses derived from such constructions.

"The perceptual/cognitive evaluations refer to the beliefs or knowledge about a destination's attributes whereas affective evaluation refers to feelings toward, or attachment to it. A common agreement is that this depends on a cog-

nitive evaluation of objects and the affective responses are formed as a function of the cognitive responses. An overall image of a place is formed as a result of both perceptual/cognitive and affective evaluations of that place.” (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999, p. 870).

2.3. Destination image formation

While existing research has shown that image is an important factor in understanding tourists' destination selection process, and that initial image formation before the trip is the most important phase in the process of destination choice, very little is known about how destination images are actually constructed and what the influential factors in such constructions exactly are. In this vein, Lepp, et al. (2011) claim that two types of image are generally identified: cognitive and affective. While the former refers to perceptions of the sociocultural and natural and built (e.g. infrastructure) aspects of a destination, affective image reflects the feelings and emotions individuals have about a destination, including perceived safety and security which have been identified as the most important attributes a destination can offer (Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004). While this classification recognises that image is formed both cognitively and emotionally, it should be borne in mind that cognitive representations and emotional responses of an individual are constructed, framed and shaped differently from one individual to another and from external factors to which individuals are exposed at different levels.

Specialists have commonly agreed that image is mainly formed by two major factors: personal factors and stimulus factors (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999). While the former refer to tourism motivations, previous travel experience and socio-demographics, the latter are related to various forces that may significantly influence the cognitive constructions and affective evaluations of a destination; these forces are called information sources.

2.4. Information sources

Information sources “refer to the amount and diverse nature of information sources to which individuals are exposed” (Beerli & Martín, 2004, p. 661). Gartner (1993) claims that information sources act independently to form images in the minds of individuals. Such information sources can be of different types and may be found in individuals' own knowledge and experience,

conventional advertising in the mass media, information delivered institutionally, tour operators, promotional activities, destination reports, mass-media broadcasting news, documentaries, television programmes, films, among others, about a specific destination.

Therefore, destination image is formed by processing and assessing information from various sources, particularly from those to which individuals are exposed. These sources can be categorised into organic and induced sources. Organic sources include books, news, films, actual visits to destinations, to mention but a few, and do not have a vested interest in promoting the destination in question; on the other hand, induced sources include travel brochures, advertisement, posters and the internet and are a means of communicating marketing messages about the destination (Stepchenkova & Morrison, 2006). Induced sources are quite relevant since, as Stepchenkova and Morrison (2006) argue, they form destination images in the absence of actual visitation to the destination. While this categorisation may be useful in identifying the importance of influential factors in destination image formation, it is observed that only a small amount of research has addressed the specific roles -either real or potential- that each of these sources (organic and induced) has on image formation. Limited analysis also exists about the type of information delivered by both sources. Most importantly perhaps, it remains largely unknown how both sources go about determining the types of images projected about countries.

While it has been hypothesised that the type of information source used significantly influences cognitive evaluations (Baloglu & McCleary, 1999), it is reasonable to believe that the influence that each of these information sources has on image formation will not be the same. As Choi, et al. (2007) acknowledge, image formation agents, including information sources, affect the destination process in a different manner. This is basically due to the fact that individuals may be exposed to several sources of information simultaneously and such information will have different impact on individuals' processes. The effect of sources will depend on how such information is perceived and integrated to that previously accumulated from other sources. While some sources may be more powerful in shaping destination image, and others may partly contribute to such formation, others may not play any role at all. It is reasonable to believe that while induced sources are specifically designed for particular markets,

organic sources may be so powerful that they can be even more influential and determinant in image formation cognitive processes. Organic images, although not being specifically designed for marketing purposes, may become more relevant in the process of destination choice.

In this context it is important to notice that there is very little scholarly examination of the specific influence that organic information sources may have on the formation of destination image. Furthermore, there is a scarcity of studies on the type of information delivered by potentially influential sources. Particularly there is very limited analysis of the type of information delivered through the internet by government bodies influencing –positively or negatively– the image of some international destinations. Analysing government websites (information sources) as related to destination image both for self presentation and for other destinations' image, seems to become more and more important due to the number of countries that maintain official tourism websites around the world (see for example Lepp, et al., 2011; Mohammed, 2004).

2.5. Destination image and crime

When focusing on the process of destination image formation, Beerli and Martín (2004) state that there are several dimensions and attributes of the destination that determine the perceived image. The authors divide them into nine attributes:

1. Natural resources such as weather, beaches flora and fauna;
2. General infrastructure including quality of roads, transport facilities and development of telecommunications;
3. Tourist infrastructure consisting of accommodation, restaurants, access to destination, etcetera;
4. Tourist leisure and recreation, for example, entertainment, sport activities, night life, shopping;
5. Culture, history and art such as museums, festivals, gastronomy and religion;
6. Natural environment including beauty of scenery, overcrowding, air and noise pollution;
7. Social environment such as hospitality and friendliness, poverty and language barriers;
8. Atmosphere of the place which can be exotic, stressful, pleasant, etcetera, and;
9. Political and economic factors which include issues such as political stability,

safety (mainly defined as crime rate) and terrorist attacks (Beerli & Martín 2004)

While all these attributes can play an important role in image formation processes, political and social factors, particularly those associated with risks, seem to be very relevant issues in the process of destination image and in the level of likelihood of visitation. Considering that risks can be financial, social, psychological, physical, functional and situational (Korsanje, 2009), research has identified four major risk factors in travel and tourism contexts: terrorism, war and political instability, health concerns and crime (Lepp & Gibson, 2003). Although it has been stated that some tourists may judge specific destinations as risky without worrying about travelling to these destinations (Larsen, et al., 2009), according to Sirakaya, et al. (1997), those destinations that are perceived as safe are associated with a higher probability of visitation whilst those with perceived risks are related to lower chances of visitation. George (2003) suggests that when tourists feel unsafe or threatened at a destination, they can develop unfavourable impressions of the destination. In turn this can result in the decline of tourists to the area and therefore in damage to the local tourism industry. The author argues that this can happen: 1) when potential tourists may decide not to visit the destination based on its reputation for having a high crime rate; 2) when tourists feel unsafe at the destination and they may not participate in near-by activities; and 3) when tourists who feel unsafe are neither likely to return to nor to recommend the destination to others. The perceived levels of crime, mainly through organic sources, may thus potentially deter tourists from visiting particular destinations which in turn brings other implications along.

“The implications of terrorist activity [and other related activities] for destinations are obviously wide-ranging: reduced tourist arrivals, reduced investment in tourism infrastructure, job losses, and increased tourist fees to pay for increased security, to suggest but a few” (Wall and Mathieson, 2006: 246).

The risks associated to tourism destination image have been well documented. When investigating images and risks associated with Uganda, Lepp, et al. (2011) claim that certain regions in the world, including Africa and Middle East, have been perceived as risky destinations. In the case of Africa, the authors

state that political and social instability, poor governance, war, terrorism and crime, to mention some, are perceived risks associated to tourism in the Continent. In the particular case of Uganda, their study revealed an organic image of the country deeply influenced by perceptions of risks; the image of the country “emerges as a place somewhere in Africa characterized by poverty, war and civil unrest, disease, and hunger” (Lepp, et al., 2011, p. 679).

A variety of topics particularly related to tourism and crime has been covered by the literature. Brunt, et al. (2000) observed that there have been six broad areas of interest in the relationships between tourism and crime. Research has focused on tourist areas as areas of high crime; tourists as victims; tourists as offenders; tourism generating higher levels of illegal activity; terrorism and tourism; and policy responses to tourism and crime. What can be noticed too is the fact that tourism research on crime issues has been focused mainly on how tourists become victims of crime in destinations. Even bearing in mind the topics discussed in the previous sections, it is still reasonable to say that the relationships between crime, destination image and information sources have not been researched enough. Specifically, the potential role that official advice about the risks associated with international travel/tourism and organised crime plays in the formation of destination image of Third World Countries, particularly Mexico, remains largely unknown.

3. Mexico, tourism and crime

In the last years, Mexico has figured among the world's ten top tourism destinations ranked by international tourism arrivals. According to the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO, 2012), Mexico ranks tenth in the world by arrivals. In 2009 the number of international tourists was 22.3 million; in 2010 a total of 23.3 million tourists arrived in Mexico while in 2011 23.4 million international tourists visited the country. As far as domestic tourism is concerned, during the last 12 years, there have been approximately 140 million tourism trips within the country (SECTUR, 2007).

The importance of tourism in the country is also mirrored in the amount of international receipts, which, in 2009, 2010, 2011 and 2012, totalled USD 11,513, 11,992, 11,869 and 12,720 million, respectively (Data Tur 2013). Tourism thus represents a significant economic value

for Mexico as it has meant almost 9% of Gross Domestic Product. The role that tourism has in the country is relevant and will continue to be so as it is forecast that in the year 2020 Mexico will remain the third destination of the Americas with almost 50 million international arrivals (UNWTO, 2000).

During the first semester of 2011, 5.4 million international visitors arrived in the country by air, out of which 57.4% came from the United States of America and 18.2% from Canada. In this vein, by 2010 Mexico was the country most visited by North American tourists (SECTUR 2011) (see Table 1). If we take into account the assertion that the great majority of international travel takes place within the traveller's own region (UNWTO, 2012, p. 12), it is then expected that the United States of America and Canada will remain the most important tourist generating countries for Mexico for many years to come.

Mexico's popularity is closely associated with the large variety attractions offered to tourists such as, for instance, activities related to archaeology, architecture, arts and crafts, nature, adventure, history, gastronomy, sun and beach, and traditions and festivities, which can be found all over the country although the most tourist-oriented are highly concentrated in the main tourism destinations (see Table 2).

Official induced sources, such as the Mexican Tourism Board, offer Mexico's self presentations based on several tourism attractions. This can be observed in the following official website excerpts:

“Make of Mexico the excuse for your next vacation and get your senses ready for an experience full of magic, color and warmth. Come and fall in love with Mexico.

Again and again, Mexico will surprise you with new experiences: a different flavor, a new adventure, a spot waiting for centuries to enchant you. We're waiting for you.

Since almost every known ecosystem is found in Mexico, there's no other country in North or Central America that offers so much for adventure travelers [...] Take a walk on Mexico's wild side—it's an adventure that never ends.” (www.visitmexico.com, accessed 04.03.13)

While official websites aim to provide actual and potential tourists with a favourable image of the country, Mexico is going through socio-political challenges that have become a serious issue for both national residents and visitors. It

Table International arrivals (by air) in Mexico by country. Source: Data Tur (2013)

	Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
1	United States	5,810,019	5,383,499	5,907,533	5,728,166	5,941,914
2	Canada	1,135,001	1,222,410	1,460,418	1,563,150	1,571,544
3	United Kingdom	311,113	257,367	295,831	330,072	363,142
4	Spain	284,512	215,669	287,163	279,531	278,811
5	Argentina	126,130	127,107	170,467	200,694	251,221
6	Brazil	76,491	68,211	117,658	196,267	248,900
7	France	208,284	164,236	170,250	186,780	202,855
8	Germany	158,050	140,754	163,266	165,136	172,841
9	Colombia	67,378	68,493	102,177	125,882	163,722
10	Italy	67,378	108,547	133,292	150,691	156,533

thus represents a serious challenge for tourism. Particularly, organised crime in specific areas has seriously threatened individuals' security. Organised crime, in any of its forms including trafficking in drugs, firearms and persons, threatens peace and human security and damages economic, social, cultural, political and civil development of societies (UNODC, 2013).

In this context, Mexico currently confronts one of the greatest threats to its democratic governance in history. The threat is posed by criminal groups especially by politically savvy, hyper-violent drug-trafficking organizations, currently inflicting unprecedented damage in several regions and spreading insecurity throughout the country (Bailey, 2010).

"What brings [organised crime] to a level to threaten democratic governance is its rapid recent growth and aggressiveness. This is due to the confluence of large supplies of violent entrepreneurs and weapons, financed by domestic and foreign markets for illegal drugs, all in the context of slow or even negative economic growth. What in the past had been a chronic but tolerable problem of public security has passed the tipping point to become a genuine threat to national security and democratic governance" (Bailey, 2010, p. 327).

The effects of organized crime have certainly reached the tourism sector. In the case of Acapulco, for example, which is the municipality

Table Main tourism destinations in Mexico. Source: CESTUR (2011)

Category	Destination	Category	Destination
Cities	Cuernavaca	Beaches	Acapulco
	Mexico City		Cancun
	Guadalajara		Cozumel
	Guanajuato		Huatulco
	Merida		Los Cabos
	Monterrey		Mazatlan
	Morelia		Nuevo Vallarta
	Nuevo Laredo		Puerto Vallarta
	Oaxaca		Riviera Maya
	Puebla		Tampico
	Querétaro		Veracruz
	San Cristobal		Zihuatanejo
	Tijuana		

that had the highest number of homicides in the whole country in 2012, tourism has been negatively impacted by crime issues. In Acapulco, nightlife is one of the main attractions and it has been seriously affected by insecurity. The frequent fights among drug cartels have dramatically increased the rates of homicide, kidnapping for ransom in the destination since 2007. Hotel owners have witnessed how tourism has considerably decreased in the last three years. In 2011 just 30% of hotel occupation was reported. Insecurity has significantly affected international tourism in the destination. It is why spring breakers¹, for example, have not visited the destination for three years in a row. Cruises have also reduced their arrivals; three years ago Acapulco used to receive 220 cruises and now it receives just 40. Kidnapping for ransom are issues that people in Acapulco experience every day and, although the situation seems to be changing positively and security is guaranteed in the tourism zone, authorities and service providers claim that a positive image will take some time to achieve (Pavón, 2013).

4. Methods

The aim of this research was to analyse the relationship between crime-related travel advice

given by foreign governments and Mexico’s destination image. Official government websites were selected for this analysis. This criterion was based on the assumptions that the Internet offers great potential to influence consumers’ perceived images (Choi, et al., 2007) and that official government websites appear to be an ideal starting point for exploring the internet’s potential to form destination image (Lepp, et al., 2011).

Content analysis of official websites was adopted as the technique for meeting the objective. In qualitative content analysis, “there is an emphasis on allowing categories to emerge out of data and on recognizing the significance for understanding meaning in the context in which an item being analysed (and the categories derived from it) appeared” (Bryman, 2008: 276). The analysis of websites was adopted since the use of official websites and other digital media has proved to be fruitful for the study of destination image and related issues. The internet has become a major medium in tourism marketing and has been actively used by the tourism industry (Stepchenkova & Morrison, 2006), but also by governmental bodies with the interest of protecting their citizens as international travellers. Several digital information sources are potentially useful for the analysis of destination image related issues; these sources include, but

Table Details of websites used for the analysis of foreign travel advice to Mexico

Country	Official body	Description	website
United States	The State Department’s Office of American Citizens Services and Crisis Management	The Consular Information Program informs the public of conditions abroad that may affect their safety and security. Country Specific Information, Travel Alerts, and Travel Warnings are vital parts of this program.	www.travel.state.gov/travel
Canada	Government of Canada	The Government of Canada website for Canadians travelling or living abroad. Find information on destination safety and security, local laws and customs, entry requirements, health conditions, and emergency contact information for Canadian offices around the world.	www.travel.gc.ca
United Kingdom	Foreign & Commonwealth Office	The FCO promotes British interests overseas, supporting our citizens and businesses around the globe.	ww.fco.gov.uk
Spain	The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Cooperation	Among other purposes, it is responsible for protecting Spanish citizens abroad.	www.maec.es

are not limited to, search engines, travel and vacation websites, internet advertising, organisations' websites, social networking, blogs, online video sites, and newspaper websites (Divinagracia, et al., 2012).

Research on the internet as an image formation agent is still in its infancy. However, content analysis of digital sources as related to image formation is gaining popularity (Choi, et al., 2007). Content analysis has been utilised specifically, for example, to analyse positioning strategies in the USA (Lee, et al., 2006); to analyse techniques used to promote East Asian destinations' cuisine and food culture (Hornig & Tsai, 2010); to investigate images and risks associated with Uganda (Lepp, et al., 2011); to identify the image representations of Macau (Choi, et al., 2007); to study the inter-relationships among electronic word of mouth, destination image, tourist attitude and travel intention (Jalilvand, et al., 2012); to examine visitors' online publishing in Isfahan (Çakmak & Isaac, 2012); and to determine the role of digital images on consumer choices (Divinagracia, et al., 2012); among other aims.

The travel advice given on the official websites of the four most important countries for inbound tourism to Mexico, namely United States, Canada, United Kingdom and Spain, was considered for analysis (see Table 3). For content analysis, attention was focused specifically on messages. Messages are defined as "discernible units of text on a particular issue" (Crooks, et al., 2011), in this case such units ranged from a single word to a sentence or to several paragraphs.

5. Findings

The analysis of the selected websites suggests that travel advice about Mexico acknowledges that most visits to Mexico are trouble-free. Particularly, official websites inform that the most important tourism destinations in the whole country do not face security problems, or at least do not experience the levels of crime reported in other areas. This has led foreign governments to state that there is no nationwide advisory in effect for Mexico.

Additionally, it is observed that governments recognise that many of their citizens have travelled to Mexico safely. In the case of the UK, for example, the government states that millions of foreign visitors, including thousands of British nationals, safely visit the country each year. Likewise, Canada points out that 1.5 million

Canadian citizens travel to Mexico each year, and the vast majority of these do so without incident. Additionally, it is commonly acknowledged that there is no evidence that foreign visitors are targeted based on their nationality. The advice seems to suggest that incidents that happen to foreign visitors are sometimes a matter of accident rather than planned actions. As the British government claims, "while British nationals are unlikely to be specifically targeted, there is always a risk of being in the wrong place at the wrong time".

However, whilst it is recognised that most of the country remains safe for foreign visitors, the information provided by governments suggests that certain parts of the country are insecure, but recognise that this is not necessarily exclusive to Mexico. This advice is given with regard to issues such as armed robbery, purse snatching, pickpocketing and assault, to mention some. This situation has led, for example, the Canadian government to advise their citizens to avoid walking after dark, to frequent bars and nightclubs as part of a group, to avoid hailing taxis on the street, to travel during daylight hours and on first-class buses only, and to avoid wearing expensive jewellery or watches.

However, analysis of the four official websites reveals that the security situation in Mexico goes beyond "common" crime issues. The governments of the four most important countries for inbound tourism to Mexico state that there are serious risks associated with organised crime that international travellers need to consider. A detailed review of the official websites shows that specific messages (words and ideas) frequently appear in the advice provided. As can be seen in Table 4, some of the messages that commonly appear in government travel advice about Mexico are largely associated with serious criminal activity.

These messages are a common component within the travel/tourism advice and warnings to foreign visitors. This is evidenced in the large and repetitive number of explicit messages in the websites. The following excerpts illustrate this:

"TCOs [Transnational Criminal Organisations] engage in narcotics trafficking and other unlawful activities throughout Mexico. The TCOs themselves are engaged in a violent struggle to control drug trafficking routes and other criminal activity. As a result, crime and violence are serious problems throughout the country and can occur everywhere. U.S. citizens have fallen victim to TCO activity,

**Table Selected crime-related messages regarding travel advice to Mexico.
Source: Official websites selected for analysis**

Messages	
• armed confrontations	• military and federal police forces
• cartel violence	• narcotics trafficking
• crime	• narcotics-related homicides
• criminal activity	• organised crime
• criminals posing as police officers	• organised criminal groups
• deteriorating security situation	• physical and sexual assault
• disappearances	• potentially dangerous regions
• drug groups	• rapes
• drug related violence and crime	• roadblocks
• extreme levels of violence	• sexual offences
• gun battles	• transnational criminal organisations
• high levels of criminal activity	• violence
• high levels of organised crime	• violent incidents
• kidnappings	• violent struggle

including homicide, gun battles, kidnapping, carjacking and highway robbery” (www.travel.state.gov/travel, 08/03/2013).

“You should exercise a high degree of caution, especially in those parts of the country experiencing deteriorating security situation [...] High levels of criminal activity, as well as occasional illegal roadblocks demonstrations and protests remain a concern throughout the country” (www.travel.gc.ca, 08/03/2013).

“We advise against all but essential travel to Ciudad Juarez, where there is a high level of drug-related violence and criminal activity [...] Drug-related violence in Mexico has increased over the past year. In 2010, there were 15,273 victims of drug-related violence in Mexico compared to 9,614 in 2009” (www.fc.gov.uk, 08/03/2013).

Based on the insecurity situation reported, the travel and tourism advice by governments seems to concur in terms of the areas and states that should be avoided in Mexico. There is particular attention to advice against visiting several northern and southern areas. The US Department of State, for example, advises US citizens to exercise caution in states such as Chihuahua, Durango, Nuevo León, San Luis

Potosí, Tamaulipas, Michoacán, and Guerrero, to mention but a few. Similar advice is given by the Canadian government, who also advise exercising caution when travelling outside some tourist areas. Based on the advice given by each of the governments analysed, Table 5 shows the specific advice that each government gives about visiting each of Mexico's states.

Analysis suggests that there are mainly three groups of advice, based on the level of caution needed during a visit. The first are those states, mainly located in the northern border region, that are definitely not recommended to citizens. The second are those states where visitors should exercise some kind of caution, and the third group is made up of those states that are trouble-free or that no advice or warning is given about. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the three groups.

Thus, it is important to notice that the advice given by governments to travellers is provided at different levels. When providing state-specific information reporting the highest numbers of drug related murders, The Foreign & Commonwealth Office of the UK advises, for instance, “to exercise extreme caution” or “against all but essential travel” to specific areas in the country. Similarly, the US Department of State provides state-by-state assess-

Table State-by-state travel advice by country

State	United Sates	Canada	United Kingdom	Spain	
1	Aguascalientes	DNET	NA	NA	EC
2	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida. (North)</i>	EC	EC	FVP	TF
3	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida.</i>	NA	NA	NA	TF
4	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida.</i>	NA	NA	NA	TF
5	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida.</i>	DNET	DNET	DNET	DNET
6	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida.</i>	NA	NA	FVP	TF
7	Coahuila	DNET	DNET	FVP	DNET
8	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida.</i>	DNET	NA	NA	NA
9	Durango	DNET	DNET	FVP	DNET
10	Guerrero	DNET	EC	FVP	DNET
11	Guanajuato	NA	NA	NA	TF
12	Hidalgo	NA	NA	NA	TF
13	Jalisco	DNET	EC	FVP	NA
14	Michoacán	DNET	EC	FVP	DNET
15	Mexico State	EC	NA	NA	TF
16	<i>¡Error! Referencia de hipervínculo no válida. City</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA
17	Morelos	DNET	NA	NA	EC
18	Nayarit	DNET	EC	FVP	NA
19	Nuevo León	DNET	DNET	DNET	DNET
20	Oaxaca	NW	NA	FVP	TF
21	Puebla	NA	NA	NA	TF
22	Quintana Roo	NA	NA	FVP	TF
23	Querétaro	NA	NA	NA	TF
24	San Luis Potosí	DNET	EC	FVP	NA
24	Sinaloa	DNET	DNET	FVP	DNET
25	Sonora	DNET	DNET	FVP	DNET
27	Tabasco	NA	NA	NA	TF
28	Tamaulipas	DNET	DNET	DNET	DNET
29	Tlaxcala	NA	NA	NA	TF
30	Veracruz	EC	EC	FVP	DNET
31	Yucatán	NA	NA	NA	TF
32	Zacatecas	DNET	EC	NA	EC

DNET = Defer non-essential travel

EC = Exercise caution

FVP = No explicit advice is given but drug related violence is a problem

NA = No advisory in effect (The UK states that the omission of a particular state in the guidance does not however mean that the state in question is immune to drug-related violence)

NW = No warning in effect

TF = Trouble-free (with some specific cities within the state in question being the exception)

Figure Mexico. State-by-state travel advice by official websites selected for analysis



(Red = Defer non-essential travel; Yellow = Exercise caution;
Green = No advice/warning or trouble-free)

ment by literally advising “to defer non-essential travel” and “to exercise caution” for a large number of states. “No advisory is in effect” and “No warning is in effect” also appear for specific destinations, particularly for those in which no significant organised crime-related activity has been reported.

Finally, the types of travel warnings about Mexico issued by official websites are largely based on the numbers of crime incidents reported. Some of these figures are directly related to tourism contexts. The UK, for example, advises extreme caution outside the main tourist areas in Acapulco based on the fact that six female Spanish tourists were raped in their rented beach house outside the main area of Acapulco in February 2013. Furthermore, the UK government has received reports of an Italian visitor raped by police officers in the resort of Playa del Carmen in the same month. In a similar vein, the US Department of State warns that crime and violence are serious problems throughout the country. It states that as a result of organised crime, US citizens have become victims of crime activity, including murders. More specifically, the website states that the number of US citizens reported as murdered in Mexico was 113 in 2011 and 32 in the first six months of 2012.

6. Implications

The governments of the US, Canada, the UK and Spain, which are the most important countries for inbound tourism to Mexico, state that most visits to Mexico are incident-free.

Nevertheless, it can be easily observed that the official advice given by these countries is largely focused on criminal activity. The figures, reports and warnings related to crime and violence in Mexico are somehow overwhelming, compared to positive features of the country. Bearing in mind the possibility that official advice may be more reliable for both potential and actual travellers, the contribution of official websites to Mexico’s destination image may not be as favourable as desired.

The type of foreign official information on insecurity in Mexico can make it difficult for the Mexican government to present a positive, uncontested image. While the efforts of Mexican governmental tourism agencies may be valuable, the advice and warning issued by the main tourism generating countries may have an important effect on forming cognitive and affective negative images. It is possible that the warnings about insecurity issued by foreign countries will negatively shape the beliefs, attitudes, and even feelings and emotions of potential travellers to Mexico. In turn, the perception of insecurity might contribute to decreasing the number of visits to the whole country, even to regions or destinations where criminal activity is not significant at all.

As a cognitive and emotional construct, images are not static. As suggested by the literature review, both intrinsic (e.g. motivations, previous experience) and extrinsic factors (e.g. websites, brochures) can determine destination image formation. With regard to the latter, special attention should be paid periodically to the very specific way that foreign official government websites are influencing or determining Mexico’s image as an international tourism destination. Perhaps, more caution should be taken by foreign governments when reporting facts and figures about security issues in Mexico. Bearing in mind that Mexico is a relatively large country, it is highly questionable whether accurate facts and figures can be offered in terms of each of the thirty-two states that make up the whole country.

7. Conclusions

This paper aimed to analyse the travel advice given by foreign governments as related to crime and destination image in Mexico. By so doing, it reveals that governments state that most visitations to the country are trouble-free. However, in most cases the vast majority of travel advice is based on the security situation in

Mexico, particularly organised crime. This was shown in the number of messages and specific warnings that are repeatedly written into official websites.

It has been argued that official government tourism websites may be useful for exploring the internet's potential to induce a favourable destination image (Lepp, et al., 2011). Yet, the internet also has potential to induce unfavourable images. This is so particularly when the internet, as an official source, is used by foreign governments to issue travel warnings about specific countries. As an international information source, governments' travel websites may affect a very large number of people including not only their citizens but also individuals from other parts of the world that have access to the internet. Additionally, the potential to induce negative destination image relies on the fact that official warnings are to some extent more credible than the information provided by other organic and induced sources.

As in other investigations, new research needs emerge. While qualitative content analysis has been validated as a research technique for the analysis of destination image, quantitative approaches need to be incorporated to corroborate, validate or reject the findings presented here. Longitudinal studies may also be useful for monitoring governments' travel advice. On a related issue, it is observed that the effect that induced information sources, including governments' official websites, has on image formation has not been sufficiently elucidated. This represents not only a research opportunity but also a need; if the effect of online information sources on image formation is investigated, more specific strategies can be adopted to improve benefits or reduce disadvantages of organic sources.

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Notas

- Spring break is a tourism phenomenon consisting of a large number of students coming from the USA and Canada between February and March in sea-and-sun destinations in the USA, Mexico and the Caribbean (Josiam et al., 1998).

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Call for Participation

Global Conference On Mobility Futures

Lancaster Centre for Mobilities Research

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As part of the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Centre for Mobilities Research (CeMoRe) at Lancaster University, we are pleased to announce and invite contributions for the '*Global Conference on Mobility Futures*', September 4-6th, 2013, at Lancaster University, UK.

Over the past ten years, the work of CeMoRe and others have helped to 'mobilise' the social and human sciences and developed innovative analyses of economic, social, technological, political, policy and design transformations. The 'Global Conference on Mobility Futures' will reflect this work and provide a forum for the presentation of cutting edge research from across the social sciences/humanities that reflects back on, explores the present and looks towards future mobilities.

The conference theme

The conference will address all aspects of Mobilities research.

Mobilities research addresses not only the movement of people, objects, information, messages, risks and images through intersecting mobility-systems. It also explores the motivations, pleasures, pains and practices of stillness, of coordinating movement, blocking it, holding things in place, creating and maintaining social and material infrastructures. Some likely past, present and future mobilities to be debated at the Conference include: disasters; electric bikes; social networking; emergencies; military mobilities; experiences of being on the move; 4G; space tourism; climate change refugees; oil wars; gendered, aged and ethnic mobilities; 'future mobile imaginaries'; citizen innovation; mobile art; mobile methods; food vs fuel; 3D printing; Arctic mobilities; slow travel; Chinese and Indian mobilities; high speed rail; and alternatives to corporeal travel.

A key priority theme, reflecting current and urgent societal concerns, will be questions about limits to the expansion and sophistication of future mobilities. Such questions mean considering if there are limits to mobility, what the limits are, and what consequences limits may have for people's lives. It also means considering whether different mobilities might substitute for each other, whether this is likely or desirable, and how to design and bring about 'good mobilities' in a period of continued austerity.

The internal structure of destination visitation model and implications for image management

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Abstract: In the present research, Stanley Plog's (1967) Psychocentrism – Allocentrism Visitation Model is reimagined. The researcher decomposes Plog's original model and identifies five smaller bell shaped curves constituting five tourist personas within the normal distribution of tourist flow that depicts Plog's model. The study also finds that, while allocentric tourists largely prefer nascent destinations, destinations that are close to the end of their life cycles become attractive to them once again.

Keywords: tourist persona, allocentric, midcentric, psychocentric, Plog, destination marketing.

1. Introduction

Plog's psychographic typology of destination visitation schematizes the distribution of tourists to a destination and their psychographic profiles on a time scale (Plog, 1974, 1990, & 2002). Just as the tourism area life cycle model that came after it (Butler, 1980), Plog's model proposed a near normal distribution of visitation across a time scale. According to Plog, tourists to a destination exhibit personality types along a continuum from those exhibiting extreme allocentrism at the beginning of a destination's life cycle to those exhibiting extreme psychocentrism at the end of the life cycle. Litvin (2006) notes that Plog began his investigations on tou-

rist psychographics in the 1960's and thus is a pioneer in modeling the tourist persona.

When a destination is nascent, it is visited by tourists who can be broadly classified as allocentrics – novelty seekers who want to see and do new things and explore the world. They tend to be self-confident, anxiety-free, and like to travel especially to exotic or very unique destination areas. Psychocentrics, the last wave of tourists to a 'destination in its demise', are self-inhibited, nervous, non-adventuresome, and are familiarity seeking individuals. They show territory boundedness, generalized anxieties, and a sense of powerlessness. Plog classified the majority of tourists in between as midcentrics who shared borders with near psychocentrics and near allo-

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centrics (Plog, 1990). It must be noted that Plog was not the only researcher who tried to classify tourists based on psychographics. Some other noteworthy attempts include classifications based on involvement (Fesenmaier & Johnson, 1989), risk behavior (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005), destination attachment (George, 2005), sensationalism (Pomfret, 2006), nativistic motive (George, Inbakaran, & Poyyamoli, 2010), attitude towards social responsibility (Gramann, Bonifield, & Kim, 1995), and intrinsic vs. extrinsic motive (Iwasaki & Mannell, 1999).

Thanks to the intuitive appeal of Plog's model for a nascent discipline like tourism that was searching for determinacy in its early days of development, it gained instant popularity. In fact the growth in its popularity corresponded well with the surging popularity for psychographics in the consumer literature during the 70's and 80's. Later researchers tried to empirically verify the model; some succeeded (Albanese, 1996), some did not succeed at all (Smith, 1990), while some others achieved partial success (Litvin, 2006). Despite this flux, the model continues to be taught in graduate schools and is widely referred to as one of the foundational theories of tourism. The intent of this paper is to attempt a bottom up reconstruction of Plog's model to better understand how the interactions among its constituents determine visitation patterns across a destination's life cycle. The refined model that we propose offers better predictive power and thus would help to alleviate some of the major criticisms against the original model.

2. Standing upon plog's shoulders – but, moving beyond

It cannot be left unnoticed that Plog's classification closely resembles the diffusion of innovation theory developed by Rogers (1962). Rogers proposed a scheme of innovation adopter categorization which included innovators, early adopters, early majority, late majority, and laggards (Figure 1). While Plog might have adapted elements of Roger's theory, for some strange reason, Plog and the researchers came after him preferred to depict tourist types as a continuum from psychocentric to allocentric (Figure 2) which led many to mistake that the psychocentrics as a group chronologically preceded allocentrics.

Since the overall distribution of tourist numbers to a destination as given by Plog's model is bell shaped, and because the normal distribu-



Figure 1: Roger's theory of diffusion of innovations

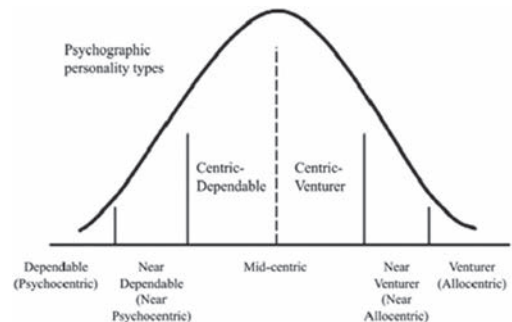


Figure 2: Plog's traveler personality typology

tion approximates most natural phenomena very well, it is reasonable to argue that individual segments (such as allocentric, near allocentric, mid centric, near psychocentric, and psychocentric) that together constitute the distribution each can also be described with bell curves. The mathematical-probabilistic basis for this comes from Cramer's decomposition theorem (Levy-Cramer theorem), according to which a normal distribution is infinitely divisible into smaller normal distributions (Gut, 2005).

Cramer's decomposition theorem states that if X and Y are independent real random variables and if $(X+Y)$ follows normal distribution, then both X and Y are normally distributed. Applying induction, if any finite sum of independent real-valued random variables is normal, then the summands must all be normal. Superimposition of the aforesaid onto Plog's original graphical depiction would result in a new model as follows (Figure 3).

We propose that the revised model approximated above is a more realistic depiction of tourist demographics in a destination at any moment in time. Unlike the original depiction, it does not assume that the transition from one segment to the other happens instantaneously. The revised model also gives provision for the coexistence of more than one segment. Even though a normal distribution never touches the horizontal axis, the number of observations

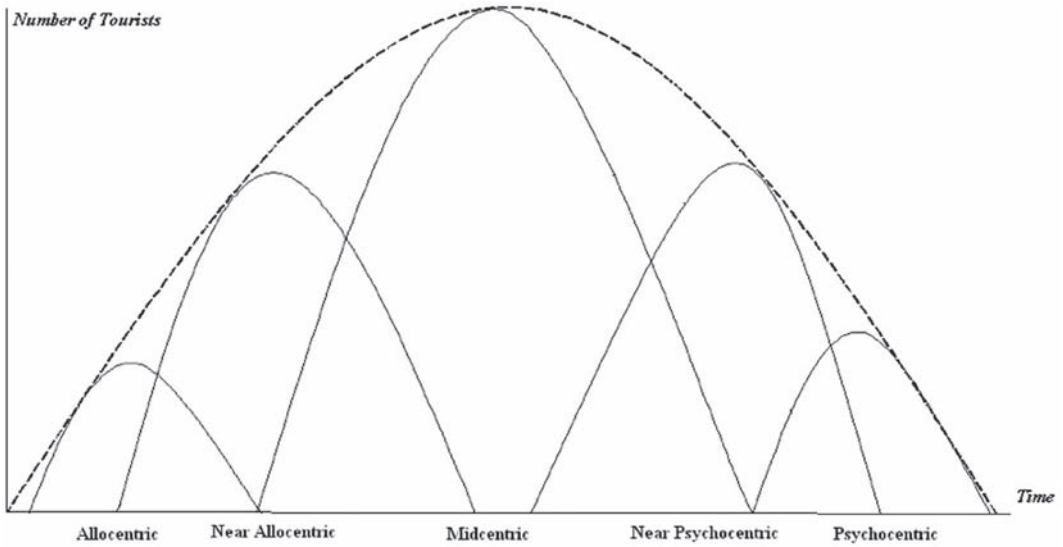


Figure 3: The modified Plog model (George Model)

towards the extremes tends to become negligible and hence the graph is shown as if it touches the horizontal axis. Finally, on a time scale, it clearly shows that allocentrics precede psychocentrics, rather than the other way round in Plog’s original depiction.

3. The study

Our attempt is to validate the proposed model by mapping the sequence of appearance of the psychological segments in a destination with corresponding stages in the destination area life cycle. To do this, we examined five different tourism destinations: a discovery stage destination (Vagamon, Kerala, India); a growing destination (Wayanad, Kerala, India); a maturing destination (Alleppey, Kerala, India); a matured destination (Thekkady, Kerala, India); and a decli-

ning destination (Thrissur, Kerala, India). These choices were informed by the available trends in tourist visitation but constrained by the resource limitations of the researcher. Available data about the different accommodation and transportation types, the types of restaurants and their prices, etc., helped us to form *a priori* guesses about the life cycle position of these destinations. Data for the study was collected by the first author of this paper during November-December 2011. Slightly modified versions of the five personality questions originally used by Plog (1974) to measure the allocentric-psychocentric continuum were used to survey tourists visiting each of these destinations. In total, 293 tourists were interviewed and the cross tabulation of the responses are summarized in table 1:

The data presented above does reveal a pattern for the naked eye, somewhat close to what is predicted by our model. To better understand

Table 1: Destination type – Tourist Psychography cross tabulation

		Tourist psychographic type					Total
		Allocentric	Near Allocentric	Mid-Centric	Near Psychocentric	Psychocentric	
Destination lifecycle stage	Discovery	19	11	7	9	6	52
	Growing	13	20	13	7	5	58
	Maturing	6	12	24	11	11	64
	Matured	9	7	13	20	19	68
	Declining	12	6	3	6	24	51
Total		59	56	60	53	65	293

the nuances of relationships, multinomial logistic regression analysis was performed. Multinomial logistic regression is used to predict the probability of category membership on a dependent variable based on multiple independent variables. In order to do this, five dummy variables were generated out of the categorical variable 'destination lifecycle stage', each representing a stage in the lifecycle. The multinomial regression was executed with the 'declining' as the referencing variable and the model summary is given in table 2.

According to theory, for better fit, indices should be lower for the full model than it is for the null model. This condition is satisfied with a statistical significant at $p < 0.01$. The analysis revealed statistically significant levels of

Table 2: Multinomial regression model summary

Model	Model Fitting Criteria	Likelihood Ratio Tests		
		Chi-Square	df	Sig.
Intercept Only	143.294			
Final	75.071	68.223	16	.000

pseudo R² scores (Cox and Snell=0.208; Nagelkerke=0.216) and likelihood ratios. The model parameter estimation summary is presented in table 3. The classification efficiency of the model may be seen in table 4.

Table 3: Model parameter estimation w.r.t. declining destination category

Destination lifecycle stage ^a		B	Std. Error	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Confidence Interval for Exp (B)	
								Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Discovery	Intercept	-1.386	.456	9.225	1	.002			
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=1.00]	1.846	.587	9.896	1	.002	6.333	2.005	20.003
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=2.00]	1.992	.683	8.520	1	.004	7.333	1.924	27.945
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=3.00]	2.234	.827	7.288	1	.007	9.333	1.844	47.237
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=4.00]	1.792	.697	6.604	1	.010	6.000	1.530	23.530
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=5.00]	0 ^b			0				
Growing	Intercept	-1.569	.492	10.182	1	.001			
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=1.00]	1.649	.634	6.763	1	.009	5.200	1.501	18.015
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=2.00]	2.773	.677	16.772	1	.000	16.000	4.245	60.310
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=3.00]	3.035	.807	14.129	1	.000	20.800	4.274	101.237
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=4.00]	1.723	.742	5.385	1	.020	5.600	1.307	23.996
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=5.00]	0 ^b			0				
Maturing	Intercept	-.780	.364	4.591	1	.032			
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=1.00]	.087	.619	.020	1	.888	1.091	.325	3.667
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=2.00]	1.473	.619	5.674	1	.017	4.364	1.298	14.667
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=3.00]	2.860	.712	16.111	1	.000	17.455	4.320	70.525
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=4.00]	1.386	.625	4.926	1	.026	4.000	1.176	13.606
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=5.00]	0 ^b			0				
Matured	Intercept	-.234	.307	.579	1	.447			
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=1.00]	-.054	.537	.010	1	.920	.947	.330	2.716
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=2.00]	.388	.635	.372	1	.542	1.474	.424	5.121
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=3.00]	1.700	.710	5.727	1	.017	5.474	1.360	22.024
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=4.00]	1.438	.558	6.646	1	.010	4.211	1.411	12.560
	[Tourist_Psychographic_Type=5.00]	0 ^b			0				

a. The reference category is: Declining.
 b. This parameter is set to zero because it is redundant.

Table 4: Summary of right-wrong classifications by the model

Observed	Predicted					Percent Correct
	Discovery	Growing	Maturing	Matured	Declining	
Discovery	19	11	7	9	6	36.5%
Growing	13	20	13	7	5	34.5%
Maturing	6	12	24	11	11	37.5%
Matured	9	7	13	20	19	29.4%
Declining	12	6	3	6	24	47.1%
Overall Percentage	20.1%	19.1%	20.5%	18.1%	22.2%	36.5%

This table shows which of the tourist psychographic categories significantly distinguish the declining stage from other stages in the destination area life cycle. The results are mixed, making interpretations difficult. Yet, table 4 indicates that the proposed model is largely useful: it correctly predicted 36.5% of the observations. Particularly in the case of declining destinations, the prediction came right 47.1% of times.

For a discerning observer, a surprising configuration that emerges from the data is that allocentric explorers find destinations in decline quite attractive. Recall that the descriptive summary presented in table 1 showed that 12 of the 51 tourists we interviewed in a declining destination were allocentric individuals. Graphical depiction of cross tabulation with interpolation lines given in figure 3 makes the patterns more evident and the same is provided in figure 4.

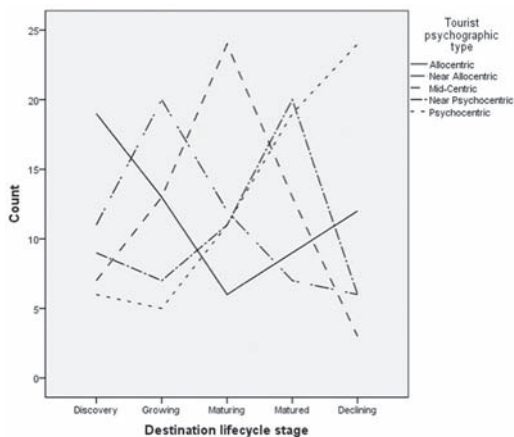


Figure 4: The distribution of psychographic segments along destination area life cycle

Irrefutable empirical support for the new model should come from a mixed model analysis of the longitudinal data collected continuously across the full life cycles of a number of diverse destinations. This is an extremely arduous task and even the original Plog model has not been subjected to such a test. Until then, the assumption of normality of particular psychographic segments within the Plog model will likely remain to be a postulate whose truth will at best be judged by means of indirect outcomes.

