

NEW  
DIRECTIONS  
IN TOURISM  
ANALYSIS

# New Directions in Rural Tourism

EDITED BY  
DEREK HALL, LESLEY ROBERTS  
AND MORAG MITCHELL

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*Edited by*

DEREK HALL, LESLEY ROBERTS and MORAG MITCHELL

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## Chapter 1

# Tourism and the Countryside: Dynamic Relationships

Derek Hall, Morag Mitchell and Lesley Roberts

### Introduction

Rural tourism development attracted increasing interest in the 1990s and a growing literature has contributed to our understanding of it as an evolving phenomenon. According to Long and Lane (2000), rural tourism has moved into its second phase of development, its first having been characterised by growth in participation, product and business development, and partnership. Its second is predicted to be more complex, and is likely to be, given the questions that remain regarding its place in policy, its integration in practice, and its dynamic role within the restructuring countryside and within wider tourism development processes. This introduction aims to establish a context for the subsequent and more focused chapters that follow by outlining issues relating to, dimensions of, and questions surrounding the dynamic nature of rural tourism and recreation.

### Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas: Key Issues

Estimates often suggest that tourism in rural areas may make up 10-25 per cent of all forms of tourism activity (e.g. EuroBarometer, 1998). But a long recognised analytical constraint is the absence of systematic statistical sources for 'rural tourism' (Lane, 1994). This is not surprising given that there may be no difference either in terms of location or activity, between 'rural tourism' and 'countryside recreation'. Many rural tourists and recreationalists are excursionists (day visitors) rather than those making overnight stays (the extent of whom can to some extent be measured in terms of bed-nights). Rural tourism's very diversity and fragmentation sees tens of thousands of enterprises and public initiatives active across Europe, some of which are listed with local or regional bodies such as tourism boards and authorities, while others are not. Overarching these issues are often fundamental differences in national definition and enumeration: one country may include only farm and nature dimensions in its conception of 'rural tourism', while another will consider many economic activities located outside of urban areas.

In many parts of the world, rural areas have long provided the setting for recreation and tourism activities, which have not always been explicitly considered or branded as 'rural'. In recent decades, however, there has been a greater industry awareness of a requirement to segment and brand various aspects of tourism and recreation just at a time when the relationships between such activities and their rural contexts have been changing and becoming more complex. Such complexity and change in rural sector relationships reflect both the dynamic and often uncertain economic and social environment in which rural development processes take place; and the growing global importance and diversity of tourism and recreation activities, with the pressures and inter-linkages (global-local, urban-rural) which that brings.

Most notably, recreation and tourism activities in a number of rural settings have been dramatically transformed from being relatively passive and minor elements in the landscape to become active and significant agents of environmental, economic and social change. Such changes have attracted attention from local, regional, national and supranational policy makers. However, this is not to suggest any consistent approach to, or agreement upon the nature, development and significance of tourism and recreation in rural areas.

What is clear is that a number of key demand factors have raised interest in rural areas, larger numbers of people are visiting rural areas, and the recreational activities undertaken in rural areas are increasing and diversifying, raising issues of competing traditional/new, passive/active pursuits and the need for adequate planning and management to cope with contrasting demands from mass and niche requirements. In the face of homogenised globalism and what may be increasingly impersonal and unsafe urban environments, rural tourism is often perceived as able to meet growing demands for personal contact, individualism, authenticity and heritage, said to reflect increasing levels of education, health consciousness, and the development of accessible high performance outdoor equipment (Long and Lane, 2000). Coupled to improved transport and communication technologies – which themselves have rendered true remoteness a rare quality and an almost unique selling point – and the residential demand for access to rural areas from both working and retired people, tourism and recreation have become an important part of a range of opportunities variously holding out the promise of economic, social, cultural and environmental enhancement.

Tourism is widely perceived as being of considerable economic and social benefit to rural areas through the income and infrastructural developments it may bring particularly to marginal and less economically developed regions. It can provide organic, relatively low capital, economic growth for locally owned business and offers a potential alternative both to traditional rural activities and to rural workers themselves (Bollman and Bryden, 1997; Long and Lane, 2000). It can of course also stimulate in-migration and the attraction of urban-based entrepreneurs who may merely siphon off any benefits away from the local rural area. Nonetheless, considerable attention has been given in the European Union to the support and enhancement of rural tourism initiatives (Mormont, 1987; Bethemont, 1994; Nitsch and der Straaten, 1995; Hjalager, 1996; Priestley *et al.*,

1996), within the wider context of rural development. But, national and supranational organisations, government views and industry perceptions may differ or even conflict. Notably, industry vested interests may result in over-inflated expectations for rural tourism development such as the World Tourism Organisation's claim of 'Rural tourism to the rescue of Europe's countryside' (WTO, 1996; Butler *et al.*, 1998). Unmet expectations can easily lead not only to disappointment but to disillusionment and may actually accelerate processes of economic decline and out-migration.

### **Impacts of Tourism and Recreation in Rural Areas**

Many parts of Europe have experienced a century, and North America some eighty years, of rural decline (Long and Lane, 2000). While an economic revitalisation of rural areas is often sought, few rural dwellers, either new or recent in-migrants, would wish to change dramatically the physical character and ethos of their landscapes by encouraging the siting of a gambling casino, prison or nuclear power station. While those activities may appear extreme, tourism, often viewed by many rural regions as one of the few opportunities to enhance the local economy, may have equally profound impacts on its countryside contexts. The challenges of rural restructuring, the major potential threats to rural environments and the dynamic social composition of many rural areas, require an understanding and management of rural tourism which is firmly integrated into an appreciation of the (often urban-derived) dynamic social, economic, political, cultural, psychological and environmental processes shaping both reality and our social construction of 'the rural'.

In contributing to successful rural development tourism needs to be employed as part of a portfolio of strategies. Tourism and recreation is not an appropriate development tool for all rural areas, but factors of comparative advantage will vary considerably from one type of rural area to another. Rural tourism is usually best suited to act as a complement to an existing thriving and diverse rural economy: within an already weak economy it can create income and employment inequalities if not complemented with other employment generating development processes (Butler and Clark, 1992). Further, a number of factors can reduce its economic effectiveness. These include income leakages, volatility, a declining multiplier, low pay, imported labour, the limited number of entrepreneurs in rural areas, and the conservatism of rural investors (Lane, 1994).

Evaluation of rural tourism's development impacts raises such questions as what are the trade-offs between the social and environmental (negative) impacts and economic benefits? How far, for example, do rural designations of special area status designed to protect environments actually act to attract and focus tourists in self-fulfilling honeypots? Can the benefits to one sector (e.g. nature-based tourism assisting species conservation) be realistically measured against the negative impacts felt in a related sector (e.g. nature-based tourists' actual disturbance to wildlife)? Most tourists in rural areas are urbanites, so who benefits and who loses

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investibility and visitability' (Kotler *et al.*, 1993: 99), and involves the construction or selective tailoring of particular images to project within the global market place.

Being able to capture, articulate and represent local 'community' life and its relationship with both the perceived and hidden landscape may be an essential element of the branding and image projection of the rural tourism product, and it would appear logical to avoid damaging or compromising the way of life around which local attraction is based (Edwards *et al.*, 2000). Yet the generation, commodification and impact of 'idyllic' images of timeless sustainability may stifle the articulation of actual local identity or identities. The impact of rural tourism on, and the representation of gender within this context is contested. Arguments that tourism development opportunities offer rural women routes to managerial roles and positions of independence are countered by observations that, for example, running farm-based bed and breakfast enterprises is little more than an extension of women's 'traditional' domestic role. The latter activity – often undertaken by farmers' wives – may even be interpreted as acting to reinforce the patriarchal ideologies which exclude and marginalise women from farming (Saugeres, 2002).

## Conclusions

In their review of rural tourism development, Long and Lane (2000) argue that rural tourism – at least in Europe and North America – is entering a more complex phase of expansion, differentiation, consolidation and understanding, and that a number of implications flow from this:

- markets will continue to develop, competition will increase and provision will grow and products further diversify, necessitating the further development of partnerships and networks in the supply and promotion of rural tourism attractions;
- more national and regional rural tourism policies will be formulated, although the nature and balance of public or semi-public intervention will vary in time and space;
- marketing and training will (need to) become more effective and sophisticated, not least through the use of IT for website promotion and information, on-line booking, customer care and distance delivery of education and training provision;
- as a consequence of increasing activity and competition, land-use issues, not least those of access to rural land, will intensify;
- heritage, and the contested power relations behind its reproduction, promotion and interpretation, will consolidate its position as an anchor of rural tourism; and
- more emphasis will be placed on the sustainability of rural tourism policy.

Long and Lane (2000) suggest that accepted indicators are needed with which to monitor the impacts of such developmental trends over a period of time, and that the use of such indicators can assist better policy making and planning.

An increasingly complex and diverse pattern of rural depopulation and counter-urbanisation, upon which tourism and recreation undertaken in rural areas largely by urban dwellers has been superimposed, has brought together, often in sharp conflict, aspirations of modernisation alongside the seeking out of a past, idealised idyll. Subjective, emotional attachments to imagined place and/or community may bear no relation to objective reality yet may influence the ways in which people behave. Representations of rurality, through tourism, residential and investment promotion may actively structure rural spaces. The demand for pretty villages or the construction and commodification of cultural associations act to shape the appearance of rural settlements in order to satisfy the needs of visitors. Awareness of such preferences needs to be articulated within development processes.

As an introduction to the dynamic nature of relationships within and between rural areas and tourism, this chapter has attempted to provide a brief:

- description of some of the key themes of rural tourism development;
- discussion of the dynamic rural social and economic context within which demands for recreation and tourism are taking place;
- assessment of the changing nature of recreation and tourism in rural areas and the potential conflicts which may arise; and
- evaluation of the social construction and commodification that rural areas may experience as part of the development processes embracing residential development and wider inward investment as well as tourism and recreation.

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## PART 2

# CONCEPTUALISATION

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## Chapter 2

# New Directions in Rural Tourism Impact Research

Steven Boyne

### **Rationale and Aims**

The post-World War II global growth of tourism has given rise to a wide range of tourism impact studies. However, with regard to tourism's social impacts (which affect human behaviour and organisation), current knowledge – which stems largely from studies of tourism in less developed countries and regions and in areas where tourism has developed within a relatively short time-frame – may not reflect accurately the conditions present in rural areas of Scotland. Owing to Scotland's relatively slow historical rate of tourism growth and the predominance of domestic tourism (annually, around 92 per cent of tourist trips in Scotland are generated from within the United Kingdom), impacts associated with rapid and unchecked tourism development, or levels of relative wealth and cultural differences between host and guest, may be less severe or non-existent in this country.

As tourism continues to be developed in rural areas in order to counter economic decline in the primary production sectors, the need for sustainable forms of development is recognised. If, however, indicators of sustainability in tourism are based on impact models which are inappropriate for use in rural Scotland, then attempts to develop tourism in a less-damaging manner may be fundamentally compromised. Accordingly, the research upon which this paper is based aims to develop a framework for understanding how residents in case study areas of rural Scotland view and respond to the social impacts of tourism. Such research is often undertaken in order to monitor the social well-being of destination areas in the presence of tourism and tourists, as the viability of an area's tourism industry can be affected negatively if deterioration is perceived to occur to the natural or social environment. Such negative perceptions on the part of areas' residents can diminish their support for tourism development and can impact upon the experience of the visitors through their interactions with them. Communities are not homogenous and can contain discrete sub-groups identifiable by their attitudes to tourism; the identification of such sub-groups can provide planning-relevant information which can aid the management of tourism development.

