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The Guided Tour - A Co-produced Tourism Performance

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The Guided Tour

- a Co-produced Tourism Performance

Ph.D. Thesis by:

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Setting the Scene

The guided tour is an iconic tourism activity, but is often depicted with stigmatizing phrases and images. Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of tourists participate in guided tours when they visit a destination like Copenhagen, and the number is not in decline (www.vistitdenmark.com, Incoming Bureau Interview 8). Although many tourists become ever more experienced and independent in their travelling practice, they still face three basic conditions: their visit is relatively short, they do not possess local knowledge, and they participate in a leisure activity (Can Seng Ooi 2002). The guided tour accommodates these conditions, since the tourist is quickly and comfortably guided through the highlights of a destination. The guided tour thus seems to be a very viable tourism practice, although it is caught in a paradox: on the one hand it is ridiculed or stereotyped both in everyday talk and by academics as rehearsed, highly choreographed and superficial (see Boorstin 1977, Schmidt 1979, Edensor 1998), and on the other hand it is a popular and frequently used way to experience and perform a destination.

For many tourists a local guide is a primary source of information about a destination. At the same time the local guide may be the local resident to whom the tourists get closest. In this respect the guides are of the utmost importance in terms of which messages are conveyed and how, and which images of a destination are projected on to the tourists. However, the tourists themselves are far from passive on guided tours: they seize the opportunity to ask questions and interact in other ways in order to get the most out of their performance. Having worked myself as an authorized guide in Italian and English in and around Copenhagen for more than twenty years, I have found that the tourists have had a profound influence on my guiding. Rather than putting on a rehearsed one-way show, I experienced each guided tour as a performance in the making, and my guiding developed over the years in interaction with the tourists and sometimes third parties. However, guides rarely observe their colleagues in action, which is why knowledge-sharing among the guides is limited. This leaves a void, and another aim of this thesis is to contribute to our understanding of the practices performed by both tourists and guides on guided tours, and provide a platform for knowledge-sharing within the

guiding profession. The first research question is therefore: : ***How do the performance of the guided tour develop through interaction, and is it possible to trace shared strategies and tactics between guides and tourists when one observes across a range of guided tours?***

'Guiding surely ranks among the world's oldest professions. Humans have roamed the earth since they emerged, and the earliest accounts refer to those who lead the way – 'pathfinders', 'bear leaders', 'proxemos' and 'cicerones' – all antecedents of today's guide' (Pond 1993:1)

In spite of the long global history, the role of the guide and the guided tour as a field of practice have been remarkably little institutionalized in the course of time compared with other professional fields (Holloway 1981, Cohen 1985). The title 'guide' may cover a wide range of job functions, just as a guide in the global perspective may be anything from someone who is self-taught to someone holding a university degree. When tourists from all over the world, with all kind of previous experiences and perceptions of guided tours, go on a guided tour in Copenhagen and meet an authorized guide, it is not clear what they may expect. This leaves an open space for interpretation and the negotiation of the roles and content of a tour between the guide and the tourists. Furthermore, the guided tour is inscribed in a larger institutional set-up, where a number of professional actors surround the guided tour, and some of these may even participate in the tour. All actors have a share in the performance, and they enter into negotiations on roles, tasks and responsibilities. Finally, a guided tour takes place in public space, and although the guided tour may be depicted as an 'isolated' performance where the guides perform 'alone' with or for their group, in reality a large number of actors such as waiters, shop assistants, policemen, custodians, local residents, other tourists etc. are constantly flowing in and out of the scene, and some may take on or be assigned subordinate roles for short or long periods. All the actors shape and influence the performance, and the second research question is ***how are roles, responsibility and power interpreted and negotiated by all the actors involved in guided tours?***

The objects of research in this thesis are guided tours conducted by the authorized guides in and around Copenhagen for leisure tourists. Having worked myself as an authorized guide, I now work as a coordinator on the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme at Roskilde University, and this gives me lived experience and easy

access to the field, but at the same time it colours my preconceptions and requires a high level of reflection and self-reflection in the conduct of my research for which I will account in the course of the thesis.

Before I venture into the field, it will be interesting to see how earlier research has approached the guided tours and the roles of the guide and tourists, with a focus on central themes such as the production of tourism experiences and authenticity.