4. Conclusion

This study attempts to better understand the sub-structures of the destination visitation model developed by Stanley Plog (1974). The findings generally reaffirm the belief that the laws of the natural world resonate with those of the human world. At a more pragmatic level, it helps practitioners, especially destination management organizations, to better understand visitation dynamics. It refines and extends Plog’s original model, the result of which is a more robust model with substantially improved predictive power. In terms of refining an existing theory in the tourism social science literature, it is just an incremental contribution. However, the contribution may be viewed as radical if we look at the value addition brought in by relating a fundamental mathematical-statistical theorem with the extant nomological network of tourism.

It is true that our observations do not fit perfectly with either Plog’s basic model or our improved model. That said, the data supports the broad patterns predicted by the models. Can we conclude that this is yet another evidence for the fact that the laws of the mathematical world are largely applicable in the worlds of behavioral and social sciences as well? Aside

from the fact the data does not offer any near perfect fit, many assumptions are made while trying to superimpose the theoretical model upon data. For instance, a key assumption held by Crammer's theorem is that the summands are independent. However, according to some researchers, tourists could simultaneously be allocentric, midcentric, and psychocentric; they might liminally transit from one profile to the other; and the same destination might simultaneously be catering to multiple segments (Crossley & Jamieson, 1999; Lowyck, Van Lagenhove, & Bollaert, 1993; McKercher, 2005; Park, S. Tussyadiah, I. P. Mazanec, J. A. & Fesenmaier, 2010). If this is so, the assumption of independence is violated.

While we do not have definitive answers, an important question for future research does emerge in our minds: do declining destinations at least partially exhibit characteristics of new destinations that are in the discovery stage? If our choice of destinations is truly representative and if the observed pattern is not spurious, it might as well be so. It is quite logical to argue that when the mainstream 'mob of tourists' abandons declining destinations they might regain a charm long lost. Re-branding messages aimed at destination rejuvenation might amplify the element of nostalgia which is a driver for re-exploration among the allocentrics. Destination management organizations are charged with the fundamental mission of understanding the tourists visiting their destinations better (Miguens & Mendes, 2008) and hence they have an added incentive to utilize this insight to gain increased tourist satisfaction and loyalty.

One of the central theses of the present investigation is that destinations do not age in discreet fashion – nor does the patronization of psychographic segments change instantaneously. At any point in time, a destination is more than likely be visited by multiple segments. The bell curves within the big bell curve actually overlap a lot. As we have seen, the curve for allocentric tourists sees resurgence when the destination is under decline. Naïve destination managers who fail to see this microscopic picture might be missing important relationship-profit opportunities. From a slightly different perspective, this is an encouraging thought for businesses: there is always scope for niche marketing to some of these minority segments. That makes more sense especially for those in the SME sector who cannot afford the cost of a radical reconfiguration of products and services.

What most researchers would agree about Plog's original model is that it has only limi-

ted scope as a managerial decision support tool (Abbey, 1979; Chon & Sparrowe, 2000; Litvin, 2006; Albanese, 1996). With the extra insights that we gained from the present study, this criticism has to be alleviated to a great extent. More analysis using multiple datasets collected from a diverse range of destinations is needed to see if the characteristics of a normal curve will provide clues about the characteristics of the succeeding normal curves. If questions like whether the parameters of the normal curve associated with allocentrics could help predict the parameters of, say, the normal curve associated with near midcentrics can be answered, the revised model will acquire the characteristics of a much needed predictive model of tourist behavior.

The perpetual shrinking of product life cycles is something uniquely characterizing our economy and society. Products are introduced and they become overnight sensations – but they become extinct equally fast. While one might wonder if product life cycle studies like the one we have just undertaken might have any lasting relevance, we would want to align with the other side: the very phenomenon of shortening and increasingly unpredictable life cycles make examining and reexamining them even more important. We wind up this manuscript by consecrating it to the loving memory of the great visionary tourism thinker Stanley Plog who departed on us 16 February 2011 and upon whose insights parts of the foundational structures of tourism theory are laid.

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The sense, landscape and image. How the tourist destination is replicated in postmodernist times

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Abstract: Policy makers, practitioners and analysts have focused on the psychology to induce consumers to new products. These new eye-catching packaging products in tourism and hospitality industries and beyond are commercialized to thousands of home thanks to the media. We are living in times, digital times where organic image plays a pivotal role in arousing emotions and experiences, although these experiences were not authentic. Following this discussion, initialized some time ago by D. Maccannell and other sociologists, the present paper explores the philosophical roots of image to expand the current understanding about our ocular-centrism. At time, tourists select a destination, they are moved by “the wish of majority”, but once destination is maturated, its attractiveness declines. What seems to be interesting to discuss here is the connection between perceived safety (risk) and attraction (organic image). Following I. Kant’s contributions, we present a conceptual model to understand how the dilemma of safety leads consumers to visual pollution.

Key Words: Tourist Destination, Organic Image, Visual Image, Safety, Visual Pollution.

1. Introduction

Tourist destinations are resulted by the combination of diverse elements and factors, geology that formed the psychical boundaries of landscapes during hundred million years as well as socio-structural which refers to the culture and customs of locals. Certainly, over decades scholars have developed a new concept linked to sustainable paradigm that attempts to study the connection of human beings with their environs (Farrell and Runyan, 1991; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Jolliffe, 2005; Cordero Ulate, 2006; Roberts and Tribe, 2008; Quinn, 2009; Ryan, Huimin and Chon, 2010; Ambrosie, 2010). The precautionary principle, as explained by Jafari, focused on the negative effects of tourism such as pollution and other types of contamination. As any other industry, tourism should be regulated balancing the interests of all involving

stakeholders, even the local population. Ecology is a key aspect of governance and economic prosperity in the developing countries (Dinica, 2009).

The neologism, visual pollution, bespeaks us to the degree of unattractiveness given to certain landscape or vista because of human intervention. Tourists and visitors face a bad experience of those sites which has a visual pollution. Therefore, many scholars have vested their interests to explore the fields of sustainability where topics like this fall (Flad, 1997; Eyenga et al, 2009). The present essay review, rather, is aimed at examining the contribution of philosophy to expand the current understanding of tourist-gaze and risk. The thesis is that although visual pollution exerts negative consequences for international destinations, there is a point where the lack of visual elements in the setting, as the case of deserts, causes fear-mongering effects. Based on Kant’s legacy, it is first-

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rate of importance to reconsider the role of gaze in the configuration of safety, first and almost in tourist safety. This philosophical text not only interrogates about the flaws tourism-related research is today but invites to reflections respecting to the role played by perceived safety in tourist destinations. If we pay the necessary attention, we will see how risk not only triggers the tourist travel but also its return. Korstanje and Olsen (2011) explored the dark roots of horror movies in US finding interesting outcomes. First and foremost, tourists go beyond the urban boundaries because of evasion and other recreational goals. Although their personal security would be compromised, tourists need knowing new dispersed places to feel an atmosphere of novelty and adventure. Secondly, travellers and tourists select rare and risky destinations as deserts or hills, if something bad occurs, no police support is given. The degree of attractiveness they feel becomes in a double-edged sword when they are attacked by psychopaths (as the films *Hostel*, *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* or *The hills have eyes*). As George, Poyyamoli and Inbakaran (2010) put it, tourism seems to rest on two contrasting psychological drives, novelty and protection. Touring are based not only in the needs of displacement and avoidance, but also in returning to home. While the tourist motivation, this means the curiosity to transcend the own culture, predominates, travellers manifest their wish in visiting places and exotic destinations, but if this drive is reduced, the "nativistic motivation" will lead tourist to home. This motivation allows the reduction of uncertainty to tolerable levels for mind.

2. Conceptual debate

The light and darkness have been historically concepts that concerned the Greek philosophers. From the Plato's metaphor of Cavern on, image has been referred by abundant literature in philosophy and humanities. Blumenberg (1993) is correct when says, the supremacy of vision, that engendered the modern sightseeing, has been resulted from frames introduced by industrial revolution where text and picture monopolized the figure of truth. The vision-centric tendency not only set the pace to interesting entertainment cultures, but also to the Science. The concept of experimentation was based on the needs to see previously the evolution of studied phenomenon. The obsession of West for aesthetic, derived from ancient Greece, has been accelerated producing an ocular-centrism where

the eye has more credibility than other senses. The hegemony of vision cuts the world in two, authenticity and falsehood. (Levin, 1993; Blumenberg, 1993).

From the seminal works of the anthropologist Edward Hall, who argued that people connection was determined by the physical distance respecting to other people, social scientist was fascinated by the covert code of communication; E. Hall considered that certain silent stereotypes that confers a message to recipients. By means of a new technique, the proxemic one would understand the process of communication from an all encompassing manner (Hall, 1958). It would be not surprising to see although tourist destination may be visually polluted involving negative effects for tourists, who should decide to withdraw or abandon the site, the attractiveness of a destination is certainly determined by the equilibrium between space and vision. If we are correct, this would explain the reasons why some groups travel to certain destinations, which are left behind once saturated by other groups. Some examples as Mar del Plata, created as tourist destination from 50s decade and matured during the successive years (Khatchikian, 2000 ;Troncoso & Lois, 2001; Pastoriza, 2011), validates this previous assumption. Gradually some groups were being replaced by other newer that opted for Mar Del Plata copying the higher-class consumption patterns. Which psychological factors intervene in this issue?

Santos has explained convincingly that tourism moves by means of spatial models. These cognitive models give meaning to spaces by the imposition of negotiated stereotypes. Tourism, in this vein, is inextricably intertwined to the concept of territory (Santos, 2007; Fernandez-Fuster, 1985; Leiper, 1979; Palhares, 2002). Tourists go from a geographical starting point (source) by means of a way to a final destination. During this displacement the role of tourist may be or not active (Pearce, 2003). The usual ordinary sense of home may be projected by many images, pictures and allegories that help other travellers who never had been there how the place is. Although this process wakes up some questions along with the question of authenticity (Maccannell, 2003;2007; Urry and Larsen, 2012), one should not loose the sight that images, souvenirs and pictures are emotionally situated to express memorable experiences (Peters, 2011).

All these factors are combined to give tourists a sense of satisfaction depending on its early drives (Crompton, 1979; Pasuraman, Zeithaml & Berry, 1988; Carman, 1990; Fornell,

1992; Kotler, Haider & Rein, 1994; Moraes, 2007; Nadeau et al, 2008). Nonetheless, others scholars have criticized this viewpoint to be seen very superfluous, based exclusively in marketing purposes that nothing have to do with scientific observations. Spreng & Mackoy (1996) alerted that cognitive and perceptual factors play a secondary role in the tourist destination loyalty. Perception may be less important to determine the destination attractiveness than we imagine. What is necessary to discuss here is that the perception is not conditioned by external induced drives as the program one watch on TV, but by entangled emotions which are internally formed in the self. According to this, consumers select the perceptual stimuli that are in agreement with its internal emotional background. These flaws found in the specialized literature are a product of an old idea coined in the Lancaster School that focuses on the person as a rational homo-economicus. Per this view, persons are moved by the accumulation of desires and arousals which once satisfied are cyclically repeated (Nisbett and Kanousse, 1969). The sensation-related research interrogates about the inception of consumption, and of course its relation to perception. To some extent, sensation and selection have triggered countless doubts in the social sciences. Theory of threshold admits that there exists a bottom line where things are caught or rejected. Since each person adopts diverse adjustments to expand or reduce this threshold, the experience and sensation may follow heterogeneous dynamics. Every person has developed perceptual frameworks respecting to the external objects (Celma & Du Bois, 1999). Rather, Hussain and Ekiz (2007) demonstrated that emotional factors are more important at time of selecting a destination than perceptual. Travellers are led to buy certain product moved by tangible assets, which may be visually observed. These results were validated by other studies as Marzo et al (2002) conducted in a hotel chain in Spain. Marzo and colleagues realized how tangible characteristics of products exert considerable influence in the consumer decision making process. To understand this, one might speculate there is a clear correlation between service perception and perceived quality. The tangible assets are often identified to involuntarily and deep-seated emotions inside the person. The experience that associates these drives to external stimuli plays an important role to stable images for the mind. This would be the reason why we remind those events, which are being captivated by our eyes in lieu of other senses (Tamagni, Lombardo, &

Gazzerra, 2000; Gazzerra and Lombardo, 2007). Image for some reason is of paramount importance to draw the tourist-experience. Convincingly, Woodside and Dubelaar (2002) describe how image-induced efforts are not enough to forge a tourist destination in consumer mind. Decisions are made following thoughts and past experiences. Sometimes, secondary but important factors during the trip determine the experience.

Some studies evidenced a connection between tourism, environs and psychology. The consumption may be encouraged following criteria associated to safety, empathy, certainty or perception. Any destination has an imaginary, an image, a tale which replicates the cultural values of societies to next generations. To what extent this imaginary is authentic or a product for being consumed by touring, is one of the most fascinating aspects of social research today (Mansfield, Korstanje and Busby, 2011). In perspective, there is consensus in point out that destination image is organically designed by the market, but publicized by diverse mechanisms as literacy and novels (Mansfield, 2008; Mansfield, Korstanje and Busby, 2011), movies (O'Connor, Flanagan and Gilbert, 2010), postcards (Andriotis and Mavric, 2013), souvenirs and brochures (Molina and Agueda, 2005), mouth to mouth experiences and others. It is safe to say while image may be individually interpreted, its socialization follows an archetype which is standardized and cloned to a broader public (Korstanje, 2012).

Gregory Ulmer said that travels (tourism) and science are inextricably intertwined. The image seems to be the results of the convergence between experience and sightseeing. Paragraphing to Solon's travels, it is hypothesized by Ulmer that first theories in ancient Greece were validated because of their experience beyond the boundaries of the town. The fictional information is being combined to factual experience. That way, first theorists were indeed tourists to the extent their displacement were determined by curiosity alone. The perceptual system of a society is based on an allegory which not always may be validated, and for that, give reason to the social scaffolding (mythology). Tourism, by the discovery of landscapes, draws the myths society needs (Ulmer, 1994)

Travelling beyond the boundaries of home, abroad, presupposes a dislocation. Although, images and visual marketing pivot the connection between self, narrative and destination, it is clear, as the investigation of Araujo Perazzolo, Capellano Dos Santos and Pereira (2013) show, other psychological drives are involved in the

same process. Certainly, tourists should develop an attachment to certain territory, which may be real or imagined-one. This rite of passages is moved by the desire of welcome that is still enrooted in the principle of hospitality. If this principle must be ensured, whatever the reason may be, traveller adopts a nativist attitude. It is possible that globalization paves the ways for the acceleration of travels, but this may engender conflict and despair.

Castrogiovanni (2007) is not wrong when relates tourism to a rite of passage based on a linguistic re-introduction. Tourist space is something else than a geographical space, because it defies the logic principle. Tourist space works in a dialogical nature nuancing opposed values such as good, bad, order, disorder, high and low. The conceptual dichotomies are redeemed according to a narrative which is politically built. Tourism engenders an objective-subjective re-structuration that appeals to a much broader hierarchal order. Touring can be considered a political practice where domination and legitimacy converge. The communication allows the construction and interpretation of a site which is symbolically negotiated. Not surprisingly, any site is enrooted in a process of communication that gives to it certain sense. Castrogiovanni anyway does not delve into the evolutionary nature of meaning and image. As stated, some elites may withdraw from their holiday destination simply when other peripheral groups invade its symbolized spaces of leisure. However, may we define what is a landscape?

Gilbert Ryle, a couple of decades back, wrote *"a foreigner visiting Oxford or Cambridge for the first time is shown a number of colleges, libraries, playing fields, museums, scientific departments, and administrative offices. He then asks but where is the University?. I have seen where the member of the Colleges lives, where the Registrar works, where the scientists experiment and the rest. But I have not yet seen the University in which reside and work the members of your University"...the University is just the way in which all that he has already seen is organized. When they are seen and when their coordination is understood, the University has been seen"* (Ryle, 1949: p. 17-18). This example clearly evidences how a landscape works. Historically, we would have educated to think that Cartesian dissociation between body and mind but this is a wrong view of the situation. Like a landscape, mind corresponds with an abstract but powerful concepts whose dynamic may be not observed unless by means of the overall functioning.

The French legacy has been critique respecting to the obsession by aesthetics that characterizes the modern world. P. Bourdieu alerts that our love for photography fulfils certain psychological needs such as protection, fear of time passing, communication, evasion, and status. Photography would serve as a mediator to reduce the sentiment of anxiety that generates the passing of time, this means the fear of death. Nevertheless, Bourdieu adds, if one pays attention to the connection between photography and classes, it is not surprising to see that image (picture) replaced the place of social bond. His main thesis is that those professional skilled classes that show serious emotional problems in their relatives or friends take more pictures than other blue-collar worker classes. The level of richness disarticulates the social bond to the extent this gap should be filled by secondary mediators, photography, alcohol and drugs are part of a large list. Once the modernity has radically altered the tradition and styles of life, the obsession for image and aesthetics has surfaced (Bourdieu, 2003).

3. The mediated landscapes

Image and death are inextricably intertwined. Hans Belting explains convincingly that ancient tribes crafted a mask of the king once died, which were present in all rites and even in times of war. The reason was very simple, the presence of king were evoked in order for the monarchy to gain further legitimacy and acceptance in times of turbulence. From that moment onwards, human beings always have recurred to create allegories of their experiences. From this archaic tendency, Belting adds, resulted the arts, painting and anything which is related to visual industries. Archaeological evidences suggest that tombs are the last barrier between death and life. This serves as a prophylactic door that protects humans from the spirits coming from the hereafter. Death for all cultures signifies a real disaster that must be controlled so that the society does not disintegrate. In view of this, images of dead accompanied the funeral rites until the industrial revolution (Belting, 2007). Most certainly, in digital times death has been denied, rejected and forgotten. As a result of this, images are virtually created and stored in nowhere, at devices or machine-like boxes. Phillippe Aries (2011) put the paradox of modernity under the lens of scrutiny. While in ancient times people accepted and lived with the idea of death, cemeteries were constructed beyond the

city walls. At the time, death is being denied and civilizations devote times and efforts to expand the life, cemeteries are being introduced in the core of industrial cities. Processing and accelerating the image seems to be part the secularization of culture, once humankind denied the hereafter. The culture of emulation, in terms of Belting, set the pace to culture of simulacra. While any emulation consists in copying in present time anything from an original in a new copy-cat, simulacra is enrooted in the future. Simulacra do not exist in reality.

Merleau-Ponty indicates any man is unable to keep unaware about death with the exception if he is reduced to the animal-state. His consciousness of death is the last ontological limits with the world. This experience brings us close to others, who like us may die. Since the other becomes in an object for my consciousness, like a piece of the world as I perceive it, each self looks the death of others to live avoiding the anxiety of nothingness (Merleau-Ponty, 1964, p 68). To put this in brutally, we create images of our sensorial outside world to exorcise death, in so doing, picturesque reminds the past to reprocess our being this world in the present. G. H Mead alerted about the strange fascination for consuming bad news. Since nobody knows its accurate time of dying, he argued, the self enjoys in the other-deaths because this entails my own safety (Mead, 1999).

As the previous argument given, it is clear how from its inception, TV and visual technology has advanced so far and fast as never before. Its control and hegemony over thousand millions homes worldwide not only is complete but a point of discussion widely expanded in anthropology fields. TV and the media would be used as an instrument of education, or a mechanism of alienation. William F. Baker and George Desart (1998) in their book *down the tube* explained that TV becomes today a deceptive but efficient instrument in democratic societies to know further about the news and events which otherwise remain closed to the public. To what extent, these news are not fabricated or negotiated according to private economic interests seems to be the point to study. Television and Broadcasting have not evolved in the same way in US and UK. While in the former the market monopolized the control of air by means of advertising, the latter created the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) to regulate the content. Since BBC was not a corporate private organization, but an organization directly controlled by government, the commercial interests were restricted to the public wellbeing. As a result of this, British tele-

vision and media, until Thatcher deregulation, were aimed at broadcasting pluralistic and heterogeneous voices on air. Over years, journalism has debated into two conceptual models at time of covering news. Surely, in democratic societies the *libertarian model* develops the lineage of Enlightenment identifying the rights of citizenry to get the correct information and the true. But if libertarian model is unable to provide standardized rules of quality and regulation, the private business corporations form a trusteeship model. This argument is validated by Budd, Craig and Steinman in other interesting piece, *consuming environments*. American researcher found interesting correlation between fear, violence and TV. Although they acknowledge that TV does not insufflate these sentiments in the public opinion directly, the fact is that the commercial cultures are creating mediated environments tailored to the desire of society. The possession desire that changed the world from XIXth century has mobilized a gaze in which some moments commoditized, printed to be consumed. The culture of spectacle has accelerated the explosion of advertisements in TV reframing the reality in a pseudo-setting. Last but not least, the French philosopher Jean Baudrillard insisted in the idea that postmodernism is an irreversible force, in weberian terms, which engenders non-events. Following the movie, *Minority Reports*, where a couple of precogs envisaged the future to mobilize police in pre-crime arrests, modernity and visual-led culture presents news that are enrooted in the future, and for that never existed in reality. Following this, the Media and TV leads audience from simulation to simulacra (Baudrillard, 1998). To break the nature of the media, we have come back to desert, which represents the real.

Following Virilio's argument, the conceptual bridge between what is real and the world of fiction arises from our capacity to understand the being of others in this world, their interests, hopes and of course frustrations. An experience of this nature places people together even though they stand geographically dispersed. However, the mediated reality works as a fictional depiction that generates a counter effect in which the heterogeneity of meaning is substantially minimized. The information is processed and framed under a mega-complex where the subjectivity of the people involved in the news event is reduced to a new form of mass consumption. In consequence, information overload creates a progressive sentiment of loneliness that leads people towards sadness, reclusion and despair (Virilio, 2007). It is important not to lose sight of the

fact that international tourism revitalizes the ancient colonial violence that characterized the 19th century. Isolated resorts and Club Meds appear like fortresses in a desert. Symbolically, Virilio refers to the desert as a state of emotional desolation. As in the previous argument, tourism becomes a hegemonic instrument to create financial dependence and submission from the periphery to the center. The ancient value of civilization rooted in the citizen's ability to write is being replaced by the ability to travel. Travel therefore draws the boundaries between civilization and barbarity. Modern mass tourism is feasible precisely because travelers are not eager to discover new cultures and traditions but on the contrary merely seek to tour the known boundaries of Empire. Today, travel begins with a movie, a picture or a visual-driven image. The excess of velocity is often accompanied by a syndrome of inferiority where ordinary people realize the impossibility of controlling their own destiny. Anguish in the face of uncertainty is exploited by those in power through the technique of ideology. Of all aspects of life that make a person most afraid, death is the more frightful because it is uncontrollable (Virilio, 1996). In our times, modern, the reality set the pace to hyper-reality. Everything happens in a future but modifying the present. Like the American movie, minority report where precogs determined previously who would be arrested even before committing the crime, the modernity has eroded the social foundations of our societies. We live in a world that is nothing more than a techno-creation, simulation of reality. In this vein, the intensity of images Baudrillard adds, matches the degree of its denial. We may see for example, the American cinema. Baudrillard alerts this new industry, like tourism, is instrument of the imperialism to expand the Americanization to the world. Movies not only bespeaks of American values, but annihilated the real spirit of the cinema. The technical perfection for tuning a great image, spectacular, special and attractive, jeopardizes the understanding of history. What today we know of tragic events as Auschwitz, or Hiroshima depends on the movies. Nobody opens a book of history to read further. We have loose forever our connection with past-time (Baudrillard, 2002).

4. The sense of security and Sublime space in Kant

At time of writing this manuscript, one of the most troubling challenges is the idea to bring

the complexity of Kant to tourism fields. Kant is, even for philosophers, a brilliant exponent of encyclopaedic philosophy whose argument seems not to easy to digest. To put his development in a comprehensible way is a hard-task to accomplish. Therefore, it is important to delve into early writings of Kant (as on the beautiful and the sublime) to have an overview of what he later explained with accuracy around the axioms of perception in his book, *the Critique of Pure reason*.

Although Kant has written abundant material respecting to the relation between space and time, or perception, his book *On the Beautiful and the Sublime*, represents a master-work in the theme. Kant dissociates the beautiful from sublime. While the former exhibits what one may interpret from an external object, the latter hold an "air of mystery" that remains beyond the human control. For example, if we consider that a Greek sculpture is beautiful, this is because we can control the object with our gaze. Rather, a desert remains as a sublime spectacle, which cause fear but at the same time admiration. The sublime is always enrooted in our faculty of reason. An absolute sense of freedom is -frightful like the idea of slavery. Of course, sensibility takes a personal view according to the way each one perceives and internalizes the surrounding world. Kant admits that what is beauty to our mind wakes up a sentiment of happiness, but sublime alternates enjoyment with terror. Even if in both sense emotions are suitable at a first time, the consequent evolution derives in different forms (Kant, 2007, p. 10).

The sublime may manifest in three subtypes, terrible sublime, noble and magnificent. Vast deserts, or those landscapes isolated from the urban cities causes an extreme fear because we imagine tales and legends about monsters, or other entities that may put us in danger. If we see a beauty object as controllable, the sublime overwhelms us. Sublime remains large while beautiful small and decorated. "A very great height is sublime as well as very great depth, but the latter is accompanied by a sense of terror, the former by admiration. Hence the one may be terrible sublime, the other noble". (Kant, p. 11).

As the previous argument given, Kant continues, establishing a dialectic relation between his theory of sublime and beautiful and human temperaments. The values and its ways of thinking the sublime not only correspond to geographical points or landscapes, but to our social daily life. Convinced of this, Kant develops a

theory of international affairs giving to Italians and French the status of beautiful whilst Germans keep sublime. He knows that temperaments are not pure construes; they are mixed to other components. Based on the obsession to reconstruct an all encompassing theory of beauty, Kant recurs to aesthetic syllogisms to explain the universality of his observations. Far away of being a commodity, the nature (and the sentiment of beautiful and sublime) is imagined by the mind, and only is present there. Following this, the landscape would be the negotiated image of nature, we, the human beings, construct to make our life tolerable, or at least predictable. Of course, ones may scare to see the falls, while others may experience excessive attraction. Whatever the case may be, this begs an interesting question, why some places are attractive for ones and disgusting for others?.

In the pure reason, Kant (2007) establishes that axioms of intuition encompass the beliefs. If we believe that things are simply because they are perceived by mind, how may we describe the schizophrenia or any hallucination?. The system of principle of pure understanding is based on three axioms, which are independent but connected in the mind. Experience is governed by a supreme principle of analytics and synthetic judgment, but this principle may be very well subject to simple contradiction. For that, Kant stipulates that the synthesis of representations rests on imagination. First, an object can be given a priori but I am not sure that would be real. Two images, as schizophrenic, may be seen at the same time and space, but only one is palpable. The self recurs to analogy to test what is the fake and real image. I can ask to a third person if he/she sees what I see, if not, the image turns down, but if the response is affirmative, the image is real. That way, although Kant recognizes things are individually modelled in mind, there are universal laws that take human off from nihilism and relativism. The discussion between authenticity and stage-authenticity, although Kant does not put in these terms, is enrooted in the history of humankind.

Unearthed from the cold and complex world of philosophers, we will see in this essay-review how Kant today has much to say respecting to the customer loyalty and tourist-destination image. Next, the "paradox of visual pollution", a neologism coined by us in early papers not only will be explained with detail but also placed under the lens of scrutiny. Josiah Royce recognizes in Kant, more than a genius, who never travelled beyond the boundaries of Konigsberg.

His legacy not only sheds light on the question of apperception, but attempted to resolve the problem of self-conscience and outside. If any existence is accompanied with others, also we are unable to escape from the moral law. Our sense of experience is shaped by what we do not know, what gives us as unfamiliar. We therefore perceive the world, as we are according to our inner-life. Undoubtedly, Kant marks the starting-point in the passage from medieval to modern philosophy, illuminating the ways of new more critique philosophers (the existentialists) (Royce, 1983)

5. The paradox of visual pollution.

We, humans, are prone to live with others in cities, because of safety and security issues. This suggests a dynamic determined by concentration of people, devices, goods and technology. Urban cities are places where lives thousand millions citizens in certain proximity but paradoxically in psychological isolation. The degree of depersonalization accompanied the decline of social bonds, which characterizes the modern life, has transformed the way of communicating. The excitement as well as expression of emotions seems to be circumscribed to private space. The work force in the urban context is framed under strict rules of competition and specialization that generates psychological dysfunctions. The alienatory nature of cities has been studied by Adorno and Marcuse who envisaged the advance of instrumentalism as the first and most prominent instrument of control and depersonalization. Mass-consumerism represents the most vivid and efficient form of controlling the critical thought deterring the inter-class struggle. Under a democratic façade, Marcuse adds, our regime is so totalitarian as others because an elite dictates that happiness and values may be bought only if we are free to do it. This biased image of democracy only is conducive to the liberalization of desires which are rechanneled towards the market-place. By the introduction of technologies, the ongoing creation of new elaborated products leads workers to work more to keep on buying (Marcuse, 1964). Of course, one realizes Marcuse's prophecies not only made reality but also the capitalist city has been divided in two opposite worlds, the labour and leisure, the norm and evasion. Year by year, thousand of travellers go out home to enjoy from their holidays, after a period of hard work, exams or other social pressures. The paradigms of sustainable tourism

has focused on the negative effects of tourist concentration generates for the environment. In this vein, the works of Swarbrooke (2000), Capacci (2003), and Zuloaga (2006) may be suggested. Visual pollution is in its infancy but interesting research has been conducted in this field (Sampaio-Cioce et al, 2007).

To promote a tourist-destination at a first state, for example, a beach, policy makers turn their attention to invest money and time in convincingly advertising that captivates a broader audience. Once the image of this destination is consolidated, mouth to mouth recommendation makes the rest. The effects of visual contamination are based on a paradox. While the tourists are captivated by landscapes, or experiences, the destination is targeted over others. People travel following the existent infrastructure that facilitates amenities like at home, emulating their own style of life. No less true is that, with some exception, people attract more people. Tourists prioritize mass and urban destinations moved by two significant ideas. The first is the support that anyone may give in case of robbery or attack, secondly people are prone to think that if a good is mass-consumed; this is because it is fine. The founding parents of psychology and sociology realized the power and influence imitation does exert in human relations. Attitudinal dispositions are situated to what the majority thinks. To avoid the psychological isolation, people see and copy the attitudes of others only when they are shared by in-group (Noelle-Neumann, 1995). As noted above, we perceive a chaotic world in an ordered way, only because this brings us security. Lay-people need from majorities to reduce their sentiment of uncertainty, but at the same time, this creates discomfort, evasion and alienation. Without the majorities we will experience a sublime terror like the protagonists we have examined jointly to D Olsen (Korstanje & Olsen, 2011). What is important to debate, is that our sense of safety is determined by biased and fabricated beliefs that not always are real. For example, we can abandon a sparsely-populated attractive feeling we are at risk but we can expose hours to sun simply because everybody do it. To put this in brutally, tourists gather themselves looking for stable cognitions ignoring the contrasting visual elements that contrast with their previous expectances. The order as it has been portrayed by mind selects those elements which remain incongruent. As Kant put it, we see beautiful a landscape that seems to be controlled by our gaze, while escape from those places when become sublime.

The negative visual assets of tourist-destinations, specialists attempt to adjust, are a result of our psychological cognitive system. Depending on the context, tourists agglomerate looking for a sense of security that never exists. The sense of security is given by the trust in others. Undoubtedly, the paradox is that this leads to visual pollution, when the destination receives further visitors than due. Last but not least, the visual pollution as a concept should be placed in contrasting opposition to a sublime destination but it is important to remind that both phenomena are inextricably linked.

6. Conclusion

As a mediator, organic image works reducing the degree of uncertainty and distrust brought by modernity. The present review unearthed the legacy of Kant to postulate the paradox of visual pollution. To expand the current understand as to how image is constructed, the following relevant points are explained.

- People feel safer when follow the mandate of majority.
- People fright to be rejected by the in-group.
- Tourism is based on two contrasting psychological drives, novelty and return to home.
- Tourists look for stable cognitions ignoring the real risks. For example, we may attend to a mass-beach for hours to sunbath ignoring skin-cancer risk-factors.
- A landscape is seen as beautiful when it may be controlled by gaze. Rather, the sublime not only inspires terror but also rejection.
- The quandary of security leads to visual pollution, which (unless otherwise resolved) creates discomfort and alienation.

The present essay review not only shed light on the problems of visual pollution and organic image, but also paves the ways for new doubts and questions in urban studies. Supporting Virilio's concern, one might speculate that the collective psychosis that engendered by the excess of image, is portrayed by the media to silence the criticism. This process sustains a chain of consumption that commoditizers people in products, citizens in consumers, persons in objects. In a world governed by images and aesthetics, which would be the role played by tourism?.

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Impact of Tourist Perceptions, Destination Image and Tourist Satisfaction on Destination Loyalty: A Conceptual Model

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Abstract: The objective this research paper is develops a destination loyalty theoretical model by using tourist perception, destination image and tourist satisfaction. These study analysis components, attributes, factor influencing the destination image and examine the tourist satisfaction and determinants of destination loyalty. This is a conceptual paper attempts at evaluating recent empirical on destination image, tourist satisfaction and loyalty. The conceptual framework model is developed on the basis of existing theoretical and empirical research in the field of destination marketing. The models include four constructs. *Tourist Perception* constructs has been influenced by factors like *Historical and Cultural Attractions, Destination Affordability, Travel Environment, Natural Attractions, Entertainments and Infrastructure*. *Destination image* construct has been influenced by factors like *Infrastructure & Facilities, Heritage Attractions, Natural Made Attractions, Destination Safety & Cleanness, Friendly Local Community & Clam Atmosphere, Rejuvenation and Service Price and Affordability*. The *satisfaction* construct has been influenced by factors like *Entertainments, Destination Attractions and Atmosphere, Accommodation, Food, Transportation Services and Shopping*. The *destination loyalty* construct has influenced by *intentions to revisit, word of mouth promotion and recommending to others*. The earlier study result reveals that tourist perception, destination image and tourist satisfaction directly influence destination loyalty. The outcomes of the study have significant managerial implications for destination marketing managers.

Key words: Perception, Image, Satisfaction, Loyalty, Attributes and Determinants.

1. Introduction

The impact of tourist perception, destination image and satisfaction on loyalty has been trendy research topic in tourism research. It is very important to determine the destination image while taking decisions for strategic marketing of tourism destinations. Because it is assumed that it will result in a positive image of a destination, loyalty to tourist destinations and satisfaction felt by tourists, such as variables (Suzan Coban, 2012). The loyalty is a concept closely related to tourists' satisfaction and as a

result even with the ideas there is a high degree of satisfaction with loyal tourists. However, in the context of travel and tourism, a review of literature reveals an abundance of studies on destination image, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty has not been thoroughly investigated (Oppermann, 2000). Therefore, it is time for practitioners and academics to conduct more studies of loyalty in order to have greater knowledge of this concept, to understand the role of customer satisfaction in developing loyalty, the impact of other non-satisfaction determinants on customer loyalty, and their interrelationships

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(Christina Geng Qing Chi & Hailin Qu, 2008). The effects of destination image and satisfaction on destination loyalty are studied in the present study.

2. Objectives of the study

1. The study the impact of tourist perceptions, destination image and satisfaction on tourist loyalty;
2. To analysis the components, attributes and factors influence of the tourist perception and destination image;
3. To examine the attributes of tourist satisfaction ; and
4. To expose the determinants of destination loyalty.

3. Conceptual Framework

3.1. Destination Image

Destination image has been one of the key areas of tourism research for more than four decades (Svetlana & Juline, 2010). Image is defined as “the people feelings of anything that they aware” (Boulding, 1956). Image is defined as “people hold are a way of organizing the different stimuli received on a daily basis and help make sense of the world in which we live” (Mayo, 1973). Destination image is defined as “an expression of knowledge, impressions, prejudices, imaginations and emotional thoughts an individual has of a specific place” (Lawson and Baud Bovy, 1977). Image further defined as “the sum of beliefs, impressions, ideas and perceptions that people hold of objects, behaviors and events” (Crompton, 1979). Destination image defined as “the overall perception of the destination that is formed by processing information from various sources over time” (Assael, 1984). Ideas or perceptions held individually or collectively about a destination by people (Embacher & Buttle, 1989). Image defined “as the sum of beliefs, attitudes, impressions that a person or group has of an object and impressions may be true or false, real or imagined” (Barich and Kotler 1991). Image is defined as “an internalised, conceptualised and personalized understanding of what one knows” (Ahmed, 1996). Destination image is defined as “the perception of groups of people” (Jenkins, 1999). “Perceptions or impressions of a destination held by tourists with respect to the expected benefit or consumption values” (Tapachai & Waryszak, 2000). Totality of impressions, beliefs, ideas, expectations,

and feelings accumulated towards a place over time by an individual or group of people” (Kim & Richardson, 2003). “Destination image is an interactive system of thoughts, opinions, feelings, visualisations, and intentions toward a destination” (Tasci et al., 2007).

3.2. Components of Destination Image

Destination image made up of two components of image, the components were organic images and induced images. Organic images formed by individuals themselves through past experiences with destinations and unbiased sources of information (i.e. news, reports, newspaper articles and movies). Induced images created through information received from external sources, including destination advertising and promotion (Gunn, 1972). Destination image encompasses only cognitive image components. Cognitive image refers to beliefs, impressions, ideas, perceptions and knowledge that people hold on objects (Crompton, 1979). The overall or totality of image or impression based on individual attributes and also reveals the relationship between cognitive attributes and overall image (Keown et al, 1984). The totality of image depends on evaluations of different products and services (Mazursky, D & Jacoby, J, 1986). Tourist perceptions of destination attributes of various activities and attractions within an area will interact to form overall image (Gartner, 1986). The images were formed by cognitive and affective judgments, affective judgments based on individual feelings and emotions towards an object (Baloglu et al, 1997; Walmsley, 1998 & Baloglu & Mangaloglu 2001). Dann (1996) suggested destination image were created by cognitive, affective and conative. Cognitive component made up of the sum of beliefs, impressions, ideas and perceptions that people hold of an object. The affective component deals with how a person feels about the objects.

3.3. Attributes of Destination Image

Charlotte and Ritchie (1991) the destination image researchers were used following attributes to measure the destination image, the attributes were scenery or natural attractions, costs or price levels, climate, tourist sites or activities ,nightlife and entertainment, sports facilities or activities, national parks or wilderness activities, local infrastructure, transportation, architecture or buildings, historic sites, museums, beaches, shopping facilities, accommodation facilities, cities fairs, exhibits, festivals, facilities

for information and tours, crowdedness, cleanliness, personal safety, economic development or affluence, accessibility, degree of urbanisation, extent of commercialization, political stability, hospitality or friendliness or receptiveness, different customs or culture, different cuisine or food and drink, restful or relaxing, atmosphere, opportunity for adventure, opportunity to increase knowledge, family or adult oriented, quality of service and fame or reputation. Sonmez S. & Sriakaya E. (2002) used these attributes to measure destination image, architectural styles, local festivals, archeological treasures, natural scenic beauty, cities, museums & art galleries, adventure, weather, cultural heritage, plenty of places to get away from crowds, local people are friendly, good-quality restaurants, hotels are easy to find, restful and relaxing place to visit, food, lifestyles and customs, standard of living, dress, road conditions, cleanliness and hygiene, safe and security, culture, shopping facilities, nature preserves and wilderness areas, tourist information, tour availability, skiing opportunity, national parks, price and good value for money.

Beerli and Martin (2004) categorized attributes into nine dimensions: (1) natural resources (i.e. weather, temperature, rainfall, hours of sunshine, beaches, quality of seawater, length of beaches, overcrowding of beaches, wealth of countryside, protected natural reserves, lakes, mountains, deserts, variety and uniqueness of flora and fauna); (2) tourist leisure and recreation (i.e. accommodation, number of beds, categories, quality, restaurants number, quality, bars, discos and clubs, hotels and self-catering, ease of access, excursions at destination, tourist centers and network of tourist information); (3) natural environment (i.e. beauty of the scenery, attractiveness, cleanliness, overcrowding, air and noise pollution and traffic congestion); (4) general infrastructure (i.e. development and quality of roads, airports and ports, private and public transport facilities, development of health services, development of telecommunications, development of commercial infrastructure, extent of building development); (5) culture, history, and art (i.e. festival, concerts, handicraft, gastronomy, folklore, religion, museums, historical buildings, monuments, customs and ways of life); (6) social environment (i.e. quality of life, underprivileged and poverty, language barriers, hospitality and friendliness of the local residents); (7) tourist infrastructure (i.e. accommodation, number of beds, categories, quality, restaurants number, quality, bars, discos and clubs, hotels and self-catering, ease of

access, excursions at destination, tourist centers, network of tourist information); (8) political and economic factors (i.e. political stability, political tendencies, terrorist attacks, safety, crime rate, economic development and prices); and (9) Leisure and recreations (i.e. golf, fishing, hunting, skiing, entertainment and sports activities, scuba diving, trekking, adventure activities, theme parks, water parks, zoos, casinos, nightlife and shopping).

Chi, C. G. Qing, & Qu, H. (2008) classified attributes into nine aspects, (1) travel environment (i.e. safe and secure environment, clean and tidy environment, friendly and helpful local people, tranquil & restful atmosphere and pleasant weather); (2) natural attractions (i.e. scenic mountain & valleys, scenery & natural attractions, gardens & springs, scenic drive, parks, lakes, rivers, wildlife, caves and underground formations); (3) entertainment & events (i.e. shows or exhibitions, cultural events & festivals, quality, fun, western music, nightlife and entertainment); (4) historic attractions (i.e. history & heritage and Vintage buildings); (5) infrastructure (i.e. restaurants, cuisine, shop facilities and accommodations); (6) accessibility (i.e. traffic flow and parking information, parking facilities, access to the area and affordable trolley system); (7) relaxation (i.e. spa, soothing the mind and refreshing the body, spiritual rejuvenation); (8) outdoor activities (i.e. boating, fishing, hiking, picnicking, camping and hunting, outdoor recreation and golfing) and (9) price and value (i.e. food, accommodation, good value for money, attractions and activities and good bargain shopping).

3.4. Factors Influencing Destination Image

Baloglu and McCleary (1999) identified two key forces which influence image formation; the forces were stimulus factors and personal factors. Gartner (1993) classified image formation into five sections; overt induced, covert induced, autonomous, organic and visit the destination. Um and Crompton (1990) personal factors affect the formation of destination image. Beerli and Martin (2004) classified personal factors into two sections; socio-demographic characteristics and psychological characteristics. Socio – demographic characteristics included gender, age, level of education, family life, social class, place of residence, occupation, income, marital status and country of origin (Sergio Dominique Ferreira Lopesi, (2011); Asli D.A. Tasci. (2007); Beerli & Martin (2004); Chen & Kerstetter, (1999); Baloglu & McCleary, (1999); Baloglu, (1997); Stabler,

(1995); Stern & Krakover, (1993) Walmsley & Jenkins, (1993). Um & Crompton, (1990); Woodside & Lysonsky, (1989); and Calantone, Di Benetton, Hakam & Bojanic, (1989)). Psychological factors included motivations, values, personality, lifestyle, need, past experience, prior knowledge, preference and satisfaction (Schreyer, R., Lime, D.W. & Williams, D.R., (1984); Woodside, A., and S. Lysonsky, (1989); Asli D.A. Tasci., (2007) & Sergio Dominique Ferreira Lopesi, (2011)).

3.5. Tourist Satisfaction

Tourist satisfaction is considered one of the prime variables to sustain competitive business in the tourism industry because it affects the choice of destination, consumption of products and services (Kozak & Rimmington, 2000). Tourist satisfaction has been one of the key areas of tourism research for more than four decades. Howard & Sheth (1969) "the buyers' cognitive state of being adequately or inadequately rewarded for the sacrifices he has undergone". Hunt (1977) "a kind of stepping away from an experience and evaluating it...the evaluation rendered that the experience was at least as good as it was supposed to be". Westbrook (1980) "refers to the favorability of the individual's subjective evaluation of the various outcomes and experiences associated with using or consuming it". Oliver (1981) "an evaluation of the surprise inherent in a product acquisition and/or consumption experience. In essence, the summary psychological state resulting when the emotion surrounding disconfirmed expectations is coupled with the consumer's prior feelings about the consumption experience". Day (1984) "the evaluative response to the current consumption event, the consumer's response in a particular consumption experience to the evaluation of the perceived discrepancy between prior expectations (or some other norm of performance) and the actual performance of the product perceived after its acquisition".