Studies of community reactions to tourism have been undertaken from a variety of different perspectives and have employed a diverse range of analytical

techniques. However, researchers working in this area have been unable thus far to develop a unified theory which can explain variations in residents' reactions to tourism. This failure of the collective efforts of academics working in tourism impact research to find consensus has led to criticism relating to the atheoretical nature of tourism research (Ap, 1990) – mirroring Dann *et al.*'s (1988) comments relating to tourism research in general – while elsewhere, there are calls for researchers to employ more qualitative, exploratory approaches to tourism research. Although these differing approaches are not mutually exclusive (Walle, 1997: 535), satisfying them simultaneously can present researchers with certain methodological problems. Ap (1990: 615), for example, writes that for tourism research to progress, it must move from its initial descriptive phase to a more explanatory position and, elsewhere, Ap and Crompton (2001: 317) suggest that, in the context of scale development for tourism impact research, researchers should work within existing theoretical frameworks and employ deductive research approaches. While this type of approach is useful, there is a danger, however, that it can stifle the contextual sensitivity which is often required during the early stages of research, for example, work being undertaken in a new geographical context. Furthermore, empirical methods and deductive reasoning may not be the most useful approach for capturing the complex social realities which constitute tourism-related phenomena (see, for example, Walle, 1997).

Within the context described above, this paper seeks firstly to locate tourism impact research within the wider tradition of tourism research, in this way providing the reader with an overview of the development of each, and a framework for understanding the epistemological concerns relating to research approaches. Secondly, some of the characteristics and shortcomings of tourism impact research are described and the problematic methodological position referred to above is elaborated upon. Thirdly, the paper discusses Pearce *et al.*'s (1996) social representations approach to community tourism relationships and how such an approach may go some way towards bridging the 'research gap' described above. Finally, drawing upon: (i) Pearce *et al.*'s (1996) social representations approach; (ii) a review of the tourism impact and the wider tourism research literature; and (iii) insights from previous research undertaken in rural Scotland, this paper introduces a novel technique for investigation into communities' responses to tourism in rural Scotland. Specifically, the approach described employs a value-orientated focus based on residents' attitudes to 'everyday-life' and their everyday-life aspirations. In this way, it is hoped to identify discriminants of residents' reactions to tourism based on their 'everyday-life' characteristics. By employing this approach successfully, it is anticipated that a precedent can be set for future empirical research to build upon while also strengthening the underpinning theoretical frameworks in this area of tourism research.

### **Traditional Research Approaches**

Jafari (1990) identifies four traditions, or *platforms*, within the tourism research literature and notes that, although these emerged consecutively, all remain extant.

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The purpose of this discussion is not to take issue with either side in the debate described above, but to use it to help illustrate the dilemma faced by academics working in this, and other areas, of tourism research. Both Ap and Crompton, and Lankford have valid concerns. Dann *et al.* (1988), for example, found the development of tourism research in general to be limited by its atheoretical nature, whilst the potential limitations of restricting responses within tightly pre-defined frameworks have been illustrated by Schultz, who cautions that social reality should not be '...replaced by a fictional non-existing world constructed by the scientific observer' (1964: 8, cited in Ryan, 2000: 122). Concern relating to the atheoretical nature of tourism research is identified by Pearce *et al.* (1996: 27) as the third problem inherent in tourism impact research. Taking these second and third problems together, however, researchers may find themselves placed in a quandary: on the one hand Pearce *et al.* (1996) identify the need for contextual, or *emic*, sensitivity, while on the other hand they acknowledge the need for a less atheoretical approach to tourism research. Pearce *et al.* (1996: 4) describe *emic* approaches as 'drawing upon actors' interpretations', and contrast these with *etic* studies '...where the researchers generate their own constructs to describe the observed behaviour or cultural pattern'.

Viewing this research dilemma within the historical context of tourism impact research outlined above, a pattern can be described: many of the ethnographic studies of the 1970s employed, by their exploratory, qualitative nature, an *emic* approach to data collection, and from that work, stage model theories were generated to describe residents' responses to tourism development. Classically, these theories were then tested by researchers, working within what Jafari (1990) has described as the *adaptancy* and *knowledge-based* platforms, employing deductive reasoning and more quantitative social science research techniques to investigate empirically residents' perceptions and attitudes to tourism, tourism development and tourism impacts. However, despite such research being undertaken for over two decades, few consistent patterns or relationships have been uncovered (Pearce *et al.*, 1996: 25). Subsequently, in this area, as in other areas of tourism research, there have been calls in the literature for more exploratory, qualitative research to be undertaken – research which is more capable of explaining the complex social dimensions of the tourism phenomenon (e.g. Walle, 1997; Bowen, 2001; Dann and Phillips, 2001) or which can be used to generate new theoretical insights (e.g. Connell and Lowe, 1997).

Pearce *et al.*'s (1996) text can be viewed as bridging the *emic/etic* gap to some extent: their text proposes a *social representations* approach which they utilise both to theoretically ground their discussion on tourism impact research and as a framework for empirical analysis. In doing this, the social representations approach appears to enable researchers to adopt a theoretically explorative research approach while working within existing conceptual frameworks – as required by those in favour of more deductive research approaches. Such a 'mixed methodology' approach is not inconsistent with the way in which much research is conducted. Ryan (1995: 20-21), for example, describes the *functional approach* to research which embodies elements of both inductive and deductive reasoning; Veal

(1992: 30) also notes this approach. This paper now proceeds to outline an approach for studying the social impacts of tourism development in rural Scotland. This approach draws upon Pearce *et al.*'s (1996) description of social representations and the findings from a review of the tourism impact and wider tourism research literature. Within the context of the research dilemma described above, the strength of this new approach is that it offers the opportunity to satisfy the requirement for conducting research which contains an *emic*, exploratory element, within a wider conceptual framework which will allow existing theory to be strengthened accordingly. The element of *emic* sensitivity is required owing to the new and distinctive geographical context in which the research is being undertaken, while operating within existing theoretical frameworks addresses the need for tourism research to be less atheoretical in its nature.

### *Solutions and New Approaches*

Pearce *et al.* (1996: 2) describe social representations theory as being:

...concerned with everyday knowledge and how people use this knowledge and common sense to understand the world in which they live and to guide their actions and decisions.

They aim to apply this theory to the study of the ways in which communities respond to tourism, in this way generating new theoretical insights into the relationship between tourism and communities; additionally, through secondary analyses of survey data relating to tourism impacts, planning and development, they aim to identify, within communities, clusters or networks of images which *can be viewed as* social representations, and which serve as a means of data reduction aiding, therefore, our understanding of tourism-community relationships. Pearce *et al.* (1996: 60) also write that:

...in order to understand how people react to tourism it will be valuable to understand the sources contributing to social representations.

They examine three such sources contributing to social representations: the printed and electronic media; social interaction; and individuals' direct experiences (pp. 83-91). It is suggested here, however, that this is too simplistic an analysis and one which does not take sufficient account of either the wider social science social representations models presented elsewhere in their text (pp. 31-57) or indeed the 'systems of benefits, values, attitudes and explanations which individuals and groups hold about tourism' which they refer to (p. 60).

Pearce *et al.* (1996: 3) citing the work of Moscovici (1981) write that social scientists must understand the world of everyday knowledge and common sense if they are to gain an understanding of social change. Building upon this sentiment, findings from previous research and a review of the tourism impact and wider tourism research literature, this paper describes a framework for research which

seeks not only to clarify the social impacts of tourism in rural Scotland, but also how peoples' responses to tourism are influenced by wider social reality. Specifically, the focus of this proposed research will be on investigating individuals' *everyday-life aspirations* as potential determinants of how residents respond to tourism and form their attitudes to it. Everyday-life aspirations are viewed here as being: (i) a specific aspect of social representations which may act as determinants of residents' attitudes to tourism impacts and development; and (ii) informed by, and at the same time informing, social representations of tourism. This focus will, it is hoped, generate three specific outcomes: firstly it can be employed to explore the underlying factors responsible for variations in residents' perceptions of and attitudes towards tourism; secondly, it will enable research to be undertaken within existing theoretical frameworks while maintaining an exploratory, or *emic* approach to the work in order to strengthen existing theory with new insights; and, thirdly, it will help to develop and theoretically underpin the social representations approach to community tourism relationships by providing data relating to the sources contributing to social relations. Additionally, in this way, the research will provide an important contribution to the literature concerned with the planning and management of tourism development specifically in the context of rural areas of Scotland.