1.1 Tourism studies on guided tours

One of the earliest and most often-cited scholars in modern tourism is Boorstin (1977) who regretted the new mass tourism as a symptom of modern America. Boorstin holds the view that modernity and technological development in general are evils, as they deprive humanity of authentic, cultured and deep life experiences which were possible in premodern times. In fact he distinguishes between the traveller seeking the authentic and truth, and who was mainly to be found in premodern times, and the tourist who travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic, contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying 'pseudo-events' and disregarding the 'real' world outside. McCannell (1976) also connects tourism with modernity, but he accuses Boorstin of disliking the tourist and placing himself at a morally superior level with the equation 'They are tourists – I am not.' McCannell calls tourists the modern pilgrims in a sincere quest for authenticity in the 'other'. He found that:

'Sightseeing is a kind of collective striving for a transcendence of modern totality, a way of attempting to overcome the discontinuity of modernity, of incorporating its fragments into unified experiences.' (McCannell 1976:13)

However, McCannell claims the tourists are presented with a staged authenticity. The staging of a sight is ordered for example by guides through naming, framing, elevation, enshrinement and mechanical and social reproduction, an ordering which is tested and confirmed by Fine and Spee (1985). McCannell distinguishes between front and back stage in a Goffmanian sense. The back stage is normally closed for visitors, but many tourists will search for the back stage (see also Holloway 1981, Boissevain 1996) as it is perceived as more authentic than the front stage, and sometimes the tourists will be presented with a 'staged' back stage.

The idea that the experience on a guided tour is an ‘*environmental bubble*’ (Holloway 1981:382), separate from a more authentic or at least a different outside world, forms a leitmotif of much tourism research (Schmidt 1979, Holloway 1981, Edensor 1998). Schmidt (1979) calls the guided tour an insulated adventure. Applying a structuralist and functionalist approach she observed a number of guided micro-tours, for example bus tours and guided tours of plants in the metropolitan areas in the USA; and she concludes that a guided tour mainly functions in highly structured environments and

‘...there is usually little interaction between tourists in the groups.the tour guide is often speaking most of the time and structural factors of the setting (walking single file down narrow corridors, sitting in a bus) prevent interaction’ (Schmidt 1979:457).

She identifies four main functions of a guided tour. First, it solves the problem of what to see within a limited amount of time. Secondly, it may minimize friction among tourists themselves in the sense that a guided tour may be a compromise between parties on what to see and do on holiday. Thirdly, the guided tour is a legitimizing mechanism for those who value an educational type of leisure, and those who feel they must not ‘waste time’ during their vacation. Finally it combines the opportunities for adventurism, novelty, escape and educational experience such that they remain within safe limits.

Nearly twenty years later, Edensor (1998) more or less reproduces McCannell’s and Schmidt’s findings in his study of tourists’ behaviour in the Taj Mahal and the surrounding area among those tourists who are on guided tours. He distinguishes between ‘enclavic’ and ‘heterogeneous’ tourist spaces, where enclavic spaces are well defined areas and routes planned and managed by the tourist personnel. This is where we find the organized mass tourists and even some individual travellers who follow the routes of the organized tours. The tourist personnel will do anything to keep the tourists within the limits of the enclavic spaces for various reasons; first because there is a tight time schedule to keep; secondly because they want the tourist money to circulate within a close circuit, for example where commissions are an important element in their earnings, and finally because they want to shield the tourists from perceived ‘hassle’, dangers and ugliness in the host country. The last of these is especially important in third-world destinations. The tourist personnel will issue warnings and threats to the tourists about what will

happen if they do not stay close to the group. The effort to keep the tourists within the enclave is sometimes met with regret from the tourists, who complain about being rushed through sights and being exposed to hard selling within the enclave. The heterogeneous tourist space is characterized by hotels, restaurants and other commodities that cater to the tourists' needs, co-existing with local small businesses, street vendors, public and private institutions and domestic housing. The heterogeneous tourist spaces are visited by tourists travelling in an improvisational manner, for example as low-budget tourists or backpackers. It is not possible to make a clear-cut division between the two spaces, and tourists travelling in enclavic tourist spaces will catch glimpses of the world outside the enclave, among other ways by looking out of the bus windows when moving from point A to point B, in accordance with Schmidt's comments above. Edensor (2000) links the enclavic tourist spaces to the character of the performances that take place within these spaces, and he argues that the tourists engage in what he terms disciplined rituals when participating in organized guided tours