Tse and Wilton (1988) "The consumer's response to the evaluation of the perceived discrepancy between prior expectations (or some norm of performance) and the actual performance of the product as perceived after its consumption". Westbrook & Oliver (1991) "a post choice evaluative judgment concerning a specific purchase selection". Halstead, Hartman, and Schmidt (1994) "a transaction-specific affective response resulting from the customer's comparison of product performance to some pre purchase standard". Oliver (1997) "the consumer's fulfillment

response. It is a judgment that a product or service itself, provided (or is providing) a pleasurable level of consumption-related fulfillment, including levels of under- or over-fulfillment". The above satisfaction definitions were adopted from Gisse & Cote (2000) research paper. Kotler (2000) defined satisfaction as "a person's feelings of pleasure or disappointment resulting from comparing a product or service performance (or outcome) in relation to his or her expectations". Kim et al. (2003) "customer satisfaction is a post-purchase attitude formed through a mental comparison of the product and service quality that a customer expected to receive from an exchange."

3.6. Attributes of Satisfaction

Quite large number of research has been dedicated to examine the practice of which customer's decision about a service or product and number of theoretical structures has been proposed to examine the attributes of satisfaction (Gengqing Chi., 2005). Satisfaction attributes were measured by Parasuraman et al. Service Quality Scale interpretation ability (reliability, responsiveness & assurance) empathy and tangibility (Hwang, S.N., 2005 & Castro et al., 2007). Satisfaction were measured by efficiency, service quality, social value, play, aesthetics, perceived monetary cost, perceived risk, time & effort spent and perceived value (Gallarza et al., 2006). Satisfaction attributes were analysed by cognitive image of natural resources, cognitive image of service quality, cognitive image entertainment and affective image (Lucio Hernandez et al., 2006). Satisfaction of tourist measured by general satisfaction attribute satisfaction (i.e. attractions, accommodation, accessibility, amenities and activities) and met expectations. The satisfaction attributes included attractions, lodging, dining, shopping, accessibility, activities and events and environment (Chi, C. G. et al., 2008).

Attributes like perceived attractions, perceived quality, perceived risk and perceived value used measure the satisfaction of tourists (Quintal et al., 2008). Attributes like comfort facilities, safety & infrastructure, cultural attractions & shopping, tourist attractions & ambience and variety & accessibility affects tourist satisfaction (Girish Prayag, 2008). Overall destination image, destination image (i.e. attractions, accommodation, accessibility, amenities, activities, local community and shopping) impact on tourist satisfaction (Girish Prayag, 2009). Destination image, attitude, motivation,

natural landscapes, service and recreational equipments were attributes which affects the tourist satisfaction (Lee T.H., 2009). Attributes like travel environment, price or value, accessibility and natural attractions influence tourist satisfaction (Alqurneh Majid et al., 2010). Basic services, attractions and accessibility affect tourist satisfactions (Celeste Eusebio et al., 2011). Destination image, personal involvement, place attachment and overall satisfaction influence satisfaction of tourists (Prayag et al 2011 & Girish Prayag 2012). Tourist attractions, basic facilities, cultural attractions, touristy substructures and access possibilities, natural environment, variety and economical were influence tourist satisfaction (Coban, 2012).

3.7. Destination Loyalty

Newman and Werbel (1973) defined "loyal customers as those who re-buy a brand, consider only that brand, and do no brand-related information seeking". Tellis (1988) defined in "behavioral terms as repeat purchasing frequency or relative volume of same-brand purchasing". Hawkins, Best & Coney (1995) defined loyalty as "consumers' intentions or actual behavior to repeatedly purchase certain products or services". Oliver's (1997) definition of loyalty emphasizes the two different aspects of loyalty the behavioral and attitudinal concept: "a deeply held commitment to re-buy or re-patronize a preferred product/service consistently in the future, thereby causing repetitive same-brand or same brand-set purchasing, despite situational influences and marketing efforts having the potential to cause switching behavior". Oliver (1997) defined loyalty at a higher level, which he termed 'ultimate loyalty', as those consumers who "fervently desires to re-buy a product or service, will have no other, and will pursue this quest against all odds and at all costs". The following definitions were adopted from Jones & Taylor (2007). "Customer's aim to maintain a relationship with a particular service provider and make his or her next purchase in the category from this service provider" (Jones et al., 2000). "Customer's aims to dedicate all of his or her purchase category to particular service provider" (Reynolds & Arnold, 2000).

3.8. Determinants of Loyalty

Customer loyalty has been one of the key areas of business research for more than four decades and produced valuable insights into the process of building customer loyalty (Martina

Donnelly, 2009). Customer satisfaction, customer experience, value, service quality or performance, product superiority, personal fortitude, social bonding and synergy, customer involvement, price, risk, brand name, demographics, habits and history of brand usage (Petrick & Norman, 2001; Baker & Crompton, 2001; Oliver, 1999; Pritchard & Howard, 1997; Fick & Ritchie, 1991; Keller, 1998; Solomon et al, 1999 & Schiffman et al., 1997). Tourist loyalty antecedent's efficiency, service quality, social value, play, aesthetics, perceived monetary cost, perceived risk, time & effort spent and perceived value (Gallarza et al., 2006). Cognitive image of natural resources, cognitive image of service quality, cognitive image entertainment and affective image were influences loyalty level of tourist (Lucio Hernandez et al., 2006). Attributes like comfort facilities, safety & infrastructure, cultural attractions & shopping, tourist attractions & ambience and variety & accessibility affects tourist loyalty (Girish Prayag, 2008). Tourist loyalty depends on satisfactions of tourist (i.e. attractions, accommodation, accessibility, amenities and activities) and met expectations (Chi, C. G. et al., 2008). Overall destination image, destination image (i.e. attractions, accommodation, accessibility, amenities, activities, local community and shopping) impact on the antecedents of tourist loyalty (Girish Prayag, 2009). Basic services, attractions and accessibility affect the tourist loyalty (Celeste Eusebio et al., 2011). Destination image, personal involvement, place attachment and overall satisfaction influence antecedents of tourists (Prayag et al 2011 & Girish Prayag 2012).

3.9. Effects of Destination Image and Satisfaction on Loyalty

The effect of destination image and satisfaction on loyalty has been trendy research topic in tourism research. In 1970's destination image research was started by John Hunt, Edward Mayo and Clare Gunn. In 1990, Chon identify the influence of destination image on traveller behaviour and satisfaction. Murphy, Prichard and Smith (2000) have identified the positive relationship of environment, infrastructure, quality, value and intention to revisit with tourist experience and perceptions. Javier and Bign (2001) have revealed that destination image had direct relationship with perceived quality, satisfaction and intention to return and willingness recommend others. Gengoning Chi (2002) had developed and tested the theoretical model for building destination loyalty by using destination

image and satisfaction. George & George (2004) investigated the direct relationship among post purchase behavior, place attachment, intentions revisit and novelty seeking. Alcaniz (2005) revealed that the resident behavior had direct influence on destination image, tourist experience and future behavior intentions. Yoon and Uysal (2005) tested the casual relationship among the pull, push factors of motivation, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty.

Ibrahim (2005) had highlighted the influence of destination image on the tourist's perception and satisfaction with reference to tourist demography indicators, destination's services, atmosphere, safety, comfort and culture. Hwang, Lee and Chen (2006) investigated the significant relationship between tourist involvements, place attachment and satisfaction. Lucio Hernández-Lobato, Maria Magdalena Solis-Radilla, Miguel Angel Moliner-Tena & Javier Sánchez- Garcia (2006) had confirmed the relationship among perceived image, service quality, satisfaction and loyalty. Gallarza, M. G., & Gil Saura, I. (2006) had investigated the casual relationship among perceived value, satisfaction and loyalty. Oom P, Joao Albino Silva, Julio Mendes & Manuela Guerreiro (2006) study had revealed the relationship between satisfaction and destination loyalty in the Portugal context. Carmen Barroso Castro, Enrique Martin Armario & David Martin Ruiz (2007) had investigated the relationship between destination image, service quality, satisfaction, future behavioral intentions and its impact on destination market in the Spain context. Christina Geng-Qing Chia & Hailin Qu (2008) had tested the theoretical and empirical evidence of relationship among destination image, satisfaction and loyalty in the Eureka Spring's hotel and motel. Girish Prayag (2008) had explored the relationship between destination image, satisfaction and overall visitor's loyalty in the Cape Town context.

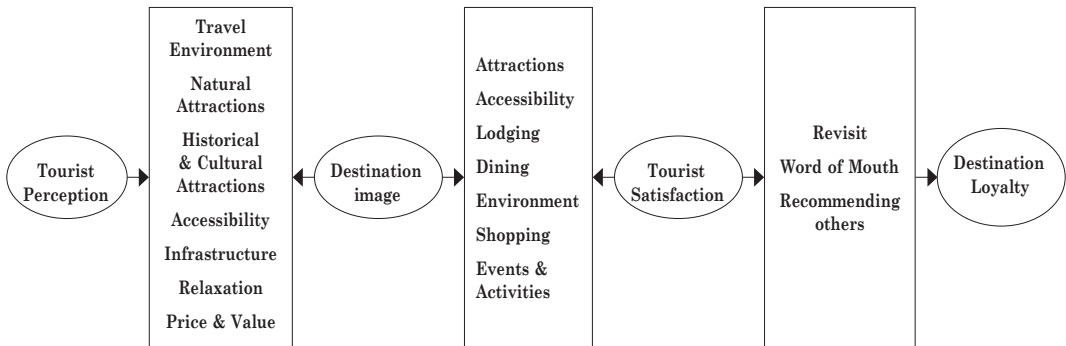
Quintal, Vanessa and Phau, Ian (2008) had identified the effect of perceived attractiveness, quality, value and risk on tourist revisit intentions in the western Australian context. Faullant, Kurt Matzler & Johann Fuller (2008) had identified the impact of destination image and tourist satisfaction on destination loyalty in Alpine Ski resorts context. Lee, T.H. (2009) had examined the relationship between destination image, satisfaction and the future behavioral intentions in Tamoni eco-village, Taiwan. Hosany & Witham (2009) had studied the relationship between cruise tourist experiences, satisfaction and future behavioral intentions in the context of Cruise. Tsung Hung Lee (2009)

had investigated the relationship between destination image, attitude, motivation, satisfaction and future behavioral intentions of tourist in south west Taiwan context. Girish Prayag (2009) identified the significant relationship between destination image, overall image, overall satisfaction and future behavioral intentions in Mauritius island context.

Mechinda, Serirat & Gulid (2009) had examined the antecedents of tourist's loyalty towards tourist destination and describe the attitude difference between international and domestic tourist towards destination in the context of Thailand. Majeed Alqurneh, Filzah MD Isa, and Abdul Rahim Othman (2010) had examined the influence of destination image and satisfaction on loyalty in the context of Jordan. Zabkar, Brenic & Dmitrovic (2010) had inspected the relationship among destination quality, visitor's satisfaction and behavioral intentions of the tourists in the context of Slovenia. Prayag & Ryan (2011) had developed theoretical model for loyalty by incorporating the constructs of destination image, place attachment, personal involvement and satisfaction in the context of Mauritius. Assaker, Guy Vinzi, Vincenzo Esposito O'Connor & Peter (2011) had investigated the effects of novelty seeking, destination image, overall satisfaction and intentions to revisit in the context of France. Meng, Liang & Yang (2011) had identified the significant relationship among the cruise image, perceived image, satisfaction and post purchase behavioral intentions of the tourists in the context of Taiwan.

Hosany & Prayag (2011) had identified the significant relationship among tourist emotional and satisfaction on destination loyalty in the context of South East England. Sadeh, Asgari, Mousavi & Sadeh (2012) had identified the tourist loyalty model by using tourist satisfaction, destination image, perceived value and tourist satisfaction in the context of Iran. Suzan Coban (2012) had inspected the impact of destination image and tourist satisfaction on destination loyalty in the context of Cappadocia. Mohamad, Abdullah & Mokhlis (2012) had determined the perception of foreign tourists of Malaysia and the predicting that influence the formation of the tourists' future behavioral intentions. Chi .C. G. (2012) had investigated the difference between the first time and repeat visitors evaluation of destination image, tourist attribute, overall satisfaction and destination loyalty in the context of Eureka Spring resort. Girish Prayag (2012) had developed theoretical model for loyalty by incorporating the construct of destination image, place attachment,

Figure 1: Impacts of Tourist Perception, Destination Image and Tourist satisfaction on Destination Loyalty



personal involvement and satisfaction in the context of Mauritius. Osti, Disegna & Brida (2012) had investigated the effects of satisfaction and loyalty on future behavioral intentions of the tourist in the context of Indonesia. Kim, Holland & Han (2012) had investigated and developed theoretical relationship among destination image, service quality and perceived value impact on tourist satisfaction and future behavioral intentions in the context of Orlando.

5. Conclusion

The purpose of this study is to develop holistic theoretical model of destination loyalty by using tourist perception, destination image, tourist satisfaction and its attributes. Its effects and antecedents may serve as a theoretical background designing measurement instrument for destination managers. Analyzing the antecedents of tourist perception, destination image, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty may provide insight in the process of creating destination loyalty at both construct and indicator level. This study developed a holistic model for destination loyalty. The model is built with help of five constructs. The construct are pre trip image, post trip image, destination image, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty. This study is analysis the components, attributes, factor influence tourist perception, destination image, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty. The proposed study could be modified to allow the measurement of other tourism ancillary sector tourist loyalty. An universal methodology basis for used to measure tourist perception, destination image, tourist satisfaction and destination loyalty at different interaction points across a

single destination would thus help in identifying the weakest elements in a destination's integrated offer and provide a valuable input for managerial decision making processes.

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Aesthetics and Tourism

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Abstract: The aim of this few comments is to link tourism to the desire for beauty that seems to be side by side with humankind since the very beginnings. Reflections are grounded on Benjamin's interpretation of Baudelaire, on Boorstin, MacCannel and Urry, as well as on my own field experience and intend to stimulate more research on the role played by aesthetics in tourism experience.

Key words: Image destination; Aesthetics and Tourism.

A brief starting point

Why tourist destinations are sold as "paradises"?; Why some resorts in poor places of the third world encapsulate their guest to prevent them from the sight of slums?; Why gentrified or refurbished neighborhoods or harbors have such an appeal not only as tourist attractions but as spaces of leisure. Scape seems to be the answer. Beauty matters for everybody since humankind exists.

On the wish for beauty (aesthetical approach)

Paleontologists and archeologists have found evidences of a sense of beauty in pre-historic communities, in handicrafts, paintings and also burial places where vestiges of flowers were detected. Greek and roman wall paintings and engravings testify ancient cultures enjoyed wearing several kind of ornaments. Egyptian Nefertiti's necklaces and Tutankhamen treasures, or Cleopatra's pearls in western culture; colorful feathers in America and Africa. Let alone Chinese porcelain which demanded long years of research for Europeans to find the formula and industrialize. Why would they be so interested in? A flowerpots is a flowerpot.... why should people want to have a china one? Because Chinese porcelain is beautiful, each piece a work of art.

A survey on tourism magazines accounts for endless appeals to enjoy paradise, displaying photos of blue seas, green islands, sailing boats, palm trees, splendorous sunsets. Also urban tourism is sold with images of beauty; impressive cityscapes inviting to be walked, beautifully dressed people, gorgeous show cases, glittering spot lights, cozy restaurants.

Everywhere in tourism or leisure folders beautiful dishes are presented. A meal should be a meal, but faced to different options people would take the most beautifully arranged, regardless of the taste. ...That's what "eating with the eyes" is about ... selecting food according to an aesthetic judgment.

Tourists' quest is for beauty. Aesthetics matters. The way rooms are decorated, the uniform staff wares at hotels and planes, the way the girl's hair is dressed, their makeup. Sometimes even wearing glasses could be a reason not to be admitted as a clerk just to fit the expectations of tourists seeking for a perfect world, a kind of Tomas Morus island of Utopia where everybody is happy and perfect, never overweight... Films and TV episodic shows as Fantasy Island could be labeled as emblematic of that desire of reaching paradise by plane...

Assuming tourists are in search of beauty, it is easy to understand why in tourism folders

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there are no images of garbage, floods, burglary or poverty ; no homeless depicted as well as devastated forest or polluted bays and dying fishes in the sand.

Some fifty years ago United States American historian Daniel Boorstin triggered a never-ending discussion on the way tourism had overcome the true experience of travel, and tourist consumed pseudo-events. Pseudo-events was a concept he created to mean synthetic novelties tailored to fit consumers' expectations, be those consumers tourists or not. From the 1960 decade on, he says, the main concern is to build images, not only because they sell, but because it "is what people wants to buy" (Boorstin, 1992:204). Tourists travel to a foreign country, he says, to check whether their impressions on the Trevi Fountain or of Hong Kong matches their portrayal in movies (Boorstin, 1992:116). I don't intend to argue about that statement, because there is no single tourist, there are tourists in plural so some of them may enjoy pseudo-events, others may not. What I really want to append is that tourists enjoy aesthetics in any event, staged or not, and the buy beautiful images, not any.

Following the former's thoughts, even in discordance with most assertions about tourists desires, anthropologist Dean McCannel reinforced this vision of tourism as a kind of spurious experience, where people were offered a staged authenticity. Supported by Gofmann's theory of front and back regions, MacCannel (1967:102) considered that back regions were decorated, sometimes "cosmetically decorated" to create a kind of atmosphere to make the place look authentic or suitable. The question is, why should back regions need decoration? Aesthetics is the obvious answer. Any reader would agree that to visit a messy kitchen in the restaurant is very different from visiting a neat one.

In tourism market, the first thing costumers make contact with is the image of the place they will visit. A collection of images of beauty, peace and neatness selected and photo shopped by marketing and advertising¹. Once arrived to tourism destinations or tourism attractions, those who want to see the back stages have an anticipated idea of what they want to see. And they don't expect dirt or lack of order, they expect the aesthetics they have foreseen.

Like people, tourist attractions or facilities, cityscapes and landscapes, are appreciated if properly dressed and perfumed.

As Baudelaire remarked in XIX century, and Benjamin analyzing his poems about 1930, the beauty of the arcades in Paris gave birth to *fla-*

nerie. The *flaneur* came to be, when the streets became clean and peaceful, when the images of what a city should be became real.

The will of strolling around seems to be the only thing that has not changed in tourism since its very beginnings three centuries ago, or even before. On march the 5th 1787 Wolfgang Goethe wrote about Naples:

I can't begin to tell you of the glory of a night by full moon when we strolled through the streets and squares to the endless promenade of the Chiaia, and then walked up and down the seashore. I was quite overwhelmed by a feeling of infinite space. (Goethe, 1970:191)

Later in Paris the arcades (glass covered street pathways) should offer the *flaneur's* eyes the possibility of transforming the city in scape. He would be at ease experiencing the new rhythm of crowded cities and passing by elegant shops cases just for the aesthetic experience of watching².

By the end of the XXth century Urry would also state that tourism consumption is image oriented, it is visual consumption, and that tourists look forward sight-seeing, either natural landscapes or cityscapes. Sights that make them sigh....Of course tourists are not all the same; the generic tourist does not exist; some tourists do like morbid experiences as visiting war places but we can argue that is an aesthetic option too³. The consumption of places is increasingly aestheticized and less functional, Urry sentences (1995:151).

Few intellectual tourists would care –or even be aware- if poor dwellers are hidden out by walls at a tourism resort in a Caribbean island. And not because tourists are insensitive or evil people, but because, on the contrary, they do care, and the sight of harsh living conditions, the smell of garbage or sewage, hurts. As well as a fallen tree, an abandoned train, ship wreckage, or an ancient house turning into debris.

Tourist places are meant to be sites of pleasure (Urry, 1990: 125), that's why gentrified neighborhoods and harbors have had such an outstanding success from the 1960's on.

A recent field research conducted by myself with Master candidates in Architecture in a refurbished street downtown Florianopolis (Brazil) had as an outcome that one of the most important motives to like gentrified neighborhoods is just walking around. No car permitted or restrictive traffic rules offer safety; law enforcement offers security, and inhibits the typical harassment in third world public places due to social inequalities. But what interviewees reported to like best is the surrounding beauty.

Surprising as it may seem, most store owners were not worried about more earnings or profits; they were just proud the street they are settled in had turned into a such beautiful place. As for pedestrians, large and neat sidewalks, clean roofs which protect from rain and sun but also embellish, elegant and colorful showcases, comfortable benches, fragrant flower pots, restored old buildings with glorious facades, sometimes calm music, make the difference.

Like baudelairian *flâneurs*, post-modern citizens as well as tourists love “hanging around” enjoying every sensation, every aesthetic experience that places them into the image of paradise they have idealized for their pleasure trip or leisure moments.

I hope these few comments above may trigger further research on the role beauty and aesthetics play in tourism consumption and tourists choices.

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Notas

- ¹ Correspondence between images and experience will not be analyzed here.
- ² Which came to an end with department stores (Benjamin, 1985)
- ³ The focus here is on leisured tourists. Cultural tourism may trigger another kind of argument.

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En los últimos años nuestros bienes patrimoniales culturales y naturales han ido adquiriendo una relevancia cada vez mayor en el contexto de las políticas de conservación y desarrollo, tanto a nivel latinoamericano como mundial, lo que se expresa en un número creciente de bienes y espacios protegidos por la legislación y un gran interés por parte de la comunidad en cuanto a su conservación y puesta en valor. Sin embargo es también importante el reconocimiento que adquiere el patrimonio local y doméstico, por su carácter identitario y simbólico, aun cuando ellos no hayan alcanzado la protección legal que les brinda el Estado. En este contexto se genera **AMERICA PATRIMONIO** ISSN0719-0182 la primera revista de patrimonio que reúne la opinión y el trabajo de todo un continente entorno al vasto patrimonio cultural y natural que nos rodea.

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Destination image, image at destination. Methodological aspects

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Abstract: Today, the part played by the image in the development of tourism, and, specially, as a differentiation element of a destination area is widely acknowledged. This is reflected to a great extent in the literature that focuses its interest on identifying the variables that motivate the purchase or stimulate the decision process. However, the reference to feedback processes or image control mechanisms as well as their creation, is surprising. An approach model to these processes will be exposed in this article.

Key words: Image destination; cultural hybridization; motivation; decision processes.

1. Introduction

Competitiveness, dynamism, innovation, and entrepreneurship are relevant components of the tourist system, and references to them are found in almost any academic article, institutional declaration, implementation project or request for benefits that the tourist activity implies. The tourist system is the pure reflection of the binomial enterprise-consumption and its associated lifestyles imported from the western economies. The 'paper napkin's' *consumption-culture*, the hailing of the ephemeral usage of goods is reflected in tourism in the demand of a constant renovation, of shape or content, in the products and destinations. Some of these renewed elements are obvious, and their consumer is a participant of the service, the activities or the complements to leisure time that trends may lead. However, others are not so evident, and behind the aesthetic conditioning, there's the offer of opportunities, recently created traditions and reinterpretations of the nature and culture of which the client is a willing accomplice. Both are the

contexts of the 'destination image' and of the 'image at the destination' that, stale or influenced by virtual qualities and technologies, are created, consumed and reproduce markets and consumers in a paradoxical game of continuity and renovation, of familiarity and contrast, of tradition (reference to the past rebuilt to taste) and modernity. All of it displayed without cracks, as a whole only dividable if the customer so wishes or can do it on his/her own.

A limitation that occasionally goes unnoticed is that the imaginaries and their referents must be chosen, combined and differentiated to a more or less defined market-clientele (codes and socio-cultural groups, economic and educational level, age range, demands...). Furthermore, at the same time, image is constrained by a series of available physical elements (attributes that want to be resources that want to be products) and a business and hardworking population that must also adapt or show itself flexible enough to seasonality, changes of consumers groups, the work circumstances, etc., and also a resident population that must adjust itself to the

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changes that happen around it. A multivariate and multi-causal process in a constant situation of change that from a cyclic perspective (TALC de R. Butler, 1980; Baum, 1998 and Agarwal, 2006), of networks (Pavlovich, 2003) or evolutionary (Breakey, 2005; Awang et al. 2009; Ma& Hassink, 2013), has been described and is still under discussion and advancement.

Currently there is a wide interdisciplinary consensus on the importance that the image has as the system's core and motor while promoting the motivation, the purchase and the consumption in the destination. A good example of this is that only the studies on the impacts of tourism draw the same level of attention in the developed researches. Such relevance can be seen in works such as the ones by Gallarza, Gil Saura and Calderón García (2002), and Frías, Rodríguez and Castañeda (2007), who have made a comprehensive and thoughtful review of the bibliography about the image, or Baloglu and McCleary (1999), who, in a text that has marked several later researches, review the main works that have been developed about items such as the impact of the visit, the image's familiarity, the relation between the tourist's geographical location and the image, measure of the destination image, its components and influential factors; the difference between the tourist's image (demand) and the image displayed by the destination, the variations in the image according to the trip's purpose, or the relation between socio-demographical variables and the destination image.

As a whole, it is possible to distinguish three approaches among the different types of studies on the image: those of static structure, that examine the relation between the image and the tourist's behaviour; those of dynamic structure, that focus their interest on the conformation and production of the tourist destination image; and those of consequential structure, focused on the image's effect on the system's set of actors. Nonetheless, given the dynamic conception of tourism as an open system, the study of the relation between the different approaches seems indispensable. In this sense, none of the multiple elements and complex processes that constitute the tourist system is separated from the rest, nor detached from the outside world, as the system itself is intrinsically and mutually related to other systems. It is precisely this characteristic of constant interdependence that gives the tourist system a high degree of openness, flexibility and dynamism, and, with that, it constitutes itself as re-adaptable to the different conditions of the surroundings (physical, socio-cultural and economical), giving space to new

problems. This text presents itself as a reflection tool on the phenomena and processes related to the tourist images, from the development of the analysis model followed by this research team, based on that systemic conception of tourism.

2. The image's conceptual construction

Since the nineties (Um and Crompton, 1990; Chon, 1991; Gartner, 1993; Gallarza et al., 2002) one is prone to consider the image as a complex and subjective conceptual construct (Bigné, Sánchez, and Sánchez, 2001) in which emotions and reasoning of the consumer are melted with assessments that compare the experience and the knowledge about the destination. Bibliography stresses how this gets a leading role, being understood as a global, holistic sensation, from the set of impressions that a visitor of a place has. (Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; Gartner, 1993; Coshall, 2000; Gallarza, Gil and Calderón, 2002). In the same way, the perception is converted into a concept linked to the image, being this one constituted by the 'mental representation' or 'global perception' of the multiple components of the tourist destination on the part of the consumer tourist (cognitive component; Hunt, 1975; Assael, 1984; Gartner, 1986; Calantone et al. 1989; Echtner and Ritchie, 1991; Coshall, 2000; Murphy, Pritchard and Smith, 2000; Bigné and Sánchez, 2001) and the valuations and feelings that are awoken (affective component) (González Bernáldez, 1981, 1985; Baloglu, S. and Brinberg, D., 1997). This way, one understands that the image is constituted as a subjective concept, i. e., as "the interiorisation of the perceptions" of the tourist. (Gallarza, Gil and Calderón, 2002). This type of conception is integrated in a changing notion of the image, focused both in the physical attributes of the destination's area, and the perception on the part of the consumer-tourist, who is the one that finally shapes, out of all of it, a unique photogram charged with sensibilities, emotions and evaluations, both cognitive and affective. (San Martín Gutiérrez, Rodríguez del Bosque Rodríguez and Vázquez Casilles, 2006). Thus, image becomes individualized (since the definition brought in by Hunt, 1975), and, furthermore, marked by the role of activity-passivity played by every tourist during his/her trip (Mercille, 2005), circumscribed to consumption and associated marketing.

It is understood that this perspective of the image's analysis would set aside other actors and dynamics implicated in the process of design, formation and transmission that will strike the

imaginary of destination and at the destination. I. e., on one hand, the profile that the implicated groups at the origin (locals and residents, institutions and politicians, business men and investors, operators and retailers) display of their area (territory, history, beliefs, language, activities, products, etc.) in the construction of the destination's identity, which will identify it as such (uniqueness) or by subjective comparison with others. And, on the other hand, the different cultural variations that will be offered in the tourist contact and, in their case, taken in as valid cultural modifications. In this sense, it is understood that the image in the system is, practically, the item that sets the destination and largely determines the satisfaction and the tourist recollection, mainly by comparison, in the experience of being a tourist of a destination. But, yet, the socio-cultural effects on local populations of images foreign to themselves, or prepared for their better understanding and consumption by the others, are felt in the medium term, changing patterns and behavioural traits, values and relations, reconstructing the local identities (Franklin and Crang, 2001). The tourism system thus plays an important role as a signifying and resignifying agent of the territory and landscape (its aesthetical version). Thus, the genesis of an important part of the tourist destinations depends more on the images that are displayed, than on the real characteristics of the space to visit, creating a reinvented landscape, both for investors and for tourists (Valcuende del Río, 2012).

With the benefits of hindsight, it seems necessary to look at the image in a global manner, which implies to clearly differentiate between the process of conception, design and of putting in usage the materials that shape the displayed image (campaigns in areas of demand and destination, actions to foster the coincidence between the exhibited and the available, improvements in the profiles presented for each consumer typology...) and the perception and intake processes ('creation' and individual comparison). It's about opening the schemes and models of research to a twofold track of feedback and interconnected processes that methodologically allow a step-by-step study with valid indicators in each one of them. Thus, one contemplates a set of seven sub-processes of the global image, interconnected but operationally dividable, both in their analysis and in their implementation (Table 1).

It is usually supposed that the attributes on which a destination image rests are partly physical (a surrounding, infrastructures, climate) and partly tangible (culture, kindness, familiarity,

well-doing, identity, service promises or activity, creation of experiences compromises and living of emotions). It is in this context of new quests that the resident populations, formerly passive actors, become consubstantial part of the image constructed for the motivation at the consumers' source, and that the 'self-image' (the one that the residents perceive of themselves and of the area in which they live) becomes important.

Whilst the 'self-image's study is seldom incorporated in the tourist analysis, that did not happen to its attitudes towards tourism (Getz, 1994; Ryan and Montgomery, 1994; Lindberg and Johnson, 1997; Lawson, Williams, Young and Cossens, 1998; Smith and Krannich, 1998), given the importance granted to the way they possibly affect the perceived image. The incorporation of the self-image can bring truthfulness to the campaigns, identifying attributes and avoiding unnecessary performances, but also establishing limits (spatial, qualitative or temporal) (Kolozyovskiy, 1986) to development or to tourist exploitation of the areas. It is understood that the self-image may not be unique, inasmuch that it will depend on the different socio-cultural groups that will adjust the local population of the area and the levels of integration of the foreign population with those groups and between them. But whereas that it is influenced by the images offered to tourism, in the long term, it may get simplified to a great extent. In an ideal situation, a major part of the self-image may be reflected at least in the image made for sale, and, finally, in the sold image, but this seldom occurs. The ideal representations that each one – each group – may have of itself and its territory (more productive than aesthetic) are hardly fitted by the demand for the mythical place, paradise in its multiple and changing versions, that may coexist in the tourist generating countries. For this reason, it's not odd to find constructed and advertised images about virtual resources, fleeting or too adorned, and neither is the inclusion as *atrezzo* of such variable elements as the climate or social events, which make invisible the rest of real aspects that aren't consistent with the imaginary intended to be constructed.

As previous backdrop, the self-image, the daily life (through the economic and organizational efficiency to the resident population and the demands of the market logic), is conceived in a copy, whose quality is measured in terms of its adaptation to consumption. It is converted in an argument for its sale as a constructed image, showing the ease of access, innocuousness and exoticism, in the classical model, or danger, risk, distress and adventure, in the most refined forms of design of the new tourist experiences, more or less charged with sensationalism, whether we move from 'authenticity' to 'reality' marketed by tourism. Motivations, expectations,

Table 1. Deconstruction of the implied processes in the tourist image.

		TYPE OF IMAGE	DESCRIPTION	MEDIA	TYPE OF INFORMATION
DISPLAYED IMAGE	SECONDARY SOURCES	<i>Constructed Image</i>	General image created at the destination to attract specific consumers according to the different interests.	Cinema, literature, documentaries, guides, etc.	– Autonomous
		<i>Promoted Image</i>	Adequacy on the part of institutions and enterprises oriented to the marketing according to the concrete demand for the products or attract consumers according different interests.	Leaflets, web pages, adverts, virtual social networks, etc.	– Obvious (conventional advertising of local institutions and wholesale enterprises)
		<i>Re-created Image</i>	Tour-operators' selection and combination of products and destinations suiting the demand.	Catalogues, leaflets, posters, adverts, etc.	– Covert (Non evident promotion using famous people, news coverage or non advertising articles)
		<i>Sold Image</i>	Individual modification in the sale process by the retailers (tourist enterprises, travel agencies...).	Individualized communication	– Direct
APREHENDED IMAGE	PRIMARY SOURCES	<i>Self-Image</i>	Local way of conceiving themselves and their surroundings.	Daily life and displayed images.	
		<i>Perceived Image</i>	Interpretation and valuation of the visit.	Experience of the visited place, stereotypes and expectations previous to the visit.	– Organic (information transmitted by relatives and friends)
		<i>Shared Image</i>	Setting of the recollection and transmission upon arrival at the point of origin.	Photos, souvenirs, individualized communication, virtual social networks, etc.	– By the visit's experience

Source: own elaboration based on Santana (2009) and Beerli and Martín (2004).

and multidimensional activities (Villa, 2001), that are reflected in the image's complexity and intangibility.

Image is often drawn according to the interest of diverse stakeholders. It is usually found with three, more or less limited, strategies: (i) a joint participative (collaborative) policy of all the involved in the design of such an image (direct actors in the destination), in the selection of the attributes, conjunction of products and their physical and emotional reference points for the destination's identity. (ii) A more or less interested selection done around the products and activities available in the area, grouped by theme blocks or sub-territorial areas, and (iii) a conglomerate of initiatives, more or less compatible and generally exogenous, that tend to overrate the destination's attributes, such as resources, supposing their demand (common, yet nonexclusive, in forms of image that intend to stimulate cultural tourism, ethno tourism, etc.).

Whatever the case may be, the ideas that compose such designs have to be materialized in several

advertising campaigns, thus forming what has been denominated *advertised image*. A design marked for merchandising, to a great extent oriented by the demand and the campaign's creatives, about some attributes more or less present in the area, and by the constructed image. Regional and local institutions, and, to a lesser extent, businessmen will contribute to its configuration. Through the analysis of recent promotional campaigns it's observable how the 'creator leader' (person or group) of the tourist organizations-institutions prints his/her brand seeking to consolidate (often by legislative periods): destination projects that express a certain level of quality (conditioned by the destination's competence and identity); honesty (no cheating the client); preparation (professionalism in the offered services and products); and response capacity to the values and wishes of a group or segment of the targeted market segment (tendency for tourism à-la-carte). Attaining goals (number, frequency and type of tourists) and organization maturity (persistency) will determine to great extent the project's strength, and, within the limi-

tations and uncertainties of the tourist system, their real durability (successful time in the market).

Although drastic changes seldom occur, the passage of the constructed image to the perceived one compels to small adjustments in order to adapt to the needs of merchandising facing concrete market segments (potential tourists), the variations in the demand and the competence of other destinations. This form taken by the image is both enormously flexible (allowing certain alterations by changing products or enhancing new resources) and definer of the destination facing the consumer (who imitates the previous characteristic). The advertised image, with an important physical component, tangible, that is reflected on pamphlets, leaflets, stickers, posters and other forms of advertising material, is the one that can be found with other props in the tourist holidays. These are addressed, mainly, to tour operators and retailers or travel agents, although in some occasions it is possible that big campaigns are made to reach the greater audience.

The general importance of this component of the global image is rooted in its position as a conscious and unconscious motivator that encourages the individual to join the tourist current, through symbolic stimuli that evoke certain states of mind (relaxation, adventure, discovery, entertainment, etc.). In a more concrete scope, its objective is to contribute to consolidate the purchase decision on a destination and a determined type of tourism. At this point, the advertised image can be assigned both the role of generator an strengthener of stereotypes about the destination (of group character) (Echtner y Ritchie, 1991; Gallarza et al., 2002) and of expectation's promoter (of individual character) (Litvin and MacLaurin, 2001; Litvin and Ng Sok Ling, 2001) about the area, the advertised products and the emotions caused by their consumption. Nonetheless, it must be understood that the image of the tourist destinations is incremental, i. e., not directly replaceable from one promotional campaign to the other. Thus, areas with a negative or degraded image will have to commit much more effort, resources and time (Fakeye and Crompton, 1992) than others with a strong positive image, to be included in the pool of eligible destinations in the processes of decisions making (Frías et al., 2007). However, determining the elective destination is also conditioned by other factors, fundamentally economic costs, discounts and payment possibilities or debt), temporal (seasonality, coincidence with non-labour or school periods) and incidental (presence of underage or elderly people, weather, safety, time of travel, etc.).

Although destination areas increasingly promote themselves (proposing themselves as eligible), they

are not often charged of their products sales' processes (like reservation centrals). The market is monopolized by some multinational group operators (Wholesale agents) (up to 55% of the holidays booked in the United Kingdom in 2001, according to Parra López, Melchior Navarro and Ramos Domínguez, 2003). Adapting to the demand, generating it, and a better business composition (Martin de la Rosa, 2003), tour operators may combine both products of a same destination, and products of differentiated areas, and including several destinations with all their products. They can even create totally new products (mainly services) that will be inserted in determined destinations. Thus, one can recognise a *re-created image*, which can be non-homogenously launched into the market by the different operators, parallel to the advertised image that will be injected by the institutions, organizations and, seldom, enterprises (Andreu, Bigné and Cooper, refer to the sent image that, in the proposed conceptual scheme, we have methodologically subdivided in advertised and re-created image).

In this process, the tour operator brings the trip closer to the consumer, making his/her adaptation and purchase of a specific product (set of goods and services) possible. This gets to the client through the travel agencies (retail agents) that may substantially modify, positively or negatively, the images and impressions that he/she may have created about the destination so far. The travel agent doesn't usually know firsthand neither the destination, nor the products, nor the advertised (an even less the one made for sale) with which he/she ultimately interprets and offers the possible consumer destination-product(s). This is done based on the material supplied by the tour operator (re-created image) and the salesperson's experience-skill itself. In practice, the information provided by the travel agents again introduces some variations, not unimportant ones, in the image, shaping the *sold image*. Both images, re-created and sold (corresponding to the distribution channels as active subjects) are those that consolidate concrete expectations about the potential client-tourist who acquires the temporally limited enjoyment of products made up of goods, services, activities, territory, climate, landscape, culture, etc. Or, which is the same, he/she pays for temporal and agreed on appropriation of the destination and the repeatable experiences in it.

The displayed images (advertised, re-created and sold) are defined from a series of variables or codes (adapted from Ronai, 1976). These are:

- (1) The psychological code: from which one searches for figures or representations that evoke emotions or revive experiences.

- (2) The aesthetical code: the set of colours, distance, texture, etc., that presents the surroundings as anthropic or physical work of art.
- (3) The unconscious code: attributing the wanted destination adjectives that may orient the receiver on the form of a subliminal message.
- (4) The mythical code: reference to the irrational, the fantasy, the lost paradise, with certain characteristics of its people, but always emphasizing, and according to the receiver, its archaic character, or its progress.
- (5) The strategic code: highlights the privileged position, based on the values that are meant to stand out.
- (6) The geographical/human code: epic exposure of physical characteristics, such as geomorphology, climate, etc., giving a special importance to contrasts. The inhabitants of the area are treated the same way, and so are the traits that one wants of it.
- (7) The infrastructural code: the communication with the destination, but emphasizing the vectors pertaining the commodity for the holiday and/or the trip, highlighting the possibility of evasion, or, if appropriate, the environmental ideologies.

These can operatively be simplified and broken into four categories of elements: (i) functional (mobility, infrastructures, possibilities of relation or activity); (ii) picturesque and grandiose (peculiar scenes with artistic qualities, monumentality and landscape architecture); (iii) emotional (evocation of feelings); and (iv) unique (tangible or intangible attributes exclusive to an area and only of it).

Equally important, the layout of the destination-spectacle, where everything that happens can be constructed and regulated as an attractive, concludes with its presentation to the consumer population with style uniformity, vocabulary and thematic diversity (according to the groups of target consumers) and standard representative icons. Depending on the products and specific tourist activities (*reality tourism*, *voluntourism* and similar forms are set aside), a fundamentally aesthetic valuation of the area happens, hiding possible contradictions, both between the space and the rest of the hosting society, and between the social groups that compose it, offering an apparent harmony.

3. Individuality and recollection in the tourist image

The subject of the glance, the tourist-actor apprehends the image as a part of his/her daily processes and as an object of the culture that he/she visits (normally hidden behind the veil of the tourist activity) in an exercise of codification, interpretation and comparative valuation from their way of life and culture of origin, mediated by the tourist system. The spatiality and temporality of daily life are limited in the destination, if not suspended beforehand, reinforcing the immanent (essential) character of the one created for enjoyment. This is the place in which the image is completed. Therefore, the perceived image is shown as a total set (Assael, 1984) of beliefs, ideas, and impressions of the visited place (Crompton, 1979), overlapping the stereotypes and expectations accumulated before the visit.

In this sense, the individual image as a mental representation goes through a large process of formation that can begin even before the potential client has the motivation to travel. This can happen indirectly, inasmuch as the individuals have access to global information that is being themed according to personal interests, as well as group, social, political, environmental ones among others, which results in the emergence of specific states of opinion and knowledge. A preset of simplified images and stereotypes (the 'organic image' proposed by Gunn, 1972; developed by Fakeye and Crompton, 1991) according to socio-demographic characteristics (sex, age, education and socio-economic level, mainly). Surely this type of indirect information is usually vague and inaccurate, but it predisposes individuals to the reception of more elaborate speeches in a tourist fashion (induced image, according to the same authors, or projected image, according to the previous conceptualization) and, consequently, to a greater probability of occurrence of motivations (Castaño, Crego and Moreno, 2006) and selection of a concrete type of destination.

Baloglu and McCleary (1999) clarify that the image duration rests on the direct or indirect knowledge of the actual attributes of a place about which emotions are generated, differentiating between stimulus factors (information sources according to quantity, type, previous experience and distribution) and personal factors (psychological – values, motivations and personality – and social – socio-demographic characteristics). In the empirical application of this model, Beerly and Martín (2004) develop

a categorization of the stimulus factors, distinguishing between secondary sources (basically perceived information before the visit, distinguishing between organic, induced and autonomous) and primary sources (formed during the visit in question). They also determine the important influence of the first (mainly of the sources of induced information – distribution channels – and autonomous – travel guides –) as determining factors of the destination's choice and of the global perceived image.

Although the tourist's individual characteristics will, to a greater or lesser extent, condition the apprehension of the destination image and its evaluation, the stereotypes that nowadays are disseminated by the mass media (Bardón Fernández, 1991) distort it and try to force the individual to adapt his/her own observation/participation to the image that turns out to be the most convenient to the tourist business (more profitable and less costly). And something similar, but with more lasting consequences, happens to the destination populations. All seems to indicate that the experience as a tourist and the clients' socio-cultural original provenance, not their nationality directly (Beerly and Martin, 2004), will influence both the cognitive and affective aspects of the perceived image. Both aspects base their relevance in the capacity and knowledge of the comparison of images, attributes, services and experiences of the destination, with the ones lived before during their travels or daily life, and also with the pre-trip expectations. In this sense, the impressions and emotions are always subjective (and hardly quantifiable) and, although related, they are found separated from the tourist destination's tangible elements. Attributions that are appraisingly confronted are almost specifically done on these elements, highlighting not only the indicated similarity or difference, but also tending to generalization by analogy.