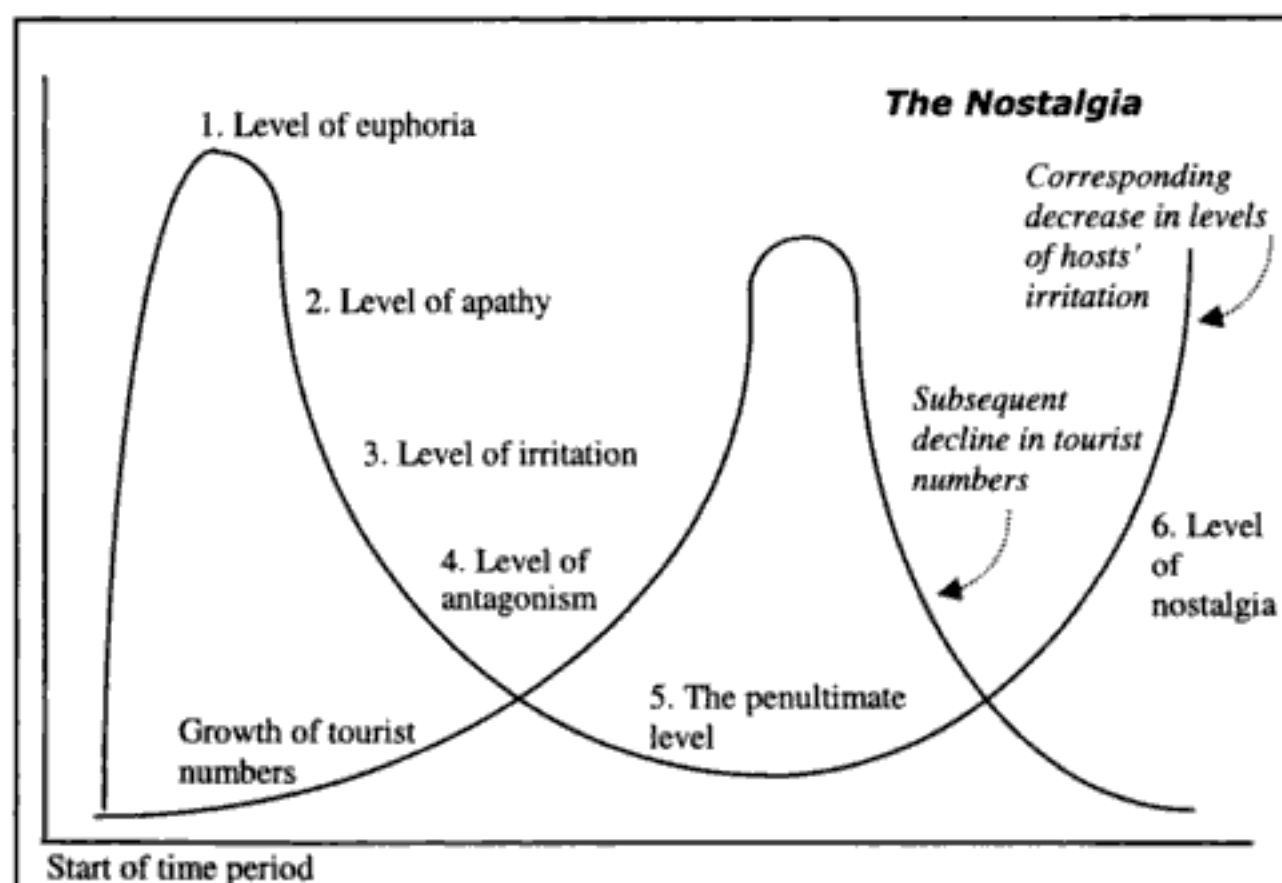
### *The Everyday Life Approach*

*Relativity* Anecdotal evidence from previous research undertaken by this author suggested that residents' attitudes to tourism may be influenced by the status of tourism relative to other salient factors in individuals' and communities' lives. Specifically, during fieldwork undertaken in 1997 that investigated residents' attitudes towards tourism employment in rural Scotland, it was noted that the greatest number of positive responses relating to tourism employment and to tourism in general were recorded on the Clyde Coast island of Bute which, of all the case study areas surveyed, had suffered the most dramatic downturn in visitor numbers during the two decades previous to the research being undertaken. The tourism-related sector had been responsible for economic and social vibrance on the island and the demise of this sector (along with the decline experienced in the agricultural sector) had led to Bute to suffer the severest and most consistent decline throughout the Highlands and Islands since the 1960s (BPSG, 1994: 1, cited in Boyne *et al.*, 2000: 106). In a similar vein, Perdue *et al.* (1990) reporting on their Colorado research suggested that support for tourism was higher in communities pessimistic about their economic future and referred to this as the 'doomsday phenomenon' (cited in Getz, 1994: 248).

Considering Doxey's (1975) Irridex or irritation index (which posits an inverse relationship between levels of hosts' irritation with tourists and the growth of tourist numbers over time), it may be that as a destination goes into decline and tourist numbers decrease, residents' attitudes to tourists and tourism become (once again) more positive. Doxey's relationship between tourist numbers and residents' attitudes may not, therefore, be uni-linear in its nature. Indeed Young *et al.* (1999)

have noted a similar variation in residents' attitudes occurring on a seasonal basis. Perhaps, therefore, it may be useful to extend Doxey's model to include a 'nostalgia' stage (see Figure 2.3). Although this modification requires us to rename Doxey's *Final Level* as the *Penultimate Level*, it should be noted that this theoretical model has no end-point – but rather, hosts' attitudes are subject to ongoing change dependent on fluctuating tourist numbers.

Other areas in which residents may form their reactions to tourism based on its status relative to other factors may include: level of tourism development (already well conceptualised and tested – but relationship not found to be consistent); the desirability of tourism employment, not only at individual and societal levels, but also relative to other employment opportunities; the rate of growth of tourism; and, the length of time that tourism has been in existence in the destination area.



Source: After Doxey (1975)

**Figure 2.3 The modified/extended Doxey's Irridex model**

*Individuals' aspirations* Within the free-market liberalism paradigm of economic growth and development, it is often held that most individuals favour economic growth and that tourism-related developments promoting the generation of wealth will, therefore, meet with approval from areas' residents. In his discussion on development theory, Sharpley (2000: 4) draws our attention to Goulet's (1968) work who writes that '...development can be properly assessed only in terms of the total needs, values, and *standards of the good life and the good society* perceived by

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potential merit of undertaking residents' attitudes research utilising an 'everyday-life' theoretical framework is provided in the following analysis of Ryan's (2000) paper which describes a phenomenographic approach to understanding consumer satisfaction in the context of tourism.

Phenomenography (n.b. not phenomenology), argues Ryan, is highly appropriate for being applied to tourism studies as it stresses the relationship between the individual and the experience. Phenomenography is the study of how people perceive the world: it is an *emic* approach in that it is concerned with 'eliciting the individual's construction' and seeks 'an understanding of what constitutes the structures of conceptualising a phenomenon' (Ryan, 2000, p. 123). Ryan suggests that 'Subject and object exist not in a dichotomous relationship, but one which is reiterative' (p. 122). To illustrate this relationship he describes an individual on holiday in Majorca (p. 123). Turning Ryan's holiday in Majorca scenario upside down to focus on the resident receiving the tourist, however, generates the following proposition:

...for residents to have tourists arrive in their town is for them as hosts to experience tourism through those tourists and their interactions with them. The tourists are context specific (they are in the hosts' town), and the hosts' learning (perceiving impacts/coping with tourism) relates to the experience of having those tourists in their place. The experience, however, is also an experience of something called 'everyday life' – an experience of a structure of meaning *that is very place specific*. There is [*extrapolating from Ryan's reference to Husserl, 1970/1901*], a relationship between the objective (tourism in the hosts' town) and the subjective (residents' perceptions of tourism's impact): the two components (tourism/objective and impact perception/subjective) form a whole.

Hence any analysis that separates tourism (e.g. a categorisation of tourism impacts) and loci of experience (hosts' wishes and aspirations for a high quality of everyday life) is incomplete in developing an understanding of, say, 'hosts' everyday life with tourism in their town'.

This proposition strengthens the rationale for seeking to establish everyday-life factors as discriminants for understanding differences in respondents' reactions to tourism. Building upon Ryan's (2000) phenomenographic approach to understanding consumer satisfaction in tourism, and the insights from the literature described above, it is hoped that by successfully employing the 'everyday-life' approach to seek underlying factors which explain variations in the ways in which residents respond to tourism's impacts, a precedent can be set for future empirical research in this area to build upon while also strengthening the underpinning theoretical frameworks.

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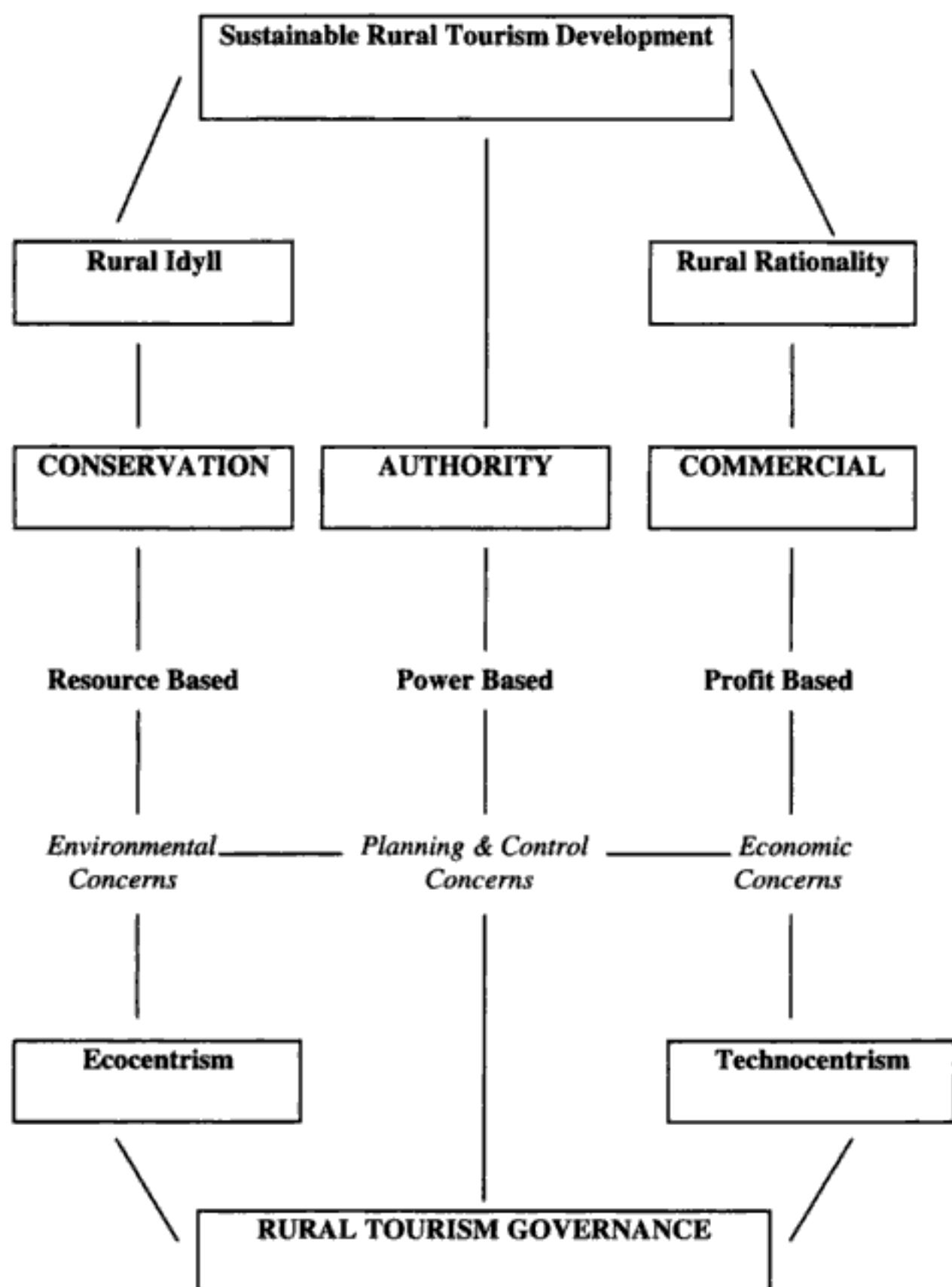
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Source: Stone (2000)

Figure 3.1 A model of sustainable rural tourism governance

## Tourism and the Foot and Mouth Disease Crisis: An Overview

A full consideration of the 2001 FMD crisis and its consequences for rural tourism is beyond the scope of this paper (see, for example, Sharpley and Craven, 2001; Blake *et al.*, 2002). Nevertheless, a brief review of the principal impacts of the crisis and the government's policy responses, both in attempting to control the disease and subsequently to alleviate the problem facing the tourism sector, reveals significant implications for the governance of rural tourism and for sustainable rural development.

The first case of FMD was confirmed at an abattoir in Essex on 21 February 2001, signalling not only the first major outbreak of the disease in Britain since 1967, but also the onset of one of the most serious economic and social crises to face rural communities in recent years. Indeed, despite government assurances as early as 12 March that the outbreak was under control, it was not until the end of that month that the daily number of new cases peaked and, even by mid-June, a small number of new cases were being confirmed each day. By that stage, 3,290,000 animals had been slaughtered and 1,740 cases of the disease had been confirmed although, as a direct result of the government's policy, announced on 24 March, to cull all livestock within a three kilometre radius of infected farms, a total of 8,100 farms and other premises had been affected.

There can be no doubting the severe and far-reaching consequences of the outbreak for an agricultural sector already suffering significant economic and social hardship. However, the costs of the crisis to the wider economy were far greater than those borne by the farming sector. In particular, the tourism industry endured a huge downturn in business, with estimates of losses ranging from £140mn to £500mn a week (ETC, 2001a; Brown, 2001) and, for England alone, a potential overall loss of over £5bn in 2001 (ETC, 2001b).