Previous studies (Cruz Modino, 2004; Pinto da Silva Santos, 2010; Rodríguez et al., 2010; Rodríguez Darias, 2011) show that, although the tourist in the destination is continuously in an exercise of contrast (including with the most familiar), any unexpected or anomalous element will be included in the affective balance and positively or negatively evaluated. Facing the similarity of aspects, qualities or relations with a previously experienced situation, the individual will develop emotions and forms of behaviour as if he/she were responding to that initial situation, affecting the perceived image at the present moment. Being based on impressions, this process is one of the reasons for which the

destination's perceived image may move away (Gartner, 1993) from what the resident population and the destination's permanent agents may consider, let it be carefully said, an objective or real image.

The confrontation, on the tourist's part, of the perceived image (manifestation of the encounter; Santana Talavera, 2003) with the game of non-predictive expectations and stereotypes taken from the organic and displayed images, results in a evaluative judgment (cognitive affective) of his/her experience. That is what is known in tourism as 'satisfaction' (Westbrook, 1987; Echterner and Ritchie, 1991; Bigne et al., 2001). Being the profit maximization the final objective of tourism – to deny it is part of utopia –, the main concern of the destinations is to get a high level of satisfaction of their clientele, and, if possible, to retain both these tourists and their relatives. But, as it has been pointed out, many factors may distort the perceived image (Teye, Sónmez and Sirakaia, 2002) and with it, affect the levels of satisfaction (understood in a continuous bipolar gradation of no satisfaction-satisfaction) and dissatisfaction (equally of no dissatisfaction-satisfaction) (Westbrook, 1987). Through this, it is necessary to determine, not only such levels in a global way, but also to break them down at least into the same variables and factors used for the image's analysis and the creation of expectations, expressing them in gradient mode.

The tourist's experience is to be understood this way, as a set of life experiences that begins in the conscious motivations (Table 2), developing in the trip, the stay at the destination and return to their normality, concluding with setting of the recollection, its communication and the self-comparison with his/her peers (*Shared image*).

4. Operationalization of the proposed model

The analysis of formulated general image model poses the important difficulty of its multidimensional nature of spaces and actors, insofar as it not only implies the destination in itself, but also has to contemplate the cultures and implied cultural variations and processes of change (diachronic perspective). The complexity is evident when reviewing the different research designs that have been used, in which only the determination of variables has been the object of major discussions. Gallarza et al. (2002) revise quite thoroughly the different methodologies used in the studies on the image (understood, in the presented scheme, as displayed

Table 2. Motivations and strategies of the displayed images.

MOTIVATIONS		STRATEGIES	
<i>Escape</i>	↔	Aesthetical (enjoyable material element)	Picturesque (monumentality y landscape architecture)
<i>Union/Family relation</i>		Psychological (evocation of emotions)	Emotional (evocation of feelings)
<i>Relaxation</i>		Unconscious (subliminal adjectivation of the destination)	
<i>Social Interaction</i>		Mythical (fabled representations)	
<i>Novelty</i>		Geographic/cultural (natural-cultural singularity)	Unique (exclusive attributes of the area)
<i>Prestige</i>		Strategic (emblematic distinction)	
<i>Knowledge/Learning</i>		Infrastructural (access, stay and alternatives)	Functional (mobility, infrastructures, access to activities)
<i>Rest</i>			
<i>Adventure/ Entertainment</i>			
<i>Cultural Experience</i>			
<i>Improvement or defence of the ego</i>			

Source: own elaboration based on Santana (2009) and San Martín (2005).

and perceived), classifying them according to their capacity to quantify the results, and in their case, the used technique for its capture and measurement. As for almost any uncertain process in the tourist system, the view of one discipline alone cannot do more than curtail the results and offer biased and partial conclusions. The image, as no other element, has to be analyzed with the epistemologies and methodological tools (and techniques) of multiple social and economic disciplines.

Most of the revised study cases are chosen by means of matrix-questionnaires (surveys) that are considered as structured techniques (battery of attributes fixed beforehand by the researcher) or non-structured ones (free descriptions) for the measurement of tourist destinations' image, even though from the end of nineties onwards, the combination of both becomes increasingly common. This combination has been shown to be very fruitful to the analysis of the destination's perceived image and the measurement both of the fulfillment of expectations and the motivations to make the trip, in so far as they make quantification and statistic prediction easier. Generally, the variables or set of attributes are determined through the review of other perfor-

med studies, available in the academic literature, besides the ones highlighted form discussion groups with experts and in-depth interviews with key actors. In most cases, these are usually arranged in a survey, in which questions are formulated in a Likert's scale, to which open questions of short answer and a comments section are added. The tourists that will form the sample are categorized according to academic and research interests (almost never following any of the typologies in use), and the results will be processed-measured through different statistic procedures.

Traditionally, the anthropology has worked over more or less stable groups and territories, using the participant observation (field work) as main technique. By facing the study of a highly dynamic population (mainly tourists and foreign workers in the destination), the technique had to be adapted from *survey-type* analysis that identify and delimit as much as possible a typology of agents (basically displayed as actors of the tourist system) that is assessed. But the initial main component of the research comes hand in hand with the observation of such groups in their context. This way, an ideal research on the global image would take as observation

Table 3. Considered descriptors for inclusion in the surveys to the different actors of the destination.

General data			
Socio-demographic characterization (sex, age, nationality, rural/urban provenance, education level, occupation, family's size, family incomes) Characterization of the visit (Form of hiring/organization, expected length of stay, spent stay time, number of previous visits to the destination, general opinion of his/her previous travels (scale 1-7), number of travel companions, kinship with fellow travellers)			
Cognitive variables (scale 1-7)	Variety of information sources (scale 0-9)	Motivational variables (scale 1-7)	
Quality of the experience: General infrastructures Lodging Transportations Restaurants/Cantering and food Cleanliness and hygiene Personal safety Health services Night life Professionalism Hospitality Response to basic needs Attractions/activities: Leisure activities Excursions Maritime activities Sports Activities Cultural activities Family guidance of the activities Environment and economy: Lodging price Food price Activities price Shopping and souvenirs price Climate Contamination Beaches Landscapes Agricultural/fishing surroundings Fauna and flora variety Villages and rural life Urban life Places of historical-cultural interest Culture and Society: Destination's reputation Local way of life Folklore Handicrafts Interaction with the local populations Quality of life Exoticism	Friend/family Documentaries and news Books and films Articles and magazines Leaflets travel guides Tour-operators Travel agencies Destination's advertisement (campaigns) Internet Destination's direct e-mail	Relaxation and escape: Relieving tensions and stress Escaping the daily life's demands Physical and mental relaxation Escaping crowds Breaking the routine Excitation and adventure: Doing exciting things Searching for emotions Beginning adventures Having a good time Knowledge: Learning new things Experiencing different cultures and ways of life Enriching myself Experiencing new/different places Attend cultural events Social and prestige: Meeting people with similar interests Developing friendships Being in places where my friends have not been Practicing new activities Being able to tell my trip's adventures	
	Affective variables		Like/dislike Stimulating/depressing Relaxing/stressful Cheerful/sombre (sad)
	Others		Fulfilment of expectations Recommendation of the destination Probability of repeating the trip
	Valuation of institutional campaign (scale 1-7)		Internet Mailing Leaflets Understanding of the text Exactitude of what is described Quality of the photos/videos General Presentation (Access) Generating de expectations Generating motives Adaptation to one's needs Ease of contact Response capacity

Source: own elaboration based on Echtner y Ritchie, 1991; Echtner y Ritchie, 1993; Baloglu and Brinberg, 1997; Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Baloglu, 2001; Baloglu and Mangalolu, 2001; Beerli and Martin, 2004; San Martín Gutiérrez et al., 2006)

units both the main tourist emitting areas and the destination itself. Given the difficulty that it represents, in so far as dimension and characteristics of the research team, and economic and time costs are concerned, the observation units are usually limited to de visitation area, i. e., the destination becomes the sole study unit though the observation of the participant groups (subdivided according to spaces, actors, activities). Even though, with the expansion of the internet, these were added with the observation (and less often, the interaction) and the discursive analysis of more or less undetermined research subjects through different virtual networks (Facebook, Tripadvisor, ...).

The participant observation (unobtrusive interaction between the researcher and the informants) and the experimental observation (in which the observer acts causing situations), always guided by the research's design, may shed some light specially on the actors' behaviors and reactions, in addition to the global image. Within it, and as part of the used techniques for the obtaining of data, the conducted and non-conducted interviews, visual techniques (analysis of representations), life histories, discussion groups and the suitable for the group of variables expressed in table 3.

Thus, the operational perspective offered by the *mixed method research* is proposed (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2006; Johnson et al., 2007; Morgan, 2007; Pearce, 2012), combining data gathering techniques and quantitative and qualitative analysis in a complementary way (Creswell et al., 2007), and implied since the research's design phase.

Methodologically, in the concrete case of the self-image's study, this is begun determining the groups in presence, their range and representativeness. Based on structured interviews and questionnaires, a special attention is paid to the importance of its linguistic, territorial and socio-cultural attributes that will determine tangible referents (natural or created, from gastronomy to architecture) and intangible referents (stories, representations symbolization). The comparative analysis exercise of the different groups residing at the destination, plus their range and the groups' sociability, will indicate the common elements, perceptive dissonances and the adaptable traits to the tourist market's structure (convertible into products). It is, therefore, an exercise that may be carried out either in the initial steps of the development of the tourist destination, or when its identity is already established, showing then the possible distortions of this image regarding

the displayed one. In this case, and after the aforementioned process, the same descriptors that determine the perceived image on the tourists' part will also be applied to the resident populations and interested parties, which will show the similarities or non-conformances with the self-, built and displayed image.

To the study and effectiveness validity of constructed image (specially the institutional campaigns) and of the shared image, data will be gathered from the descriptor indicated in table 3 (again expanding the actors range). In these questions, the data analysis is done in keeping with the seven codes that mainly define the images (psychological, aesthetic, unconscious, mythical, strategic, geographical/human and infrastructural) from an examination of content (text, photos, video, etc.). It will help to distinguish which stimuli are produced from the same codes, the adequacy to the self-image, the creation of expectations, the construction of a recollection and its dissemination, etc. A scarcely used tool is the analysis of the things that evoke the recollection, such as the pictorial representations taken in the destination, artifacts of any kind (sand, stones, pieces of wood, entrance ticket to shows, or any other tangible element that may be related to an activity, emotion or feeling) and the souvenirs or objects' purchases that are done.

5. Conclusions

The potentiality to act tourism is still constrained by the individual time and money surplus to access the tourist travel. But the accumulated tourist experience, the modifications in the motivational tendencies and the possibility to re-motivate the customer in the destination to the consumption of specific products and services, has opened the planet to tourism. All the territories and populations may devise something for the tourists' consumption, even though the ones that can count on the possibility to make themselves visible in the markets, to conveniently display their images for their potential clients, are less than others. These are the conditionings that have ultimately embedded with international destinations and tourist products in the *Global Village*. The post year 2000 tendency has prompted to look daily beyond the small borders, and, thus, by a threat of immediate loss, to focus on the localisms, to oppose the cultural hybridization. I. e., in strategies based on the conjugation of ideas, of essences and material relations, of significances and

structures, melted in one voice or presentable in a supposed unity.

The tourist-image, culturally taken by many societies upon themselves, and progressively grasped as a process by others, is capable of generating non experienced recollections, spaces that are both desired and for the desire, promises of meeting other people, the equals to a smaller degree, the different above all, in principle hiding the differences, stressing them when the product so requires. Far from the good savage submitted to the Empire's dominions, the actors of the tourist system become an active part in the manipulation of the signs, producing, reproducing and consuming, according to the played role, as timeless simulations, the cultural forms that are effectively considered marketed. The clients of the tourist product, accomplices in the consumption of the authenticity, have been credited with the increase of their active role in the creation of significances. One should see who presents these significances, or at least the basic guidelines to infer them or 'innovatively' generate these new versions of significances in other areas. Originality is not exactly what prevails in the tourist destinations, whether they are cultural or of masses, or of any other kind, which leads us to believe that the *hybridization's architects* really exist.

In this text, a somewhat different way to contemplate the formation of the global image has been presented, a part of those hybridizations, in order to guide some ongoing researches and to contribute to the discussions on the theoretical and methodological tools, with the compromise that it is possible to establish a framework of understanding, criticism and discussion in the tourist system and the processes that take place in it.

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Los retos que representa la dinámica situación actual, caracterizada por la globalización de la economía y del modelo desarrollo devastador de las sociedades occidentales, la democratización de los procesos políticos y las tendencias hacia la participación ciudadana, obligan a la participación responsable de las instituciones de educación superior para dar alternativas de solución a los problemas así generados.

En este contexto, la Facultad de Turismo de la UAEM tiene el compromiso de formar recursos humanos altamente calificados capaces de reconocer al turismo como fenómeno socioeconómico, además de explicar y resolver la problemática derivada de esta actividad, impulsando la vinculación docencia-investigación con énfasis en áreas como el ambiente, la ética, la capacidad de carga de los destinos y la cultura en general, para fortalecer interacción entre la educación turística y el sector productivo.

En congruencia con lo establecido en los Planes Institucionales, la investigación se constituye en el eje estructurador del postgrado, que permitirá acceder a la excelencia en el proceso productivo, a la vez que se apoya la resolución de problemas específicos de las comunidades receptoras del turismo. En este sentido, la investigación tiene un carácter estratégico por ser generadora y transformadora del conocimiento. Con base en ello, se abrió en 1997 el programa de Maestría en la facultad, que incluye a la Línea de Investigación en Estudios Ambientales del Turismo. Se pretende, a través de ella, desarrollar y consolidar una investigación de calidad, que permita a la Facultad colocarse a la vanguardia de los estudios sobre el turismo y su vinculación con el ambiente y el desarrollo sustentable. La línea de investigación pretende abarcar tanto aspectos teóricos como prácticos, y orientarse hacia las necesidades del sector y de las comunidades de las áreas rurales, de manera que a partir de se ella, se pudiesen implementar programas de desarrollo turístico con características de viabilidad natural, económica y social.

En consecuencia, surge el interés por crear un medio de difusión que recopile los avances de investigación de estudiantes y egresados tanto de la licenciatura como del postgrado en Turismo, de los distintos organismos académicos de la UAEM e instituciones de nivel superior en los ámbitos nacional e internacional, además de otros sectores de la sociedad involucrados en la temática. La dinámica y el avance en el sector de las comunicaciones, hacen de los medios virtuales la herramienta más apropiada en la actualidad para la consecución de este propósito, pues nos permite, de una manera más inmediata, llegar a todos los sectores interesados en la sustentabilidad con énfasis en el aspecto turístico, con la finalidad de que realicen sus aportaciones relacionadas a esta nueva tendencia

De esta manera nació "El Periplo Sustentable" revista virtual que esperamos sea una rotación de ideas entre nuestras opiniones y las de nuestros lectores, para tener una estrecha relación con el significado de periplo que es "un viaje de ida y vuelta". Así, confiamos en que este sea un espacio para la reflexión y el análisis, pero especialmente para la discusión y la propuesta sobre el turismo sustentable, así como de temas relacionados con medio ambiente, desarrollo y otros que permitan enriquecer la Línea de Investigación en Estudios Ambientales del Turismo.

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O turismo acessível como vantagem competitiva: implicações na imagem do destino turístico

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Resumo: A imagem dos destinos turísticos está comumente associada aos seus atributos naturais e culturais e às suas vantagens em relação aos demais destinos. Com a crescente eclosão do número de destinos é natural o aumento da competitividade entre eles, procurando cada vez mais criar estratégias eficientes para posicionar e comunicar os seus atributos. Para discutir a impressão que se tem dado ao Turismo Acessível (TA), optou-se por discutir a questão da necessidade de adaptação dos espaços, frente as características da demanda atual e de como essas informações são registradas para os turistas. O debate central deste documento visa abordar a questão do TA como atendimento às demandas da atualidade e a imagem do destino. Para tal, é imprescindível a compreensão da *Tourism Destination image ou brand image*, a imagem do destino.

Palavras-chave: Imagem do destino; turismo acessível; comunicação do destino;

The accessible tourism as a competitive advantage: implications in the image of destination

Abstract: The image of destinations in tourism is usually related to their natural and cultural elements and also to their advantages in relation to the others. Having in mind the exponential number of destinations it's quite reasonable that the degree of competition between them develops all sorts of strategies in order to reveal their own value. To discuss the idea of Turismo Acessível means to think about the question of the need to adapt spaces, emphasizing the aspect of the present requests and also the way the available informations can be useful to tourists.

The aim of this document is then to show the fact that AT answer to present requests as well as corresponds to the image of a specific destination, a fact that leads us to the question of the meaning of the expressions "Tourism Destination image" or "brand image", "the image of a destination as we will designed it from now on.

Key Words: Accessible tourism; Competitive advantage; brand image;

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1. Introdução

A imagem dos destinos turísticos está comumente associada aos seus atributos naturais e culturais e às suas vantagens em relação aos demais destinos. Com a crescente eclosão do número de destinos é natural o aumento da competitividade entre eles, procurando cada vez mais criar estratégias eficientes para posicionar e comunicar os seus atributos. Para discutir a impressão que se tem dado ao Turismo Acessível (TA), optou-se por discutir a questão da necessidade de adaptação dos espaços, frente as características da demanda atual e de como essas informações são registradas para os turistas. O debate central deste documento visa abordar a questão do TA como atendimento às demandas da atualidade e a imagem do destino. Para tal, é imprescindível a compreensão da *Tourism Destination image* ou *brand image*, a imagem do destino, como chamaremos daqui em diante.

O TA tem comumente sido discutido numa perspectiva social, na qual pretende-se garantir que as estruturas e serviços turísticos atendam adequadamente aqueles turistas que possuem algum tipo de limitação, seja ela temporária ou permanente. Desse ponto-de-vista, o turismo acessível é uma questão de justiça e igualdade, uma questão de inclusão daqueles que, muitas vezes, são marginalizados na nossa sociedade. No entanto, escapando à discussão que cabe à esfera da inclusão social, alguns estudos actuais apontam que o turismo acessível é economicamente interessante para a indústria e que, afinal, estar preparado para atender estes turistas pode significar muito mais do que o jargão socialmente correto de “fazer a nossa parte”.

Por outro lado, a corrida para atrair este público específico deve ser cuidadosamente planejada. É preciso reflectir a melhor forma de comunicar e atrair este público. Enquanto vantagem competitiva, o TA apresenta-se como um diferencial de um destino com relação aos seus concorrentes. Enquanto segmento de mercado, seria reconhecido que há uma quantidade considerável de pessoas, com características semelhantes e que, para este público, deve haver um produto específico para atender aos seus desejos e necessidades. Ora, aqui apresentamos o cerne da discussão. Uma vez que a imagem promovida seja de um destino acessível, quais as implicações para este destino? Promover um destino acessível atrai o público deste segmento, mas é essa percepção (e imagem) que realmente pretende-se promover no mercado em geral? Quais as consequências da veiculação desta imagem entre o público do TA e entre os segmentos de mercado?

O principal objectivo deste artigo é discutir as implicações da promoção do Turismo Acessível na imagem dos destinos turísticos.

2. Desmistificando o turismo acessível e seu impacto na imagem dos destinos turísticos

Qualquer pessoa hoje saudável pode estar amanhã sujeita a algum tipo de limitação temporária ou permanente. O aumento da expectativa de vida da população, uma tendência mundial, também traz consigo o aumento das chances de adquirir alguma limitação que, fatalmente, é mais frequente à medida que avançamos na idade (Cole e Morgan, 2010, citado por Umbelino *et al.*, 2012). Com base nisso, o mercado do turismo acessível tem-se destacado como uma boa oportunidade na indústria do turismo. Enquanto uma boa parte da oferta turística ainda se apega aos aspectos ligados à responsabilidade social, oferecendo apenas o que é necessário, outra parte (ainda que a minoria) já reconhece as vantagens do turismo acessível enquanto negócio.

O turismo acessível pretende possibilitar que pessoas com alguma necessidade específica, incluindo dimensões de acesso relativas à mobilidade, visão, audição e cognição, consigam desempenhar as suas funções de forma independente e com igualdade e dignidade através de produtos, serviços e ambientes turísticos adequados (Buhalis and Darcy, 2011: 10-11). O turismo acessível inclui, portanto, não apenas os turistas com limitações permanentes (seja ela física, visual ou idosas, por exemplo), mas também aquelas pessoas que possuem algum tipo de limitação temporária (como as mulheres grávidas, uma pessoa com uma perna quebrada, etc.), reconhecendo que a mesma rua que dificulta/impede o deslocamento de uma pessoa deficiente também representa uma barreira para uma pessoa que usa muletas (Shimosakai, 2011).

Muito além das questões de ordem social, o mercado de TA destaca-se numa perspectiva de mercado. O número crescente de consumidores associados ao envelhecimento da população mundial mas também à mudança de paradigmas de consumo, identificando nestes consumidores que antes permaneciam em torno dos seus ambientes habituais, a motivação de sair para viver novas experiências e de forma cada vez mais independente. Estima-se que mais de 650 milhões de pessoas possuem alguma deficiência, o que significa 10% da população mundial, ou clientes em potencial para o mercado do TA. No contexto do turismo, estima-se que cerca de 7-8% dos visitantes internacionais tenham alguma limitação (Darcy *et al.*,

2008). O turismo mundial ultrapassou 1 bilhão de turistas, em Dezembro de 2012, (WTO, 2013), o que permite calcular que o número de turistas de TA é de cerca de 70 a 80 milhões.

Já um Estudo da Universidade de Surrey aponta que o potencial do mercado de TA é de cerca de 134 milhões de potenciais clientes (cerca de 27% da população Europeia), com receitas potenciais anuais de cerca de 83 mil milhões de euros (ENAT, 2007). Considerando que em 2012 o turismo internacional gerou US\$1075 bilhões (WTO, 2013), o que também permite avaliar que o TA, especificamente, gerou pelo menos US\$75 bilhões. Na Europa, os seniores (maiores de 65 anos) representam 72 milhões, dos quais 36 milhões viajam gerando receitas anuais de 34 bilhões de euros (Sá, Olão e Pereira, 2011: 44).

Com relação ao perfil do público do TA, tratam-se de turistas que viajam acompanhados, o que significa que os números apresentados podem aumentar consideravelmente. Somente 29% dos turistas com alguma deficiência viajam sozinhos – um mercado com uma média de 70 milhões de turistas pode, portanto, facilmente alcançar os 120 milhões de turistas. (Legacies Now, 2010). Estudos realizados para os Jogos Paralímpicos de Londres 2012 concluem que as pessoas com deficiências tendem a não viajar sozinhas e são frequentemente acompanhadas por algum profissional especializado, familiares ou amigos. Dos acompanhados, mais de 50% viaja com o companheiro, 20% com o filho e 21 a 25% com um assistente, promovendo um aumento nos gastos com alojamento em mais de 25% (DCMS, 2010; FMET, 2004: 13).

A realidade do mercado de TA é ainda a oferta de produtos/serviços com baixa qualidade e não adequados às necessidades do turista. Com relação aos destinos turísticos, ainda são poucos aqueles que conseguem atender a este público e, verifica-se, portanto, uma concorrência ainda pouco agressiva (King, 2009). Vantagens são muitas, estes turistas possuem mais tempo e são mais propensos a viajar a baixa estação, o que pode ajudar a diminuir os efeitos da sazonalidade, possui mais tempo e, em média, permanece mais no destino; possui um gasto médio superior à média; forte tendência à fidelização quando satisfeitos com o produto/serviço encontrado, até mesmo pela dificuldade actual de encontrar oferta adequada.

Na realidade, ainda não há números precisos nesta área mas todas as estimativas apontam para um mercado economicamente interessante e que deve ter a atenção da indústria não meramente por questões de responsabilidade social mas por gerar recursos. Acredita-se que se hoje a maior parte dos equipamentos e serviços turísticos cum-

pre apenas requisitos exigidos por lei, em breve se tornará uma corrida para atender os desejos e necessidades de um público que tem dinheiro, tempo e desejo de viajar (Chan, 2010; Buhalis and Darcy, 2011; FMET, 2004; DCMS, 2010).

Portanto, trata-se de uma oportunidade vantajosa para os destinos que se declaram acessíveis e/ou *friendly* com essa demanda, e por essa razão muitos buscam veicular essa imagem ao seu potencial público. A imagem que os destinos desejam construir em torno da tarefa de ser acessível é o principal ponto que compreende o presente debate. O atendimento às questões de natureza social e a evidente e crescente vantagem econômica associada pretendem transformar esse segmento ora em vantagens na busca de novos turistas, ora se decalaram como uma oportunidade a um segmento de mercado com demandas específicas.

3. TA enquanto vantagem competitiva

Competitividade é uma competência para, a partir de recursos diversos, obtém um resultado reconhecido e valorizado pelos públicos-alvo a que se destina em vantagem ou desvantagem face os demais concorrentes. (OCDE, 2007 in Azevedo e Duarte, 2010). A competitividade e sustentabilidade do produto está diretamente ligada à Teoria das Vantagens Competitivas, idealizada por Porter (1990). Essa teoria ajuda a explicar como alguns países ganharam vantagens competitivas em setores específicos. As vantagens comparativas têm perdido peso, uma vez que, cada vez mais, as dotações iniciais de recursos das nações, só por si, não constituem um fator decisivo para o desenvolvimento.

Quando se fala em competitividade de destinos turísticos, deve-se ter em consideração também o público. Hoje, os turistas são mais exigentes, até mesmo pela vasta quantidade de oferta e acesso à informação, querem viver novas experiências, estão atentos à relação entre o preço e a qualidade, assim como estão atentos à questão de responsabilidade social e ambiental. Mas o que é competitividade? Na esfera organizacional, a competitividade envolve a capacidade de oferecer produtos e serviços de forma tão ou mais eficaz e eficiente que os concorrentes principais, gerando lucro para a empresa e benefício e satisfação para o cliente. Considerando os destinos turísticos, deve-se acrescentar a figura dos residentes. Pode, portanto, ser definido que um destino turístico competitivo tem a capacidade de oferecer um produto/serviço tão ou mais eficiente que os concorrentes, gerando lucro para o destino e satisfação para o turista e, subentendendo que o “lucro”

pode vir em forma de benefícios para a comunidade, como geração de emprego, renda e melhoria da qualidade de vida da população, ou seja, tendo sempre em conta a sustentabilidade do destino (Blunck, 2006 in Azevedo, Magalhães e Duarte, 2010: 34; Kotler, 2000; Dwyer e Kim, 2003).

Assim, oferecer um produto/serviço de qualidade, que satisfaça e/ou supere as expectativas do turista pode proporcionar uma situação de vantagem com relação à concorrência, promovendo a fidelização e indicação a outros clientes. Os conceitos de vantagem comparativa e vantagem competitiva também foram aplicados ao turismo. Enquanto o primeiro conceito, a vantagem comparativa, está relacionado com a abundância de recursos naturais de um determinado destino (como o clima, os recursos históricos e naturais), o segundo, a vantagem comparativa, tem a ver com a capacidade de um determinado destino em agregar valor ao seu produtos/serviço. No caso da vantagem competitiva, como o caso das infra-estruturas turísticas, os festivais e eventos, as políticas governamentais, etc. (Firmino, 2007; Ritchie e Crouch, 1993).

Sá *et al.* (2011: 52) complementam o conceito de vantagem competitiva ao afirmarem que "... no posicionamento de uma localidade não basta querer; é necessário poder. Ter características adequadas. Distintivas. Únicas ou quase. De outro modo não se criam vantagens competitivas" e acrescentam que uma "vantagem competitiva sustentável existe quando uma empresa tem uma vantagem comercial de longo prazo comparativamente às empresas rivais". (Sá *et al.*, 2011: 57). Assim, em termos de competitividade, o sucesso dos destinos turísticos dependem cada vez menos das vantagens comparativas preexistentes e é cada vez mais dependente das vantagens competitivas criadas. Quando o TA é uma vantagem competitiva ou um segmento de mercado? Quais as implicações deste posicionamento na promoção face à percepção e imagem do destino?

4. Imagem dos destinos turísticos

A ótica da vantagem competitiva permite compreender a imagem do destino turístico na comercialização e na satisfação do dos turistas. O atendimento a demandas de consumo pode fazer diferença na escolha do destino da viagem. Por isso destacam-se a importância da qualidade do destino e das ações promocionais deste em atenção sobretudo a adequação ao TA. É importante compreender que a imagem do destino turístico está diretamente relacionada não apenas com os aspectos promocionais do local mas também com a imagem e correspondência da expectativa e a realidade

encontrada pelo turista ao eleger um determinado destino. A percepção então influirá tanto na eleição quanto na satisfação que terão numa viagem.

Quanto maior e melhor for a informação sobre o destino, melhor correspondência terá a imagem com a realidade. Quanto melhor essa relação, melhor e mais forte a imagem da cidade e a experiência do turista no local. Para compreensão da imagem do destino turístico, é necessário abordar essas questões. O produto global que se constituiu o destino turístico como todos os seus subprodutos e facilidades, além da atmosfera da cidade e as ações de comunicação que este 'produto' detém e lança para os futuros consumidores. Quanto mais próxima uma da outra, mais real será a experiência. Outra variável que se deve levar em conta é a percepção do consumidor identificando se a imagem construída foi emitida e recebida corretamente pelos turistas em potencial.

Assim, temos a imagem do destino relacionada diretamente com a qualidade percebida. Essa amplitude relaciona as ações de comunicação e se baliza substancialmente na teoria das vantagens competitivas anteriormente discutida. No caso dos destinos turísticos é possível relacionarmos aos produtos globais que encontramos em todos eles. Os mesmos hotéis, restaurantes, serviços, taxas, facilidades e outras ofertas derivadas da globalização dos serviços. Por isso, a oferta de serviços TA, diretamente relacionada com as facilidades podem ser consideradas vantagens competitivas entre destinos e essa imagem pode estar relacionada ao que será comunicado como prioridade de serviços ao turistas.

A OMT analisa a importância da imagem do destino turístico e destaca que:

"la decisión de compra por parte del consumidor turista se guía por una cautela mayor que para otros bienes de consumo, ya que el riesgo percibido es más alto. En consecuencia, la imagen que exista en la mente del consumidor sobre un destino o un servicio concreto, será decisiva para el proceso de toma de decisión y afectará al tipo de vacaciones elegido, aunque dicha imagen no se corresponda con la realidad". (1998, 70)

Uma outra preocupação dos autores é com a validade da imagem, ou seja deve corresponder à realidade. Também deve ser real e efetiva. É preciso que o consumidor tenha confiança nas informações que recebe e essas devem corresponder a realidade e devem ser claras e simples. E acima de tudo devem despertar a intenção da visita. Para o autor Chris Cooper (1998) o destino turístico é uma experiência cultural. O autor compreende que a

experiência do visitante é a soma das experiências de cada um dos serviços que o turista consumiu. Portanto a experiência é total do destino por ele escolhido e não fragmentada como pode parecer a viagem. Para muitos autores (Schmoll, Mathieson e Wall, Moutinho, Woodside e Lysons, Um e Crompton, Goodall e Mansfield) a percepção dos turistas é fator determinante na construção da imagem do destino. Muitos estudos empíricos tem confirmado o papel da percepção como

“elemento casual no processo de criação das imagens que os indivíduos atribuem aos lugares e também são fatores condicionantes da decisão de compra”. (GANDARA, 2008 <http://www.eca.usp.br/turismocultural/aimagem.pdf>)

Segundo Cooper *et al* (1997: 30), a consciência individual do mundo é feita de experiências, aprendizado, emoções e percepções, ou seja, avaliação cognitiva de. Esta consciência pode descrever e como o conhecimento que produz uma imagem de mundo específica. Imagem obviamente afeta a preferência e motivação do indivíduo para o turismo, para proporcionar um efeito de “atração” resultando diferentes padrões de demanda. A imagem é a causa da decisão da compra. Identificando a percepção dos turistas com relação a imagem do destino turístico é possível definir quais turistas são mais adequados aos referidos destinos e também promover as adaptações necessárias aos destinos com o objetivo de satisfazer as necessidades dos turistas.

A satisfação das necessidades dos turistas está diretamente ligada com a expectativa gerada perante as imagens que recebeu de determinando destino. E faz-se necessário que essas sejam as mais fiéis e correspondentes à realidade que o turista de fato encontrará no destino. Essa relação definirá, portanto, a qualidade que o turista atribuirá ao local e essas serão a medida da satisfação das expectativas geradas pelos turistas através da imagem que construiu com as informações que recebeu antes da viagem. A imagem será determinada pela percepção dos turistas que, por sua vez, estará afetada pela acessibilidade à cidade e pelas condições de qualidade de vida dos residentes. A clara interpretação do estilo de vida por parte dos visitantes e o ambiente que propicia o desenvolvimento do turismo, contribuam para a aceitação da imagem e para incrementar o poder de atração dos destinos (Meléndez, 1997). É regra entre os estudiosos que a utilização da imagem como um diferencial no mercado competitivo dos destinos turísticos é algo que cada vez mais importante. Criar uma imagem diferenciada é um instrumento básico

para que o destino se posicione, com relação à sua competência, na mente dos consumidores. Para criar esta imagem diferenciada é importante identificar os elementos que são componentes do destino a serem destacados, já que estes serão seus grandes diferenciais. (Gandara, 2008)

Gândara (2008) ainda destaca que é fundamental que se estabeleça a imagem dos destinos turísticos e se destaquem as características que lhes possam diferenciar da concorrência. Ao caracterizar

“o destino com aspectos “únicos”, este não somente terá mais possibilidades de atrair mais visitantes como estará mais protegido das tendências globalizadoras, já que seus diferenciais servirão tanto como o componente da imagem do destino como da identidade da população, o que sem dúvida fortalecerá a imagem e consequentemente a comercialização do mesmo.”

Cada vez mais os turistas optam por destinos turísticos com qualidade diferenciada e com atenção a necessidades especiais e aspectos que possam dar-lhes a liberdade de escolha. Um destino turístico ter sua imagem relacionada a TA pode dar-lhes oportunidades de diferenciação e atração de visitantes que outros destinos não possuem, promovendo sobretudo a imagem relacionada a sustentabilidade e a aspectos relativos a responsabilidade social, o que nos dias atuais tem feito diferença para escolha de determinados grupos de consumidores. Essa percepção da seriedade e das necessidades específicas de cada grupo de turistas consumidores promove a real diferenciação do destino, que se torna capaz de competir num mercado cada vez mais preocupado com questões de natureza social e ambiental.

5. Promoção do TA e a imagem dos destinos acessíveis

No contexto actual, grande parte da oferta turística não está devidamente preparada para o público do TA e o destino que estiver preparado para atender essa demanda possui uma vantagem competitiva com relação aos demais destinos. A questão é, com base em que perspectiva deve-se promover o destino acessível? Obviamente, comunicar que possui essa vantagem em um mercado com grande potencial parece ser uma decisão acertada. No entanto, deve um destino posicionar-se (e vender-se) como um destino acessível?

Um ponto importante dessa discussão ronda a questão de que a acessibilidade em si, na maior parte das vezes não constitui um atractivo turístico. Difícilmente um turista irá deslocar-se a

um determinado destino apenas pelo fato de possuir equipamentos e serviços adequados para o receber bem. Por outro lado, se o turista precisa destes equipamentos/serviços e o destino não o possui, pode ser uma razão suficiente para que o turista deixe de visitar o destino em questão. Em outra perspectiva, o turista viaja por uma motivação seja ela de lazer, cultural, negócios e considera as condições do destino, mas estas condições não constituem, em si, uma motivação de viagem. Portanto, construir a imagem do destino com base numa vantagem competitiva como a acessibilidade pode ser algo perigoso. Trata-se hoje de um diferencial e os destinos realmente preparados praticamente não encontram concorrência no mercado. Contudo, há uma tendência a adequação dos produtos/serviços ao mercado de TA, seja por razões sociais ou económicas.

Além disso, não se trata de uma vantagem competitiva de difícil superação, ou seja, é uma vantagem competitiva que só pode ser sustentada a curto e médio prazo. Numa perspectiva de longo prazo outros destinos poderão também ser acessíveis e, numa perspectiva otimista, é isso que espera-se. Seja com base em exigências legais, seja por reconhecimento de um mercado promissor e rentável, a tendência é que a oferta esteja cada vez mais preparada para atender bem o segmento do TA. Ou seja, acredita-se que num futuro não muito distante, a maioria dos destinos turísticos estará preparada para atender ao público do TA e, portanto, um destino que se posicionar exclusivamente nessa vantagem competitiva actual poderá encontrar problemas com a imagem veiculada.

Outro problema identificado com relação ao forte posicionamento como destino acessível recai sobre os outros segmentos de mercado. Como já foi discutido anteriormente, a imagem do destino está intimamente ligada ao conceito de percepção por parte do turista. A questão é, comunicar a acessibilidade como o principal atributo do destino deixa de lado as atractividades do destino, além de praticamente excluir do seu mercado-alvo os outros segmentos.

O turista de TA busca a inclusão num contexto de viagem em que possa vivenciar novas experiências e, ao mesmo tempo, encontrar equipamentos e serviços de qualidade que possibilite isso. O forte posicionamento em torno da acessibilidade passa a imagem de que o destino é exclusivamente ou majoritariamente voltado para este público em específico.

Alguns destinos actualmente se promovem como destinos acessíveis deixando de promover também os reais atractivos que possuem e, portanto, praticamente só atraem o público de TA porque é essa a imagem que se trabalha. Promove-

-se a acessibilidade do destino, por ser uma mais-valia hoje, e esquece-se de promover os atractivos naturais, culturais, entre outros. Será mesmo isso que irá atrair esses turistas? E considerando que eles não viajam sozinhos, será apelativo suficiente para uma família? Outros segmentos turísticos frequentarão o seu destino? Os turistas do TA querem estar em um destino majoritariamente frequentado por pessoas com limitações?

6. Considerações Finais

O TA tem crescido seja por motivos de ordem social, onde reconhece-se a necessidade da inclusão social, seja por razões económicas, reconhecendo tratar-se de um público que gasta dinheiro, permanece mais tempo nos destinos e tem uma grande tendência à fidelização, por exemplo.

No entanto, ainda que constituam um público interessante, os destinos turísticos devem estar atentos ao tipo de imagem que veiculam. Se por um lado, a acessibilidade é uma mais-valia e, no contexto actual do mercado turístico, pode ser mesmo considerada uma vantagem competitiva, por outro lado, não se trata de uma vantagem sustentável a longo prazo e isso poderá vir a pôr em risco todos os esforços promocionais de um determinado destino.

Defendemos que os destinos acessíveis devem comunicar fortemente junto aos *stakeholders* e o público em geral a actual mais-valia de poder atender aos turistas do TA com equipamentos e serviços eficientes e de qualidade. Também defendemos que essa comunicação deve ocorrer de forma secundária e não constituindo o principal ponto da imagem do destino. Os destinos devem basear a sua imagem no que possuem de diferencial e que motivem os turistas a saírem de casa e os visitarem. Devem “vender” os seus atractivos naturais, culturais, as experiências únicas que podem oferecer. Devem ter cuidado, portanto, com relação entre a imagem que pretende realmente passar e a percepção dela por parte do público do TA e o público em geral. Vale reflectir: a imagem do seu destino é sedutora o suficiente para motivar o público de TA a sair de casa para desbravar o mundo?

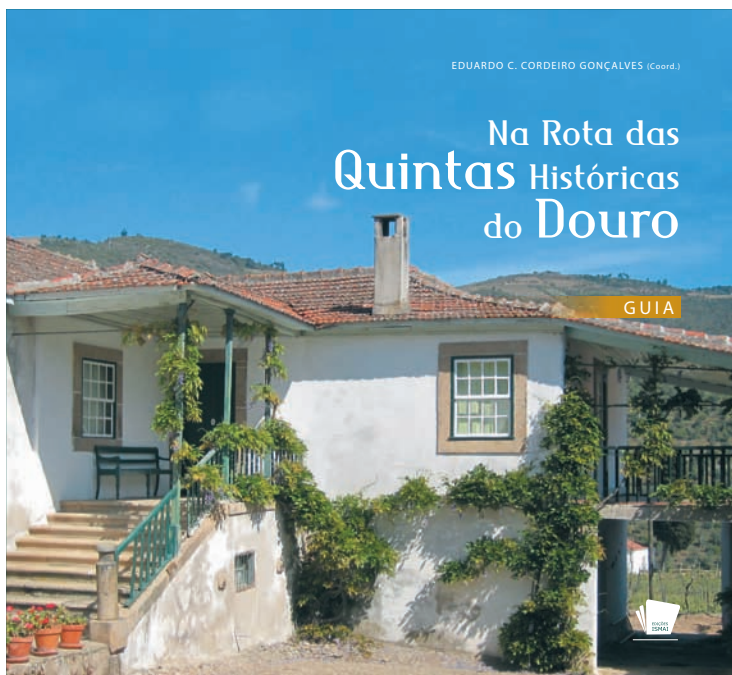
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O guia **Na rota das Quintas Históricas do Douro** propõe uma viagem ao primado multissecular da vitivinicultura duriense através das suas Quintas, unidade produtiva elementar que estrutura aquele território a nível funcional, actividade hoje intimamente articulada com a oferta turística em espaço rural. Partindo, pois, do reconhecimento e investigação das origens e percurso evolutivo de 66 Quintas Históricas, porquanto já incluídas nos perímetros definidos por altura das Demarcações Pombalinas de 1756-1761, procura-se contribuir para o conhecimento e divulgação do património imóvel da Região Demarcada do Douro (Norte de



Potugal), capital vital à dinamização do *touring cultural* enquanto produto turístico de excelência da região.

Deste modo, fundamentam-se 3 rotas temáticas alicerçadas na leitura histórica e na interpretação diacrónica da organização territorial do vale duriense:

- i) **A Rota das Caves e Adegas** – Baixo Corgo;
- ii) **A Rota dos Percursos** - Cima Corgo;
- iii) **A Rota da Paisagem e Natureza** – Douro Superior.

A entremear o texto vai um conjunto de fotografias, ilustrações e cartografia apropriadas que documentam de forma impressionante o Douro, as suas quintas e os seus vinhedos, como que a “evocar um dos territórios de maior singularidade de Portugal”.

A brochura ora apresentada enquadra-se na operação *Dourointour: Patrimónios durienses e turismo cultural* (Operação PORTUGAL – NORTE-02-0169-FEDER-000040), projecto que contou com o respaldo da investigação geográfica e histórico-patrimonial, encontrando-se plasmado de forma alargada através da difusão na web no domínio www.dourointour.pt.

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Images of safe tourism destinations in the United States held by African Americans

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Abstract: Ensuring a safe destination is an essential factor in travelers' decision-making, as well as a destination's success. Recent crises have threatened perceptions of safety related to tourism. Under such circumstances, negative destination images might be produced and destination choices might be altered. Thus, understanding the effect of risk perceptions on destination image is a necessary research stream. This study examined African American travelers' perceptions of safety related to the top three state tourism destinations in the USA. Factors that influenced perceptions of a safe destination varied among the destinations. Consistently, however, past travel experience and the perception of the likelihood of health-related crisis were significant predictors of perceptions of a safe destination.

Key words: African American, safe destinations, USA, past experience, personal safety, image

1. Introduction

As Maslow (1943) has professed, one cannot move to higher level needs or motives until lower level needs, such as safety and health, are met. In this sense, perceptions of safety are key factors in determining tourists' destination choice (Donaldson & Ferreira, 2009; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b; Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002). Donaldson and Ferreira (2009) noted that if tourists perceive a destination to be unsafe, they will formulate a negative destination image, which decreases their desire to visit that destination. In addition, there is a spill-over effect, whereby tourists tend to perceive both the affected area and nearby unaffected areas as dangerous (Jonas, Mansfeld, Paz & Potasman, 2011; Lepp

& Gibson, 2003; McKercher & Chon, 2004; Ritichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). As a result, tourists tend to avoid traveling to a specific area or entire region because of a perceived threat (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a).