These losses resulted, to a great extent, not from the spread of the disease itself, but the policies designed to control it. Initially – given the nature of FMD as a highly contagious disease which can be transmitted through contact with infected animals, animal products, contaminated people or equipment, or on the wind – the first measures taken were designed to contain the spread of the disease (CMSC, 2001). An immediate ban was placed on all movements of animals, including a ban on the export of live animals and by 23 February, the government was advising the general public to avoid contact with livestock farms, walking in areas where there were livestock, and any unnecessary visits to farmland.

At the same time, however, a number of more specific controls were also imposed to minimise the risk of the general public (i.e. tourists) spreading the disease. Not only were the majority of footpaths and other rights of way closed across the country, but also many tourist attractions and destinations, including forests, some national parks and even parks in south-west London, were also closed. In effect, the government's initial response to the outbreak, in addition to specific controls on the farming sector, was to place the entire British countryside under quarantine.

To an extent, such measures were justifiable given the evident need to limit the spread of the disease and for its rapid eradication which would, of course, also be of benefit both to the tourism industry and a government facing an imminent general election. However, when it became evident that the outbreak was more serious and widespread than initially anticipated, subsequent policy decisions, in particular the eventual rejection of a vaccination strategy, served to confirm the view that the government was motivated primarily by the political (though economically unjustifiable) desire to retain the country's 'disease-free' status – hence maintaining its ability to export livestock and livestock products under the conditions of the 1993 GATT agreement (Midmore, 2001). As a result, the consequences for the tourism industry were, arguably, more severe than might have otherwise been the case. In particular:

- the policy of burning slaughtered animals and the backlog in disposing of carcasses created an image of the countryside that not only acted as a deterrent to potential visitors but also, and not surprisingly, one that the media transmitted to domestic and international audiences, further depressing potential demand. Indeed, research undertaken by the English Tourism Council (ETC) found that 46 per cent of respondents were put off visiting the countryside because of the sight of the destruction and disposal of animals whilst 38 per cent indicated that they would avoid visiting the countryside because of the potential health risks associated with burning animal carcasses (ETC, 2001c); and
- the policy of 'contiguous' culling – that is, the slaughter of animals on farms neighbouring and within a three kilometre radius of confirmed cases in accordance with EU regulations – not only exacerbated the problem of disposal, but also, quite simply, 'emptied' the countryside in the worst affected areas. In other words, one of the primary attractions to visitors, a living, working countryside, no longer existed, with inevitable consequences on demand.

This suggests that the potential consequences were either overlooked or not anticipated by the government – indeed, it was stated by the Minister for Tourism that, over three weeks into the crisis, the government was 'still not sure of what the effect was going to be on the tourism industry' (CMSC, 2001: xv). Either way, the impacts on tourism were immediate, severe and widespread.

### *The FMD Crisis: Impacts on Tourism*

Inevitably, it will be some time before the full costs of the FMD crisis will be known although recent research suggests that, as a result of the FMD crisis, overall tourism expenditure in the UK in 2001 fell by £7.7bn; moreover, it predicts that in the following three years, the impact will continue to be felt with tourist

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In the present context, those policies revealed, at the national level, a lack of recognition and understanding of the demand for and supply of rural tourism and the extent to which it is not only an integral element but also, arguably, the linchpin of rural economy and society. They also suggested that it has yet to be recognised that the countryside has undergone a fundamental socio-economic transformation. Agriculture, though still the dominant land use, has become less economically significant; tourism, conversely, is no longer simply an activity that supports or maintains the farming industry. Not only is tourism the more powerful economic force but, in a sense, farming supports the rural tourism industry by providing and maintaining one of the primary visual and cultural attractions of the countryside. Therefore, whilst it was and remains essential to support those farmers directly affected by the FMD outbreak, such support should not, arguably, be directed towards maintaining farming as an economic end in itself, but towards maintaining the farming community's contribution to the physical and cultural character of the countryside.

Inevitably, of course, agricultural policy, within Europe at least, remains tied into the European Union's Common Agricultural Policy. Nevertheless, the FMD crisis demonstrated that rural policy and tourism policy should be synonymous; such is the diversity of business supported by rural tourism, and such is tourism's contribution to conservation and the socio-economic regeneration of many rural areas, that tourism should become the focus of rural development policy. Thus, for rural tourism to become sustainable, for it to continue to contribute to sustainable rural regeneration and development, it is essential that it is given the national recognition and support it deserves. In other words, whilst the 'typical' elements of sustainable tourism policies, such as the localisation of labour, the sourcing of goods and service and so on, are applicable at a local level, the longer term contribution of tourism to sustainable rural development can only be achieved if it is given policy and financial support at the national level.

## Note

- 1 At the same time, of course, a fundamental principle of sustainability is an holistic approach, whereby all forms of developmental activity should be considered within national developmental objectives and the global economic, social and environmental context.

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correspondence between tourism, recreation, residence, and other means of appropriation of the rural which is found in postmodern, de-differentiated consumption.

### **Conceiving of Rural Tourism and Recreation**

Although apparently unambiguous, the term rural is nevertheless problematic, and critical examination of the concept of rural seems to have had only little impact in social science. There is an awareness of this within tourism research. Thus, quoting Hoggart, Page and Getz argue that: *"the undifferentiated use of 'rural' in a research context is detrimental to the advancement of social theory" - since the term rural is obfuscatory due to intra-rural differences and urban-rural similarities* (Page and Getz, 1997a: 5). Rural tourism research, it would seem, offers a privileged platform from which to consider a rethinking and re-conceptualisation of the concept of rural, since rural tourism in itself displays ample evidence that 'rural' is more than simply a matter of non-urban.

Basically, one must agree with Sharpley and Sharpley (1997: 5) that no definition of rural tourism is generally accepted. However, while it would be futile to construct yet another definition of rural tourism, it is useful to contemplate some of the depictions and conceptions of rural tourism present in tourism research and in public discourse.

The EU tends to view all tourism in non-urban areas as rural tourism (Nilsson, 1998). However, while perhaps necessary for rudimentary descriptive administrative purposes, such a view of rural tourism has no analytical value.

Oppermann (1996) separates 'wilderness tourism', which stands for tourism in uncultivated areas, from 'rural tourism', which is tourism in a non-urban area with human activity and permanent human habitation; in other words, agrarian areas. In this way, Oppermann employs an intuitively appealing distinction between 'nature' and 'culture' where the tilled land is perceived as 'culture', as it is in most societies around the world. However, being based on geographic territory, the definition stresses locality but discounts activity or perception.

Page and Getz (1997a: 7) and Bramwell (1994: 2) address these matters by asking whether rural tourism is something special, something distinct, brought about by the physical, cultural and social setting, or whether it is simply tourism as any other tourism, this time taking place in rural surroundings? In other words, is it relevant to use the term 'rural tourism', or is it more fitting to use the less significant term 'tourism in rural areas'? If the former is the case, it implies that there is something beyond location that makes rural tourism distinct.

Actual exploits undertaken, however, are not enough to mark out rural tourism, since many activities or impressions can be experienced by other types of users, e.g. day-trippers or local inhabitants. Page and Getz (1997a) find that rural tourism is underestimated in tourism research, due to the fact that it is often viewed as recreation rather than business. This points towards an interesting distinction between users' activities, which are viewed as recreation, and the suppliers'

attractions and undertakings, which are viewed as tourism business. This distinction is also evident in the way that Oppermann distinguishes between rural tourists and rural recreationists by the former's use of rural accommodation (Oppermann, 1996: 88).

Thus, locality and accommodation seem to be the distinguishing factors. However, a perceptual or impressionistic dimension is also present. It seems that those activities and settings that commonly are thought to be encompassed by the term 'rural tourism', are somehow 'in agreement' with the landscape: it employs the rural landscape and not just the territory. Thus, a holiday park or a theme park located in a rural area is not thought of as rural tourism if it employs only the physical territory and not any inherent or attributed characteristics of the rural landscape. Conversely, an open-air museum or a 'medieval experience' attraction includes elements of rurality by its use of rural landscape aesthetics.

Nonetheless, many would reject classifying such attractions as rural tourism. The rejection would be based on matters of volume. Lane (1994) argues that rural tourism must be rural in function and scale, based on local traditions with local roots, and based on perceptions of what is rural. From this standpoint, the concept of rural tourism would not include large-scale business ventures.

The issue of rural in function and scale also shows itself to be significant as regards matters of delimiting rural tourism geographically. For the notion of rural in the concept of rural tourism does not always signify a distinction between various categories of non-urban landscape: the cultivated landscape, the nurtured landscape, the nurtured nature, and the untended nature. It seems that almost all categories of non-urban landscape can be captured within the concept of rural tourism – except the pleasure beach. Both popularly and academically, the beach is conventionally understood as an area of deliberately hedonistic pleasure-seeking (Cohen, 1982; Lencek and Bosker, 1998; Shields, 1990; Wagner, 1977), and as a liminal zone of hedonism, it is in opposition to the underlying connotations of authenticity and serious pleasure, which is contained in the notion of rural tourism. Rural tourism is thought of as the opposite of beach tourism since beach tourism is viewed as large-scale mass tourism with a collective tourism attitude or gaze (cf. Urry, 1990) whereas rural tourism is viewed as an individualistic venture. Thereby, the notion of rural tourism seems also to contain an element of tourism aesthetics, through a distinction between 'respectable' tourism and the tourism of the masses. Rural tourism is precluded from being a mass tourism phenomenon, for as soon as the masses arrive, it is no longer rural tourism!

In this way, the notion of rural tourism shares the same origins as the notion of alternative tourism. In both cases, formal definitions can be constructed and argued but behind these definitions lie certain moral assumptions about undesired modes of tourism. This causes both rural tourism and alternative tourism to be conceived by means of negation: *by what it is not*. In this way, rural tourism is implicitly conceived of as non-urban, i.e. rural; non-coastal, i.e. non-hedonistic; non-mass, i.e. small-scale; non-packaged, i.e. individualistic. In this way, conceptions of both alternative and rural tourism draw on a patronising critique of the proliferation of tourism. By the rhetoric technique of associating it with the critique of mass

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many ways, data-producing opportunities, both observation- and interaction-based, were more readily accessible at such places. However, the data represented both tourists' and recreationists' use of activities and attractions.

While exhibiting the variation of attractions and activities in the Danish rural landscape, the three municipalities also demonstrate the vast overlap between touristic and recreational utilisation of facilities. For all the attractions and activities, including nature/forests in the three municipalities, are being used for both tourism and leisure/recreation purposes. Thus, rural tourists could not be distinguished from other leisure users of rural areas only by means of activities.

Nor could the use of rurally located accommodation serve to identify rural tourists or a distinct rural tourism. Whether accommodated on campsites, holiday cottages, farm-stays or B&Bs, almost all of the patrons used the rural accommodation as a base camp for activities that included both urban tourism and beach tourism. The short distances in Denmark (nowhere is more than 65km to a beach), allow for a wide range of both urban and beach tourism activities within day-trip distance from a rural base camp. The proximity of non-rural elements thus enables the non-rural elements to be prominently present in the holiday consumption of rurally accommodated tourists. But equally important, the choice of rural accommodation did not seem to be deeply motivated by perceptions of rurality. A few examples illustrate the point.

In Rangstrup municipality, the authors interviewed both owner-users and renters of holiday cottages. They all stated that they were attracted to the area because it implied going to the countryside for holiday. Yet, when describing their actual holiday activities, they included a number of obviously non-rural elements, such as theme parks (Legoland), beaches, historic cities, and cross-border shopping trips to Germany. Certainly, many other activities included the use of the area's rural recreational facilities, like walking the dog in the nearby forest, but all of the activities would be possible to include in the same persons' everyday life, even in an urban area.

Another example was a couple on holiday, encountered at a farm-stay in Stevns municipality. Being rural residents themselves, they stayed at six different farm-stays during their two-week domestic holiday. The reason behind their preferences, however, did not hinge on matters of rurality, but matters of scale. The wife stated: 'I much prefer places like this. In a big place, it's very formal, you feel like a stranger, whereas in this place you get a chat with the landlady.' For this couple, the attractiveness of the farm-stays was based on perceived familiarity, not perceived rurality.

The authors stayed at different farm-stays or farm based B&Bs. Interestingly, those providers who most clearly marketed their product as farm-stays, were also those with the least actual farming attached. At these places, the 'farm' dimension was a matter of aesthetics rather than production. Yet, even at such accommodation, which otherwise would be expected to be the place where, if anywhere, one could encounter the 'dedicated' rural tourist, such types could not be identified among the patrons. None of the visitors went to the countryside in order to fully 'go rural', experientially or otherwise; nor did they aim for small-scale

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other is eminently modernist in its maintenance of distinct cultural spheres with distinct production of symbolic capital. However, this distinction seems to be eroding (Betz, 1992; Featherstone, 1991; Urry, 1995; Urry, 2000). As a consequence, the 'intimations of postmodernity' (Bauman, 1992) that are found in contemporary society might result in the actual overlap between tourism and recreation consumption of rurality and rural areas being recognised as such, and being acted upon in policy practice and resource management.

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are primary whilst economic motivations are largely played down (similar findings were obtained by Pearce (1990) in relation to New Zealand farm tourism, though Pearce also rightly noted that these statements by hosts should be interpreted cautiously because of the social desirability factor concerning responses to questions on financial matters). Whilst many B&B and home-stay hosts did cite income as a motivating factor, especially as many were using that income to help pay towards and justify the large size of their home, most of them also strongly asserted social motivations for taking in guests. Opening up their home to tourist guests allows rural people the chance for interaction with different cultures and ideas that they might not otherwise have as part of their daily life in a rural community. Many of the hosts interviewed stated that they enjoyed 'having the company' and 'meeting different people and sharing ideas'. Furthermore, over half of the hosts who participated in the research were retired couples whose grown-up children had left home leaving space (both physical and social) that might be filled by paying guests.

Importantly, many hosts saw themselves as being the 'right' people to run B&B or home-stay accommodation, as they considered themselves to be 'people people' and thus suitable to host guests. Most of the hosts suggested in interviews that their role as hosts placed them in the position of being representatives of the New Zealand people (and, more specifically, 'ordinary' New Zealand people), and they felt particularly suited to the job if they felt they held a certain aspect of local knowledge, such as history or wildlife, where to go fishing or home-preserve making. These areas of knowledge allow hosts to perform a rural New Zealand identity to their guests, portraying New Zealand as a rural 'pastoral paradise' (Conrich and Woods, 2000). As said above, the hosts in this setting are clearly a focus of the tourists' attraction, in their representing of 'rurality' (Roberts and Hall, 2001) and, particularly in the case of New Zealand, a 'pastoral' nation. Issues pertaining to the hosts' identity thus extend the boundaries of their notions of hospitality beyond the home and outwards to the local area and even to the nation, and, as will be explained later in this chapter, this is important to consider when exploring issues of reciprocity, obligation and control that emerge from the host-guest relationship in this rural tourism context.

### **Reciprocity, Obligation and Control**

As Selwyn (2000: 19) points out, 'The basic function of hospitality is to establish a relationship or to promote an already established relationship'. That is, the giving and receiving of hospitality (food and drink, accommodation and entertainment) engages principles of reciprocity between hosts and guests, and thus a complex set of interactional rules involving shared values and trust (Burgess, 1982; Mauss, 1967; Selwyn, 2000; Wood, 1994). Hospitality is hence a transformation process, wherein the key transformation taking place is that from a set of strangers into friends. Indeed, most of the hosts interviewed described this transformation process when discussing their guests. For example, one home-stay host said in

conversation, 'it gives me a great buzz that perfect strangers can come on in and I can see within an hour they feel quite relaxed'. Many hosts stated that they saw their guests as 'guests' when they first arrived but as 'friends' when they departed.

As stated in the previous section, meeting people and social interaction is the main reason both hosts and guests give for wishing to enter into this relationship in the B&B and home-stay setting. It is, however, a highly complex relationship to enter into, as the interrelationship between hosts and guests is governed by an extensive set of social rules and obligations. Moreover, since the context of this type of tourist hospitality provision is in hosts' own homes, the rules are also strongly mediated by the meanings surrounding the home (Darke and Gurney, 2000; Lynch and MacWhannell, 2000). By letting 'strangers' stay in their home, B&B hosts are taking a variety of risks and must therefore take certain measures to ensure that their guests will play by the rules, let alone understand the rules in the first place.

It is arguable that only a particular 'type' of tourist will opt to stay in B&B-type accommodation, and this is the initial measure of social control that the operation of B&B-type accommodation in rural areas puts in place. Just as Darke and Gurney (2000) state that commercial home-based hospitality in Britain is a middle class phenomenon, so too might B&B hosting and staying in New Zealand be considered specific to a particular level of affluence and education. Indeed, Tourism New Zealand claims that today's international visitors to New Zealand are environmentally, culturally and socially savvy, being well-travelled and having a global mindset (Hickton, 2003). The particular tourists who choose to stay in B&B accommodation would therefore appear to be New Zealand's ideal type of visitor. When discussing their guests, hosts state that they generally get 'nice people' staying, people who 'come to learn', and who are 'interested'. Pearce (1990) has also stated, more specifically in relation to farm-stay tourism in New Zealand, that there is a certain pressure on guests to be entertaining and knowledgeable about their home country. Home-stay guests, in other words, must be the type of people who are practised at dinner party conversation, for they will hopefully understand the rules of the host-guest relationship.

Both the hosts and the guests, then, take on a mutual responsibility to ensure that their interaction runs as smoothly as possible for the duration of the visit, so that the transformation process, from stranger to friend, is carried out effectively. For this reason, particularly at the beginning of each guest's stay, hosts will often tell many anecdotes and jokes in order to socialise the listener and to reaffirm that the hosts and guests share the same understanding of social norms (Darke and Gurney, 2000). Additionally, throughout the stay if guests are suspected of deviating from the usual rules of play, hosts may continue to tell stories of previous guests' inappropriate behaviour so as to serve as a warning in order to draw their guests' behaviour back into line. This was illustrated to the researchers during our participant observation in relation to appropriate conduct when returning to the home-stay after dining out in the evening. After staying out perhaps slightly later than the established 'norm' on our first evening's stay, we were told over breakfast the following morning repeated stories about other guests who had stayed out late

and come in drunk and making a lot of noise. Whilst we were assured by our hosts that we ourselves had not stepped over the line, these stories let us know clearly where that line was. We heard such stories regularly during our stays in various B&Bs concerning matters ranging from guests using up the hot water, to helping themselves in the kitchen, or complaining about the breakfast, to cutting their toe-nails in the living room.

Interestingly, when asked in interviews about any problematic or awkward situations that might be recalled, very few breaches of the codes of conduct were reported by hosts or guests, which points to the fact that guests do tend to generally play by the appropriate rules with little serious deviation. Moreover, this indicates that throughout their stay guests are very much obliged to abide by their hosts' rules because of the principles of reciprocity which are engaged through the exchange of hospitality. As Heal (1990: 192) explains, the guest is obliged 'to accept the customary parameters of his hosts' establishment, functioning as a passive recipient of goods and services defined by the latter as part of his hospitality'.

The hosts therefore hold a position of significant control over their guests, and this control emerges specifically from the *social* exchange of hospitality and the relationship which hence arises between the giver and the receiver. The control afforded to hosts through their giving hospitality tends to start from the moment the guests arrive. When asked, for example, what happens upon guests' arrival, one set of hosts answered: 'We always offer them a hot drink or a glass of water or whatever, and a muffin or a cookie or something and ask if they would like to sit down and join us, and that to me is a very important time. To us it is a very important time. Because it is when you start to build up a relationship and find out what they want to do'.

The ties of obligation impressed upon the guests then continue throughout their stay. Guests are in the hosts' space and so as well as abiding by the general social rules which ensure the interaction will run smoothly, they are also expected to respect and submit to their hosts' way of doing things. As one host explained, 'they are aware that they are in our situation at the time so they are wanting to be like us, or accept the way we do things'. This idea was reported by both hosts and guests in interviews. Just as hosts acknowledge their guests' role in accepting the hosts' parameters, guests are fully, perhaps even intensely, aware of the relationship they have entered into by staying in a home-stay situation: 'In someone's home you feel more conscientious about tidying up after yourself, and you have to hang around longer – you can't up and leave like in a hotel'.

### Hosting for the Rural Area

By being 'guests' in a home-stay, tourists thus enter into a relationship which rids them of the sense of tourist freedom and anonymity they would have when staying in a hotel or motel. Moreover, they become 'guests', and have to abide by their hosts' parameters, not only within their hosts' home, but also beyond the home and

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guests are locked into a relationship that goes beyond the physical walls of the hosts' actual house because the obligation in hospitality extends to the wider meaning of 'home', and 'home' for the hosts is also the village or town and the surrounding region. The host-guest relationship thus has important implications for rural tourism management and the continuation, or sustainability, of certain social, business and natural tourism environments.

### **Restricting Freedom and Independence**

A final aspect of this sustainability, however, is the question of how the host-guest relationship and the balance of obligation and control it engenders is experienced by the guests – the visitors to rural areas who enter into this type of relationship. If, when tourists become 'guests', they relinquish significant control over their activities and behaviour to their hosts, how does this affect their experience of the rural area they are in? On one hand, this more intense social interaction and receiving of local knowledge through the idiom of hospitality is the reason that many 'free independent travellers' choose the B&B and home-stay experience. On the other hand, the host-guest relationship entered into presents an immediate paradox. For although these FITs are free and independent from the organised packaged tour, making their own choices regarding their itinerary, mode of transport and accommodation, they can easily become subsumed instead by their B&B hosts, and find the freedom they were aiming at undermined by their being 'guests', and therefore in a position of obligation, in relation to their hosts. The positive aspects of experiencing 'Kiwi hospitality' in a New Zealand home setting can very easily be out-weighed by a negative sense of restriction and obligation.

It is precisely the awareness of this restriction and the social ties inherent in the host-guest relationship which leads many travellers to choose to stay in motels. As Lashley (2000: 12) has noted, 'The commercial and market driven relationship which allows the customer a freedom of action that individuals would not dream of demanding in a domestic setting is one of the benefits claimed for the "hospitality industry".' When motel guests interviewed were asked why they chose this type of accommodation over B&Bs or home-stays, besides a general hesitancy about trying something 'new', there were in most of their replies the notions of privacy and independence: 'We're not B&B people – we like our independence, we don't like to front up to breakfast.'