The United States is a dominant player in the global tourism industry. It is estimated that in the year 2010 domestic and international travelers generated \$1.8 trillion in economic output, which accounted for 2.7% of the gross domestic product (GDP) (US Travel Association, 2011). Each state independently attracts a share of visitors. According to Office of Travel and Tourism Industries (2012), the top three most visited destinations within the United States were New York, Florida, and California. Maintaining one's rank, in terms of arrivals to the state, is

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greatly influenced by destination image (Chon, 1992). The occurrence of a crisis can impact this image, thereby, impacting tourist demand (Chon, 1992).

In particular, public health has emerged as one of the core areas to examine risk (Krewski, Lemyre, Turner, Lee, Dallaire, Bouchard, & Mercier, 2006). Attention to this area has been heightened within the past decade with the occurrence of health-related crises such as bird flu (i.e., H5N1), severe acute respiratory syndrome (i.e., SARS), Methicillin-Resistant *Staphylococcus Aureus* (i.e., MRSA), and Anthrax (Brownstein, 2009). The tourism industry is particularly vulnerable to extreme events such as health-related crises (Jonas et al., 2011; Kozak, Crotts, & Law, 2007; McKercher & Chon, 2004; Ritchie, 2004). For example, the spread of SARS in March 2003 had devastating effects on the tourism industry in Asia (Kozak et al., 2007; McKercher & Chon, 2004). The decline in inbound tourism in Asia (i.e., China, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Vietnam) resulted in a loss of over \$20 billion in GDP and up to three million tourism-related jobs (McKercher & Chon, 2004).

Health-related outbreaks have effects on risk perceptions and, ultimately, their willingness to travel to a specific destination (Jonas et al., 2011; Kozak et al., 2007; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Slovic & Weber, 2002). Empirical research has suggested that perceptions of risk can be influential in travel-related decision-making; with health-related risk perceptions (e.g. spread of disease, food safety) having an influence on tourists' destination choices (Kozak et al., 2007; Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). Interestingly, even if a destination is perceived as safe, a sudden occurrence of a health-related crisis (e.g. SARS or bird flu) may result in a change in perceptions of safety and, ultimately, cause tourists to alter their destination choice (Law, 2006; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). Response to a crisis varies across different populations, with those who are risk averse tending to be more affected by certain crises and those who are more risk tolerant tending to be less affected by crises (Schroeder, Pennington-Gray, Kaplanidou, & Zhan, 2013; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). In addition, past research has found a relationship between demographic factors such as age (Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004) and gender (Kozak et al., 2007; Lepp & Gibson, 2004; Pizam et al., 2004) and risk perceptions.

Race has not generally been a focus of studies related to risk perceptions and tourism behavior. Fothergill, Maestas, and Darlington

(1999) argue that impact of a crisis is not merely related to the event itself, but also determined by the populations' social, cultural and economic conditions. Conditions could include stereotypes based on race and ethnicity which could affect their behaviors. As a result, in the general risk literature, there is an emerging area of research which examines at-risk subpopulations, such as minority groups. Minority groups include African Americans, women, people with disabilities, Hispanics, and people living at or below the poverty level. Understanding how African Americans respond to a crisis grew in importance in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans (Elliott & Pais, 2006). Due to the crisis impact to this population, scholars and practitioners realized that there was a gap in the literature with regards to perceptions of risk, response to risk, and interpretation of messages surrounding risk.

Thus, a body of literature has emerged around at-risk populations. Unfortunately, perceptions of risk held by African Americans have mainly been related to resident populations. Little is known about African American tourists and their perceptions of risk (Pennington-Gray, Kaplanidou, & Schroeder, 2013) and perceptions of a safe destination.

African American travelers have emerged as a growing market within the travel industry. The African American population currently is made up of 44.2 million people, which equates to 13.6% of the US population (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). African American travelers generated 172.6 million trips in 2011 and made up approximately one-tenth (9%) of the domestic person-trips in the United States (American Hotel & Lodging Association, n.d.). Travel expenditures accounted for 7% of the total domestic spending in the United States (American Hotel & Lodging Association, n.d.). Due to their increased travel volume and economic contribution, the African American market has been touted as one of the leading markets in the United States (Saunders, n.d.). In fact, the collective buying power of the African American population has been calculated at \$1,038 billion in 2012 with a projected increase of \$1.1 trillion by 2015 (Nielson, 2011). The economic opportunity of the African American market is remarkable.

With regards to the top tourism destinations (i.e., New York, California, Florida), each have already recognized the power of the African American market and have begun including them in their strategic plans. Most recently, the American Hotel & Lodging Association (n.d.) determined that African Americans have collec-

tively generated more than \$70 billion in these three tourism destinations (Humphreys, 2013).

Studies which have examined African Americans and their perceptions of health-related risk have received a tremendous amount of attention in the public health literature, as well as the medical literature. In particular, African Americans perceive higher levels of health-related risks (Quinn, Thomas, & McAllister, 2005). Unfortunately, research examining perceptions of health-related risk associated with travel for this population is scant. One study, however, found that African Americans appear less likely to search and seek out health-related risk information during crisis events (Elliott & Pais, 2006). Given that health-related risks pose the greatest collective threat to all three destinations and there is a strategic focus on the African American market, it is important to understand the role that perceptions of health-related risks play in African American's overall perceptions of safe destinations.

2. Literature review

2.1. Risk Perceptions

Risk is a concept that can be understood through the lens of many disciplines (e.g. health, communications, agriculture, and marketing). It has been defined as “a situation or an event where something of human value (including humans themselves) is at stake and where the outcome is uncertain” (Rosa, 2003, p. 56), the likelihood that “an individual will experience the effect of danger” (Sjöberg, Moen, & Rundmo, 2004, p. 7), or “the probability of an adverse event and the magnitude of its consequences” (Sjöberg et al., 2004, p. 7). Risk is generally categorized in two ways- real risk and perceived risk (Sjöberg, 2002). Real risk can be measured through a series of technological risk assessments, such as identification, quantification, and characterization (Slovic, 1987; Slovic & Weber, 2002). However, it is argued that such a procedure is not effective since risk is “inherently subjective” (Slovic & Weber, 2002, p. 5) and interpretation and reaction to risk may vary with different people and their diverse social and cultural backgrounds (Sjöberg et al., 2004). Thus, perceived risk accounts for the inherently subjective evaluation of an adverse event.

Risk perceptions have become a main focus of research in the past several decades (McComas, 2006; Sjöberg, 2002; Slovic & Weber, 2002). From a micro perspective, it is important to understand risk perceptions because risk is

seen as a mechanism that “human beings have invented to help them understand and cope with the dangers and uncertainties of life” (Slovic & Weber, 2002, p. 5). Further, risk perceptions act as one of the dominant factors in individuals' decision-making and future behaviors (Sjöberg et al., 2004; Slovic & Weber, 2002). From a macro perspective, understanding risk perceptions must be reflected in public response and reactions towards crises and must serve as a reference for policy makers (McComas, 2006; Peterson, 1997).

2.2. Traveler's Risk Perceptions

Within the context of tourism, risk has been defined as “what is perceived and experienced by the tourists during the process of purchasing and consuming traveling services and at the destination” (Tsaur, Tzeng, & Wang 1997, p. 788-799). Travelers' risk perceptions is a concept that is constituted of multiple dimensions and different types of risks could be identified (Floyd, Gibson, Pennington-Gray, & Thapa, 2004; Roehl & Fesenmaier, 1992; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). For example, Roehl and Fesenmaier (1992) first proposed seven types of risks in a tourism setting, namely, equipment, financial, physical, psychological, satisfaction, social, and time risk. Based on that, Sönmez and Graefe (1998b) added another three types of risks: health, terrorism, and political instability risk.

2.3. Perceptions of Health Risk in Destination

The impact of a health-related outbreak on a tourism destination can have crippling effects on the entire destination, ranging from economic impacts to image issues to overall destination competitiveness (Kuo, Chen, Tseng, Ju, & Huang, 2008; Page, Yeoman, Munro, Connell, & Walker, 2006). As noted by Richter (2003), public health is an important issue for the travel and tourism industry, particularly due to the rapid growth in international travel and continuous globalization. During the SARS outbreak of 2003, it was observed that Taiwan's tourism arrivals declined 71.54% over the same period the year prior (Mao, Ding, & Lee, 2010). For destinations dependent on tourism, health-related crises can have devastating impacts on the industry. Interestingly, domestic tourism tends to recover faster in the aftermath of a crisis and, thus, can play an important role in recovery. For example, Mao et al. (2010) pointed out that immediately after Taiwan was removed

from the SARS-affected area list, inbound tourism gradually recovered and contributed to the tourism industry. Henderson (2004) found that Singapore's government refocused its' efforts on the domestic tourism market following damages brought on by the SARS crisis.

From an individual perspective, perceptions of risk, especially health-related risk perceptions, have been regarded as important factors that determine travel decisions (Kozak et al., 2007; Law, 2006; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009). The outbreak of a health-related crisis can shape individuals' risk perceptions related to a destination, as well as change their destination choice (Page et al., 2006; Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Slovic & Weber, 2002). Kozak et al. (2007) found that the perceived risk of infectious disease was a significant factor leading to changes in travel plans. While Law (2006) found that tourists were more likely to visit destinations where it was perceived that there was no risk related to infectious disease. Rittichainuwat and Chakraborty (2009) found that the perceived risk of disease was one of the main obstacles that impeded international tourists' likelihood to visit Thailand.

2.4. The Influence of Demographics on Risk Perceptions

Previous studies have examined the relationships between risk perceptions and a number of variables, such as past experience (Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Weinstein, 1987), gender (Carr, 2001; Kozak et al., 2007; Matyas et al., 2011), age (Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004), and income (Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004). Risk perceptions have been found to be influenced by age (Floyd & Pennington-Gray, 2004; Gibson & Yiannakis, 2002). In addition, most literature has found females are more risk averse than males (Lepp & Gibson, 2003; Matyas et al., 2011; Pizam et al., 2004), although some studies have determined the opposite (Carr, 2001). However, research suggests that demographics alone are not significant predictors of risk perceptions (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a).

Race is one dynamic trait which has been underexplored. Understanding the role of race in the risk process is complex. Blumer (1966) and Crotty (1998) argue that individuals imbue things with different meanings according to his or her background, beliefs, perspectives, interests, expectations, and desires. Goffman (1974) also suggests that an individual's daily situation consists of a series of frames rooted in their prior experiences, knowledge, and cultural background. There has been little systematic examination of the

relationship between race and the social context of risk perceptions (Lindell & Hwang, 2008). It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the lack of attention to race and risk-related research is that researchers typically conceptualize race in terms of demographic variables; they often treat such variables categorically as independent variables to assess differences between groups (Cooper & Denner, 1998).

However, in the general risk literature, research has found that African Americans are less likely to accept a risk or warning message as credible without confirming the message from peers (Fothergill et al., 1999; Lindell & Perry, 2004). Additional research on race indicates that African Americans often maintain a high level of distrust of mainstream institutions and are more likely to turn to peers than those institutions (e.g. government) (Quinn et al., 2005). Moreover, a study on African Americans travelers' use of social media in times of crisis has led research in the area of crisis during travel and risk perceptions (Pennington-Gray et al., 2013). Research found that use of social media in everyday life was not a significant predictor of potential use of social media to receive information during a crisis for African American travelers (Pennington-Gray et al., 2013). Unfortunately, there is a scant body of literature related to African Americans' perceptions of safe destinations, particularly the role that potential health-related crises may play in the image of a safe destination.

2.5. The Influence of Past Experience on Risk Perceptions

Mazursky (1989) postulated that the nature of past travel experience, in addition to the extent of experience, can affect travel behaviors in the future. Sönmez and Graefe (1998a) suggested that, despite the level of past travel experience, experiencing or observing terrorist activity can have a greater effect on future travel behaviors. While those who had visited a destination in the past were likely to indicate that they would visit the destination in the future, rather than staying away because of the risk. Experienced tourists are less likely to change travel plans because of perceived fears (Floyd et al., 2004; Milman & Pizam, 1995; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b).

2.6. Image of a Safe Destination

Studies have investigated the relationship between risk perceptions and travel intentions (Floyd et al., 2004; Kozak et al., 2007; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). It has been found that tourists are more likely to choose safe destinations (Jonas et al., 2011; Kozak et al., 2007;

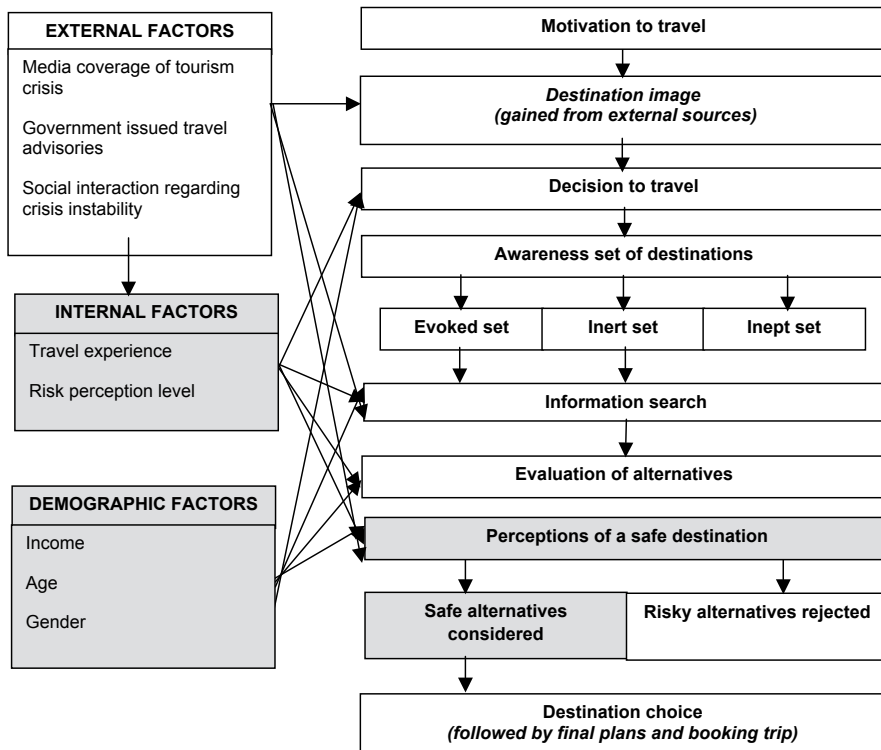
Rittichainuwat & Chakraborty, 2009; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b). Moreover, tourists are willing to change their travel plans in order to avoid unsafe destinations (Floyd et al., 2004; Kozak et al., 2007; Law, 2006; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Besides general risk perceptions, it is noted that specific risk perceptions, such as health-related risk perceptions, have a greater impact on decision-making (Dolnicar, 2005). For instance, Cossens and Gins (1995) found that tourists who are aware of HIV infection in a specific destination are more likely to avoid traveling to places where the number of AIDS cases is greater.

2.7. Conceptual Framework

Sönmez and Graefe’s (1998a, b) Model of International Tourism Decision-Making Process was adopted as the conceptual framework for this research. This model, which was rooted in Information Integration Theory (IIT) and Protection Motivation Theory (PMT), proposes that

there are a number of factors which influence tourists’ decisions from the motivation to travel to destination choice to actual travel (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Relevant to this study, tourists’ evaluation of the safety of a destination may be influenced by factors such as past travel experience, perceptions of risk, and several demographic factors (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Importantly, a destination which is perceived to be risky after an evaluation of destinations may be substituted with a destination alternative which is perceived to be safer (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Thus, perceptions of a safe destination can be influenced by various factors. Furthermore, perceptions of a safe destination can influence destination choice, which can have implications for visitation to a destination. Sönmez and Graefe’s (1998a) model has been adapted and utilized as the conceptual framework for this study to better understand the factors that may influence perceptions of a safe destination among African American travelers (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Conceptual framework: Model of tourism decision-making process (adapted from Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a)



Based on the main purpose of this study and the conceptual framework, four research questions guided this study:

1. What is the relationship between demographics (age, gender, income) and perceptions of a safe destination among African American travelers?
2. What is the relationship between past travel experience to the destination and perceptions of a safe destination among African American travelers?
3. What is the relationship between the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel and perceptions of a safe destination among African American travelers?
4. What is the relationship between the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip and perceptions of a safe destination among African American travelers, when controlling for the effects of demographics, past travel experience to the destination, and the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel?

Furthermore, the hypothesized model which represents the four research questions is presented in Figure 2.

3. Methodology

3.1. Data Collection

The data for this study was collected as part of a larger study conducted by a private tourism research company in Washington, D.C. A large institution in the southern USA worked with the private firm to formulate

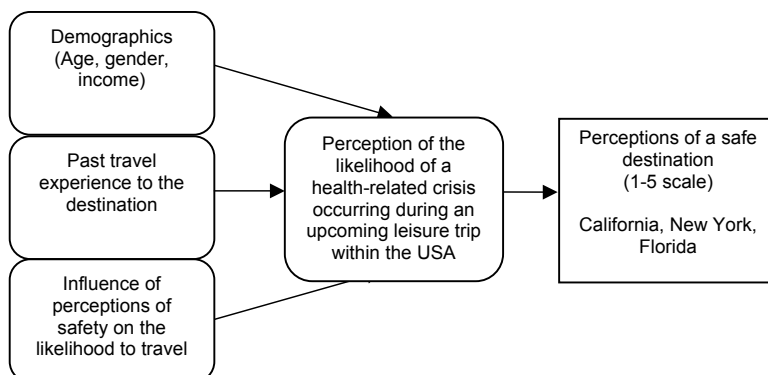
three questions related to crisis and travel. The larger study was conducted among 1018 African American residents of the USA who traveled for leisure in the past 12 months. The data was collected online using an existing ongoing domestic leisure travel panel ("*Travel Answer*" Domestic Leisure Panel) managed by a national marketing research company in December 2010. To qualify for the survey, respondents must have taken at least one trip in the past 12 months for pleasure, vacation, or personal purposes within the United States that was 50+ miles away from home one-way OR where the traveler spent at least one overnight and have shared or have sole responsibility for travel planning. The overall response rate was 4.5%. The sampling error for the total sample size of 1018 was +/- 3.03 percentage points at the 95% confidence level. The sample for the survey was weighted by age, gender, geographical region, race, and ethnicity according to the latest population parameters reported by the U.S. Census Bureau.

The following definitions were used in the larger study:

African American: A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their race as "Black, African Am., or Negro," or provide written entries such as African American, Afro American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian. (Source: U.S. Census Bureau).

African American Travelers: Those who have taken at least one trip in the past 12 months for pleasure, vacation, or personal purposes within the United States that was 50+ miles away from home one-way OR where the traveler spent at least one overnight and has shared or has had sole responsibility for travel planning.

Figure 2. Hypothesized model representing the four research questions



3.2. Operationalization of Variables

The dependent variable *perceptions of a safe destination* was measured by asking respondents "Please rate the states below according to your perception of how safe you feel traveling within the following states, using a 5 point scale, where 1= very safe, 2= safe, 3= neither safe/nor risky, 4= risky, and 5= very risky." According to Office of Travel and Tourism Industries (2012), the top three travel destinations in the USA are New York, California, and Florida. These three state destinations were chosen for analysis purposes to gain a better understanding of perceptions of safety related to the top travel destinations in the USA.

There were five independent variables and one mediating variable in this study. Age, gender, and annual household income were the demographic variables examined. First, *age* was a continuous variable. Second, *gender* was coded as 0: female and 1: male. Third, *annual household income* was a categorical variable and was, therefore, recorded into three dummy variables (under \$34,999; \$35,000-74,999; and over \$75,000) for analysis purposes. The dummy variable under \$34,999 served as the reference group. Fourth, *past travel experience to the destination* was measured as a dichotomous variable, asking respondents "Thinking about your most recent trip, what state(s) did you visit?" Responses were coded as 0: no and 1: yes. Past experience traveling to the top three destinations in the USA, namely New York, California, and Florida, was considered. Fifth, *influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel* was measured using the statement: "Personal safety/general safety concerns: which of the following has an impact on your taking a leisure trip in the upcoming 12 months?" Responses were coded as 0: no and 1: yes. Lastly, the *perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip*, the mediating variable, was measured as "Disease (e.g. SARS): Using a scale of 1 to 5, where 1= very unlikely, 3= neutral, and 5= very likely, please think about your next or upcoming leisure trip within the United States and rate your perception of the likelihood that the following crisis will occur during your trip."

3.3. Profile of Respondents

Examination of the demographic profile of the respondents revealed that the respondents were more likely to be females (59.3%) and the largest percentage of respondents (38.5%) were between the ages of 51-65 years old, followed by those between the ages of 41-50 years old (22.2%). Additionally, a majority of the respondents were either married (38.6%) or single, never married (28.2%). Respondents were fairly well educated, with approximately 1 in 2 having an Associate's

degree (12.5%), Bachelor's degree (24.5%), or graduate or professional degree (11.2%). Approximately half of the respondents were also considered to be members of the lower middle class, with 20.7% having an annual household income of between \$35,000 and \$49,999 and 24.3% having an annual household income of between \$50,000 and \$74,999. Additionally, approximately 2 out of 5 respondents were employed full time (43.5%).

Table 1. Frequency of demographic variables among African American travelers

Variable	Frequency	Valid %
Age		
18-30	157	15.4
31-40	178	17.5
41-50	226	22.2
51-65	392	38.5
66+	64	6.3
Gender		
Male	414	40.7
Female	604	59.3
Annual household income		
Less than \$10,000	46	4.8
\$10,000-14,999	35	3.6
\$15,000-24,999	99	10.2
\$25,000-34,999	142	14.7
\$35,000-49,999	200	20.7
\$50,000-74,999	235	24.3
\$75,000-99,999	116	12.0
\$100,000-149,999	56	5.8
\$150,000-199,999	21	2.2
\$200,000 or more	16	1.7
Employment status		
Employed full-time	441	43.5
Employed part-time	97	9.6
Full-time homemaker	43	4.2
Full-time student	45	4.4
Self-employed	77	7.6
Retired	183	18.0
Unemployed	105	10.4
Other	23	2.3
Marital status		
Single, never married	285	28.2
Living with significant other	107	10.6
Married	391	38.6
Divorced/separated	181	17.9
Widowed	48	4.7
Education level		
Less than 9th grade	2	.2
9th to 12th grade, no diploma	20	2.0
High school graduate or GED	138	13.6
Some college, no degree	365	36.0
Associate's degree	127	12.5
Bachelor's degree	249	24.5
Graduate or professional degree	114	11.2

Table 2. Frequency of travel variables among African American travelers

Variable	Frequency	Mean	Standard Deviation
Please rate the states below according to your perception of how safe you feel traveling within the following states, using a 5 point Likert scale, where 1= very safe, 3= neither safe/nor risky, and 5=very risky.			
New York	964	3.03	1.19
California	941	2.62	1.09
Florida	960	2.47	1.03
Thinking about your most recent trip, what state(s) did you visit?		Valid %	
New York	113	11.1	
California	119	11.7	
Florida	170	16.7	
Which of the following has an impact on your taking a leisure trip in the upcoming 12 months?		Valid %	
Personal safety/general safety concerns	112	11.0	
Using a scale of 1-5, where 1= very unlikely, 3= neutral, and 5= very likely, please think about your next or upcoming leisure trip within the United States and rate your perception of the likelihood that the following crisis may occur during your trip.			
Health-related (e.g. SARS)	1018	2.26	1.11

Upon examination of the respondents' perceptions of safety associated with the top state destinations in the USA, it was revealed that New York was perceived to be the riskiest ($\mu = 3.03$) and Florida was perceived to be the safest ($\mu = 2.47$) of the three (Table 2). Further, 11.0% of the respondents indicated that personal safety and general safety concerns has an impact on their likelihood to take a leisure trip within the next year. Respondents were most likely to have visited the state of Florida within the past year (16.7%), followed by California (11.7%) and New York (11.1%). Overall, on a scale of 1-5, respondents indicated that a health-related crisis (e.g. SARS) was not likely to occur during an upcoming leisure trip within the USA ($\mu = 2.26$).

3.4. Data Analysis

Linear regression was utilized to analyze the four research questions. More specifically, hierarchical multiple regression was used because it allowed for the control of the effects of demographics, past travel experience to the destination, and the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel when examining the relationship between the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip and perceptions of a safe destination for each of the top three state tourism destinations. The first step of the hierarchical regression included demographics (age, annual household income, and gender), past travel experience to the destination, and

the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel. The second step added the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip. Three hierarchical regressions were run to examine the factors that influence perceptions of a safe destination for New York, California, and Florida among African American travelers. The results were evaluated through observation of the significant path coefficients and significant model changes (ΔR^2). Preliminary analysis checked for issues with multicollinearity. Review of the indicators (VIF and tolerance) did not reveal multicollinearity among the independent variables (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1998).

4. Results

4.1. Perceptions of New York as a Safe Destination

Results indicated that for each of the three destinations, the predictor variables of perceptions of a safe destination differed. Interestingly, in regards to perceptions of New York as a safe destination, only two variables were significant predictors (Table 3). In the first step, only past experience traveling to New York in the past 12 months ($\beta = -.126$, $p < .001$) was related to perceptions of New York as a safe destination. Those African Americans who had traveled to New York in the past year were more likely to perceive the destination to be safe. The first step accounted for 1.7% variance in perceptions

Table 3. Results of regression analysis testing the effects of demographics, past travel experience, perceptions of personal safety, and perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during travel on perceptions of New York as a safe destination

Variable	B	SE	\square
Step 1			
(Constant)	3.261	.158	-.028
Age	-.003	.003	-.020
Gender	-.048	.080	-.013
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.031	.090	-.063
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.183	.109	-.126**
Past travel experience to New York	-.474	.124	.044
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.168	.125	
Step 2			
(Constant)	2.976	.176	
Age	-.003	.003	-.033
Gender	-.055	.079	-.023
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.014	.090	-.006
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.130	.109	-.045
Past travel experience to New York	-.466	.124	-.124**
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.167	.124	.044
Perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip	.129	.036	.119**

*p < .05, ** p < .01

Note: adjusted R² = .017 for step 1, p < .01; Δ R² = .013 for step 2, p < .001

of New York as a safe destination (adjusted R² = .017). When the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip was added to the model, both past experience traveling to New York ($\beta = -.124$, p < .001) and the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip ($\beta = .119$, p < .001) were significantly related to perceptions of New York as a safe destination. In the second step, when controlling for all of the independent variables in the first step, those African American travelers who perceived that a health-related crisis was likely to occur during an upcoming leisure trip within the USA perceived New York to be a riskier destination. The addition of the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip added 1.3% to the overall variance explained by the model (Δ R² = .013, p < .001). The final model accounted for 2.9% of the variance in the perception of New York as a safe destination (adjusted R² = .029).

4.2. Perceptions of California as a Safe Destination

Five variables were significant predictors of perceptions of California as a safe destination (Table 4). In the first step, age ($\beta = -.090$, p < .01), annual household income of over \$75,000 ($\beta = -.115$, p < .01), past experience traveling to

California in the past 12 months ($\beta = -.153$, p < .001), and the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel ($\beta = .089$, p < .01) were predictors of perceptions of California as a safe destination. Therefore, those African American travelers who were older, had a higher income, and those who had traveled to California in the past year were more likely to perceive California to be a safer destination. On the other hand, African Americans who indicated that concerns for personal and general safety had an impact on their likelihood to take a leisure trip in the upcoming 12 months perceived California to be a riskier destination. The first step accounted for 4.4% variance in perceptions of California as a safe destination (adjusted R² = .044). When the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip was added to the model, age ($\beta = -.097$, p < .01), annual household income of over \$75,000 ($\beta = -.086$, p < .05), past experience traveling to California in the past 12 months ($\beta = -.162$, p < .001), the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel ($\beta = .088$, p < .01), and the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip ($\beta = .185$, p < .001) were predictors of perceptions of California as a safe destination. When controlling for all of the independent variables in the first step, the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip had

Table 4. Results of regression analysis testing the effects of demographics, past travel experience, perceptions of personal safety, and perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during travel on perceptions of California as a safe destination

Variable	B	SE	B
Step 1			
(Constant)	3.125	.144	
Age	-.008	.003	-.090**
Gender	.023	.072	.011
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.156	.082	-.071
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.302	.099	-.115**
Past travel experience to California	-.501	.108	-.153**
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.309	.114	.089**
Step 2			
(Constant)	2.721	.159	
Age	-.008	.003	-.097**
Gender	.014	.071	.007
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.131	.081	-.060
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.226	.098	-.086*
Past travel experience to California	-.531	.106	-.162**
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.304	.112	.088**
Perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip	.183	.032	.185**

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Note: adjusted $R^2 = .044$ for step 1, $p < .01$; $\Delta R^2 = .033$ for step 2, $p < .001$

a positive relationship with perceptions of California as a safe destination. This suggests that those African American travelers who perceived that a health-related crisis was likely to occur during an upcoming leisure trip within the USA perceived California to be a riskier destination. The addition of the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip added 3.3% to the overall variance explained by the model ($\Delta R^2 = .033$, $p < .001$). The final model accounted for 7.7% of the variance in the perception of California as a safe destination (adjusted $R^2 = .077$).

4.3. Perceptions of Florida as a Safe Destination

Finally, five variables were significant predictors of perceptions of Florida as a safe destination (Table 5). In the first step, annual household income of \$35,000-74,999 ($\beta = -.089$, $p < .05$), annual household income of over \$75,000 ($\beta = -.137$, $p < .01$), past experience traveling to Florida in the past 12 months ($\beta = -.146$, $p < .001$), and the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel ($\beta = .126$, $p < .001$) were predictors of perceptions of Florida as a safe destination. Thus, those African American travelers who had an annual household income of \$35,000-74,999 and over \$75,000, as well as those who had traveled to Florida in the past year were more likely

to perceive Florida to be a safer destination. Alternatively, African American travelers who indicated that concerns for personal and general safety had an influence on their likelihood to take a leisure trip in the upcoming 12 months perceived Florida to be a riskier destination. The first step accounted for 5.0% variance in perceptions of Florida as a safe destination (adjusted $R^2 = .050$). When the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip was added to the model, annual household income of \$35,000-74,999 ($\beta = -.075$, $p < .05$), annual household income of over \$75,000 ($\beta = -.108$, $p < .015$), past experience traveling to Florida in the past 12 months ($\beta = -.139$, $p < .001$), the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel ($\beta = .126$, $p < .001$), and the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip ($\beta = .197$, $p < .001$) were predictors of perceptions of Florida as a safe destination. When controlling for all of the independent variables in the first step, the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip had a positive relationship with perceptions of Florida as a safe destination. Therefore, those African American travelers who perceived that a health-related crisis was likely to occur during an upcoming leisure trip within the USA perceived Florida to be a riskier destination. The addition of the perception of the likelihood of a

Table 5. Results of regression analysis testing the effects of demographics, past travel experience, perceptions of personal safety, and perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during travel on perceptions of Florida as a safe destination

Variable	B	SE	□
Step 1			
(Constant)	2.537	.134	
Age	.003	.003	.034
Gender	-.041	.068	-.020
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.184	.077	-.089*
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.341	.093	-.137**
Past travel experience to Florida	-.398	.089	-.146**
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.423	.108	.126**
Step 2			
(Constant)	2.112	.149	
Age	.002	.003	.028
Gender	-.047	.066	-.022
Dummy variable income \$35,000-74,999	-.154	.076	-.075*
Dummy variable income over \$75,000	-.269	.092	-.108**
Past travel experience to Florida	-.379	.087	-.139**
Influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel	.420	.106	.126**
Perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip	.184	.030	.197**

*p<.05, ** p<.01

Note: adjusted R²= .050 for step 1, p<.01, ΔR²= .038 for step 2, p<.01

health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip added 3.8% to the overall variance explained by the model (ΔR²= .038, p < .001). The final model accounted for 8.7% of the variance in the perception of Florida as a safe destination (adjusted R²= .087).

5. Discussion

This study examined African American travelers' perceptions of a safe destination for New York, California, and Florida. Three sets of independent variables (demographics, past travel experience to the destination, the influence of perceptions of safety on the likelihood to travel) and one mediating variable (the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip) were examined as potential predictors of perceptions of a safe destination. The significant predictors varied for each of the three destinations.

Interestingly, all three destinations exhibited different final models of predictors of perceptions of a safe destination. For New York, the fewest number of indicators (past experience with New York and the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring) were predictors of perceptions of a safe destination. For Florida, five variables were predictors of perceptions of a safe destination (middle income, high income, past travel experience with Florida, perceptions

of safety, and perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring). Finally, California had five predictors of perceptions of a safe destination (age, high income, past travel experience with California, perceptions of safety, and perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring). Interestingly, two variables were consistent in the final three safe destination models- past travel experience and the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring while on a trip.

Consistently, the results revealed that past travel experience to the destination was significantly related to African American travelers' perceptions of a safe destination for all three states. African Americans who had traveled to the destination within the past year perceived the destination to be safer. Therefore, this finding supports the notion that positive past experience can help to lessen the perceived risks of visiting the destination (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). A possible explanation is that past travel experience to a destination can foster a sense of familiarity, which may lead to a positive destination image and lower destination-specific risk perceptions (Milman & Pizam, 1995). Research also shows that a positive destination image established based on past travel experience could enhance tourists' memory of the trips, increase their satisfaction, and strengthen their intention to revisit in the future (Kim & Brown, 2012).

Additionally, for all three destinations, the perception of the likelihood of a health-related crisis occurring during an upcoming leisure trip was significantly related to African American travelers' perceptions of a safe destination. African American travelers who perceived that a health-related crisis was likely to occur during an upcoming leisure trip within the USA perceived the destination to be riskier. This is consistent with the previous claims that African American travelers, who can be depicted as a specific at-risk population, are sensitive about health-related crises (Quinn, Thomas, & McAllister, 2005). They also normally perceived higher-level risks towards health hazards than other populations (Palmer, 2003). The findings also imply that outbreaks of health-related hazards might have a particular impact on the risk perceptions of African American travelers and such perceived constraints might impede their travel intentions in the future.

Further, the results revealed that African American travelers who expressed that concerns for personal and general safety had an impact on their likelihood to take a leisure trip in the upcoming 12 months perceived both California and Florida to be a riskier destination. This finding suggests that concerns for safety can contribute to the evaluation of perceptions of safety at a destination. Earlier research has found that personal safety was one of the main concerns for tourists' evaluation of destinations (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). As a protective behavior, tourists are more likely to avoid destinations if they have greater concerns for safety (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998b). Reisinger and Mavondo (2005) also found that tourists' perceptions of safety were affected by perceptions of health, as well as terrorism, financial, and sociocultural risks. However, it is noticed that tourists' perceptions of health risks are more complicated and comprehensive and they are more likely to perceive themselves to be at-risk when it comes to health-related crises (Jonas et al., 2010).

In regards to the demographic factors, while African Americans with an annual household income of over \$75,000 perceived both California and Florida to be a safer destination, those with an annual household income of \$35,000-74,999 perceived Florida to be a safer destination. The positive relationship between income and perceptions of California and Florida as safe destinations may be correlated with overall past travel experience. Since we measured past experience as travel to the destination in the last year, we may speculate that higher income earners travel more often in general and, thus, their percep-

tions of safe destinations are mediated by the extent of their overall past travel experience. To support, the extent of past travel experience adds to travel self-confidence (Pearce, 1988) and, thus, lower perceptions of risk. Furthermore, increased past travel experience among higher income earners may lead to greater knowledge of the destination and can also mitigate negative risk perceptions. Past experience may lead to a greater perception of controllability of risk, as well (Dosman, Adamowicz, & Hurdey, 2001, Krewski et al., 2006). Furthermore, there was a positive relationship between age and perceptions of Florida as a safe destination. Again, this relationship may be mediated by overall past travel experience. Additionally, Florida is a popular state for retirees and, therefore, those who are approaching the age of retirement may perceive the state to be a safer destination.

With respect to overall perceptions of a safe destination, it was revealed that among the top three state tourism destinations in the USA, Florida was perceived to be the safest. It is interesting to note that Florida was in the process of recovering from a major disaster, the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill in the Gulf of Mexico, at the time of data collection. The crisis, which had environmental and health consequences, received extensive media coverage from April 20 to after the leak was capped on September 16, 2010. Given the geographic location of Florida, media coverage frequently mentioned the state, as well as impacts on tourism in the state. Perhaps the fact that Florida was still perceived to be the safest destination despite the Deepwater Horizon Oil Spill crisis can at least partially be attributed to VISIT FLORIDA®'s crisis communication efforts (Pennington-Gray, London, Cahyanto, & Klages, 2011). Research conducted throughout different phases of the oil spill found that few potential tourists indicated they would alter their plans to come to Florida or avoid visiting the state as a result of the crisis (Pennington-Gray et al., 2011). Another possible reason accounting for this could be the fact that large portions of the respondents have visited Florida in the past. As discussed earlier, past travel experience to Florida may help these tourists establish a positive destination image and exposure to the media may have enhanced their perceived control over making a decision because of access to information about the destination.

New York, on the other hand, was perceived to be the riskiest destination. Intriguingly, despite being the top tourism destination in the USA, the lowest percentage of respondents had

traveled to New York in the past year. Compared to Florida, New York had the fewest number of past visitors to the state and, therefore, may have had the least amount of knowledge about the destination. The perceived image of New York might have resulted from respondents' limited recent visiting experience. In this case, their destination image towards New York might be constructed using information from other external sources, such as personal and social communication, news reports, and media converge (Gartner, 1994; Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002). The ambiguity and uncertainty of the information might increase travelers' risk perceptions and, therefore, damage the perceived destination image of New York. Furthermore, we hypothesize that when thinking of New York, the respondents may use Manhattan (New York City) as the surrogate for New York State. Thus, there may be a spillover effect; whereby individuals' risk perceptions associated with the State may be based on their risk perceptions associated with the densely-populated urban destination of Manhattan. In fact, the scientific literature on risk addresses health risks and urban settings and profiles a wide range of increased possible health risks in public settings from bioterrorism to toxic chemicals to infectious diseases (Covello, Peters, Wojtecki, & Hyde, 2001). Predominantly, urban destinations are associated with crime issues and Demos (1992) demonstrated the relationship between decreasing inbound tourist arrivals and an increasing crime rate in the urban destination of Washington, D.C. Similarly, Manhattan, as an urban destination, might also suffer from such a distorted destination image, which may increase travelers' perceived risk and result in the replacement of New York with another safer destination.

6. Conclusion

Ensuring a safe destination is not only one of the essential factors in motivating tourists to choose a destination, but it is also key to the success of the tourism industry. If a destination is perceived to be risky, it is more likely that the destination will be avoided and substituted with a destination that is perceived to be safer (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b). Therefore, destinations that are perceived to be risky may experience devastating decreases in tourism arrivals (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2005). In light of this, establishing and maintaining a safe destination image has emerged as an important

task for both DMOs and travel marketers. Yet, they need to understand how tourists perceive the destination in terms of safety concerns and factors that could influence tourists' perceptions of safe destinations.

As demonstrated by previous literature, the formation of a destination image is a complicated process and it is influenced by a variety of factors (e.g. previous experience, traveler's characteristics, attributes of the destinations) (Baloglou & McCleary, 1999; Crompton, 1979; Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002). The current study has examined tourists' perceived destination image under the specific theme of risk and attempted to explore the main drivers of these perceptions. Interestingly, the importance of past travel experience has been featured in the findings. Generally speaking, African American tourists are more concerned with health hazards (Palmer, 2003) and the outbreaks of health-related crises. However, the findings illustrate that respondents who have visited a destination before tend to perceive the destination as safer. This finding is in line with previous findings (Floyd et al., 2004; Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a, b) and implies that past travel experience may moderate the influence of destination risk perceptions. Thus, as possible actions, tourism marketers could target frequent travelers as a preferred market when they are recovering from a health crisis. Given that this segment is more risk tolerant (Kozak et al., 2007), they may be more likely to come back sooner.

Another valuable finding is the necessity of effective communication plans for a destination. Previous research has demonstrated that personal and social communications are basic channels for tourists to gather information and cultivate a destination image (Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). However, the content and credibility of information varies by different markets, therefore, messages must be altered to target different markets and provide different messages (Schroeder, Pennington-Gray, Donohoe, & Kioussis, 2013). Overall, the predictors in this study accounted for a small percentage of the variance in perceptions of a safe destination. Therefore, future research needs to examine other factors which may influence African American travelers' perceptions of a safe destination. For instance, Sönmez and Graefe (1998a) suggest that information gained from external sources, such as the media or government issued travel advisories, has an influence on the tourism decision-making process. Thus, it is suggested that future research explore the influence of both traditional and social media on destination-specific

perceptions of safety. Further, a tourist's career ladder (Ryan, 1998) may provide better insight into the understanding of tourists' perceptions of a safe destination. As a tourist garners more travel experience over their lifetime, they may become more confident and, therefore, more risk tolerant. This, in turn, may lead to a decreased influence of risk perceptions on travel choice and behavior.

This study focused on perceptions of safety for the top three destinations within the USA. Future research should examine not only the actual destination but the "type" of destination. For example, do African Americans perceive greater health risks associated with beach destinations or urban destinations? Given that this cognitive image may be shaped by information obtained from personal and social communications (Sönmez & Sirakaya, 2002), it is recommended that future studies take into account varying types of destination. In addition, this study examined three destinations within the USA. How do African Americans' perceive health risk and safety in destinations in Asia or Africa or South America? Past studies have found that Africa is associated with high perceptions of infectious disease-related risk, while China is associated with high perceptions of political and health-related risk, and North America was associated with high perceptions of terrorism risk (Sönmez & Graefe, 1998a). Is this similar for an African American population?

Lastly, this study focused on a sample of African American travelers. The predictors of perceptions of a safe destination should be explored for additional subpopulations of tourists (e.g. Hispanics), as not all tourists are similar in their travel-related perceptions and behaviors (Schroeder et al., 2013). Provided that this study served as one of the first to empirically examine the predictors of perceptions of a safe destination, there is an apparent need for future research to explore this area further.

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III CONFERÊNCIA INTERNACIONAL DE TURISMO

GOVERNANÇA E TURISMO

21/22 Novembro 2013

Local: **ISMAI** / Maia - Portugal

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O Cedtur – Centro de Estudos de Desenvolvimento Turístico /ISMAI (Portugal) em articulação com o projecto GOBTUR – Diseño de escenarios óptimos de governanza turística en Reservas de la Biosfera (CSO2012-38729-C02-01 - Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad. Plan Nacional de I+D+i – Universidad de La Laguna – Tenerife, España) tem o grande prazer de anunciar a realização do INTERTUR2013 – III Conferência Internacional de Turismo, a realizar em 21-22 de Novembro de 2013 na Maia (Instituto Superior da Maia – ISMAI) – Portugal. Convidamos os Colegas a considerarem o tema central e os subtemas do INTERTUR 2013 e a enviarem um resumo alargado à Comissão Organizadora até à data limite de 15 de Setembro para submissão a arbitragem científica. Os Autores serão informados da decisão até 30 de Setembro; o texto completo da comunicação deve ser entregue até 10 de Outubro.

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- * Participação local e desenvolvimento turístico

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Imagem, Paisagem e Turismo: a construção do olhar romântico

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Resumo: A presente análise, de viés semiótico, parte da marca pós-moderna de ênfase no visual. Resgatam-se construções históricas em torno da Imagem da Paisagem, para aproximá-las do Turismo. A construção de imagem da Paisagem romântica, como sistematizada naquele período, priorizou o pitoresco, ou seja, um olhar sobre a natureza que a via como um jardim harmonioso e acolhedor. O presente artigo, filiado a teoria do texto conforme Barthes, tem por objetivo associar tal visualidade ao Turismo, considerando ser ele um fenômeno econômico e social que se estruturava e expandia no mesmo período. A estética de pitoresco marcará a visualidade dos primeiros destinos turísticos de montanha e litoral, sendo reproduzida nos guias de turismo e se fazendo presente ao longo do século XX nas imagens turísticas.

Palavras-chave: turismo, imagem, paisagem, romantismo, pitoresco.