The success of home-based accommodation businesses in attracting custom in the first place is thus limited because of the fear of the social ties inherent in the role of 'guest'. Furthermore, for those who do choose to experience home-based hospitality, the length of stay in any one establishment and place can be limited for the same reason. The longer a guest stays in a home-stay the stronger the social ties are likely to become with the hosts. This idea was expressed frequently by hosts when asked about the relative benefits of longer staying guests over one-nighters: 'If they stay a few days you get to know them better...you have a rapport with them and it's not like a "one-night-stand"'. Interestingly, many hosts interviewed stated

that they preferred guests staying for only one night as any longer would be a restriction on their own freedom and privacy: 'I wouldn't like them to stay for two or three nights because I'd have to entertain them, I couldn't just watch TV'. Indeed, most B&B and home-stay guests in the rural regions studied do only stay for one night in each place, and by doing so, they enter into the host-guest relationship just enough to reap the positive aspects of the experience, and then they depart before the transformation process described above gets fully underway. Whilst they are keen that their identity be changed from 'tourist' to 'guest', they are usually keen to escape before they are fully transformed into 'friends'. A developing 'friendship' would muddy the commercial dimension of the relationship, giving rise to confusion regarding payment. Guests might wonder, for example, whether they will and should be charged for the dinner and wine they shared with their hosts on the second or third night of their stay. When the standing of the relationship becomes unclear, it is easy for both parties to offend and be offended. This also has implications regarding the issue of return visitation, as a social relationship developed within the B&B context may be too complex to contend with if guests are considering returning to the area at some later date. They may find it easier to not return to the area at all.

There is no doubt that commercial hospitality provision in the home is a highly delicate balancing act. This takes us back to the issue mentioned earlier of the paradox inherent in the notion of 'commercial hospitality' and the apparent tension in the experiences for guests who must pay a monetary fee for what is otherwise a social exchange. However, what this in-depth study of the host-guest relationship has highlighted is that rather than payment for hospitality necessarily being a problematic paradox in the rural tourists' and hosts' relationship and experience, the monetary exchange which runs parallel with the intense social exchange taking place is often an underlying comfort for those involved. By handing over the payment upon their departure from a home-stay establishment, guests are able to regain the freedom and independence they desire, and this may also help regarding potential future meetings if and when tourists make return visits. The payment marks something of a cleaning of the slate, so that 'commercial hospitality' may take place again between the two parties in the future.

## **Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter has been to draw attention to the host-guest relationship as an important factor in consideration of sustainable tourism in rural areas. The transformation of 'tourists' into 'guests' through the provision of hospitality can have significant implications regarding the behaviours and experiences of those guests, and also the continuing success of the area as a tourist-receiving environment. As it is only a certain 'type' of tourist who is willing to enter into the host-guest relationship by staying in B&B-type accommodation in the first place, then this type of accommodation, by default, selects the type of tourist visiting and staying in an area. Furthermore, once the host-guest relationship is established, the

local 'hosts' can gain substantial control over visitors' behaviour and experience because of the principles of reciprocity and obligation inherent in this social form of exchange.

This argument is, of course, based on the host-guest relationship which, within the home-stay context, is in its most extreme form. It might be questionable, for example, as to just how extensive the host-guest repercussions can be in an area which only has a sprinkling of B&B and home-stay establishments. What is important, however, is to highlight the implications that the giving of hospitality can have generally in rural tourism. That hospitality can exist not only in the home-hosted accommodation sector of the tourism industry, but also in other tourism operations including adventure and eco-tour operations, guiding operations, and even visitor information centres. What this analysis of B&B and home-stay hosting has clarified is that even where there is an obvious presence of economic exchange, and the notion of an experience being 'purchased', this need not necessarily detract from the level of social exchange and the repercussions of that social exchange that can result.

Clearly, however, it is necessary for 'hosts' in rural areas to achieve the right balance regarding the extent to which they give hospitality to tourists. While visitors to rural areas often choose B&B or home-stay accommodation as a means to sharing the hosts' culture, hospitality and local knowledge, they may also be quick to experience unwanted feelings of restriction and obligation. Similarly, hosts themselves may experience a sense of invasion of privacy. The discussion in this chapter has been suggestive of some of the ways in which the correct balance might be achieved in rural hospitality provision, thereby maximising the success of the rural tourism experience for both hosts and guests. Firstly, whilst B&B and home-stay hosts, and indeed any other 'hosts', should be willing to offer help, service and information to guests, they should, at the same time, ensure that their guests are given plenty of 'space', privacy and independence without any guilt feelings attached for wanting that independence. Secondly, this can be achieved by hosts giving plenty of options for their guests both within the home setting and also when providing local information and recommendations. Finally, rather than trying to disguise the 'commercial' aspect of their intent in providing hospitality, perhaps hosts should recognise that commercial and social exchange can co-exist quite comfortably, and that, in fact, the commercial exchange is the let out clause for guests when the social intensity is such that they need to reclaim their freedom and independence from their rural hosts. In summary, the host-guest relationship is central to the experiences of both hosts and guests in this context and achieving the right balance in the relationship has significant implications for the future of tourism in rural areas.

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|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <b><i>Domestic/tame animals for interaction and discovery (captive and semi-captive)</i></b> | Aimed at children, assuming such animals to be 'safe' (in their behaviour and from communicable disease), 'cuddly' and 'attractive'. They may be familiar to children through media images, but not normally through daily contact. On-farm 'presentations' as leisure activity, riding, children's farm, animal sanctuaries, animals providing transport at an attractions are included here.                                  | Close viewing, touching, feeding, watching displays, husbandry, management, education, safety, friendly.                       |
| <b><i>Wild animals for sport-based recreation</i></b>                                        | Animals used as targets for shooting, hunting, racing, or fishing. Some, such as foxhunting, may be justified on non-recreational grounds, such as the claim for pest control. Animals may be native or exotic, wild or semi-captive. Recreational game hunting usually requires prescribed legal and environmental circumstances, and as such, is often a collective activity. By contrast, fishing may be a solitary pursuit. | Diverse experiences: excitement, potential danger and sociability, to relaxation and solitude. Identity/social status symbols. |

### *Visitor Perceptions and Expectations of Animals in Different Interactive Roles*

Growing evidence suggests that the more 'control' the human visitor exerts over an animal, the more the visitor is inclined to humanise the animal and incorrectly interpret the animal's needs and feelings. Such an anthropocentric approach can lead to an unnatural (and probably uninspiring) experience for the visitor who may be left with little understanding either of the animal's behaviour in relation to the visitor gaze or of the animal's welfare needs.

Ironically, Reynolds and Braithwaite (2001: 37) employ the term 'control' when discussing methods for managing human-animal interactions. *Physical control* employs tangible separation, employing a guide or other forms of barrier external to the visitor. *Intellectual control* is seen as the level of expert knowledge transmitted by the guide or other interpretation mechanism.

But good interpretation is less about control but more about opening up – understanding, empathy, imagination: it is about stimulation rather than constraint. Through 'appropriate' interpretation for human-animal interaction, therefore,

anthropocentric notions of 'control' can be superseded by objectives of 'interaction as partners' and 'communication', serving to convey both the 'otherness' of the animal and the uniqueness and meaning of interaction with it.

It is clear that the level of understanding generated can be strongly reflected in levels of visitor satisfaction – of clear importance for the viability of the attraction in terms of generating repeat visits and word of mouth recommendation. The impact of interpretation may be difficult to isolate from other variables such as educational level of visitors, communication with previous visitors and motivation levels (Reynolds and Braithwaite, 2001).

Value-added experience enhancement through an interpretation for visitors of what is 'appropriate interaction' is likely to differ substantially from the forms of information and 'education' – about the animal's habitat and statistics on its survival as a species – which are usually provided at such captive animal attractions as zoos, farm parks and wildlife parks.

Appropriate interpretation can emphasise the experiential quality of directness of personal contact and the need of the visitor to learn to interpret the animal's actions and expressions correctly. Two different (body) languages – of the animal *and* of the visitor – need an interpreter, and the interpretation of those languages has the potential to enhance substantially both the visitor experience and the dignity of the animal.

### **Experience Through Interpretation**

As indicated in Chapter 5, interpretation increasingly is being adopted as a major and important tool for recreation management particularly in protected or sensitive areas, and may be employed in conjunction with codes of conduct (e.g. UNEP/IE, 1995; Mason and Mowforth, 1996). A growing recognition of the need for 'education' in tourism generally has resulted in the transmission of information in attempts to offset potential conflicts and negative impacts, often via the production of codes of conduct, many of which have had only limited effects (Mason and Mowforth, 1996). Means of persuasive communication are better developed in such contexts as health education and in advertising.

The potential for interpretive materials to make places and experiences accessible to tourists is well-documented (e.g. Tilden, 1957; Moscardo, 1996; Orams, 1996b). Interpretation is the process by which information can be imbued with meaning – provoking thought, creating links, and communicating to people a sense of understanding and appreciation. In short, it is recognised as having the potential to enhance enjoyment (Ham, 1992), help develop an appreciation of sense of place (Stewart *et al.*, 1998), educate, challenge and provide insight (Tilden, 1957), facilitate attitudinal or behavioural change (Moscardo, 1996; Schänzel and McIntosh, 2000), relieve crowding and congestion (Moscardo, 1996), and assist in the management of nature-based tourism (Orams, 1996a, 1996b).

In tourism, the role of interpretation has tended to be harnessed less for the purposes of education than for entertainment. Interpretative materials and

experiences now form the core of the tourism product, and are evident in a range of visitor attractions, for example in heritage and countryside centres. New leisure forms offer learning experiences staged as themes to provide entertainment by interpreting reproductions of the past, complexities of the present, and concepts of the future (Rojek, 1993: 146).

Behaviour does not change without a preceding change in attitude (Fishbein and Manfredo, 1992). In their turn, attitudes can be influenced by access to new information, appeals to emotion, and/or pressure from others. In theory, therefore, it should be possible to influence visitors' attitudes and behaviours in their interactions with animals by applying principles of effective interpretation to visitor management processes.

Most tourism-related research undertaken into the potential of interpretation relates to the natural environment. Of those studies that have been conducted, some have been in response to environmental concerns (Moscardo, 1996; Orams, 1996b, 1997; Stewart *et al.*, 1998) and others have arisen out of a recognition of the importance of interpretation techniques in responding to the needs of eco- and nature-based tourists. For example, Stewart *et al.* (1998), in projecting a context of *sense of place*, ask whether interpretation has the capacity to take visitors one step beyond wherever they happen to be when they arrive at a site so that empathy or 'care' is developed towards the conservation of that place and sequentially to other places throughout the world. The authors argue that well conceived and managed interpretation can bring about a significant attitudinal difference and may have a cumulative effect encouraging the desired result of empathy with surroundings. Schänzel and McIntosh (2000) for example argue that 'increased understanding' gained during a visit to the Penguin Place on the Otago Peninsula in New Zealand may lead to greater environmental awareness off-site. Can this development of a *sense of place* be translated for interaction with a particular animal as a *sense of species*? Does effective interpretation have the capacity to take the visitor one step beyond their existing conscious relationship with an animal so that empathy or 'care' is developed towards the behaviour and welfare of that animal and sequentially to that of other animals?

For successful value-added experience of human-animal interaction it is central that the animal's needs and motivations are an essential element of interpretation: interpretive materials must contain communication strategies that create links between visitor and, in the case of animals, species, and enable the visitor to establish personally meaningful connections within the interpretive experience while maintaining, and preferably enhancing, the dignity of the animal. This requires material to be targeted at different types of visitor, their social settings and the levels of attention that can be achieved (Mason and Mowforth, 1996; Ballantyne *et al.*, 1998).

### *Interpretative Material as Persuasive Communication*

If, as Urry (1995: 188) believes, tourism is a conscious state in which conventional calculations of safety and risk are disrupted, tourists may be reluctant to conform to

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museum (attendance rose from 4,000 to 21,000), and develop new attractions (*The Economist*, 1999).

Tourism organisations have also identified the positive effects of films on tourism and have collaborated with the film industry in order to ensure that film production and PPE is maximised (Hydra Associates Limited, 1996, 1997). An example of this is the British Tourism Authority (BTA) attempting to secure more Indian film production for the benefits for tourism (Woodward, 2000). In attempting to further exploit the PPE of films the English Tourist Council (ETC) provides a film and site map for tourists. Maps were produced and distributed through travel agencies and the Internet to capitalise on popular films (Wintour, 1999). The ETC's implementation of the movie map has since culminated in the adoption of this method by the BTA for the whole of the UK. The map now features over 60 film locations and over 70 films (BTA, 2000). Independently, Manchester (northern England) has created its own coach tour of the sites in the city that have been used for screen locations (Schofield, 1996).

In summary, literary, television and film tourism are increasingly identified as motivating factors for tourists. Disenfranchised rural areas have also especially focused on this as a means of diversification of traditional economic development strategies and re-imaging their region. With many of these peripheral rural areas not having an association with literary arts, some are actively promoting their location to be part of a modern form of fictional media tourism. More recently they are promoting themselves as film production sites. Similarly, central and local governments are focusing on the economic significance of the feature film industry especially for recession-afflicted rural areas.

### Film and Film Tourism in New Zealand

The production and the possible PPE impacts of feature films are being identified in New Zealand, especially after the large US\$350mn budget trilogy of *The Lord of the Rings* was filmed in the country. Nonetheless, the first film to create tourism awareness of New Zealand was the hang-gliding and extreme skiing film *Off the Edge*, creating much exposure for the adventure tourism industry (Bruce, 2001).

Prior to the emphasis on *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, *The Piano*, a critically acclaimed film by Jane Campion, was identified as a possible tourism generator (Hill, 1994), although support for this was not universal, with many arguing that the film was too arty and the scenery too gloomy (Hill, 1994; NZPA, 1994). Nonetheless, this was countered by arguments that *The Piano* would be positive for tourism and an opportunity for further promotion, and as good as *Crocodile Dundee* was for Australia in the preceding decade. *The Piano* was positive for tourism, and the Waitakere area (Auckland), where it was shot, has also achieved an international profile as a film production area, exemplified by being the site of the *Xena* and *Hercules* television series (Auckland Regional Council, 2000). Karekare Beach, where the piano was left in the film, is now a tourism site receiving visitors from around the world (Thompson, 2000). Reinforcing the

images produced by the film, Tourism New Zealand, the national tourism organisation, used an image from *The Piano* in its *100% Pure New Zealand* campaign (Figure 9.1).

Copyrighted image

*Source:* Caroline Jackson. Marketing Communications Co-ordinator. Tourism New Zealand, 2003

**Figure 9.1 *The Piano*, used in a New Zealand promotional poster**

Whilst New Zealand is not identified as a film production location of scale, in recent years it has been utilised more frequently. Consequently, the economic significance of the film industry in New Zealand has increased and was reputedly worth NZ\$500mn in the 1999-2000 financial year (SPADA, 2001).

The majority of this income was from large Hollywood productions located in New Zealand. *Vertical Limit* and *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy are the two most well known American big budget films produced in New Zealand, recently joined by *The Last Samurai*. Previously, other smaller international productions such as *Willow*, *The Rescue*, *White Fang* and *The Frighteners*, as well as a number of made for television series, movies, commercials, and documentaries have also been filmed in New Zealand. These international productions are an indication of a rapidly growing New Zealand film industry (Film New Zealand, 2000), additionally

producing many small budget New Zealand focused and financed films, such as *Sleeping Dogs*, *Once Were Warriors*, *The Price of Milk*, and *Whale Rider*.

Although unknown to many people, the Indian film industry has also produced a number of films in New Zealand (Film New Zealand, 2001). These films are held to have an impact on the Indian tourism market imaging of New Zealand as a 'status' destination, exerting more impact than a marketing campaign (Williamson, 1999; Coventry, 2001; Hotton, 2001; Gupta, 2002). In fact, there was a 39 per cent increase in Indian visitors to New Zealand in 1999, and it was largely attributed to Kamal Singh, an Indian film production manager based in Christchurch (Cuzens, 2000).

Identifying these economic and PPE impacts, many New Zealand local authorities, which are traditionally rural based and primary industry dependent, have created film offices or adopted policies to further promote their areas and diversify their economic base. In conjunction with the New Zealand Film Commission, which facilitates the production of films in New Zealand by New Zealanders, local territorial authorities, regional tourism organisations and local film offices are assisting film production companies. These local offices have also been actively involved with the attraction of New Zealand and international film producers to their regions.

The increasing emphasis on attracting film production is largely based on perceived direct economic impacts, although the PPE effects reinvigorating the New Zealand image as a tourist destination have also been identified. Nonetheless, the data to support the positive effects of film on tourism arrivals in a New Zealand context are largely anecdotal, and no research has established this nor identified the impacts film productions have and can create. Nor have the authorities obtained information concerning the possible impacts and strategies required to maximise the image benefits of being a film location.

To rectify this predicament and within the context of increasing emphasis on film production, all of New Zealand's local government offices and regional tourism organisations (RTOs) were surveyed by the authors in 2001 with a mail-out/mail-back survey (a representative 54 per cent responded). Three events were felt to facilitate the implementation of the survey instrument at this time. First, there was increasing publicity about *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy being filmed around the country at the time (Maling and Espiner, 2000; Campbell, 2001; McGrath and Beatson, 2001). Second, there was increasing publicity of the dramatic benefits associated with filming in the media, and especially local government's involvement in facilitating this (Film New Zealand, 2000; Haines, 2000; Queenstown-Lakes District Council, 2000; Campbell, 2001). Third, central government had implemented changes to its regional development policy emphasising localised initiatives (Ministry of Economic Development, 2001).

The research identified the role New Zealand local government gave to film production, especially as a means to develop local areas' economy and tourism. It was particularly focused on eliciting local government objectives for the development of the film industry, the methods that were being considered to

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*Provincial Conferences*

The results of analysis were presented to stakeholders and partners in each of the eight provinces and discussed with them in a half-day workshop. The objectives were to communicate the contents of the process to a wider target group, to hear their opinions and to integrate the perspective of the practitioners at both provincial and regional levels. Attendance at these provincial conferences ranged from groups of 20 to groups of 60 persons.

*Partner Conference*

In a partner conference with participants from the National Tourism Organisation, provincial tourism organisations, Austrian television, the Austrian Agricultural Marketing Organisation, rural development organisations, and business partners, the situation of the farm holidays product in general, and of the Association in particular, was assessed and discussed. The partners participated in discussion regarding the directions farm holidays should take in the future.

*Culture Workshop*

As there had been a lot of pressure thus far 'to produce results', there was an urgent need to integrate 'soft elements' like personal perceptions, assumptions, fears, relationships, criticism, appreciation of the performed work, for example, into development processes. These factors were analysed and discussed in a 2-day workshop after a good year's work. As the work in the organisation is characterised by a very high personal involvement this was a vital part of the process to clear out potential difficulties and obstacles at a personal level.

*Project Management Workshop*

Although much of the work so far had been carried out in the form of projects, members of the organisation were not familiar with the systematic approach of project management. In this workshop, key players in Federal and Provincial organisations were made familiar with issues such as: defining a project; project clients; project progress and supervision; communication of, and reporting on, process and results; and delivery of the results to the relevant bodies of the organisation that have to take decisions.

*Parallel Operational Projects*

At the 'Future' conference, the first operational project had been started and several others soon followed. The projects were led either by the Federal Association or by a representative of one of the Provincial Associations. The idea was to start the implementation projects whilst the strategy process was still running and the groups as well as the expertise of the consultants still available.

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*Membership/Participation*

Within the agricultural sector there is a strong need to generate additional income, ideally from resources on the farm. Therefore farm holidays are an ideal activity to use the available resources of a farm economically. The members of the organisation on average achieve a higher price (approximately 25 per cent above the average price of the whole sector) and a better load factor (about one-third above the statistical average of all holiday farms) than non-members. Despite this, only about one quarter of all holiday farms are members of the Organisation. So it has been strongly recommended to widen the membership basis.

*Organisation Development*

The Austrian Farm Holidays Organisation had developed from the 'pioneer stage' via a 'differentiation phase' towards the so called 'integration phase' with all consequent effects and necessary changes. Some of the original procedures from the founding phases needed to be checked and revised.

*Market Chances/Potential*

Research showed that there is considerable market potential for the farm holiday-product (Deutsche Reiseanalyse, 2003): in Germany some 8.4mn adults state their interest in farm holidays. In Austria, an additional 3.2mn persons are generally interested in this form of vacation. However, from this potential only about one-quarter have definitely decided on spending their holidays on a farm, the remaining three-quarters have to be convinced by the use of all available promotion channels. The relatively low rate of exploitation of the existing potential is amongst other reasons an expression of the limited media budgets.

It has been recommended to concentrate on the German speaking regions of Europe, although France and Italy would also be markets with interesting potential. Experience shows that the highest demand potential is to be found in countries where attractive holiday farms are on offer on the home market.

*Individuality*

Solutions that have been successful so far on each level are to a high degree characterised by their individuality. This has the great advantage that structural resources of the association and the personal strength of the individual are used to an optimum. On the other hand many of the positive effects of joint and standardised solutions are not achieved.

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community – such as the development of rural tourism (Verbole, 1999). The observations presented below were drawn based on an ethnographic exploration<sup>3</sup> of social realities<sup>4</sup> of the rural development process in the given locality. A number of contrasting social settings, such as pubs, community centre, and administrative bodies were chosen to inquire into how social configurations, patterns of social order and organisations are structured (Verbole, 1999: 64-74).

### **Social Network Linkages and Formation: Actors Organising Social Practices**

Networking is understood here in terms of social interactions among various actors. Leeuwis (1991: 113) defined actors' networks as '... flexible and changing sets of social relations between individual and institutional actors that involve material, social and symbolic exchange'. Networks extend through time and space, and so particular interactions can be understood again in the context of a 'network' or chain of previous and future interactions and in different spatial locations'. These networks can be consciously formed, or they can simply exist as informal agreements between people based on multi-purpose social relations (Box, 1990).

Social relations are seen as being of variable length and often changing (dynamic) chains through which not only the resources, but also the power to influence rural tourism development are generated and exchanged.

The concept of power as understood here goes beyond the 'power over others'. It includes the 'use of power to act' and the 'use of power to achieve chosen ends'. Bernstein (1978) argues that power not only relates to the ability to influence others, but also to the ways and strategies various actors use to negotiate the most favourable terms for development (in this case, of rural tourism). Secondly, following Clegg (1989) power should be seen as an outcome of negotiation and not as something one can own.