Image, Landscape and Tourism: the construction of romantic look

Abstract: This review discusses the notion of landscape as it emerges thematically in the Romantic painting. The romantic construction of image as it is systematic in the landscape in that period prioritized the picturesque, ie, the nature as a harmonic and welcoming garden. This article is affiliated to Barthes text theory and it aims to link this landscape aesthetics to tourism, considering it as social and economic phenomenon that was structured and expanded in the same period. The aesthetics of the picturesque will mark not only the first destinations of mountain and coastal areas as will be present throughout the twentieth century tourism visually.

Keywords: tourism, image, landscape, romantic, picturesque.

1. Introdução

É lugar comum dizer que vivemos num mundo de imagens, mas, a se considerar tal afirmação como verdadeira, é curioso que a atenção dada ao seu estudo, fora das áreas especializadas, como as artes visuais, ainda seja pequena. No turismo não tem sido muito diferente, embora autores como Castrogiovanni (2009), Serrano (1997) e Luchiarri (s.d) analisem o tema, não por acaso de

um ponto de vista da geografia e do território e, ato contínuo, associado à paisagem. Levando-se em conta que uma das expressões mais comuns no jargão turístico é o *sightseeing*, que designa o passeio local para 'olhar' o lugar visitado, mas que o Google tradutor apresenta simplesmente como 'turismo', este exemplo singelo mostra que as construções de sentido associadas ao olhar turístico vão muito além da questão da paisagem e que uma reflexão sobre suas aproximações sig-

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nifica, em simultâneo, uma maior compreensão da atividade que mobiliza milhões de pessoas, ao redor do planeta.

No que aqui pretendo abordar – a construção do olhar do turista como um olhar romântico – levarei em consideração a paisagem, sim, mas em desdobramento a uma questão anterior, qual seja, a imagem. Enquanto a paisagem, se associada ao território, se coloca no momento da empirização da viagem (Cisne, 2010), a imagem se faz presente ao olhar do turista antes mesmo de seu deslocamento, pois quando tal acontece, “as pessoas já terão entrado em contato com o mesmo *visualmente*, através de fotos em jornais, folhetos, cenas de filmes, páginas na Internet ou mesmo pelos velhos e queridos cartões postais” (Gastal, 2005:12-13). O que pretendo arrazoar é que o olhar do turista é resultado de uma construção histórica que se dá em simultâneo com o estabelecimento da organização social e de mercado do que chamamos de Turismo, no século XIX. Nos períodos subsequentes, mesmo que a atividade tenha se ampliado na sua presença na sociedade e que apresente novas performances, observa-se que a estética a condicionar o jeito de olhar e o que é visto, se mantém a mesma.

A construção metodológica para a análise aqui proposta, de base semiótica, parte de Barthes (1987b) quando ele afirma que mesmo imagens podem ser lidas como textos. Semioticamente, o texto é aberto e plural, um território onde interagem outros textos: histórico, social, econômico, linguístico e mesmo o psicológico. Como afirma Jameson (1992:305), “a extrapolação da noção de ‘discurso’ ou ‘escritura’ para objetos que antes se acreditava serem ‘realidade’ ou objetos do ‘mundo real’” amplia as possibilidades de análise. Trabalha-se não com o real, mas com suas re(a)presentação, o que carrega em si a contingência de mediação, contrária ao termo realidade, que suporia a presença imediata, não reflexiva da construção e recepção estética. Portanto, imagem, paisagem e turismo serão os textos em questão, percorridos na sua representação e intertextualidade.

No artigo, inicio com o resgate da construção do conceito de imagem, utilizando para tal a teorização das Artes Visuais, nas quais o conceito teria nascido como uma temática específica na pintura, sendo, pois, elas, as artes, pioneiras não só na criação da expressão visual, mas também na sua teorização. A seguir, busco uma reflexão sobre a paisagem e sua apropriação no Turismo, em muito associada à ideia de *pitresco*, construída pelos primeiros guias de turismo, que entram em circulação no século XIX.

2. Imagem

As tecnologias da imagem desdobram-na em diferentes telas – a fotográfica, a cinematográfica, a do computador... – impondo sua presença e o recuo das formas de comunicação marcadas pela escrita. A imagem fotográfica, estática, é colocada em movimento pelo cinema, logo acompanhada de outras *construções temporais dramatizada*, permitidas pela forma de montagem de cenas de maneira não cronológica – embaralha-se o antes e o depois –, nos *replay* ou no *slowmotion*, que desdobra a cena rápida em infundáveis segundos. Condicionando o olhar e transpondo a tela, a *dimensão estética* aportará os cotidianos na forma de design, arquitetura, decoração ou moda, para alcançar o corpo e a aparência física das pessoas, os materiais publicitários, os produtos turísticos e sua publicidade.

O estético, portanto, se coloca como uma das principais marcas do momento Pós-moderno, pois igualar todos produtos colocados no mercado, com destaque para os produtos culturais – aí incluído o Turismo – com exigências para além das pertinentes ao seu uso ou desfrute, pois a eles deve ser agregada uma visualidade qualificada ao gosto da maioria. Entretanto, em que pese ao avanço das possibilidades disponibilizadas pelos avanços dos efeitos de dramatização das imagens, a partir da tecnologia, é possível afirmar que a estética a elas subjacente, em geral, é bem mais conservadora e reportaria ao Romantismo. Conforme Read (1989:399), o Romantismo significou:

“Profunda revolução no espírito humano que ganhou ímpeto no séc. XVIII e estava em pleno florescimento no séc. XIX. [...] Os elementos mais importantes do R. eram: receptividade para a natureza (prefigurada pelo pitresco); uma ênfase na sensibilidade subjectiva, na emoção e na imaginação, por oposição à razão; um interesse pelo passado, o misterioso e o exótico.”

Hauser (1969), por sua vez, afirma que o Romantismo tornou-se um movimento generalizado por toda Europa, que abarcaria nação após nação e criaria uma linguagem literária e visual que se universalizaria, sendo “compreendida tanto na Rússia e na Polônia como na Inglaterra e França [...]. De fato, não há produto da arte moderna, não há impulso emocional, não há impressão ou disposição de ânimo do homem moderno, que não deva a sua sutileza e sua variedade a sensibilidade nervosa originada no

Romantismo”. O mesmo teórico apresenta outras marcas do Romantismo, além das já propostas por Read, como a utopia, que encontraria inspiração em ideais que o ideário do movimento acreditava já realizados no passado; a fuga, também está ligada ao passadismo, pois a experiência romântica da História expressaria um medo mórbido do presente e uma intenção de fuga ao passado; o dinamismo, se considerado que a imagem de mundo, anterior a ele, seria estática e ahistórica. Ainda sobre o passado, subjacente à utopia e à fuga, para Hauser(1969) nenhuma outra geração teria tido de maneira tão aguda o sentimento de ser herdeira e descendente de períodos anteriores, vendo no passado uma cultura perdida, que deveria ser despertada para uma nova vida.

Tal passadismo estará presente, por exemplo, nas viagens de Goethe (1749-1832), em especial à Itália, que depois são transformadas em livros; ele será um dos criadores do movimento literário alemão *sturmunddrang* [tempestade e ímpeto], que alimentou-se da estética do sublime. A valorização da natureza estará presente nas pinturas de John Constable(1776-1837) e de Joseph Turner (1775-1851), “que mostram uma nova consciência da paisagem” (Read, 1989:399), embora com ênfases diferentes, conforme pode ser observado nas figuras 1 e 2.

No contexto romântico, o termo pitoresco entra em voga no final do século XVIII, evocando

“[...] imperfeições e assimetrias em cenas repletas de detalhes curiosos e característicos que procuram remeter a uma natureza acolhedora e generosa. Valoriza-se aí a irregularidade (sempre agradável) da natureza e a interpretação poética de uma atmosfera particular. [...] O pitoresco designa, nesse contexto, tanto o objeto natural quanto a sua representação num quadro. A expressão artística exemplar do pitoresco é a paisagem dos jardins ingleses. Aliás, o pitoresco, segundo Giulio Carlo Argan, ‘expressa-se na jardinagem’, arte de educar a natureza, melhorando-a, mas sem tirar-lhe a espontaneidade. O sublime apontando para o trágico, o infinito e o universal; o pitoresco enfatizando o característico, o mutável e o relativo”. (Itau Cultural, s.d., s.p.).

O pitoresco, na sua origem semântica no *pin-toresco* do italiano e do espanhol, significaria o que se pode pintar. Já o sublime teria uma construção de sentido um pouco diferenciada:

“O termo sublime, do latim *sublimis*, entra em uso no século XVIII indicando uma nova cate-

Figura 1: Constable. *Malvern Hall*.1809. Acervo Tate Gallery, Londres.



Figura 2: Turner. *Calais Pier*.1803



goria estética, distinta do belo e do pitoresco, e remete a uma gama de reações estéticas com a sensibilidade voltada para os aspectos extraordinários e grandiosos da natureza. Para o sublime, a natureza é ambiente hostil e misterioso que desenvolve no indivíduo um sentido de solidão. [...] Nas artes visuais, o culto do sublime conhece expressões muito variadas, embora seja possível localizar nele traços dominantes: o caráter visionário do sublime é representado, de modo geral, por cores empalidecidas e sem brilho, por traços marcados e gestos excessivos. O gosto pelas paisagens selvagens e inóspitas do pintor napolitano Salvator Rosa, de ampla aceitação na Inglaterra, exerce grande influência no desenvolvimento do sublime. Penhascos escarpados e árvores retorcidas criam uma ambiência de desolação que contrasta com a grandeza clássica do paisagismo de Nicolas Poussin. [...] Mas os dois artistas que melhor sintetizam o sublime na pintura são Joseph Mallord William Turner e Caspar David Friedrich. Nas telas de Turner, a natureza se mostra como potência

devastadora, como fogo ou como força marítima” (Itau Cultural, s.d, s.p.).

Será em período concomitante, que as imagens fotográficas começarão a ganhar popularidade, em trabalhos como os de Timothy O’Sullivan, que retrata suas viagens, como na figura 3.

Figura 3: O’Sullivan. *Shoshone Falls, Idaho*. 1868



Em termos de construção visual, outra foto, esta de Henry Taunt, aproxima ainda mais a estética do pitoresco, na sua reprodução de uma cena de tranquilidade:

Figura 4: Taunt. *Maidenhead Railway Bridge*.1883. Acervo: Oxfordshire County Council Photographic Archive.



Será esse olhar romântico, associado ao pitoresco e não ao sublime, que irá embalar este outro fenômeno social que começa a se manifestar neste mesmo século: o Turismo. Antes de aprofundar esta outra aproximação, se faz necessário resgatar também o percurso da paisagem, para então aproximá-la, como imagem privilegiada, ao turismo.

3. Paisagem

No senso comum, a paisagem esteve por muito tempo associada à natureza e, como tal, condicionada às relações que determinado grupo social mantivesse com ela. As culturas agrícolas tradicionais, mais antigas, cultivavam uma relação direta e literal com a natureza, sendo os cotidianos condicionados pela luz do sol e pelas estações do ano. O avanço da máquina e depois da indústria, com a Modernidade, ocasionaram um maior distanciamento da natureza, inclusive, nos espaços rurais. Sob a perspectiva industrial, os bens naturais transformam-se em matéria-prima para produção, atitude contestada apenas na década de 1960¹, quando discursos acadêmicos e sociais passaram a salientar finitude de tais recursos. O discurso pós anos 1960 salientava o conceito *ecossistema*, cuja concepção alterava a visão homocêntrica moderna, para uma visão na qual as pessoas seriam partícipes de um grandesistema, interligado e interdependente. Vigorava, ainda, um conceito de natureza como designativo daquelas partes do mundo, não alteradas pela mão humana.

Fredric Jameson (1996:13) é drástico ao considerar a possibilidade de algum espaço ainda não alterado pelo humano, o que o leva a afirmar que o “pós-modernismo é o que se tem quando o processo de modernização está completo e a natureza se foi para sempre”. Ele não chega a dizer, mas é possível deduzir que, na noção de ecossistema apreitada pelos ecologistas e hoje generalizada pela sociedade, talvez, o que desapareça seja a própria natureza, relegada a mais uma das grandes narrativas questionadas pelos pós-modernos. Hoje, na forma de ecoturismo, de jardins botânicos e zoológicos, de produtos organicamente corretos, de objeto de estudos acadêmicos, de paisagismos ou mesmo na forma de paisagem, a natureza é mais um produto culturalizado e dilatado como mercadoria.

Nessa contingência, perdida a natureza, o conceito de paisagem, ao ganhar a forma de produto, terá no turismo e na sua publicidade, agenciadores privilegiados – mas, a destacar, não exclusivos –, e também conquistará espaço teórico, no qual será a própria teorização que constituirá o objeto de estudo, ou seja, a construção do conceito paisagem. Assim, começam a aparecer trabalhos acadêmicos a discuti-la e sua abrangência se expande para abarcar, por exemplo, a noção de *paisagem cultural*.

A presença histórica da concepção de paisagem reportaria a Modernidade, inaugurada no Renascimento. Antes, o indivíduo e natureza seriam um todo. Nela inseridas, as pessoas não

poderiam lançar o *olhar sobre*, caracterizando o distanciamento que permitisse vê-la como um *objeto*, ou seja, *um outro* separado de si. Nesse período, a paisagem não seria, ainda, apresentada nas expressões plásticas como cena, pois todos os elementos presentes no quadro são tratados separadamente, como elementos de fundo. É indiferente se os elementos de fundo são flores, folhagens, animais, ou outro grafismo qualquer. “Flores, folhas e árvores coisas que podem ser pensadas isoladamente. Uma montanha é uma ‘coisa’, quando a sua forma é suficientemente egrégia para a distinguir do conjunto. As primeiras paisagens são constituídas por estes elementos individuais” (Clark, s/d:164). As ‘coisas’ são tratadas de forma naturalista, e as pessoas, se presentes, estão integradas a elas.

Antes, durante a Idade Média, haveria dois tipos de olhar sobre a natureza: o religioso, no qual a natureza, se fonte de prazer sensorial, seria também fonte de pecado e engano d’alma; e o do camponês, enquanto quem trabalha a e na natureza, e que a vê associada ao esforço e ao trabalho. Ou, pior, a natureza poderia ser origem de males tenebrosos: do mar viriam os piratas, as florestas seriam habitadas por seres humanos e não humanos como a bruxa má e o lobo mau, dentre outros, todos hostis. Mesmo manifestações da natureza, como as tempestades, poderiam ser fonte de destruição. A passagem dessa natureza hostil, para a ideia de natureza como paraíso, dar-se-ia no bojo das ideias de S. Francisco de Assis (1181 – 1226), que pregara a harmonia entre as pessoas, as plantas e os animais. Clark (s.d.) analisa a importância da luz, nesta passagem: Se Deus é luz, se a luz está em todas as coisas, Deus estaria em todas as coisas, unindo-as. A natureza, iluminada, passa a simbolizar a perfeição divina.

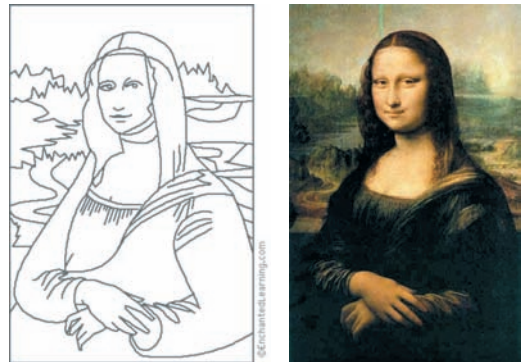
Na cidade medieval, murada, o que estivesse logo além dos muros é chamado de campo; floresta será o que ficar além do campo. O jardim demarcará o que estiver entre os muros; o jardim cercado é a natureza sob controle, domada, que pode ser vivenciada para o prazer e a felicidade, aí presente a ideia de harmonia. É neste cenário que o paraíso será simbolicamente colocado, tornando-se grande pecado o querer atravessar os muros para buscar o que estaria além deles.

Ainda nesse momento medieval, o que também está fora do olhar e do universo sensorial do artista e das demais pessoas, são as montanhas, desconhecido a ser apreendido. O imaginário coletivo coloca, também ali, muitos perigos. Numa época de trabalho e pecado, o prazer gratuito do escalar montanhas e, portanto, conhecê-

-las, não existia para o homem medieval, muito menos para as mulheres. Distantes, enormes, representá-las de maneira convincente é problema que se coloca aos artistas. O pintor tenta resolver a questão utilizando pedras como inspiração do olhar. Elas são levadas para o ateliê e, ali, cuidadosamente copiadas. O recurso funciona razoavelmente para a representação dos rochedos mas, como a montanha é muito mais do que uma pedra ampliada ou um rochedo, o resultado aparece como artificial. Só Friedrich (1774-1840), no romantismo alemão, solucionará tal questão pictórica.

O Renascimento trará a paisagem ainda funcionando como fundo, o primeiro plano ocupado pela figura. Houve, segundo Clark (s/d), de maneira clara, uma alteração no processo de incorporação e dominação da natureza. Um bom exemplo é a *Monalisa*, pintada por Leonardo Da Vinci, em 1506. A Paisagem ao fundo da figura não registra sinal de vida humana e contrasta com a figura bastante moderna da protagonista. O tipo de composição ao fundo – o caminho, o riacho – tem um rebatimento no rosto e no pano da roupa, criando uma continuidade com a figura.

Figura 5: Da Vinci. *Monalisa*. 1506. Acervo Museu do Louvre



A sensação da paisagem como cena só se dará com o desenvolvimento da perspectiva, que demarcará mais formalmente, o Renascimento. A cena trás uma construção espacial em profundidade, na sucessão de planos. De padrão decorativo utilizado para completar a composição, a natureza passa a cenário, onde são representados eventos ou fatos. A perspectiva construída a partir de um ponto de fuga é uma abstração. Nela, o observador prescinde da experiência sensorial: se todas as informações estão disponíveis, é possível criar um ambiente sem nunca tê-lo visto. Cria-se um antagonismo: o máximo

de representação fiel da realidade, sem o conseqüente rebatimento empírico.

A história das imagens nos mostra que a perspectiva, “uma realização vital da Renascença que moldou as maneiras de ver por quatro séculos” (Harvey, 1992:222), já homogeneizara o espaço a ela submetido. Materialização visual do pensamento iluminista, que buscava uma sociedade laica mais racional e menos subordinada à intuição, baseava-se na ordenação racional do espaço e do tempo como requisito à construção de uma sociedade mais avançada, que garantisse as liberdades individuais e o bem-estar humano. Nos espaços nascidos da perspectiva, há um “ponto de vista elevado e distante, completamente fora do alcance plástico ou sensorial. Ele gera o sentimento de espaço ‘friamente geométrico’ e ‘sistemático’, mas que produz ‘uma sensação de harmonia com a lei natural, acentuando assim a responsabilidade moral do homem no âmbito do universo geometricamente organizado de Deus” (Idem, p.222). A perspectiva, entretanto, deixará ainda uma questão irresolvida: como representar o céu e as nuvens, ambos não decifráveis matematicamente? Esta questão só será solucionada, pictoricamente, com o advento da fotografia, permitindo que fotos de nuvens fossem utilizadas pelos pintores, como modelo para representação.

A noção e o termo paisagem, mais propriamente, só teriam surgido no século XVIII, para designar o gênero de pintura que retratava o campo e os objetos que ali se encontram. Será apenas em meados do século XIX, com o Romantismo, que a paisagem ganhará imagética própria e passará a ser tema dominante na pintura, ou seja, de complemento à figura, a natureza passa a motivo central do quadro. A paisagem ganha espaço não apenas no âmbito da tela, mas na concepção de natureza, da sociedade. No século XVIII, os grandes artistas haviam sistematizado as regras de composição que, no século seguinte, orientarão as regras de composição na pintura. Nesse caminho, a temática “vai das coisas às impressões” (Clark, s/d:164), ou seja, evolui da colocação de elementos naturais isolados na composição, para constituir-se em um todo em que a luz e a iluminação terão papel fundamental.

A pintura de paisagens terá seu período de apogeu para, depois, tornar-se um estilo que acaba perdendo sua exuberância, não sem antes passar por exacerbações e degeneração, para cair no caricato. A situação é ironizada por Gustave Courbet, na tela *Atelier* (1855), onde está o artista e sua modelo, ela, nua, e ele pintando uma paisagem (v. figura 6). Chama atenção

o fato de a cena acontecer dentro do ateliê do artista, pois, na época, se considera que um nu ou uma natureza morta poderiam ser pintados entre quatro paredes, mas pintar a natureza exigiria que o pintor fosse até ela.

Figura 6: Courbet, G. *Estúdio do Pintor*. 1855. Acervo Museu D’Orsay, Paris.



A ordenação visual iluminista, associada à perspectiva, será desafiada pela tecnologias do século XIX, a partir do momento em que a imagem é desconstruída na paisagem vista pela janela do trem ou registrada pela máquina fotográfica. Muda o olhar, menos orientado pela racionalização implícita na perspectiva: a paisagem que passa célere pela janela, fala antes ao sensorial do que ao intelectual do observador. De certa forma, nesse momento se inicia o processo de desmaterializa da imagem-paisagem. Os impressionistas registraram essa mudança em suas telas, com suas pinceladas fluídas, a figura liberando-se da prisão da linha. A pesquisa modernista posterior manterá vertentes de construção visual atreladas à experiência sensorial, em especial em termos de cor – como no impressionismo e noutros abstracionismos – e outras vertentes racionalistas, como o cubismo e o concretismo, trabalhando em especial a partir da linha.

A percepção do espaço é social e socialmente construída, portanto, não é surpresa que ela sofra profunda modificação ao longo do tempo, quer nas relações com o território próximo, quer na relação com espaços completamente novos, que podem nascer de intervenções concretas ou simbólicas: viver o espaço é uma construção de sentido que condiciona a sensibilidade, mas que também é condicionada por ela. Constitui-se, portanto, como imagens e imaginários. Ver o espaço como fruto de uma construção social de imagens e imaginários significa admitir que os espaços diferem de cultura para cultura, ou seja, que se esteja lidando no campo do significante e não apenas do significado. O espaço, assim, é

passível de leitura semiótica em suas práticas, discursos, jogos textuais e superfícies: o espaço é um *texto*. Múltiplo, objeto de construção de sentido e de leitura, o espaço sob essa compreensão estimula o olhar, exigindo um espectador ativo. O espaço se dá aos nossos sentidos, principalmente, pelo olhar, embora os demais sentidos contribuam para as trocas que se efetuam nele e com ele. Se o olhar é privilegiado, o espaço será, em princípio, imagem, ou, como prefere Jameson (1996), *narrativa visual*.

A relação com o espaço tem sido condicionada e alterada pela tecnologia, não apenas aquela que permite criar e reproduzir imagens, mas também por aquela que possibilita diferentes formas e velocidades nos deslocamentos. Deslocar-se supõe adequar o olhar à velocidade. Nossos ancestrais nômades, que se deslocavam a pé ou, na melhor das hipóteses, conduzidos por animais, podiam desfrutar a paisagem dos percursos nos seus detalhes, em íntima integração com ela. A roda e, depois, o motor, altera a velocidade e o modo de olhar: quem se desloca não está mais *na* paisagem, mas a observa com distanciamento. O conceito de paisagem acompanha estas mudanças. Para o geógrafo Antonio Carlos Castrogiovanni, hoje teríamos a paisagem:

“[...] entendida como um conceito que traduz o aspecto global – o visível e o invisível/sentido, mas não visto – de uma área. Ela envolve os elementos físicos/naturais, suas interações, assim como todas as intervenções e articulações provocadas pela ação humana. Portanto, também fazem parte da paisagem os elementos históricos e culturais que sinalizam o processo organizacional dos diversos grupos sociais, construídos ao longo do tempo. A paisagem é resultado do acúmulo de ações temporais” (Castrogiovanni, 2001, p.132).

Nesse conceito para paisagem, mais contemporâneo, a ideia de natureza não só perde a centralidade, como praticamente desaparece. Outros fatores passam a compor as narrativas visuais na pós-modernidade, confirmando o proposto por Jameson (1996), que vê a Natureza – nesses termos com maiúscula – para sempre desaparecida. A migração da noção e sua expansão para além da geografia permitem outras apropriações, como, por exemplo, o conceito *paisagem cultural*, que “originário da Convenção da Unesco de 1972, foi concebido para responder à crescente complexidade da sociedade contemporânea e a velocidade cada vez maior dos processos sociais e econômicos” (Almeida, 2007:s.p.)².

4. Imagem, paisagem e turismo

Castrogiovanni (2001, p.132) olha a partir da geografia do Turismo explica que “a oferta turística é o resultado de todas aquelas atividades produtivas que servem à formação dos bens e serviços necessários à satisfação da necessidade turística e que se exprimem no consumo turístico”, colocando-se, portanto, entre estes *bens*, a paisagem. Castrogiovanni busca outros autores, para melhor entender o que possa se colocar como paisagem turística:

“Segundo Rodrigues (1997, p.72) ‘a paisagem é um notável recurso turístico desvelando alguns objetos e camuflando outros por meio da posição do observador, quando pretende encantar e seduzir’. Já para Pierre George (apud Lozato-Giotard, 1990:38), paisagem é ‘a porção do espaço analisada virtualmente’. Ainda para Pitte (1990:38), citado na mesma obra, ‘a paisagem é uma realidade cultural, pois não é somente trabalho humano, mas também objeto de observações, inclusive consumo. A cultura desempenha um papel de filtro variável de um para outro indivíduo e de um para outro grupo social. Este fenômeno de movimentos é fundamental nas paisagens turísticas que são avidamente contempladas mas também profundamente ordenados para melhor serem observadas” (Castrogiovanni, 2001, p. 132).

Se, conceitualmente, a *paisagem turística* é assim colocada, ou seja, como dependente do olhar do espectador, que seleciona e hierarquiza o que vê, é necessário retomar a teorização das artes visuais para decodificar suas marcas visuais, utilizando-se para tal as noções de *sublime* e *pitoresco*, já descritas, que demarcaram a paisagem no seu auge enquanto estilo de pintura, período concomitante, nos séculos XVIII e XIX, a constituição dos primeiros destinos turísticos. Considere-se, para tal, que com certa frequência é apresentado que o turismo moderno se constituiu na busca de *locais pitorescos* junto à natureza, ou seja, de destinos de sol, mar e montanha, sem que se coloque maior atenção sobre como esses espaços são apresentados ou como se realizou a sua construção de sentido. Barthes procurou realizar uma desconstrução que levasse a essa compreensão, como apresentado adiante.

Utilizando um dicionário, para reportar ao senso comum, o mesmo registra que pitoresco seria o divertido, o recreativo, o gracioso (Ferreira, s/d:1105). Para além do uso cotidiano que

o consagrou nesta concepção, o pitorescoé compreendido nas artes de forma mais específica, que, como já colocado, na sua comparação com o sublime, apresenta-se como uma estética que procura remeter a uma natureza acolhedora e generosa, à natureza educada, vista como jardim. Quando adjetiva o termo paisagem – *paisagem pitoresca* – mostra como a estética da pintura foi incorporada e condicionou o olhar, e como que a expressão passou a ser sinônima de belo e de natural: em outras palavras, não haveria paisagem feia (Deprest, 1997).

Remetendo às viagens, Boyer (2003:39) afirma que o Turismo teria sido inventado: “O turismo nem sempre existiu. O fenômeno designado, na época romântica, por uma nova palavra, por um neologismo, decorre de *The Tour* [...]”. A *invenção* se daria no contexto romântico, porque, segundo o teórico, teriam surgido,

“[...] então, o amor pelo campo, que se tornara lúdico, a transformação das práticas populares de uso das águas no termalismo mundano das estações termais que se estendeu até os balneários oceânicos, o desejo de ir aos limites e as invenções das Geleiras, do Mont Blanc e do alpinismo e, enfim, a longa temporada de inverno no sul da França. O Romantismo prolongou estas invenções com sua descoberta do exotismo no tempo e no espaço” (Boyer, 2003, p.19).

Se a passagem do século XVII para o XVIII fora demarcada pelo *The Tour* ou *Grand Tour* (Idem, p.22), na passagem para o século XIX aconteceria o que Boyer denomina de *revolução turística*. A demarcar o novo período, a presença de Cook que, em 1841, teria organizado aquelas que são consideradas como as primeiras excursões na Inglaterra; em 1857 há o nascimento do British Alpine Club, logo copiado em outros países europeus, e em 1879 surgiria o Cyclist Touring Club. Em 1890, houve a fundação do Touring Club de France, seguindo o exemplo inglês, e em 1895, a criação dos Amigos da Natureza, em Viena (Idem, p.26). Presença importante, ainda, a figura de Jean-Jacques Rousseau que, já em 1776, “andava a pé; o Romantismo o consagrou como ‘o primeiro turista’” (Idem, p.24). A exemplo de Rousseau, outros escritores românticos realizaram viagens a Suíça, a Veneza, ao Reno, e as relataram em seus escritos. Se até aqui temos um campo que se organiza em torno *The Tour*, construindo o conceito de *viagem turística*, a reprodução desse imaginário teria a fundamental participação dos guias de viagem. Em 1836 foi editado o primeiro, o *Handbook Murray*;

e “em 1841, Ad. Joanne publicou o *Itinéraire de la Suisse* e 1843, Baedeker começou a edição de seus *Guias*” (idem, p.25).

“As três grandes coleções de Guias (inglesa, francesa, germânica) codificaram, na época romântica, a *videnda* dos turistas (primeiro a Itália, a Suíça, Paris...), divulgaram-nas até os nossos dias e por sua constante repetições (eles se copiam), fixaram o olhar do turista. As massas de hoje, assim guiadas, ainda têm as emoções dos Românticos [...]. Os locais do turismo de massa são vistos, fotografados com ‘lentes cor de rosa’” (Boyer 2003, p.25).

O imaginário com lentes cor de rosa, gestado dentro de um ideário romântico, nasce em uma época em que “somente as pessoas de alta renda – ou quase – eram turistas. Todas as grandes estações termais, balneárias, de alpinismo (Chamonix, Zermatt), de inverno mediterrâneo, os grandes lugares que se deve conhecer – *videnda* ou *sight-seeing* – tem uma data de nascimento e muitas vezes bicentenários” (Idem, p.25). Os guias – o Murray inglês, o Baedeker alemão e o Joanne francês – se encarregariam de alimentar a reputação destes lugares.

A estética, então construída, irá valorizar o que Boyer denomina de *bordas*, aí incluídos o campo, o mar e as montanhas, estas apresentadas como *pitorescas*. A Paisagem constituída a partir deles será *encantadora*, nas suas colinas e vales. “Os viajantes enternecidos gozavam de cenas bucólicas onde os montes eram apenas um cenário longínquo; eles viviam ao mesmo tempo os amores de Julie e o ‘retorno a felicidade intra-uterina’” (Boyer, 2003:43). Os cenários pautados pela beleza serena e pela harmonia, ato contínuo, veem na natureza o local da felicidade, fundamentais ao ideário burguês: “A felicidade é uma idéia nova na Europa’, proclamava o revolucionário Saint-Just. A Natureza também o era; o sentimento de Natureza se transformou em amor de um campo considerado como paisagem. O nome de Rousseau está ligado à nova mensagem, mas não é único” (Idem, p. 54).

No campo, nos “prazeres pastorais, a Europa culta conhecia as *cantigas de vacas* que faziam Jean-Jacques Rousseau chorar” (Idem, p.55). A cidade perde prestígio eno século XVIII é vista como a Babilônia perversa e poluída, perdendo a aura de civilização. “O country não era mais somente o fundamento das rendas fundiárias da pequena nobreza, mas também um espaço de felicidade; [...] a difusão no conjunto da Sociedade foi rápida: sucesso dos ‘currais’, dos qua-

dros de Millet, paixão pelo *englishgardens*, pela decoração com rochas” (Idem). O trem levava ao campo, para longe das cidades tomadas por fábricas movidas a carvão, que cobriam tudo e todos com fuligem negra. Nessa situação, decorências que transcendem em muito a datação da situação: perpetua-se, no Turismo, um discurso que o demarca como mobilizado pela fuga, em especial da cidade para junto da natureza; uma natureza e uma paisagem que passam a serem vistas pela janela do trem:

“[...] numerosos textos do fim do século 18 e da época romântica tinham um tom que podemos qualificar atualmente de ecológico. Bem mais do que uma nova moda, era uma construção ideológica; começada na segunda metade do século 18 e continuada no século 19, ela terminou no fim do século 20 com o ‘campo desejado’, mais apreciado por seu valor estético e terapêutico do que por seu interesse produtivo, conotado desde o século 18 – como o local de Virtude, de Liberdade, de realização do Corpo” (Boyer, 2003:54).

Outra generalização decorrente desse momento, no século XX o turismo de massa, segundo Boyer (Idem, p.55), generalizou os turistas como “consumidores de Natureza, devoradores de paisagens”. As montanhas merecem outro capítulo nesta construção de imaginário. Os Alpes foram objeto de curiosidade a partir de 1740 e em seguida de interesse científico. A montanha, nesse momento, deixa de “ser ‘horrível’ para tornar-se sublime” (Idem, p.41) levando as preferências turísticas por elas continuasse presentes:

“Que grande mutação! A montanha era como o Oceano, território de pavor: nos mapas, era representada por espaços brancos com dragões e animais terríveis. Nenhum cume – ou quase nenhum - tinha um nome; os desfiladeiros que eram as passagens obrigatórias dos viajantes, eram qualificados de montes (Mont-Cenis, Mont-Genève...). Alguns cumes eram chamados de ‘Malditos’ ou ‘Pilatos’, o que dá no mesmo! Em seu conjunto, os montes eram chamados de ‘terríveis’, ‘pavorosos’, ‘horríveis’ por viajantes obrigados a atravessá-los para ir para Itália, que não viam neles nada a admirar e compadeciam-se dos ‘cretinos’ ou ‘papudos’ dos Alpes” (Boyer, 2003:41).

Quanto ao mar, Florence Deprest (1997) retoma Corbin para explicar que a ideia de praia também é *inventada* – pois surgiria algo que não

existia – nos anos 1750, cabendo esta tarefa aos turistas. Antes disto, a praia estaria relegada às margens do território social. A exemplo do que aconteceu com a montanha, cria-se em simultâneo uma relação de lazer e uma relação estéticas com estes espaços.

Barthes, ao analisar o mito na atualidade, atualiza a questão, utilizando para tal os *GuideBleu*, guias de viagem que são editados a partir de 1918 por James e FindlayMuirhead, antes editores da versão inglesa do *Baedeker*, que circulava desde o século anterior. Estes guias centravam-se na arte e arquitetura, descrevendo-as em detalhes, para conduzir o desfrute e o prazer estético de seus leitores, nas suas viagens. Para Barthes (1987:72):

“O *Guidebleu* só reconhece como paisagem o pitoresco. É pitoresco tudo que é acidentado. Encontramos aqui a promoção burguesa da montanha, o velho mito alpestre (data do século XIX) que o *Guide* associava com razão à moral helvética-protestante e que sempre funcionou como um mito bastardo do de naturalismo e de puritanismo (regeneração pelo ar puro, idéias morais perante os ricos, ascensão como civismo etc.). Entre os espetáculos promovidos pelo *Guidebleu* à existência estética, raramente se encontra a planície (salvo somente quando se pode dizer que é fértil), nunca o planalto. Só a montanha, a garganta, o desfiladeiro e a torrente podem ascender ao panteão da viagem, sem dúvida na medida em que parecem sustentar uma moral do esforço e da solidão.”

Barthes, portanto, avança na análise do pitoresco incorporado pelo turismo, mesmo sem ser um teórico da ciência das viagens. Na sua análise, o pitoresco assim construído valorizaria o que ele chama de *marcha moralizante*, associada à ética do trabalho. Para tal, mesmo o túnel, segundo Barthes (1987, p. 72), torna-se signo da montanha, ainda que nele não seja possível vê-la, pois “é um valor fiduciário suficientemente forte [...]”. O mesmo se daria com a arte e arquitetura destaca no *Guide*, que só valorizaria monumentos religiosos, “pois de um ponto de vista burguês é quase impossível imaginar uma história da arte que não seja cristã e católica [...].O cristianismo é o primeiro fornecedor do turismo e só se viaja para visitar igrejas” (Barthes, 1987:73).

Ao dizer que o *Guide* não estimularia no viajante aos questionamentos de “atravessar uma paisagem real, e *viva*” (Idem), inclusive no seu grifo, Barthes também encaminha como o desa-

parecimento da natureza, no que se refere à paisagem, foi alimentados pelos guias de viagem, na sua condução do olhar do turista. O desaparecimento da natureza no conceito de paisagem, também está presente nos dicionários mais contemporâneos, de consulta *online*, que não mais a apresentam associada à beleza natural. Segundo dicionário consultado, *pintoresco* é “adj. [Paisaje,escena,tipo,etc.] 1 que resulta característico y típico de un lugar: el hotel da a una plazamuy pintoresca. 2 Curioso, atractivo, expresivo: ¡qué ocurrencia tan pintoresca! 3 Estraçalario, chocante: lleva una ropa un tanto pintoresca”³. Neste mesmo dicionário *online* consultado para o termo *pintoresco*, junto ao verbete havia links remetendo ao turismo.

Excluída a natureza, o *pitoresco* seria redimensionado, quando as cidades passam a ser buscadas por turistas, para vivências culturais diferenciadas. A mudança dos destinos, daquele junto à natureza, para outros, urbanos, estaria associadas ao envelhecimento da população e ao avanço do consumo cultural para além das elites cultas, mas também a esta natureza que desaparece ou recua, no conceito de paisagem. Uma investigação mais acurada, talvez conduza a conclusão que o pitoresco urbano esteja associado aos jardins e aos ajardinamentos, mas também à qualidade visual exigida dos novos espaços urbanos usufruídos pelos turistas, por exemplo, nos centros históricos restaurados e/ou revitalizados (Gastal, 2006).

Mais recentemente, quando a cidade que se coloca ao olhar do viajante como opção de destino turístico, o espaço lúdico para receber visitantes deixa de se centrar na natureza – até por sua menor presença no espaço urbano –, o que seria causa ou consequência, como se preferir, de outras soluções urbanas, de grande impacto, na criação *praças* pós-modernas nos espaços de convivência como o lobby de hotéis, ou corredores de shoppings de centers, onde a natureza será recuperada nos ajardinamentos, mas também por propostas eletrônicas. A mais surpreendente talvez seja uma grande tela – um imenso front-line –, interligando um complexo de lojas e restaurantes, em Pequim. Na tela com de 200 metros de extensão, a 50 metros de altura, nadam peixes e sereias. Aos espectadores, a sensação é a de estar no fundo do mar, integrado ao mundo aquático, observando o suave nadar de outros seres marinhos. A mesma tela em outros momentos simula um céu estrelado, onde cometas percorrem a Via Láctea. Beleza pura, levando a uma sensação de grande de bem-estar, complementada por música suave. Tecnologia, publicidade, design

e arte somados, para proporcionar uma experiência sensorial inesquecível, em substituição a presença de uma natureza de fato.

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Notas

- ¹ Os ecologistas utilizam outras datações, mais antigas, para caracterizar a emergência da consciência ambiental. Optei pela década de 1960, por ser quando ele se expande para a sociedade de uma forma mais ampla.
- ² Acessado em <http://www.cultura.gov.br/site/?p=5293>, em abril de 2010.
- ³ Diccionario de la lengua española © 2005 Espasa-Calpe S.A., Madrid. Disponível em <http://www.wordreference.com/definicion/pintoresco>, acesso em março 2009.

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Structuration and branding of a religious tourism product: catalonia sacra

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Abstract: This article aims to provide an overview of the products Catalonia has to offer in terms of religious tourism. The growing interest in this kind of tourism worldwide, and in Catalonia itself, along with the region's wealth of religious heritage (particularly connected to the Christian Church) contrast with the lack of religion-based tourism products available, which results in its absence from the region's image as a tourism destination. In view of this, the Faculty of Tourism (University of Girona), the Vic Bishopric's Albergueria-Centre for Cultural Dissemination and the Tarraconense Episcopal Conference's Interdiocese Secretariat for the Custody and Promotion of Holy Art (SICPAS) decided to address the situation with the help of funding from the Autonomous Government of Catalonia.

In order to re-position Christian religious heritage in the image of Catalonia as a tourist destination, the aforementioned parties embarked upon a project to set up a series of routes throughout the region, branded under the name *Catalonia Sacra*.

Keywords: religious tourism, routes, religious heritage, holy art, religious tourism product branding, symbolic meaning

1. Introduction

From the second half of the 20th century onwards, Catalonia's image as a tourist destination has been closely linked to the sun and sand product, while other parts of Spain have developed and consolidated other types of tourism product, from cultural shows (*flamenco* in Andalusia) to material cultural heritage (Burgos and Leon cathedrals).

It was not until the nineties that the Catalan tourism agency *Turisme de Catalunya* (current name *Agència Catalana de Turisme*), which is linked to the Autonomous Government of Catalonia, initiated a clear branding strategy for Catalonia as a tourist destination on the basis of five

different product segments. These segments were, and still are, based on the following thematic areas: culture, gastronomy or cuisine, active-nature, golf, and wellness. Although organisations apply for membership themselves (only those public or private organisations who apply and pay a fee can be members, meaning they represent the tourism image of Catalonia for each of these areas), the initiative did represent a first step towards redirecting Catalonia as a tourist destination at a time when the sun and sand model was entering a crisis and other modes of tourism, such as cultural tourism, were becoming known.

Over recent years we have seen how the *Agència Catalana de Turisme*, the Department for Innova-

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tion, Universities and Enterprise (which was responsible for the Department of Tourism until the November 2010 elections) and public and private tourism agents have promoted different thematic routes throughout the region of Catalonia under the name of brands that are clearly intended to help define the cultural image of Catalonia not only in the minds of visitors but also residents. Thus, for example, we now find products such as *Les Rutes del Pirineu Comtal* (Routes through the Pyrenees), *La Ruta del Modernisme* (the Modernist Route) in Barcelona and *El Triangle Dalinià* (the Dali Triangle), to mention but a few.

As we can see, these brands of regional products reveal different facets of Catalan identity, in line with what marketing theory suggests should be transmitted by a brand (and, by extension, the product or region behind it): “branding involves promoting the unique benefits that the tourist will experience while visiting the city [or region], rather than the city itself. Branding answers the question ‘Why should I visit your city [region]?’” (Kolb 2006: 18). Therefore, as already mentioned, brands help us to retain our tourist experience of a destination by means of epithets referring to the different attributes which combine together to comprise it.

Over the past 15 years, then, both local government and private organisations have worked to develop products and brands that satisfy the specific demand and value the region’s existing resources, rather than trying to create new ones. Despite this effort, a growing segment is currently detected that demands products linked to religious or spiritual tourism. And this segment is being ignored. It is true that related products have been created and brands promoted, such as *La Ruta del Císter*, *El Camí de Sant Jaume* (English: St. James’ Way) (since 2010) and even *El Camí dels Bonshomes*. In all of these cases, however, deficiencies are detected in the discourse when it comes to everything referring to sacred, spiritual or religious elements and there is a lack of know-how regarding how to meet existing demand. All this despite a broad and rich religious heritage already being constructed and in existence (Christian and other beliefs).

In this context the need arose to create a brand linked to a high-quality product that identified Catalonia with its religious Christian and holy past, emphasising the importance it has had for the region throughout its history. It is for this reason that 2008 witnessed the founding of “Catalonia Sacra” (a name that became the brand for the resulting product), a project undertaken by Tarraconense Episcopal Conference’s Interdiocese Secretariat for the

Custody and Promotion of Holy Art (SICPAS), in coordination with the Faculty of Tourism and the University of Girona and the Vic Bishopric’s Albergueria-Centre for Cultural Dissemination, with funding from the Autonomous Government of Catalonia. The aim of this article is to provide a brief description of the current situation regarding tourism in Catalonia, particularly in reference to cultural-religious tourism, followed by a presentation of the tourist brand and product *Catalonia Sacra* in its regional context.

2. Catalonia in its current tourism context

In recent decades tourism has become one of the main economic industries (whilst also having a strong social impact) in many parts of the world. As a specific branch of this phenomenon, cultural tourism appeared (or more accurately, was recognised) in the mid-nineties. In 1992, in its period forecasts for worldwide tourism up until the year 2000, the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO), although not directly mentioning cultural tourism, emphasised that changes in demand (due to more in-depth knowledge of destinations and more experience in travel) would lead on the one hand to a larger number of destinations and on the other to a greater segmentation of the products on the market. Adventure tourism and short breaks were given as examples relating to special interest tourism (within which we also find cultural and religious tourism, among others). It is also worth highlighting the work done by Greg Richards here, considered one of the fathers of research in this specific market segment and founder of the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) special interest group “Research into Cultural Tourism”, one of the profession’s most renowned.

Throughout the nineties and up until the present day we have indeed witnessed a rise in the importance of travel and holidays aimed at cultural purposes among a growing number of tourists (whether as the main reason for travel or as an additional element), despite the inherent difficulties in the definition of cultural tourism (due to the broad meaning awarded the term “culture” and also the term “tourism”) and, therefore, its systematic quantification.

Despite this lack of comparable quantitative data, various signs may be interpreted as a reflection of this increase. For example, in the case of Catalonia, we have seen a large increase in university institutions offering tourism studies and also, very recently, Master’s and postgraduate programmes in cultural tourism (1 official

Master's degree at the University of Girona and four private postgraduate and specialised programmes at the University of Barcelona and the CETT. With regard to religious tourism, this very academic year the University of Barcelona has begun to offer a (non-official) postgraduate programme on this subject; it is also worth highlighting the annual conference on religious tourism held at Montserrat Monastery since 2010.

Along with this, it is also worth bearing in mind that Spain as a whole occupies a very high position in terms of worldwide tourism image, within the top three when it comes to tourist destinations. In a national context, Catalonia is the main tourist destination for foreigners according to data produced by the National Statistics Institute (INE). Statistics on incoming travellers indicate that in 2009 a total of 52,231,098 people entered the country, 12,769,129 (24.25%) of whom went to Catalonia. After Catalonia we find the Balearic Islands (17.30%), the Canary Islands (15.71%) and Andalusia (14.10%). With regard to domestic tourism (171,903,646 tourists), Catalonia is second in the ranking of preferred autonomous region destinations, with a total of 23,047,719 visitors, just behind the autonomous region of Andalusia (which received 29,285,636 visitors).

2.1. Tourism image

According to data from Euromonitor International's Top City Destinations Ranking, Barcelona is fourth in the ranking of European cities in terms of arrival of millions of tourists, behind London, Paris and Rome, and 5 positions above Madrid. Since the Olympic Games were held in the city in 1992, it has become internationally positioned through different projects and events (the rebuilding of urban areas such as Montjuïc and El Raval, Gaudi Year in 2002, etc.), turning it into a veritable icon and worldwide tourist brand for Catalonia and on a national level.

This very positive global image of the region's capital is having repercussions, not only in terms of tourism, but also throughout Catalonia, improving its image and positioning, without forgetting the significance of other factors such as: its positioning as a sun and sand destination in the worldwide image (Costa Brava), the growing interest in Catalan cuisine (Ferran Adrià and other chefs awarded Michelin stars), and not to mention sports (Barcelona F.C., the World Motorcycle Championships).

Such is the positioning being achieved by Barcelona and Catalonia in terms of worldwide tourism image and the value awarded

to religious heritage by society that the national body for promoting tourism, Turespaña, is currently evaluating the possibility of using the Sagrada Família temple in Barcelona as a tourism icon for Spain (the primary image retained by visitors), like the Eiffel Tower in France or Big Ben in Britain. More specifically, results from the study on the *Tourism Image of Catalonia* presented by the Tourism Consortium of Catalonia in 2008 indicate that, although other products such as sun and sand still have a very important specific weight, also in terms of the positioning of its image, other modes like cultural tourism and city tourism are now establishing themselves and opening their own markets.

Currently, the item most valued by tourists is culture (8.3 points), and consequently the image perceived by tourists visiting Catalonia is mainly one of culture (41%), but also as a nature destination (24%). Among the tourism products that define Catalonia, sun and sand still plays a predominant role (27%), although there is notable diversity, as a total of 12 different possibilities were mentioned in the study. The second block of responses comprises cultural tourism (15%), city tourism (14%) and nature tourism (13%), products typical of a type of tourism which is more aware of the dynamics of the region being visited and, in theory at least, less aggressive. The remaining 31% is very diversified, but we can highlight some responses such as snow sports (8%), rural tourism (5%), and mountain (5%) or sports tourism (2%).

With regard to potential tourists (people who travel but have not yet visited the region), what is valued most highly about Catalonia, whether by Europeans or respondents from other parts of Spain, is first nature (44% and 37%, respectively), followed by culture (35% and 27%) and "sensations" (9% and 16%).

In the case of potential tourists from other parts of Spain, the tourism products that define Catalonia are very diversified, and the 12 possible options are all found within the range of responses from 10% to 6%. However, the higher percentages are for cultural tourism (10%), sun and sand (9%), city tourism (9%), family tourism (9%), nature tourism (9%) and snow tourism (9%). With regard to potential European tourists, the sun and sand product is most mentioned (18%), followed by cultural tourism (15%), nature tourism (11%) and city tourism (10%). In this case, family tourism (9%) and snow (2%) are less important. When considering the data presented in this study, we must consider religious tourism to be included within the category of cultural tourism.

2.2. The concept of religious tourism

As happens with the concepts “tourism” and “cultural tourism”, defining the concept of “religious tourism” is a complex task, as it includes a very broad range of aspects, motivations, behaviours, use and perception of holy space (Hakobyan, 2010). Thus, many different authors have attempted to define it, and it forms part of multidisciplinary studies.

We must bear in mind at least the following four important aspects when characterising religious tourism (Olsen and Timothy, 2006; Shinde, 2010):

- a. The tourist-pilgrim dichotomy
- b. Characteristics of trips made specifically for religious purposes
- c. Economic aspects
- d. The negative impacts of tourism on religious places and ceremonies

For the purposes of this article we are going to use the definition of religious tourism proposed in the book *l Pellegrino e il turista* (Costa, 200X, pp. 69-82): “religious tourism is the synthesis of traditional trips to a shrine and cultural trips designed, guided and regulated by religious organisations or for religious purposes”, to which we might add that religious tourism uses the tourism sector structure as a basis, but is comprised of elements pertaining to religious experience that “transform its quality, purpose, pace and style of action” (Parellada, 2009).

As objectives of this branch of cultural tourism we may highlight a desire to connect with spiritual, religious, historical-cultural and artistic values, which implies a curiosity to find out about and perceive cultural and religious wealth, acquire values and relate historical-cultural events with religious phenomena. That said, taking an interest in cultural heritage excludes the undertaking of religious practices in the place being visited (Hakobyan, 2010).

Sacred places have diverse functions, depending on the visitor. For those faithful to a parti-

cular religion, they may be places which carry a message or a system of values, a place for coming into contact with the mysterious and an artefact of interest. For a tourist they may represent a point of interest due to the works of art they contain, their architecture, location, atmosphere, or simply form part of a longer route.

2.3. Religious tourism in Catalonia

Catalonia is home to a significant number of shrines and places of worship linked to Christianity. In some cases they are small chapels that may or may not have hostels attached to them, shrines with a local tradition of pilgrimage on a given date, village churches, cathedrals, monasteries and abbeys preserved in a good or not so good condition, as well as others which have achieved world renown such as Montserrat Monastery.

As we have said, Christian religious heritage is of fundamental importance for the identity and cultural roots of Catalonia and in recent years the first specific tourism products associated with holy and Catholic heritage have appeared, despite the fact that this type of heritage has not established itself globally; quite the contrary, in fact, as it has been losing relative importance within the context of global tourism products whilst other products and brands have become more established.

Proof of its relevance to both Catalan society and professionals in the tourism sector is Turespaña’s plan to use the Sagrada Família temple as an icon for promoting Spain, although we could also cite other proof such as the *Catàleg d’Icones de Catalunya* (the Autonomous Government of Catalonia’s Catalogue of Icons in Catalonia) and intangible resources (*Atles del Turisme de Catalunya*, English: Atlas of Tourism in Catalonia), which include a high percentage of religious heritage resources in general and Christian in particular.

Table 1: Intangible religious resources in Catalonia. Source: *Atles del Turisme a Catalunya*

Intangible religious resources in Catalonia	
Name of resource (total: 40)	Geographical location
Muslims and Moors	Tortosa, Lleida, Ascó, Balaguer La Suda
Witch-hunting	Guilleries, Cervera, Sant Feliu Sasserra Sant Feliu Sasserra, hold an annual fair and will have a centre of interpretation with local government support
Medieval splendour	Montblanc, Vallbona, Poblet, Santes Creus, Barcelona, Salou La Ruta del Císter, via Montblanc, Vallbona, Poblet (mausoleum of counts and kings). Santa Maria del Mar, in Barcelona. Intercultural Dialogue I (Drassanes...)
Jews	Girona, Besalú, Barcelona, Berga Plaça Sant Pere de Berga (Jewish street)

Table 2: 116 religious icons in Catalonia.
Source: Autonomous Government of Catalonia

116 tourism icons in Catalonia	
Number	Name
2	The façade of Ripoll Monastery
21	The procession and dance of the dead in Verges
22	Saint George's Day
23	La Moreneta
24	La festa de la Patum
25	Saint John's Day Bonfires
39	El Pantocràtor de Sant Climent de Taüll
40	The altar front in Avià
47	L'Esculapi d'Empúries
48	El davallament d'Erill la Vall i La Majestat Batlló
49	Sant Carlemany
52	Visigoth-Romanesque churches
53	Sant Pere de Rodes Monastery
55	Santa Maria del Mar Church
56	La Seu Vella in Lleida
61	La Sagrada Família and La Pedrera
77	Els pastorets
105	Montserrat

As we can see from the above tables, *L'Atles del Turisme* basically acknowledges as an intangible resource those values related to spiritual faiths other than the Christian (Jewish, Moors and pagan cults), but does not include the former, which may be considered the main one and that to have contributed to forming the region's identity.

As for the list of 116 tourism icons in Catalonia, although 45% of its elements are religious (42.5% Christian), it does not have a section specifically dedicated to holy icons, faith or religion and considers Montserrat, for example, to be a geological icon (its interest in this respect is undeniable, but so is its religious aspect). In summary then, all of the above leads us to state that, despite the demand this type of product awakens and the high potential of the Catalan region to offer interesting and high-quality products, there is a lack of identification of existing resources to link them specifically with religion, and also the creation and positioning of brands (and products). Perhaps the only exception we might cite is the Catalan branch of the St. James' Way (*El Camí*

de Sant Jaume), which has a clearly positioned international image as a religious and active tourism product (it is important to acknowledge, however, that merit for its promotion has until now been due to the authorities of other autonomous regions, particularly Galicia).

3. Catalonia Sacra

On the basis of the above, Christian religious heritage, which is of fundamental importance from the perspective of identity and the cultural roots of our country, has lost relative weight in the context of the sum of tourism products on offer: many new products have appeared that structure or present the tourism products and heritage on offer in Catalonia very differently and diversely, such as Port Aventura, water parks, the Network of Spanish Jewish Quarters, industrial heritage, etc., not to mention the numerous products linked to natural heritage; whereas heritage linked to Christianity has not established itself as a widely-recognised product.

Although some of the products on offer may be related to religious heritage, we will not consider this an exclusive central theme, particularly in terms of discourse. None of these products were the fruit of an initiative on the part of the Church, an institution that was once a promotor and is now a depository, manager and main user of this huge set of heritage assets. There is also the case of monuments which, originally linked to the Church, are today owned by public administrations, now in charge of their preservation and promotion; the Church, on the other hand, is responsible for providing similar services for monuments that depend upon it. By assuming this responsibility, the Church in Catalonia and the country itself become particularly aware of their inseparable union in history and identity. Assessment of all of the factors involved here (existence and distribution of heritage assets, individual use of these assets for tourism purposes, flows of visitors, qualitative analyses) leads to a series of realisations that depict a panorama of enormous opportunity for organising and coordinating the heritage of the Catalan Church into structured routes.

3.1. Description of the project

The purpose of *Catalonia Sacra* is to make available to visitors – whether or not they are Catalan – organised routes visiting the leading sites in the Christian geography of Catalonia.

This should allow them to gain knowledge and experience of history, culture, art and spirituality, also in their specifically Catalan aspects, explained and managed by the Church itself.

It is therefore a question of offering guidelines for reading these assets linking them to their origins and primordial uses, with their own meaning and with the existence of all these factors in a specific setting – the Catalan dioceses. But offering reading guidelines not only involves providing the visitor with what might appear to be an “alternative key”, it also means integrating all the information into a coherent whole that facilitates intellectual interpretation and personal experience and shows up the rich layers of this venerable heritage.

In general terms, this means including specific factors from this religious heritage in the discourse which are, perhaps, not normally taken into account systematically. The heritage linked to the Church constitutes a large percentage of the evidence for the tangibility, establishment and characteristics of religion in Catalonia during the most essential part of its history. Without any wish to downplay the other religions historically present on Catalan territory, this means Christianity as it manifested itself and developed in Catalonia. In addition then, for the public interested in religious and spiritual tourism, Catalan religious heritage, particularly the elements still used today for religious purposes by parish, cathedral, monastic or convent communities, is the

means by which to better and more directly communicate what can be understood as the character and singular features of Catalan spirituality.

In this sense, the specific visibility of the Church in Catalonia affects the visibility of Catalonia in general within the Spanish State and beyond, as it provides the image of an integrated heritage which will have to be taken into consideration in the State as a whole. From this territorial perspective, it must be borne in mind that at certain points the project must go beyond the limits of the Catalan territory, based on the decision to cover the entire area of the dioceses of Urgell (which includes the Principality of Andorra) and Tortosa (which includes part of the province of Castelló de la Plana, in the Valencian region).

3.2. The brand name

The brand constitutes a mental representation of the perceived attributes and benefits of a product or service. It can be defined as a set of ideas, beliefs and impressions people have of a particular entity. Visitors' behaviour when it comes to choosing a tourist product largely depends on their image of it and its inherent quality, as the tourist experience, by nature, is broadly based on preconceived images. Tourists therefore buy the mental images created of a destination (which need to correspond to reality) rather than the actual places (these concepts have been developed at length by authors like Urry, 1990).

The question of perceived-authenticity depends on the expectations for potential visitors, which inevitably leads to dissatisfaction and possible failure; it must be focused on 1 or 2 specific attributes of the product. So, the expression finally chosen was “*Catalonia Sacra*”, as has been repeated throughout the text. Here, the form Catalonia comes from the Latin (a language traditionally used by the Christian church in its rites) and not from the English, as might be thought considering it is the standard language of marketing. As for *Sacra*, this is an adjective that attempts to communicate the fact that what is on offer is not merely another historicist or artistic discourse on heritage, but rather one focusing on the spiritual, sacred aspects of this heritage, which are the reason for its existence.

The Catalonia Sacra brand is therefore intended to communicate the fact that, for the first time, organised routes covering the most important points of the Christian geography of

Map 1: The 10 bishoprics comprising the Tarraconense Episcopal Conference.
Source: Tarraconense Episcopal Conference



Catalonia are being made available to visitors, narrated and interpreted by the Church itself. The positioning – understood as the image the target audience has of the product compared to the competition – that Catalonia *Sacra* must pursue has to be a positioning by experiences. The logo chosen to accompany the Catalonia *Sacra* brand, a graphic based on a capital from Santa Maria de l'Estany representing the Visitation, follows this same philosophy. In itself it is an element from Romanesque sculpture (that is, an element evoking the art and the history implicit in this heritage), but beyond that it seeks to transmit a message of welcoming, serenity and spirituality.

3.3. The routes

Catalonia Sacra includes a structure integrating the heritage elements managed by the Church at three different territorial levels of interest from an organisational and conceptual point of view, giving rise to the conception of three types of route:

- centres route: including all the cathedrals in Catalonia.
- radial routes: offered within the context of each diocese (between 4 and 10).
- overall route: including the entire geography of the Catalan dioceses.

We will now look at what each of these routes consists of in a little more detail.

3.3.1. Centres route: the Cathedrals of Catalonia

There is no doubt that, in the collective imagination of Western societies and from the point of view of Romanticism, the Cathedral (often misunderstood as “big church”) has become one of the paradigmatic historic/artistic monuments, justifying or at least helping to provide a positive valuation of a place as a tourist destination. The fact is that cathedrals are usually both monuments and containers of first-class works of art; they have also had a determining influence on the configuration of the European urban landscape. Catalonia is, in effect, a country with cathedrals which are, and which contain, extraordinary works of art receiving a remarkable number of visitors every year.

Following the configuration in 2004 of the new Catalan diocesan map, Catalonia has a total of 10 cathedrals in its territory, one for each bishopric.

Considering these centres, it is proposed to communicate the concept of a “cathedral” as the nucleus of a diocese, a reference point for all believers from the same bishopric and a place symbolising the residence of the bishop as head and father of the Catholic community. This fact is what, over the course of centuries, has generated extraordinary monumental and artistic sites, but it is also shown today in a living way in places that have not enjoyed such rich histories and abundant resources.

The centres route is not approached as a circuit that must be followed in a limited time, but,

Table 3: Existing cathedrals in the bishoprics of the Tarraconense Episcopal Conference. Source: Catalonia Sacra

Existing cathedrals in the bishoprics of the Tarraconense Episcopal Conference		
Bishopric	City/Town	Name
Urgell	Seu d'Urgell	Santa Maria d'Urgell Cathedral
Solsona	Solsona	Santa Maria de Solsona Cathedral
Vic	Vic	Sant Pere de Vic Cathedral
Girona	Girona	Santa Maria Cathedral
Terrassa	Terrassa	El Sant Esperit Basilica
Barcelona	Barcelona	Santa Creu and Santa Eulàlia Cathedral
Lleida	Lleida	New Cathedral of Lleida, L'Assumpció de Nostra Senyora Cathedral
Tarragona	Tarragona	Santa Maria Cathedral
Sant Feliu de Llobregat	Sant Feliu de Llobregat	Sant Llorenç Cathedral
Tortosa	Tortosa	Santa Maria Cathedral

above all, as a way of offering all 10 cathedrals in the Catalan territory together. It is a product intended to:

- a. Ensure a visit to a cathedral established as a tourist resource opens the door to visits to other cathedrals not conceptualised as such, or even as cathedrals in the common imagination, by visualising them as a set.
- b. Providing all the Catalan cathedrals, without exception, with quality materials for interpreting and facilitating visits valuing the

monument and, in some cases, filling a gap in terms of materials of this kind.

3.3.2. Radial routes: the character of the Catalan dioceses

The radial routes are designed as tours offered within each diocese. Following criteria largely based on geographical coherence and communicational rationality, they highlight the most important heritage elements in each bishopric. Depending on its size and density of heritage, each diocese articulates several routes

Illustration 1: L'Empordà route: stone, sky and sea. Source: Catalonia Sacra

1. Sant Martí d'Empúries (church, archaeology and landscape)
2. Sant Miquel de Fluvià (Romanesque architecture and painting)
3. Sant Tomàs de Fluvià (Romanesque architecture and painting)
4. Canons' church of Vilabertran (architecture and spirituality)
5. Castelló d'Empúries (basilica and museum)
6. Cadaqués (church, altarpiece and landscape)



(between 3 and 8) covering its entire territory and including a selection of the most important heritage assets (as a rule between 20 and 60). A radial route starts from the diocesan capital or, depending on the case and the structure of the region, from a strategic population centre within the diocese, to create a tour which may or may not be circular, preferably undertaken by car and exploring a particular area of the diocese. Given general criteria of practicality and practicability, this area may be defined according to different characteristics: landscape, history, artistic sites, etc., and a title is suggested for each one, acting as a kind of sub-brand to define it. The estimated time for covering a route would be one or two days, as the range is intended for day-trippers or those on weekend breaks. By way of example, here is the radial route proposed for the Empordà area:

3.3.3. Overall route: geography and identity of Christianity in Catalonia

The idea of the overall route is to create a tour (or tours) which, by combining various elements of Church heritage in Catalan territory, should aspire to show the presence of religion, and specifically Christianity, in Catalonia. In this sense, an overall route is conceived as a way of structuring heritage elements – like the centres route – and, at the same time, as a collection of practicable tours – like the radial routes. It could be explored in stages, organised flexibly within a general concept, and has a dual aim:

- a. to include various types of heritage linked to the church and represented by the most notable elements which are also the most appropriate ones for communicating and articulating the region (in this sense, the regional communications network and territorial interest take priority)
- b. explaining the fundamental character of the Christian heritage (spaces, works of art, landscape and territory) in relation to the Christian faith, along with its relationship with the history and identity of the country.

In the overall route an attempt will be made to show the different aspects of the situation of Christianity in Catalonia over time as part of a story making it possible to move from more general issues (the anthropology of the holy, spirituality, the form and use of holy spaces, sacralisation of natural places, priesthood, mysticism, monasticism, religion and community, religion

and power) to events in the Catalan context (history of the Church in Catalonia, establishment and presence of the monastic and conventual orders, organisation and expansion of the diocesan structure) to more specific issues relating to particular centres, places or buildings being visited.

This will be achieved by selecting the most important Church heritage elements in Catalonia, making it possible to exemplify and explain the principles of the programme satisfactorily. Many of these places, already established as tourism centres either independently or in the context of other routes, will form true heritage links, making it easy to see what the visitor facilities will be. This overall route, which will also have an identifier (own sub-brand), is still currently being configured.

3.4. Communication of the brand and interpretation of heritage elements

As a brand and a product, this range needs to be coherent – from the point of view of practicability (criteria of communication, accessibility, time needed) but also with a view to making it possible to communicate a series of additional realities linked to the same elements. These realities connect them with one another and with the region and therefore improve comprehension of this set of elements (regional or landscape coherence, historical and administrative criteria, etc.).

The first phase of creating the product includes the creation of the centres routes (tours of each cathedral) and a radial route for each diocese. Once this has been done and once the corporate identity (brand and logo) have been defined, it will be necessary to begin brand communication activities. The brand and the various products on offer will largely be structured through an official *Catalonia Sacra* website, where it will be possible to look up information about the suggested elements and routes as well as possible ways of covering them. The design of this website is currently being prepared, and it is hoped it will come into operation during the first half of this year.

As well as information about *Catalonia Sacra*, existing routes promoted by other regional bodies (county councils, municipal councils, etc.) and ways of combining the suggested routes will also be mentioned. This will allow tourists not only to discover the holy and spiritual Christian legacy but also to gain a deeper knowledge of the region they are visiting, based on various aspects of its identity.

Clearly, once this portal comes into operation, an online marketing strategy must be implemented. Among other actions, this will include publishing a newsletter (which means having one or more databases of end customers and professionals in the sector), search engine positioning, using 2.0 tools (social networks, video and image websites, etc.) and, finally, managing digital identity (What are they saying about us on the net?) and online public relations (professional bloggers, press releases on electronic media, etc.) (Peñarroya 2010). Just as important as online public relations are personal public relations. For this reason, when the project comes into operation there will be presentations to members of the Tarraconense Episcopal Conference so that they know exactly what the *Catalonia Sacra* brand is and how their heritage is finally being promoted (following their indications). After this initial internal communication, actions will be carried out to familiarise tourism professionals from different areas with the product so that they know about it and in order to establish cooperative links with them.

Concerning the end customer, it is felt that signposting and interpretation tools for each of the elements comprising the routes are particularly important. Tours will therefore be offered with specialist guides. In addition, from the beginning, all cathedrals will be supplied with information leaflets regarding their Christian spiritual value (rather than their historical or artistic value). Later it is hoped that all heritage elements will be supplied with these materials. In the same way, the project website also needs to become an important point for information and heritage interpretation, so that visitors can prepare for their visits.

4. Conclusion

Besides the possibility of generating financial resources through the sale of specific products linked to the brand, notable benefits are obtained merely through *Catalonia Sacra's* action in publicising and promoting the heritage, most importantly the following:

- a. Offering the public quality tours of the Church's cultural heritage.
- b. Giving an overall view of the history of the Catalan Church.
- c. Increasing visits to the different spaces and redistributing flows.
- d. Alongside this, obtaining a platform for publicising the Church's cultural heritage.

- e. Obtaining an active, up-to-date website about the Church's cultural heritage.
- f. Promoting this existing heritage which, except for some outstanding cases, is usually off the main tourist circuits, from a new perspective.
- g. Contributing to increasing the social esteem of Christian heritage, which should lead to improved preservation of these elements.

In tourism terms, it is hoped that *Catalonia Sacra* will help to distribute tourist flows over the territory of Catalonia, particularly redirecting flows from the most saturated nodes (such as Barcelona Cathedral) to others which, despite their interest, are practically unknown even among Catalans (such as Sant Feliu de Llobregat Cathedral). In addition, these are routes mainly to be followed by car (rather than walking or cycle tourism routes), so their practicability does not depend on the weather and they are not subject to traditional tourist seasons. The very name of the brand, *Catalonia Sacra*, reveals a clear response to the growing demand for religious and spiritual tourism, not just in terms of tangible heritage elements but also by offering a reading or interpretation of interest to that type of visitor. At the same time, the discourse created is also interesting for the local population, who are very often unaware of this part of their history.

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Turismo y patrimonio en la Quebrada de Humahuaca

Lugar, actores y conflictos en la definición de un destino turístico argentino

CLAUDIA ALEJANDRA TRONCOSO

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Riesgo y percepción en el desarrollo de la imagen turística de Brasil ante los mega-eventos deportivos

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Resumen: En el imaginario occidental existen una serie de atributos a la hora de referirse a Brasil, unos de componente positivo como el valor tropical, la alegría y lo exótico, y otros con un componente negativo como la inseguridad, la desigualdad o marginalidad. Ante la próxima celebración de dos mega-eventos deportivos como son el Mundial de Fútbol 2014 y los Juegos Olímpicos 2016, Brasil se encuentra en un lugar intermedio entre el estereotipo y la realidad. La adecuación y preparación del país a las necesidades de estos eventos puede ser el medio para mitigar ciertos estereotipos y riesgos, y avanzar en un desarrollo sostenible del turismo con vocación al largo plazo, integrando a la comunidad residente en los planes de seguridad. En este trabajo se realiza una revisión sobre el impacto de la imagen y el concepto de seguridad en la elección de viaje a un destino concreto. Se valora la experiencia de visita al destino como medio para reducir los estereotipos haciendo que la imagen tienda a ser más realista, compleja y diferenciada, potenciada por una correcta gestión de la información.

Palabras clave: Brasil, imagen turística, mega-eventos, percepción de riesgo, seguridad

Risk and perception in the development of Brazil's tourist image facing the sports mega-events

Abstract: There are a number of attributes in the Western world when referring to Brazil that are stereotypes, some have a positive component as "tropical value", "joy" and "exotic", and others have a negative component as "insecurity", "inequality" or "marginalization". With the upcoming celebration of two sporting massive events such as the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics, Brazil is located between the stereotype and reality. The suitability and readiness of the country to the requirements of these events can be the way to mitigate certain stereotypes and risks, and make progress in the sustainable development of tourism in the long term, integrating also the local community in the government's security plans. In this paper we review the impact of the image and safety in the travel decision. Previous experience of visiting the destination has the virtue of reducing the negative stereotypes; this makes the image more realistic, complex and differentiated, enhanced by a proper information management.

Keywords: Brasil, mega-events, risk perception, safety, tourist image

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1. Introducción

Los retos a los que se enfrenta Brasil con la organización de un Mundial de Fútbol y los Juegos Olímpicos (JJOO) en un período de tan sólo dos años, suponen una auténtica prueba de fuego de cara a la exposición internacional del país. La apuesta por los grandes eventos, y por el turismo de negocios en general, constituye una de las líneas estratégicas por parte de las instituciones brasileñas. Ante la proximidad de dichos eventos parecen empezar a surgir dudas acerca de si la estrategia de acondicionamiento del país de cara a los mega-eventos no será más que un espejismo fugaz o por el contrario tendrá carácter de permanencia.

Unas Olimpiadas llevan intrínsecos una serie de atributos que hacen que el destino proyecte una imagen positiva a través de valores como la globalidad, dignidad, modernidad, multiculturalidad y dinamismo. Se trata de un evento con más de 3.000 años de historia y con un significado que trasciende más allá de lo meramente deportivo, con elementos intangibles más difíciles de cuantificar y medir, pero al mismo tiempo con una vertiente eminentemente económica. Se conecta de este modo dos realidades bien diferentes aunque no independientes: la visión económica y la visión "olímpica tradicional". Payne (2007) califica de paradoja la relación entre ambos conceptos, ya que realmente son los valores no comerciales los que contribuyen a aportar el gran valor comercial—económico— que tiene el evento que, al fin y al cabo, sigue siendo el indicador primordial a la hora de medir el impacto del acontecimiento.

El establecimiento de estereotipos es una herramienta utilizada para homogeneizar la imagen que se tiene de cierta colectividad entendida como un grupo, una ciudad, país, región o continente. La imagen de inseguridad está presente como estereotipo negativo y es uno de los elementos generadores de la percepción de riesgo del destino Brasil. Existen, desde luego, otros atributos, pero el factor de inseguridad, agravado por la imagen difundida en la prensa internacional o las recomendaciones de viaje oficiales emitidas por las oficinas de asuntos exteriores de los países emisores, es una variable muy influyente en la toma de decisión de viaje del turista. Para Brasil surge una oportunidad única de enfocar y promocionar la imagen exterior del país en el exterior, para ello hay es conveniente comprender los postulados de la teoría de percepción del riesgo al establecimiento de la imagen y promoción exterior de Brasil ante los próximos mega-eventos.

2. Repercusión de los mega-eventos y percepción de riesgo

Una herramienta empleada por países emergentes o países en vías de desarrollo como medio para posicionarse de modo adecuado en el panorama internacional es lanzarse en la aventura de organizar eventos deportivos globales (Cornelissen, 2004). Los mundiales de Corea 2002 ó Sudáfrica 2010 son ejemplos de aprovechamiento y regeneración del país a todos los niveles de cara a una apertura al exterior. La investigación sobre las repercusiones y efectos de este tipo de eventos en los destinos sede ha ido creciendo continuamente, sin duda por la importancia que supone para los países de acogida a todos los niveles socioeconómicos. Ritchie (1984) entiende el concepto de *hallmark* como aquellos eventos que se desarrollan, en una única edición o repetidos en el tiempo, para mejorar el conocimiento, atractivo y rentabilidad de un destino turístico en el corto y/o largo plazo. Los JJOO o el mundial de fútbol constituyen los auténticos *hallmarks* en cuanto a eventos, constituyendo verdaderos referentes por importancia, seguimiento e impacto. Un estudio realizado a turistas que acudieron al mundial de Corea 2002 concluyó que la imagen del país había mejorado con respecto a antes del evento así como la percepción de inseguridad había decrecido notablemente (Kim y Morrison, 2005). Experiencias anteriores en otras sedes demuestran cómo puede modificarse la imagen del país en el extranjero; durante el Mundial de fútbol de Alemania 2006, la campaña *A time to make friends* se fundamentó en la necesidad de cambiar la imagen que se tenía del pueblo alemán como poco simpático y con pocas demostraciones de sensibilidad, atención y cordialidad.

Es común que una de las mayores preocupaciones sea la rentabilidad económica tras la enorme inversión que estos eventos suele acarrear. Uno de los mayores esfuerzos presupuestarios, y ejes de actuación, lo constituye el gasto en medidas de seguridad, justificado en parte por la creciente amenaza global que existe hoy en día en cualquier punto del planeta. A pesar de todo, puede haber turistas que aun juzgando un destino como peligroso decidan visitarlo igual (Larssen, 2009). En unos JJOO o un mundial la percepción del riesgo difiere según a qué tipología turística nos estemos refiriendo y a las propias características del visitante. A través de algunos estudios ha podido constatarse que el turista extranjero valora un mayor abanico de riesgos, pero igualmente, su mayor motivación para viajar reduce ese sentimiento de ansiedad

(Reisinger y Mavondo, 2005). En las Olimpiadas de Londres 2012 la percepción sobre el riesgo de los visitantes estadounidenses a Londres fue baja, quizá por el hecho de desplazarse a una capital cosmopolita y metropolitana de una sociedad avanzada que consideran similar a la propia (Schoreder, Pennington-Gray, Kaplanidou y Zhan, 2013).

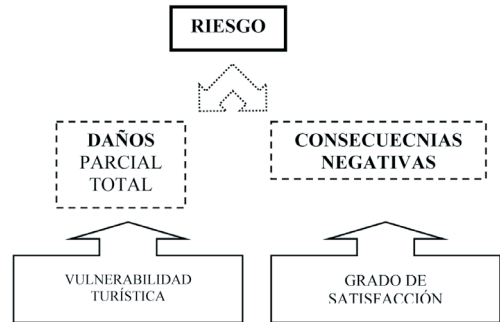
Puede añadirse el hecho de que, aun asumiendo cierto tipo de riesgos, cuando un individuo quiere ser espectador de este tipo de eventos, no tiene la posibilidad de escoger otro destino más seguro (Neirotti y Hilliard, 2006). Aunar bajo un mismo evento ocio, deporte y turismo puede provocar una disminución en la percepción de dicho riesgo (Leep y Gibson, 2003). Incluso es socialmente aceptado que cierto tipo de eventos lleven una serie de riesgos inherentes, y es que la lógica parece indicar que si el delito es una figura que siempre ha existido, la aglomeración de personas en ciertos espacios propicia la aparición de figuras delictivas (Jennings y Lodge, 2009).

En una actividad como el turismo, dónde la experiencia y las expectativas del viajero representan un papel esencial, la idea de riesgo y su percepción son un aspecto clave a tener en cuenta a la hora de establecer las estrategias de planificación de la imagen turística de un destino. La consideración del riesgo es susceptible de condicionar al potencial visitante en el momento de la toma de decisión. En el caso de los eventos programados en Brasil, sin embargo, existe un factor que atenúa dicha consideración de riesgo, ya que ante unos eventos de este calibre la influencia en la percepción del riesgo es menor al ser acontecimientos puntuales y excepcionales a los que el visitante es posible que no tenga muchas más oportunidades de acudir. En este caso el riesgo implica asumir ciertas amenazas, pero con la contrapartida de obtener un beneficio, en términos de satisfacción o cumplimiento de expectativas.

En la identificación del componente de riesgo Korstanje (2010) relaciona el riesgo con la probabilidad de sufrir daños, parciales o totales, o con consecuencias negativas inesperadas. En esta relación se pueden apreciar dos elementos de gran importancia como la vulnerabilidad turística y el grado de satisfacción (figura 1).

La relación crimen-percepción de riesgo suele ser de las más influyentes en la conducta del visitante (Barker, Page y Meyer, 2003; George, 2010) en tanto que es un riesgo que afecta directamente a su integridad. La población puede aceptar o asumir otro tipo de riesgos como los climáticos con mayor tolerancia o establecer otro

Figura 1. Repercusiones de consideración del riesgo



Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de Korstanje (2010)

tipo de medidas de prevención. En el caso de la seguridad personal y criminalidad, estas medidas de prevención deben venir por parte de las administraciones públicas nacionales y a su vez, ser capaces de implicar al resto de estamentos y clases de la sociedad. La figura del turista es más vulnerable y proclive a padecer ciertos acontecimientos negativos convirtiéndose en presa fácil para la delincuencia común y el crimen organizado (Brás y Rodrigues, 2010; Leep y Gibson, 2003; Stangeland, Díez y Durán, 1998), además al referirse a mega-eventos deportivos, es previsible que el turista haga ostentación pública de su condición y origen en aras de apoyar a sus representantes en las competiciones y mostrar su orgullo nacional, pudiendo llegar a ser la causa del problema.

3. Estereotipos e influencia mediática en la imagen de Brasil

La proliferación de estudios de imagen empieza a ser una disciplina cada vez más desarrollada dentro de la investigación turística. Constituye un campo científico muy fértil para delimitar las motivaciones, percepciones o conocimientos a la hora de conocer qué factores influyen en la imagen de un destino y en el caso que nos ocupa, el grado de penetración y resistencia de ciertos estereotipos establecidos en el imaginario colectivo.

En líneas generales la utilización de estereotipos en cuanto a nacionalidades se refiere, es un modo de representar a una comunidad heterogénea y compleja de un modo homogéneo. Es el modo en cómo otros ven a cierta colectividad; pudiéndonos referir a una familia, a un barrio, ciudad, país, región o incluso continente. El estereotipo a pesar de ser un concepto amoldable a

diversas circunstancias y contextos, suele tener cierto grado de resistencia sobre todo si conlleva carácter negativo. La trascendencia y causalidad que puede tener cierto suceso no será la misma según a que país nos estemos refiriendo y según el origen y características del emisor y receptor de dicho mensaje.

Ribeiro (2002) califica como “tropicalismo” uno de los principales estereotipos de Brasil. Sin entrar en detalles geográficos o antropológicos, esta visión exótica es fruto de la propia historia del país y de su diversidad étnica y territorial, y por tanto dentro del imaginario occidental suele ser uno de los referentes. Pero a su vez, el autor advierte que a pesar de ser el tropicalismo un concepto con cierta fundamentación, puede abordarse como aspecto positivo o negativo. Dentro del primero se enmarcarían todos los recursos que suelen ser promocionados por el propio sector turístico como la alegría de sus gentes, el exotismo, las playas, carnaval, etc.; pero igualmente el carácter tropical, también encierra la idea de peligrosidad, riesgo, delincuencia o incluso cierta dosis machista en relación entre sexos. Esta señal de identidad abarca todos los ámbitos de Brasil; desde el tratamiento mediático, hasta la promoción o uso institucional. De hecho en la elaboración de la marca Brasil se hace referencia precisamente a la exuberancia, mezcla de razas, mestizaje, hospitalidad o alegría. Esta imagen del país constituye uno de los principales activos de promoción turística y, ante los próximos eventos, seguirá siendo el hilo conductor de la política promocional.

La organización de un mega-evento deportivo puede ser utilizada como arma política en tanto que es un modo de exponer ideas de apertura, fomento de empleo, calidad de vida y retorno de inversiones que repercutirá en toda la sociedad (Radicchi, 2012). Bajo esta visión del mega-evento como instrumento político, el tratamiento mediático que se le haga, afectará a su desarrollo, y por ende, al turismo. Si ya de por sí los medios de comunicación pueden ser oportunistas, parciales y subjetivos; como elementos formadores de imagen de un destino adquieren mayor relevancia.

El utilizar los medios de comunicación como fuente de información para crear una imagen de destino puede sesgar bastante la idea que un individuo pueda hacerse de un país. A menudo la presentación mediática sobre cierto acontecimiento o idea difiere bastante de la realidad por el tratamiento (interesado o no) que se le da. Este hecho puede provocar que a la hora de la elección del destino o de formación de la imagen, se produzca una discriminación de ciertos valo-

res, recursos y atributos en beneficio de ciertos tópicos y estereotipos.

La falta de experiencia previa directa a un destino fuerza al turista a emplear otro tipo de fuentes de información sobre el destino como son los medios de comunicación. En los principales mercados emisores, el tratamiento de ciertos atributos o sucesos del destino turístico pueden tratarse con excesivo sensacionalismo o llegar a ser manipulados con fines políticos. Un estudio sobre el tratamiento mediático de la inmigración brasileña en España¹, desveló que gran parte de las informaciones centradas en este colectivo recibían un tratamiento negativo al estar asociadas con temáticas como prostitución, delincuencia, violencia de género o tráfico de drogas. La falta de contraste de este tipo de noticias refuerza que los estereotipos negativos sigan creciendo e influenciando en la formación de la imagen de Brasil. Hacer hincapié y relacionar constantemente delincuencia o prostitución con una nacionalidad determinada, no resulta beneficioso para un destino que quiere postularse como motor de Sudamérica y en el que se van a celebrar con tan sólo dos años de separación los eventos deportivos con más repercusión a nivel mundial.

Estas ideas surgen del tratamiento mediático de diversas experiencias pasadas; la presentación de imágenes para dar cobertura a ciertas noticias sobre seguridad, prostitución o drogas refuerzan la idea de país en desarrollo; y por otro lado, la utilización de imágenes arquetípicas de destinos como Río de Janeiro para la promoción turística, refuerzan la idea “tropicalista” de Brasil (Ribeiro, 2002). Para Soto (2005) en muchas ocasiones el tratamiento mediático no se corresponde con la auténtica realidad del asunto. Sin embargo, noticias de sucesos delictivos concretos², problemas de inseguridad o desórdenes públicos en el destino, incrementan el nivel de preocupación e incertidumbre del turista potencial.

Si seguimos los planteamientos de Gartner (1994) cuando aplica los planteamientos de formación de la imagen de Gunn (1988) para el caso de Brasil, podemos constatar el peso preponderante de lo que califica como fuentes de información *inducidas* y *orgánicas* en la formación de la imagen antes de la visita. En el año 2011 las principales fuentes de información para los visitantes fueron Internet –inducida– (32,6%) y amigos y familiares –orgánica– (28,5%). En un intervalo corto de tiempo, las fuentes de información inducidas abiertas han sobrepasado a las fuentes orgánicas, sin duda por su rápida evolución. Hoy en día casi todos los medios de comunicación se sirven de las nuevas TIC’s

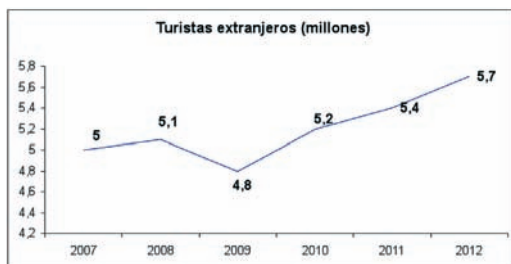
como soporte de difusión por su elevado grado de amplitud y penetración, pero además también se les suele dotar de cierto grado de credibilidad (Santana y Palacio, 2004). Saber gestionar la información es un punto clave para gestionar la incertidumbre que, en último término, es la que condiciona la percepción de riesgo. Por ello, para Slevitch y Sharma (2008: 87) “gestión de riesgos es, en gran medida, gestión de la información”.

4. El problema de la inseguridad en Brasil

En los últimos cuatro años Brasil ha experimentado una tendencia creciente en las llegadas del turismo internacional (figura 2). La celebración de los mega-eventos proporcionará un importante impulso al número de llegadas, y ya en el 2013 Brasil se expondrá a un test que medirá su capacidad y preparación para los mega-eventos de 2014 y 2016 con la celebración de la Copa Confederaciones de Fútbol (antesala del Mundial) y la Jornada Mundial de la Juventud (a la que se calcula que acudirán más de dos millones de participantes).

Aunque a priori se tenga asegurado un incremento importante en la cifra de llegadas, se debe prestar la debida atención a los estereotipos existentes en el imaginario occidental que, como se trató anteriormente, identifica la inseguridad como uno de ellos. En el estado de Río de Janeiro, los datos oficiales sobre lo que se califican como “crímenes violentos”, que a priori más afectarían a los turistas, se han visto reducidos en los últimos tiempos. Comparando los años 2010 y 2011, los homicidios dolosos se han reducido en un 10,2%, los robos en transporte público en un 21,2% y a transeúntes en un 13,2%. El único incremento es en agresiones sexuales, en un 6,1%, si bien es cierto que motivado por reformas en materia penal que amplían las acciones punibles bajo este tipo delictivo (Instituto de Seguridad Pública, 2012).

Figura 2. Llegadas de turismo internacional a Brasil



Fuente: Ministerio de Turismo de Brasil (2012)

En el caso brasileño las amenazas reales y propias del destino pueden tener mayor influencia sobre los turistas en el momento de la decisión de viaje debido a la existencia de ciertas ideas arquetípicas en el imaginario del visitante.