Schermerhorn (1961) believed that power is conferred by access to different resources, by the identification and defence of particular interests (an interest may be defined as a pattern of demands and expectations), and by the domination of the means of action in the struggle for access to resources and control.

Interpretations from Schermerhorn (1961), Bourdieu (1984), Long (1992) and Clegg (1989) reveal that several types of resources can be used either to advance power or strengthen a power position. These are:

- economic resources (i.e. different types of economic capital, financial means, land, labour, wealth);
- political resources (i.e. political status, formal position in society, legitimacy, legislation, laws);
- social resources (i.e. social status and position in society);
- symbolic resources (i.e., ideology, beliefs, value systems, religion, education, specialised knowledge and propaganda); and

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It was also observed that the history of Pišece has influenced present day alliances and allegiances. A social division from another dimension caused by both the philosophical and political allegiances formed between the '*reds*' and the '*blacks*' has had much to do with historical events and with people's religious orientation. (Verbole, 2000).

In Pišece, the '*blacks*' was a label used for people who practised the Christian religion, and favoured the political influence of the Catholic hierarchy or clergy.

This latter term is often used in Slovenia as a synonym for 'conservative', 'traditional' or 'right wing', concepts that Adam (1994) links to what he calls the rural – Christian milieu. The '*reds*', was a broad label used for people believed to be either communist or socialist, as well as for those considered liberal, progressive, or people who are classified in ideological terms as left wing.

All labels (Wood, 1985) are related to social divisions that cut across Pišece's local community and they play prominent roles in locals' lives and consequently in Pišece's attempts to develop rural tourism. Wood (1985: 5) suggests that a focus on labelling can '... reveal processes of control, regulation and management which are largely unrecognised even by the actors themselves'. In Pišece, labels were used to draw symbolic boundaries between locals.

The divisions between the '*blacks*' and the '*reds*', and the '*phone*' and '*no-phone*' groups influenced practically every domain of Pišece's life and even determined which pubs locals frequent, as illustrated earlier.

These social divisions and cleavages proved through time to be crucial factors in the decision-making process and lines of communication in Pišece. The lines of communication – which were defined in Pišece in terms of its history, and 'powers' they might represent – regulate access to different locales, and influence the dynamics within the various domains. Excluding others and sticking to one's 'own' social networks while socialising and discussing serious matters was 'blocking' development.

The local social groups such as family clans, networks, and cliques were found to be very important in obtaining and controlling access to the decision-making process for development. It was through the family clans, networks and cliques that various local actors become involved in strategies to promote, control, reshape and make the most of internal and external interventions. Family clans were built explicitly on kinship ties, while the local networks and cliques were built using other resources, such as religious orientation, political affiliation, value systems, links to actors in positions of power in the local community and to external actors. These factors, importantly, influenced the exclusion and inclusion of actors from certain networks and cliques, thus the rural tourism development process was dominated by the struggles between various groups and ended in a stalemate position at a given time in the process of development (Verbole, 1999).

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## **Pišece's Domains – The Basis of Social Life and Influence in Decision-making in the Local Community**

The domains are central to understanding how social ordering works (in Pišece) and to analysing how social and symbolic boundaries are created, defended and changed in the local community.

Together with the notion of arena (and how they are bounded), domains provide us with an analytical handle on the kinds of constraints and enabling elements that shape actors' choices and 'room for manoeuvre'.<sup>7</sup> The arenas are either spaces within which disputes associated with different practices of different domains take place (i.e. Pišece's pubs) or they are spaces within a single domain where attempts are made to resolve discrepancies in value interpretations and incompatibilities between actors' interest as will be illustrated below.

What does this mean with regard to rural tourism development, and how important are Pišece's domains with regard to pursuing possible alternatives for rural development? In exploring these issues, the reader is introduced to the domains of family clans, cliques and networks, the domain of voluntary associations, societies and clubs, the Church domain and the political domain.

### **The Domain of the Family Clans, Cliques and Networks**

Organising social practices in this domain involved kin relations, networks of friends, and 'friends of friends', but also included categorisation according to clique alliances (i.e. '*reds*' and '*blacks*', '*phone*' and '*no-phone*' groups), family history and even personal history, as suggested by Villarreal (1994). It became evident during the fieldwork that Pišece was a community dominated by several powerful family clans, each with its extended local and external networks, specific status and access to resources.

Five family clans were identified as the centres of the struggle for power within the process of the development of rural tourism in Pišece (Figure 11.2). In most cases, these clans, based on nuclear family networks, extend to those of their extended family (i.e. grandparents, cousins and so on). Some of the members of the five powerful family clans have, in order to strengthen their position and wield more power, formed a very close knit informal group, called the CRPOV Initiative Board (CIB),<sup>8</sup> that had initiated the change in Pišece. This clique had tried throughout the process to 'monopolise' the development of rural tourism by excluding as many locals – and their family clans and networks – as possible. It seemed that the main criteria for inclusion or exclusion in the clique had to do with whether the 'others' had any links to the five family clans' webs, and whether their networks were extended kin-based or friendship relations, or whether they had resources or power that made them relevant to the clique's aspirations and interests.

While the family clans in Pišece are by definition social groups based explicitly on kinship ties, the cliques and factions are by contrast, informal groupings based on political or ideological orientations and/or common interests. In comparison to the

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knowledgeable, multi-skilled and motivated people working in rural tourism and leisure, have an important role to play in inculcating good relationships, and are as such the core of the total quality concept. To allow for effective communication with external and internal customers, training is needed in personal development, in communication, management, leadership and interpersonal skills, and in decision making, problem analysis and solving, and teambuilding. Both formal and informal training should be tailored to the specific needs of rural tourism and leisure entrepreneurs and families in terms of content, techniques and methods, duration, time, location and costs. *In situ* advice and counselling, informal social gatherings, workshops, and mass media prove to be the most effective options.

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communities and understand the direction in which rural tourism is heading and its impact.

### **Vueltas, La Gomera: Spontaneous Development**

La Gomera is one of the smaller Canary Islands, situated near Tenerife. It is mountainous, with peaks reaching 1500m and possesses an ancient (two million years) temperate rainforest in its centre. This area has been designated a national park and is also a World Heritage Site. The region studied as part of an anthropological fieldwork project is in the south west, and part of a huge valley (Valle Gran Rey), which leads down to the sea. On one side of the coastal plane there lies an area of scrubland where a fishing settlement 'Vueltas' developed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Tourism began on La Gomera during the mid-1970s and was composed of explorative individuals moving away from the mass-market destinations of other islands, onto the totally unprepared La Gomera, whose transport infrastructure was poor – metalled roads and electricity being very recent additions in the west. These early visitors arrived in small numbers and were accommodated in the few bars/restaurants that offered rooms. Eventually, in the valley, two American settlers and a German settler opened up apartments for the growing tourist trade. This pattern continued and was boosted by the establishment of a direct car-ferry link between Los Cristianos on the south of Tenerife and San Sebastian, the main port of La Gomera.

By the early 1990s, the predominant visitors to the valley were German 'alternative' tourists (Macleod, 1993, 1997, 1998). These were independent travellers, often backpackers, seeking accommodation on arrival, and usually under 45 years of age. A cottage industry of family-based accommodation 'apartments' had developed. In the port of Vueltas, with its population of 350, some 36 sets of apartment buildings offering beds for 300 guests were constructed, mostly in the mid-1980s. One fisherman claims to have started the fashion for extending homes vertically to create tourist apartments, and most families were able to offer rooms for rent.

The tourists themselves were interested in the 'laid-back' holiday scene, visiting the different beaches, enjoying the bars and restaurants, taking trips around the island and walking in the mountains and forest. There was no tourism information centre in the valley from which to obtain information about facilities or excursions. There were no organised tours. People learnt from friends or by word of mouth about the island and its assets. Some walking guides had been published in German, and a general guide to the island also told of the natural wonders available. Equally, there were no maritime excursions – in contrast with Los Cristianos, Tenerife where dolphin and whale tours were well established.

Nevertheless, the tourists were enchanted with the natural beaches, the impressive valley with its palms, bamboos and riverine flora, as well as other local features including a walk to a waterfall and the spectacular mountain passes. Many

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number of surveyed farms

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|      |         |        |              |         |                    |                |       |      |       |                               |
|------|---------|--------|--------------|---------|--------------------|----------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------|
| hogs | poultry | horses | milk<br>cows | piglets | breeding<br>cattle | meat<br>cattle | goats | fish | sheep | other<br>animal<br>products a |
|------|---------|--------|--------------|---------|--------------------|----------------|-------|------|-------|-------------------------------|

<sup>a</sup> including: rabbits, Vietnam pigs, wild boars, and pheasants

**Figure 15.7 The surveyed farms by global and commodity animal production**

The entrepreneurs were also asked about their connection with agricultural production in previous years, especially from the moment they started tourism activities (Table 15.4). 162 enterprises (88.5 per cent of the total number) had been agricultural farms in the past and 158 were farms when they started tourism activity. In 1999, the year before the surveyed year, 155 of the enterprises produced agricultural goods at least for themselves (84.5 per cent of the total number of operations) and in 2000 149 were still farms. The reasons for reducing or leaving farming varied. Most of the entrepreneurs had derived low or no income from farming, some quit farming because of deteriorating health or retirement, and only the owners of one enterprise decided to reduce farming because it was too labour-consuming combined with tourism services.

The entrepreneurs also indicated the influence that tourism activities had on the changes in their farms or agricultural production (Table 15.4). More than a half of the entrepreneurs claimed that tourism activities influenced farming and 42.6 per cent of tourism enterprises' owners had introduced new agricultural production adjusted to the needs of agritourism development. The most frequently mentioned were horses (20 farms), poultry or goats (24 farms), growing vegetables and fruits (usually emphasising organic production), and six farms had started fish production. The aim of introducing new or changed directions of production was to

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## Conclusions and Observations

The data and analysis presented in this chapter lead to the following concluding observations:

- tourism enterprises in rural areas of Poland are still very dependent on farming and farming is still the main source of income for most of them. However, some of the entrepreneurs have tried to change or adjust farming to tourism activities, but the changes are rather insignificant. Agricultural farms require more time to change their profiles;
- most of the surveyed enterprises were pluri-active and drew on income from several different sources. The entrepreneurs are very active in seeking new sources of income for their households (only two of them had only one source of income). Rural tourism or agritourism activity was a good experience for the surveyed families as it permitted them to learn how to manage their own businesses;
- the share of agritourism or rural tourism income in the total income of surveyed families is not very high, although given the short time devoted to providing tourism services by most of the enterprises it can be recognised as acceptable. Most of the surveyed population was satisfied with their tourism income. The small share of agritourism/rural tourism income in the total income of the households was mainly a result of quite small numbers of guests, especially during the first years of activity. Polish people are not used to visiting agritourism or rural tourism farms during their holidays or vacations and when they go to the countryside many urban visitors stay with relatives; and
- restructuring rural areas and agricultural farms through rural tourism and agritourism development seems to be easier than through the other means and other activities. However, it is a long process requiring much financial investment not only within farms themselves but also within the wider rural sector.

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tourism researchers need to communicate their work to inform the inherently complex and often contentious work of policy making and strategy development. For their part, practitioners and policy makers must look to the research community for assistance with the difficult tasks of policy formulation, strategy and business development. The synergies that accrue will serve to maximise the returns from rural visitor economies in the interests of viable rural worlds.

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