La planificación turística de Brasil en el periodo 2010-2014 también reconoce la inseguridad como una de las debilidades a superar, preferentemente en los barrios de las ciudades sede de los eventos. Además, se señala la falta de una cultura de viaje en el ciudadano brasileño que, en general, concibe el turismo como un producto de élite o reservado a extranjeros (Ministerio de Turismo de Brasil, 2010). Esta actitud conduce a los llamados “efectos no deseados del turismo”, efectos que se ven agravados en caso de los mega-eventos, y que podrían derivar en un choque cultural entre sociedad receptora y visitantes. Esta situación provocaría que los visitantes precisaran de sobreprotección convirtiendo los destinos en *burbujas*, reflejando una imagen alejada de la imagen de hospitalidad y alegría proyectada. La regeneración urbana requerida en muchas zonas de favelas está derivando en expropiaciones que en algunos casos no están siendo acogidas satisfactoriamente por la población local. A medida que se acercan las fechas de celebración de los mega-eventos, parece estar surgiendo una ola de escepticismo a todos los niveles en el modo en cómo se está planificando el territorio. Lo que en principio se promociona como una oportunidad de mejora e impulso para el país, puede acabar derivando en un creciente pesimismo y escepticismo provocando cierta conducta de rechazo frente al turismo de mega eventos.

En los visitantes, el nivel de preocupación puede verse incrementado a la hora de valorar las opciones de elección de destino turístico, entendiendo la preocupación como un ejercicio mental relativo al futuro y a sus consecuencias (Borkovec, 1994). La percepción de seguridad es personal y difícil de catalogar. Se trata, al fin y al cabo, de un modo personal del individuo de minimizar, prevenir o relativizar cierto tipo de amenazas o riesgos, y difiere según nos estemos refiriendo a residentes o visitantes. El residente que convive con este problema puede ser más crítico y exigente con la seguridad que el visitante, quizá más conformista o sobreprotegido por el sistema en detrimento de la población local que sólo ve esfuerzos en materia de seguridad para con el turista (Amorín, Gándara, Tarlow y Korstanje, 2012).

Si se acepta la existencia del estereotipo de inseguridad resulta interesante valorar el grado de satisfacción y la valoración de seguridad por

Tabla 1. Valoración de la seguridad en Brasil del turista extranjero

País procedencia	2009		2010		2011	
	Nivel alto Satisfacción	Valoración positiva de seguridad	Nivel alto Satisfacción	Valoración positiva de seguridad	Nivel alto satisfacción	Valoración positiva de Seguridad
Alemania	85,5%	69,8%	83,3%	74,9%	76,3%	75,2%
Argentina	91,7%	92,8%	93,7%	93,6%	92,1%	93%
Chile	89,5%	86,3%	86,7%	87,5%	85,5%	87,9%
España	84,3%	71,3%	76,9%	68,4%	77,3%	72,7%
EEUU	86,5%	74,2%	80,7%	73,4%	76,7%	75,5%
Francia	86,3%	76,9%	81,2%	80%	79,8%	79,2%
Inglaterra	81,3%	71,6%	78,2%	73,3%	78%	76,1%
México	87,1%	79,9%	82,1%	84,8%	83,7%	86,6%

Fuente: Ministerio de Turismo Brasil (2012)

parte del turista una vez que ha realizado el viaje. En la tabla 1 se observa como la valoración de la seguridad de Brasil ha ido mejorando para los turistas de los principales mercados emisores desde 2009 al 2011. Los visitantes procedentes de países sudamericanos son los que otorgan mayor valoración a aspectos relacionados con la seguridad tras la visita a Brasil, quizá por estar más relacionados en su día a día con estos problemas y encontrarse todavía en la fase de conquista de niveles más bajos de delincuencia, mientras que los países occidentales pueden mostrarse más exigentes en estos términos.

El perfil de turista que viaja a Brasil en los últimos años es el de una persona de edad comprendida entre los 25 y los 50 años (el 68% de los casos) y al que no parece afectarle la imagen de inseguridad del país. En un 69% de los casos ya había estado en Brasil y un 95,4% estaría dispuesto a volver (Ministerio de Turismo, 2012). El hecho de visitar un destino contribuye a la creación de una imagen más compleja, holística y única (Etchner y Ritchie, 1993 y Baloglu y Mangaloglu, 2001) y en este caso nos indica además que contribuye a reducir la influencia del estereotipo negativo. La experiencia con el destino provoca un cambio de imagen al ser más realista y personal (Gartner, 1994).

5. Conclusiones

El abanico de riesgos que afectan al turismo es muy variado y es evidente que condiciona la elección de las sedes de unos JJOO o el Mundial

de fútbol. La elección de una sede para estos eventos es un proceso largo, costoso y no falto de interferencias de cualquier tipo. Tanto el COI como la FIFA como entidades organizadoras señalan la capacidad del deporte como vehículo hacia la paz y entendimiento entre naciones, en este sentido procuran que olimpiadas y mundiales de fútbol se celebren alternamente en los diversos continentes como símbolo de globalidad y unión entre pueblos. Además, existen una serie de factores políticos, sociales y económicos que acaban siendo los decisivos en el proceso de decisión.

Brasil debe realizar un esfuerzo en gestionar ciertos conflictos político-sociales como la delincuencia, la marginalidad y la diferencia de clases entre su población. A medida que se acerca la fecha de dichos eventos, parecen surgir voces discordantes que ponen en tela de juicio los verdaderos beneficios para la población local. Existe cierto escepticismo sobre si realmente la pacificación y regeneración de territorios es un proceso de doble sentido que englobe a turistas con visitantes. Actualmente el riesgo en Brasil sobre la integridad del turista es algo real, y algunas voces han defendido que la labor de las entidades gobernantes y responsables del turismo y la seguridad no se debe limitar exclusivamente a "sobreprometer" al turista, como si el país entero fuera un gran resort, sino también, y principalmente, a implicar a la comunidad local en la acogida del turista.

Los mega-eventos que acogerá Brasil en los próximos años tienen que ser un medio más que permita potenciar la imagen de marca del país como destino turístico. Aunque ser sede

de cualquier evento de estas magnitudes es el mejor trampolín para favorecer la exposición mundial de un territorio, estos acontecimientos no dejan de ser hechos puntuales y limitados en el tiempo. La creación de una imagen amoldada forzosamente a la filosofía de los valores de dichos eventos, puede diferir con la auténtica realidad del destino, por lo que en vez de impulsar los verdaderos atributos del país, lo que se estaría haciendo, de hecho, es una ocultación de la imagen real del mismo (sea ésta positiva o negativa). Teniendo presente esta matización, a Brasil se le presenta la oportunidad de variar, establecer o promocionar la imagen de destino. Estos esfuerzos se deberían orientar no sólo a formar la imagen para los años de desarrollo de estos mega eventos sino para proyectarla en un futuro.

La noción de seguridad en el turismo es un concepto variable, de carácter personal y subjetivo, depende de las características socio-demográficas del visitante. Los datos parecen reflejar que la experiencia previa de visita al destino por el visitante internacional es uno de los mejores modos de fortalecer la imagen exterior del país debido al grado de credibilidad e imparcialidad que se transmite. La experiencia personal visita al país contribuye a la creación de una imagen más compleja y singular del destino, ayuda a atenuar los estereotipos negativos y aportar una imagen con componentes singulares y matizados. En la formación de esta imagen más personal hay una menor influencia de los elementos inducidos y autónomos de la formación de la imagen y tienen más peso los elementos orgánicos en los cuales la experiencia y el conocimiento personal adquieren mayor protagonismo. En este ámbito se abre un campo de actuación por parte de las autoridades gubernamentales para la mejora de la gestión de la información con el fin de reducir la incertidumbre del viaje.

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Significação da experiência estética no turismo: da sensorialidade ao acolhimento

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Resumo: O trabalho tem por suposto a emoção e o afeto como determinantes no valor atribuído à experiência turística, considerando sentimentos de prazer ou desprazer que desta derivam. O sujeito, como um ser biopsicossocial, necessita de eventos emocionalmente significativos e racionalmente provocantes para produzir registros mnêmicos que determinam valores e intervêm na formação de atitudes. Assim, a sensorialidade, de modo geral, e a imagem como meio privilegiado de vivência estética no contexto do turismo, constituem acionadores diferenciados do processo que significa a experiência. Esses aspectos, se fundamentais nas relações de serviços, eles o são ainda mais nas relações cotidianas de hospitalidade e nos processos institucionais de gestão. As sensações ativadas por imagens e outras fontes de apreensão sensoriais evocam representações que fundem passado e presente no processo de (res)significar. Nesse quadro, os sujeitos em relação, na perspectiva turística, podem acolher a emoção do outro, facilitando sua fluência e/ou apoiar a transformação da experiência em novos pensamentos, expectativas, propiciando mudanças e desenvolvimento. A hospitalidade aí se institui como um meio de aceder ao coração da experiência.

Palavras-chave: Turismo; Sensorialidade; Acolhimento; Experiência Estética; Fidelização.

Significance of the aesthetic experience in tourism: from sensoriality to reception

Abstract: This research is oriented to confirm emotions play a pivotal role in the configuration of tourist experience. The self, who sometimes is determined to pleasure and displeasure events, needs of disrupting events so that its cognitive frames may form attitudes. The sense of the world as well as the image as privileged aesthetic instrument, give priority to the significance of experience over other factors. Based on this assumption, we strongly believe the industry of services re-signifies the experience by dint of hospitality to represents traits to evoke the pastime. In parallel with this process, hospitality not only is a good viable tool to retrieve experiences but also to support emotions, expectances to lead into an elaboration of new thoughts (discovery)

Keywords: Tourism, sensorial-view, Hospitality, Aesthetic experience, Loyalty.

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1. Introdução

Não é recente a constatação de que alguns segmentos científicos de expressiva importância para o estudo do turismo são muitas vezes tangenciados em razão da aparente distância do objeto estudado em relação à área, conforme se constata em estudos como os de Rejowski (2010), dentre outros. O ainda restrito desenvolvimento do diálogo entre as diferentes ciências seguramente interferem nesse processo.

O tema da emoção, especialmente aquela desencadeada pela via da experiência estética, se insere nesse contexto. Marcada por sediar-se na interface dos domínios psíquico e biológico, a emoção ainda tem sido pouco examinada, apesar de sua óbvia relevância para a compreensão do fenômeno turístico de modo geral, e da valoração do que foi vivido pelo turista, em particular.

A estética, como disciplina que reflete sobre a essência do belo (seu reconhecimento, sua ausência e seu contrário) – qualidade atribuída a elementos naturais, artísticos e a outras produções humanas – tem por pressuposto que ideias e juízos são desdobramentos da experiência emocional gerada pelo prazer estético: heterocômico, transcendental.

Desde os gregos, o sentido do termo “estética” (*aisthesis*) remete à ideia de percepção. No entanto, como fenômeno, a percepção é concluída, apenas, com a significação do objeto percebido, significação que, na experiência estética, se dá pela via da mobilização afetiva. É esse o processo que permite ao homem não apenas apreender o mundo externo, tomando-o para si, mas também evadir-se ao extrapolar os limites de seu próprio mundo, construindo novas ideias que transformam o sujeito (percebedor) e o objeto (percebido).

No turismo, o “ver” assume uma importância diferenciada, relativamente a outras situações de vida, e, de certa forma, constitui a síntese de todos os sentidos. Ao deslocar-se intencionalmente para conhecer/reconhecer (em) outro lugar, o turista vive as imagens a que fica exposto como experiências estéticas, portanto inundadas de emoção.

O estudo das emoções foi de interesse por parte de reconhecidos pensadores ao longo do tempo, como Aristóteles, Cícero, Descartes, Hume, James, Freud, entre outros. Nos últimos 20 anos, no entanto, a análise científica da emoção vem progredindo de forma destacada. Na última década do século XX, o estudo das emoções integrou o conjunto exitoso dos esforços que cunhou a neurociência como área central na chamada década do cérebro e reinseriu-se no

centro das atenções da psicologia sobre processos cognitivos.

O pressuposto deste artigo é o de que a emoção constitui um dos afetos determinantes no estabelecimento da valência, positiva ou negativa, de experiências de qualquer ordem. Em outras palavras, diz-se que também na experiência turística (compreendida como movimento que se dá na direção do apreender/conhecer) serão as emoções a base à qual serão aportados os elementos que definem os valores e os tons das marcas mnêmicas que delas derivam, e que definem a hierarquia dos processos facilitadores de aprendizagens.

Tem-se por suposto, ainda, que a experiência é significada primariamente pela emoção e integra o tripé da formação de atitudes humanas, interferindo na forma como os turistas estabelecem laços de fidelização, ou propagam comunicações positivas/negativas sobre o destino visitado. Destaque-se que esse processo, conhecido no domínio das estratégias de *marketing* como propaganda *boca a boca*, ainda é considerado como um dos meios mais eficazes de divulgação e desenvolvimento de produtos (Rossi e Slongo, 2012).

Conclusivamente, propõe-se que a emoção – e nela o prazer estético – inaugura a formação de atitudes sobre a “coisa” experienciada, enlaçada pelo fenômeno do acolhimento.

A importância dos aspectos tratados reside na pertinência de focar atenção sobre perspectivas da vida mental que influenciam de forma decisiva no comportamento do turista e repercutem no desenvolvimento do turismo, dos sujeitos e das sociedades. Nesse sentido, reflexões como as que ora são propostas podem subsidiar práticas de gestão/tomadas de decisão desencadeadoras de experiências positivas e de relações geradoras de novos saberes para acolhidos e acolhedores.

2. A emoção significada

Na perspectiva da semiologia do funcionamento psíquico, a emoção constitui-se numa expressão do afeto. A função psíquica da afetividade compreende todas as formas de sentir, incluindo as que são geradas por impulsos agressivos e libidinosos, determinando emoções caracterizadas por sentimentos de prazer ou desprazer (Dalgarrondo, 2000).

O estado afetivo é lábil por natureza e atua na dinâmica mental estabelecendo as cores que tonalizam todas as demais funções mentais, particularmente as do pensamento e da memória. Disso resulta que as emoções interferem na

significação das experiências, formando atitudes, envolvendo o valor positivo ou negativo a elas atribuído, determinando a aceitação ou a rejeição de objetos/situações.

Pode-se definir emoção como afetos expressos por componentes psíquicos e somáticos. Embora não devam ser concebidos distintamente, pode-se dizer de modo didático, que os componentes somáticos referem-se às manifestações físicas diversas, de natureza proprioceptiva, exemplificadas pelo arrepio, ou reacionais explícitas, como o choro, os movimentos e expressões corporais. Os componentes psíquicos referem-se às ideias que emergem da emoção e que se associam ao estímulo provocador.

Se adotadas essas premissas na compreensão das vivências humanas no turismo, pode-se supor, por exemplo, que pensamentos sobre a importância de as comunidades manterem suas raízes e tradições tenham sido geradas a partir de emoções provocadas em eventos de exibições culturais, cenarizações, danças, músicas, luzes, dentre as tantas possibilidades de fomento à emergência de sentimentos e afetos a que o turista está sujeito.

A origem acionadora do conjunto de aspectos biopsíquicos que fazem configurar a emoção advém, basicamente, da senso percepção ou percepção conscientizada, seja a partir de elementos apropriados do ambiente externo, como visões, odores, sabores, seja de elementos internos, como pensamentos e memórias. Assim, além das diferentes formas de captação dos sentidos, também pensamentos e memórias evocam emoções, e essas desencadeiam novos pensamentos e lembranças, caracterizando ciclos que marcam as experiências. Nesse sentido, a evocação de experiências vividas pelo turista faria emergir afetos que tendem a ressignificar a experiência passada e a marcar positivamente ou negativamente a nova lembrança. Memórias da infância, por exemplo, desencadeadas pelo reconhecimento de imagens, objetos, traços culturais, expressões verbais, odores, paisagens, cenários – em situações de turismo – podem remeter a fases da vida, inundando com as emoções similares às do passado a experiência vivida no presente.

Os estudos empíricos e experimentais têm comprovado que respostas fisiológicas a estímulos emocionais podem ser produzidas num circuito que se estende pela córtex cerebral derivando diretamente em efeitos cognitivos, ou seja, intervindo na produção de pensamentos de diferentes formas e níveis de complexidade. A frase de Antonio Damásio (1995), *Uma decisão sábia é impossível sem emoção*, ratifica o lugar da emoção na totalidade da vida mental.

A teoria do cérebro triplo do neurocientista MacLean (1990) defende que a evolução do cérebro humano se apoia em três camadas: o cérebro reptiliano; o sistema límbico; e o neocórtex, cada um responsável por diferentes tipos de emoções, que caracterizam a sequência das épocas evolutivas em que foram constituídos. Essa perspectiva explicita a razão pela qual o cérebro identificaria se determinado evento, fato ou coisa são *bons* ou *ruins* antes de saber de forma exata do que se trata, ou antes de produzir um pensamento racional a respeito. Isso indicaria que grande parte do processamento emocional ocorre sem o controle consciente dos sujeitos (Pinto, 1998). Esses estudos, portanto, apoiam o suposto de que as emoções precedem o pensamento e, por decorrência, também a formação de crenças e atitudes.

Na emoção, a neuroquímica cerebral se estabelece por meio da ativação de regiões específicas da anatomia humana, particularmente envolvendo produção e captação neuronal de substâncias, assim como estruturas cerebrais, como o lobo límbico. Quando caracterizada pelo prazer, a emoção produz a liberação de substâncias endógenas no cérebro que aceleram a captação de neurotransmissores, ampliando as sensações vivenciadas, facilitando os processos de consolidação da memória (Albuquerque e Silva, 2012). Ou seja, um disparo psíquico se efetiva a partir de vivências ou lembranças, (re) marcando com doses de afeto um momento que potencializará de forma significativa o processo de memorização do evento atual.

Numa perspectiva evolucionista, muitas emoções têm função adaptativa, com força de sobrevivência, integrando-se ao repertório da espécie, como emoções desencadeadas pelo brilho e bombardeios produzidos por fogos de artifício, ou por apelos e gritos de ordem coletiva associados a situações que primariamente teriam fomentado a agregação, a coesão grupal, costurados por linhas afetivas, assegurando a sobrevivência dos grupos humanos, tal como proposto por Elias (1994) relativamente à natureza e a importância das relações.

Os espetáculos pirotécnicos apresentados na virada de ano, pela maioria das cidades em todo o mundo, expressam o desejo de emoção e seus efeitos sobre os sujeitos numa dimensão coletiva. Na cidade do Rio de Janeiro (Brasil), por exemplo, até a década de 1980, muitos fogos eram habitualmente lançados à beira mar. Gradativamente, pela intensidade do lançamento, o evento foi atraindo visitantes de bairros próximos e turistas, chegando a reunir um número superior a dois milhões de pessoas, à beira das

praias da zona sul carioca para assistir ao show, desencadeando explícitas emoções e atitudes de confraternização, sentimentos de apego humano, de otimismo e esperança. Na esteira dos fatos, investimentos públicos foram feitos, de forma a potencializar o *nicho* turístico, agregando eventos musicais de grande porte, marcando a data como um dos maiores momentos turísticos da cidade. Muitos visitantes voltam anualmente para integrarem-se à festa.

Assim, quanto maior a emoção, maior o impacto sobre a representação mental construída sobre a experiência; maior o sentimento de prazer ou desprazer que a tonaliza; maior a intensidade dos comportamentos que levam à reaproximação ou à evitação de experiências similares futuras; maior a força das lembranças que organizarão o sistema mnêmico, relativamente ao momento vivido (Izquierdo; Bevilaqua; Cammarota, 2006).

O afeto pode manifestar-se por meio de emoções que expressam diferentes sentimentos, como os de êxtase estético, medo ou pânico, indignação e raiva, indiferença e tédio, afeição e amor, dentre outros. O sujeito pode ser inundado pelo sentimento de otimismo, bem-estar, ou por uma profunda e paradoxal “dor” (uma expressão comportamental típica desse fenômeno é o pranto de alegria ou o sentimento de angústia inexplicável), numa experiência que expressa a intensidade da emoção e/ou atualiza marcos afetivos de sua história progressa.

Com base no viés psicanalítico, entende-se que a emoção permite trazer à tona cenas imersas no inconsciente, que ainda não foram nominadas e que passam a ser significadas no (re)encontro com uma experiência associada à cena original, ao dar-lhe sentido. Trata-se de um mecanismo similar ao evento traumático que requer um segundo tempo para compreensão, para que possa ser nominado e vivido pela consciência (Freud, 1972). As emoções requerem vias de liberação que derivem em representações por meio das quais o presente e o passado se fundem numa nova experiência profetizadora do futuro.

Ressalte-se que emoções excessivamente perturbadoras podem reprimir a memória, tornando o conteúdo inacessível à consciência. No entanto, as emoções não são esquecidas. Estudos experimentais confirmam os supostos básicos do recalçamento propostos por Freud. Nesses, foi evidenciado que, em situações extremas, a intensidade insuportável da emoção reprime a memória da experiência (Terr, 1991; Holmes, 1990, in Pinto 1998) comprometendo a amplitude e a veracidade das lembranças futuras, gerando confabulações (falsas memórias), ou esquecimentos.

Curiosamente, embora o sujeito não recorde dos fatos, o sujeito identifica ou reconhece o tema como desagradável ou inexplicavelmente perturbador. Esse dado indica que a memória emocional é persistente, não tende a ser reprimida e sim, a dissociar-se do factual quando o *quantum* de emoção extrapola o limiar da tolerabilidade.

Assim, a emoção e o afeto atuam no processo de significação e na amplificação dos fenômenos que se consolidam sob forma de *blocos de memória*. A título de exemplo, podem-se citar os blocos mnêmicos que se evidenciam em relatos de turistas sobre como foi a viagem, ou como ocorreu determinado passeio. Esses relatos indicam, via de regra, que a memória se organiza em unidades, alinhando narrativas mentais e linguísticas de modo lógico e coerente, a partir de uma significação prévia que deriva, em grande parte, da emoção que a experiência suscitou.

Também as sínteses verbais que comumente são apresentadas logo ao início de relatos de viagem, como *Foi muito bom!*, ou *Na verdade não gostei*, dão força a esse suposto, na medida em que apresentam o afeto predominante como contexto da narrativa, facilitando a compreensão do que está sendo narrado para o ouvinte.

Normalmente, as experiências emocionais negativas são mais intensas do que as positivas, gerando atitudes persistentes e comportamentos de aversão ou rejeição. Essa é uma premissa que encontra respaldo nas práticas cotidianas de recepção do outro, através dos cuidados que evitam desprazeres de um visitante. No âmbito do turismo, isso justifica os cuidados na direção de evitar, tanto quanto possível, que vivências de desprazer sejam experienciadas. Nesse sentido, entende-se que as recomendações técnicas de acolhimento e de segurança da integridade física e moral do turista que, via de regra, integram o planejamento de processos e produtos disponibilizados, visam, não apenas a evitar repercussões jurídicas ou cumprir demandas pessoais de ordem ético-humana, mas minimizar desprazeres e a formação de atitudes negativas. Essa compreensão seria, no mínimo, intuída pelos promotores e receptores turísticos, pois parece integrar o repertório de comportamentos sociais em grande escala. Esses cuidados, se exitosos, potencializariam a fidelização, considerando que o desejo de reviver a experiência positiva está associada ao prazer originalmente vivido (Mazzon e Vera, 2008).

Portanto, a experiência turística quando emocionalmente intensa e positiva é mais facilmente racionalizada por meio da significação, melhor memorizada, e desencadeia o potencial para seu reviver. Eis a base da fidelização, do fenômeno

que ativa o *marketing* pessoa – pessoa, de processos que contribuem de maneira diferenciada para o desenvolvimento de empreendimentos e de segmentos econômicos específicos.

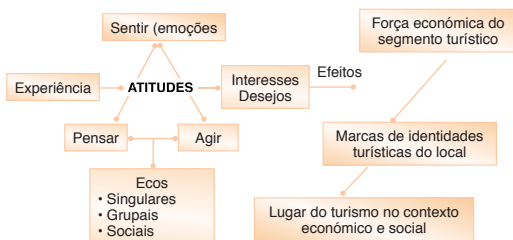
As experiências emocionais estão na base da construção de crenças e concepções que tendem a ser duradouras. Nesse sentido, quanto mais intensos e numerosos forem os sentimentos associados a um evento, maior a probabilidade de lealdade à marca a que esse evento está associado. A aquisição de bens, produtos e serviços está relacionada a marcas que nos fazem sentir bem (Cabanac, 1971; Cavalheiro, 2010). As chamadas marcas de sucesso são aquelas sob as quais são guardadas lembranças muito positivas, potencializando sua força, ou o *bonding*.

Os comportamentos que visam *cuidar* do visitante, reduzir as chances de vivências de experiências desagradáveis, por sua vez, teriam como efeito evitar a propaganda negativa, do tipo *boca a boca*, *processo* que tende a tomar força de propagação superior à propaganda de valência positiva (Laran e Rossi, 2006). Trata-se, portanto, de um processo de formação de atitudes.

A formação de atitudes envolve necessariamente as três dimensões (afeto, pensamento, comportamento). Se qualquer uma dessas dezoito, ou assumir uma valência oposta às demais, pode-se dizer que a atitude ainda não foi formada, ou foi desestabilizada. Assim, se uma atitude positiva foi formada em relação a determinado roteiro turístico, deve-se supor que o sujeito sentirá afetos positivos quando evocadas ou emergidas lembranças que se associam ao roteiro conhecido; desenvolverá pensamentos que caracterizarão razões lógicas para suas qualificações; e agirá de forma coerente com a valência positiva predominante, como comentar a terceiros sobre a qualidade do atendimento dos locais visitados, ou refazer o roteiro.

A figura I, a seguir, representa a dinâmica dos elementos que se articulam na formação das atitudes e as derivações em diferentes dimensões turísticas.

Figura 1 – Formação de atitudes e derivações em dimensões turísticas



O termo “atitude”, portanto, designa um processo por meio do qual os indivíduos sentem, pensam e agem relativamente a determinadas pessoas, situações, objetos (Braguirolli, Rizzon, Bisi, Nicoletto, 2002), constituindo um tripé sustentador dos posicionamentos assumidos ao longo da vida.

Conclusivamente, as emoções que inundam as experiências interferem de forma cabal no processo de sua significação, desencadeando pensamentos e comportamentos formadores de atitudes. A questão parece ser, então, se é possível propiciar que experiências emocionais sejam vivenciadas. É nesse contexto que o acolhimento se insere.

3. Turismo, emoção e acolhimento

Se é posto que a emoção constitui um elemento fundamental a ser considerado no processo de planejamento do turismo, proposições acerca das dimensões pragmáticas desse suposto não podem ser feitas com a mesma objetividade. Naturalmente, o controle, ou o manejo de aspectos que determinariam o *status* das emoções de outra pessoa, constitui, no mínimo, uma tarefa impossível.

De fato, há que considerar a probabilidade de que certas situações, eventos, desencadeiem emoções para um expressivo número de pessoas, como as que envolvem elementos agregadores da espécie, ou a oferta de produtos de valor desejados nas dimensões estética, sensorial e de confortabilidade. Isso viabiliza a elaboração de planos que promovam experiências significativas para turistas, por meio, por exemplo, da observância de aspectos decorativos e arquitetônicos de empreendimentos hoteleiros, na criação de roteiros cujos trajetos permitam ganhos contemplativos, na facilitação de acesso a imagens, sons, sabores.

No entanto, há óbvia dificuldade na previsão da forma como cada sujeito vivenciará experiências, considerando suas demandas pessoais, características culturais, contexto de viagem e disposição para as relações.

Inúmeras situações podem desencadear emoções positivas num certo número de sujeitos, mas também desencadear emoções negativas na mesma proporção. Uma apresentação marcada por movimentos sensuais de dançarinos, por exemplo, pode facilitar a emergência de estados emocionais agradáveis e estimulantes para alguns, propiciando a criação de um círculo favorável de pensamentos e ações, mas, de outro lado, facilitar a emergência de estados desa-

gradáveis para outros. Conflitos conjugais não resolvidos ou processos de envelhecimento ainda não assimilados podem eventualmente induzir à percepção da juventude e da sensualidade de uma dança com as cores negativas do desprazer, ativando a formação de ideias que envolvam, por exemplo, mau gosto, deselegância, embaraço, ou outras.

A emoção está atrelada à visão que cada um tem de si e do mundo, num dado momento, envolvendo concepções acerca de lugares, territórios, culturas, mas também aspectos morais, dificuldades ou potencialidades pessoais, desejos e aversões. Então, como pensar a emoção no contexto do turismo, para além das teorizações que explicitam seu lugar na constituição mental dos sujeitos?

A resposta parece estar no acolhimento, na hospitalidade de uns aos outros.

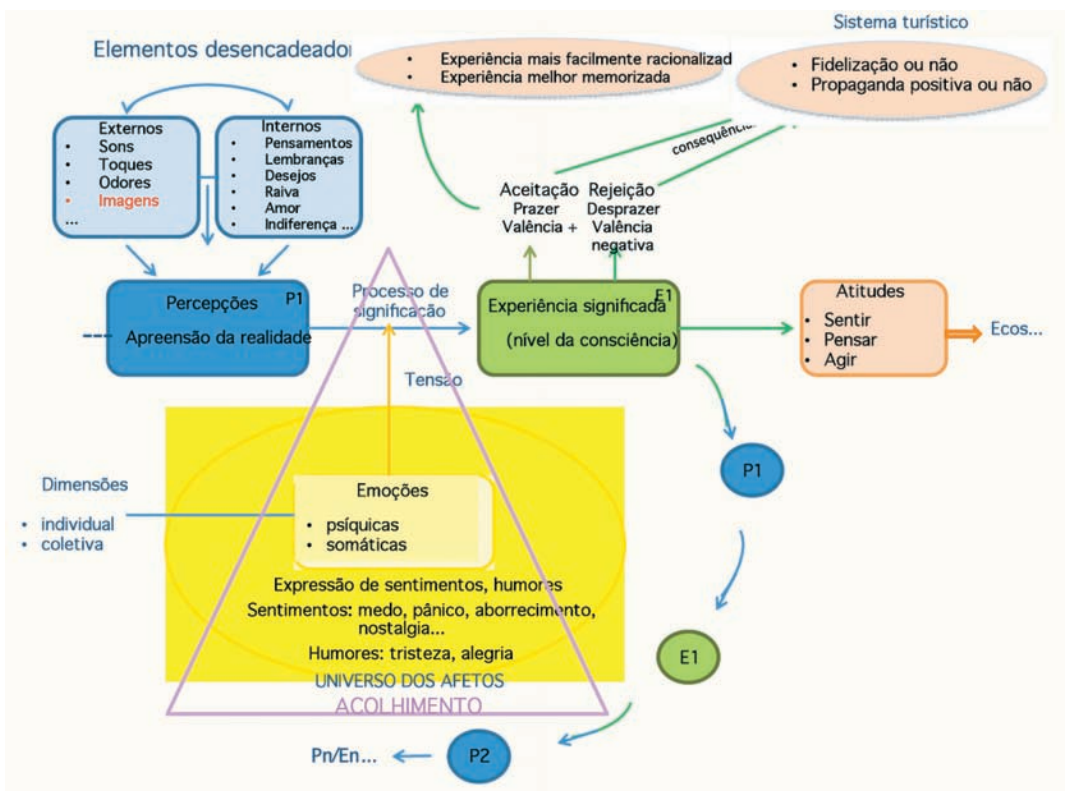
O acolhimento concebido como fenômeno que se instaura no espaço que se constitui por meio da relação entre sujeitos (singular, coletivo/institucional) permite a leitura dos processos que promovem a aprendizagem individual/social, e

das condições básicas à qualidade da comunicação humana (Perazzolo, Santos e Pereira, 2013). Essa perspectiva atribui às aprendizagens um sentido que extrapola a dimensão cognitiva, abarcando desde unidades afetivas e ideativas até a formação de pensamentos complexos.

Esta proposição está sustentada em supostos teóricos que consideram as relações, manifestadas através de distintas formas, ritmos e tempos de expressão e comunicação, o cerne da vida e do desenvolvimento humano. Essas proposições referem-se, especialmente, às perspectivas sociológicas de Elias (1996), e às psicológicas de Bowlby (1990), relativamente aos elementos de base etológica que corroboram a particular competência da espécie para a vinculação em diferentes níveis e etapas da vida como estratégia biopsicossocial de sobrevivência.

Tendo por base a concepção de acolhimento como processo em que um sujeito acolhe o conteúdo comunicado pelo outro, dá-lhe significação, transforma-o e devolve-o sob forma de novo conteúdo em que, dessa vez, será o outro a transformar. Nesse sentido, acolhimento toma o mesmo

Figura 2 – Dinâmica do processo de significação da experiência turística



sentido da hospitalidade, particularmente se consideradas as contribuições de Derrida (Dufourmantelle, 2003) no que tange à aceitação do outro, sob pena de sua transformação num igual, destituindo-o de sua condição de sujeito, de outro e de estrangeiro.

Os conteúdos acolhidos podem ser de qualquer ordem, incluindo demandas pessoais, pensamentos, conceitos, ou emoções, e as transformações, que nem sempre ocorrem no mesmo tempo e espaço, geram uma cadeia centrífuga de significações, promotora de aprendizagens para todos os envolvidos. Portanto, todos se tornam acolhidos e acolhedores alternadamente.

Nas práticas do turismo, o acolhimento se dá entre o sujeito primariamente visitante e o primariamente visitado, através das relações pessoa – pessoa, mas também por meio do eco de suas vozes, das estruturas e serviços que disponibiliza.

A contribuição de Selwyn, (2004) relativamente à crença de que o processo de troca integra as práticas de hospitalidade se aproxima da perspectiva antes referida. O autor adota o sentido de troca, ao invés de relação, mas também concebe trocas de produtos, serviços e materiais simbólicos no âmbito do acolhimento.

O acolhimento das emoções tem repercussões ainda mais profundas. Envolve a competência humana para perceber, ou intuir, o estado emocional do outro, compreender empaticamente seu significado e constitui-se num continente que oferece apoio, significação, ou apenas o compartilhamento silencioso da experiência. Na essência, diz-se que o êxito da experiência turística está na forma como as relações foram conduzidas de modo a potencializar o prazer estético, as aprendizagens, através de emergência de emoções positivas. A hospitalidade aí se institui como um meio de aceder ao coração da experiência, de intuir o caminho do prazer do outro, de reconhecer afrontamentos possíveis aos visitantes, de responder à emoção com antecedência, quer no desenho dos roteiros, da oferta de serviços, quer na compreensão empática dos afetos que vierem a ser aflorados. A figura 2, na sequência, representa graficamente esse processo.

Sinteticamente, o gráfico dinamiza o processo em que estímulos externos e internos (elementos desencadeadores) promovem percepções (experiências conscientizadas/significativas) a partir de imagens esteticamente provocantes; de sons visceralmente inquietantes; de lembranças psicologicamente expressivas, etc. As percepções são significadas como agradáveis ou desagradáveis (valência positiva ou negativa) conforme a emoção ativada, determinando tendências de fixação

mnêmicas de maior ou menor força, dependendo da intensidade emocional provocada. Cada experiência carrega potencial de ressignificação, particularmente por meio da via relacional, do acolhimento, acionando espirais de crescimento cognitivo-afetivo.

Nesse sentido, o turismo, particularmente na perspectiva receptiva, pode intervir a partir da disponibilização de produtos que – por suposto – ofereçam a oportunidade de significação positiva por parte do turista, mas, naturalmente, não poderá assegurar que isso ocorra. Será o acolhimento, ou a relação direta ou indireta entre acolhidos e acolhedores, que permitirá intuir os caminhos pelos quais os desejos de cada um serão concretizados em experiências positivamente valorizadas e transformadoras. Em isso ocorrendo, não apenas a motivação precípua do turismo encontra o destino da realização, como também uma cadeia de eventos favorecerá a fidelização e o fortalecimento do roteiro.

Trata-se, portanto, de uma das formas de enlace unificadora das dimensões intra e sociopsíquico, constituída a partir da experiência paradigmática da demanda que faz o homem se deslocar de seu mundo interno para o externo, na eterna busca de si mesmo.

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Reseña de publicaciones

Barcelona, destinació turística. Un segle d'imatges i promoció pública

Saida Palou i Rubio

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El estudio de la imagen turística, aun siendo un campo relativamente nuevo dentro de la turismología, se ha dotado de un gran impulso en los últimos años. Ya a finales de la década de 1970 Miossec defendía que una destinación turística no es sino una imagen, una representación mental. Debe asumirse que no se trata de imágenes inocentes y que están cargadas de las ideologías de sus promotores. Teniendo en cuenta la propia naturaleza del hecho turístico (en el sentido que es producido y consumido en el mismo lugar y en el mismo momento) hace que un paisaje turístico no exista antes de crear esta representación (Chadefaud, 1987). Así, la industria del turismo tiene en sus bases la producción, distribución y comercialización de imágenes (Pereiro, 2011). A principios del siglo pasado, Muntañola defendía que el prestigio de un territorio depende de su prestigio turístico.

Como se describe en el estudio realizado por Palou, este proceso es especialmente cierto en el caso de la ciudad de Barcelona, tercer destino urbano Europeo y vigésimo en el mundo de acuerdo con los datos de Euromonitor International (2013). Cuando en 1906, la Comisión

de Atracción de Forasteros y Turistas (CAFT) empezó sus actividades, la ciudad estaba desprovista de lo que hoy llamaríamos un producto turístico e, incluso, de una conciencia política y social suficiente. A pesar de las críticas recibidas y de su corta vida, la CAFT invirtió muchas energías en la creación de la imagen turística, seductora y distintiva, de la ciudad, que sentó las bases de la que con el tiempo se convertiría en la marca conocida a nivel internacional.

En el conjunto de la investigación turística, por diversos motivos, el pasado es una cuestión que queda casi siempre relegada a un segundo o tercer término. Palou aporta una detallada descripción de las políticas turísticas públicas que se dieron a lo largo del siglo XX (1888 – 2010, en realidad) y que fueron las que han ido configurando la destinación que hoy en día conocemos y promovemos.

Una de sus aportaciones es la desmitificación, hasta cierto punto, de la *presentación* de Barcelona al mundo a partir de los Juegos Olímpicos que acogió en 1992. Como ya se apuntaba en la tesis de Vidal (2005), el estudio histórico nos muestra como en el primer tercio del siglo

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XX la ciudad ya ocupaba un importante posicionamiento en el imaginario turístico no sólo a nivel europeo, sino también internacional, con una imagen basada en la modernidad (Novecentismo, Modernismo; desarrollo industrial), el patrimonio cultural tangible e intangible, el comercio, el paisaje y el ambiente urbano. Como vemos, se trata de un imaginario que coincide plenamente con el que se proyecta hoy en día.

La mirada histórica, en palabras de la autora <<sorprende (...) [que] descubra más continuidades y similitudes en las estrategias de promoción y en sus argumentos que no diferencias o rupturas>> (p. 19). Precisamente los valores públicos así como los elementos que conforman la imagen de la destinación son los que se han mantenido más regulares a lo largo de esta centuria, exceptuando el período franquista.

La publicación se estructura en cinco grandes bloques, correspondientes a las cinco etapas de la historia (turística) de Barcelona. El primer capítulo nos sitúa en el cambio de siglo: a modernización en la planificación de la ciudad (Pla Cerdà), la Exposición Universal de Barcelona (1888), la llegada de los primeros turistas y el nacimiento de la primera institución turística española, la Comisión Nacional de Turismo. Estos elementos, así como la actuación del sector privado, vieron los cimientos de la industria turística local, que empezaría a desarrollarse con la Comisión de Atracción de Forasteros y Turistas.

El segundo capítulo empieza con la creación de la CAFT (1906), uno de cuyos objetivos principales era la creación de una imagen turística. Para tal fin, poco después de su creación se publicó la primera guía turística de la ciudad para presentarla tanto en su entorno cercano como en el extranjero. Para esta primera piedra en la promoción, París constituía el paradigma a seguir. A partir de entonces, la publicación de materiales de propaganda siguió: carteles, álbumes, guías, artículos en prensa nacional e internacional, agencias de viajes. Pronto, en 1908, la CAFT fue sustituida por la Sociedad de Atracción de Forasteros (SAF), creada a imagen de los sindicatos de iniciativa turísticos ya existentes en Europa, y que tendría una vida mucho más prolongada: moriría en 1936, unos meses después del estallido de la guerra civil. La actuación de la SAF se definía como desinteresada y patriótica. Además, su actuación acabó por rebasar los límites urbanos e intervino en el *despertar turístico* de otras poblaciones catalanas, por ejemplo, a través de la puesta en valor de monumentos y paisajes del resto del territorio y promoviendo el resto del territorio catalán como posibles destinos de excursiones.

El tercer bloque nos sitúa en el marco de la II República Española (1929 – 1936). La ciudad experimentó transformaciones urbanísticas y de organización turística de importancia significativa. Se crearon diversas entidades de promoción turística, se celebraron exposiciones y salones internacionales y se llevaron a cabo estrategias de gestión. A principios de 1930 Catalunya aparecía en el imaginario como un destino diferenciado, y todo el período fue especialmente fructífero por lo que respecta a la promoción y gestión turísticas (en 1935 más de 240.000 forasteros habían visitado la ciudad). Catalunya y Barcelona no se presentaban como destinos antagonicos, sino, al parecer de los propios gestores y promotores.

El cuarto período nos sitúa al inicio de la guerra civil española y la dictadura franquista posterior. El conflicto bélico y el régimen político que la siguió constituyeron un verdadero barrido, *tabula rasa* como lo llama la autora, de todas las acciones emprendidas hasta ese momento en Barcelona y el conjunto de Cataluña. Todas las actividades pasaban a centralizarse desde la capital del estado, incluyendo, por supuesto, la gestión y la propaganda turísticas. La imagen de modernidad y diferenciación del resto de la península proyectada hasta entonces se diluyó completamente y el imaginario vinculado a Barcelona se adhirió, por fuerza, al imaginario estereotipado de España. El *boom* turístico se aconteció en esta época, gobernada por el desorden y la anarquía. Como se describe en el libro <<la regla principal del sistema se basaba en un *se salve quien pueda*, juego pernicioso que hacía ganar dinero a base de tierras que no valían nada, permitía que las cabañas de pescadores se convirtieran en hoteles, mientras los hortelanos vendían tomates a precio de oro (...)>> (p. 271). Sin duda, el turismo fue también un instrumento político: el *desarrollismo* primaba el aumento de visitantes, la entrada de divisas y el crecimiento del negocio, a la vez que se proyectaba una imagen de España unificada e identitariamente homogénea.

Para terminar, el quinto capítulo se refiere a lo acontecido durante la transición democrática, heredera de los perjuicios y prejuicios de la era anterior, y llega hasta nuestros días. Como reconoce Palou, a principios de la década de 1980 todavía era difícil confiar en las potencialidades de Barcelona como destinación turística: su reconocimiento internacional estaba desdibujado, la oferta no era suficientemente competitiva y, al contrario que en etapas anteriores, competía con la destinación Catalunya. Varios cambios ocurridos a finales de esa década y a principios

de la siguiente, entre los que destacan la preparación para los Juegos Olímpicos (1992) dieron un impulso renovado al sector turístico y, volviendo de forma no consciente a las políticas de principios de siglo, las políticas actuales de internacionalización de la ciudad identifican al turismo como un sector clave para la captación de capital económico y cultural. Este crecimiento ha generado en los últimos años problemas de saturación y la necesidad de un replanteamiento de la estrategia a seguir. El libro nos deja en este nuevo punto de inflexión, con la redacción del Plan Estratégico de Turismo de la Ciudad de Barcelona y la necesidad de gestionar el crecimiento de esta industria.

A través de este libro, Palou nos ofrece una visión transversal de la historia del turismo en la ciudad de Barcelona a lo largo de más de cien años, ejercicio hartamente interesante tanto desde el punto de vista de los propios gestores como de los académicos dada la ausencia de trabajos previos en esta línea tanto a nivel local como internacional. El ejemplo de Barcelona, estudiado por turismólogos de todas las partes del planeta, toma aquí otra perspectiva, más rica, compleja y concreta.

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