'...as a highly directed operation, with guide and tour managers acting as choreographers and directors, many performances are repetitive, specifiable in movement and highly constrained by time. Besides acting out their own part of the drama by photographing, gazing and moving according to well-worn precedent the group also absorb the soliloquies of the guides, those central actors who re-enact the same script at each performance often on a rather over-determined stage. There is little room for reflexivity or improvisation given the narrow repertoire and the rigid script around which performance is organized, so participants generally remain typecast, occupying specified roles and enacting prescribed movements.' (Edensor 2000:334)

Edensor (2000, 2001) argues that tourists are actively performing individuals, who enact, negotiate and shape a tourism performance according to their habitus and the situation at hand. However, given the nature of the enclavic tourist spaces and the disciplined rituals of guided tours directed by the guides, there is not much the tourists can do but perform 'tactical resistance', as in De Certeau's terminology on users' and consumers' tactics (see De Certeau 1984) The phenomena is also described by Tucker (2007) as 'performative resistance'.

Whether the guided tour is called an insulated adventure or a disciplined ritual within an enclavic tourist space, the tourists seem to be caught in a performance with little room for manoeuvre, and unless they resist, they consume a rehearsed

script served up by the guide mainly as one-way communication. The above approaches sustain the negative image attached to tourists on guided tours found among academics as well as outside – even among the practitioners themselves.

'Tourism is a mystifying subject, because being a tourist is depreciated by almost everyone. Even tourists themselves belittle tourism as it connotes something commercial, tacky and superficial.' (Culler 1981, quoted in Bruner 2005:7)

The stereotypical perception of guided tours is challenged by scholars like Holloway (1980) and Bruner (2005). In the late 1970s Holloway explored the role of the guide, observing several guided tours conducted by the certified London guides. Holloway applies an interactionist perspective, drawing on Goffman's performance theory. He notes that an important part of the guide's work is to create a socially compatible environment by easing the contact and interaction between the guide and the tourists and between the tourists themselves.

'The guide's role calls for social involvement with the audience, in which the guide becomes catalyst. The guides will adopt practices designed to break the physical and psychological barriers.' (Holloway 1980:384)

Each coach excursion is seen as a unique performance involving a different audience, and the guides apply their dramaturgical skills to de-routinize the performance and involve the tourists. However at the same time there are many, often contradictory demands on the guide, and Holloway concludes that the guide role is little institutionalized and suffers from intra-role conflicts that may give rise to negotiations between the guide and the tourists with regard to the aim and the content of a tour.

Edward Bruner(2005) is in line with Holloway, and he takes the discussion one step further when he depicts the tourists as active and equal co-producers. He finds that:

'the guided tour has the format of dialogic interaction between interpreters and small groups of tourists.... The result is a very open format, more like a discussion than a lecture, one that allows improvisation and that facilitates the constructivist process.' (Bruner 200:166)

The quote is central to the approach of this thesis, which is why it is highlighted in bold face. Bruner explains how experiencing a sight is constructed in the performance of the sight, as the visitors move through it and interact with the interpreters, which may give rise to meanings that might not have been predicted before the visit. Bruner wants to transcend the dichotomies such as original/copy, authentic/inauthentic, real/show, back/front stage that are applied to tourism by saying that all cultures are emergent and continually invented and reinvented: there is no original behind them. The production of any experience, including a touristic experience, is in an open format of dialogic interaction; each performance is constitutive and should therefore be understood on its own premises.

However, Bruner maintains at the same time that non-touristic and touristic experiences are different constructs.

'Tourism occurs in a border zone physically located in an ever-shifting strip or border on the edges of the Third World destination countries. This border is not natural; it is not just there, waiting for the tourists to discover it, for all touristic border zones are constructed.' (Bruner 2005:192)

The tourists are always there, flowing across the border from a constantly renewed source. The native or resident population is more or less permanent, but as Bruner visualizes them, they have to break out of their normal routines to meet the tourists: to dance for them, to sell them souvenirs, or to display themselves and their culture for the tourist's gaze and for sale. The touristic border zone is like an empty stage waiting for the performance to begin; this is so both for the tourists and for the native performers. However, the perceptions of the two groups are not the same, because what for the tourists is a zone of leisure and exoticization, is for the natives a site of work and cash income.

Bruner's (2005) notion of the touristic border zone and Edensor's (1998) enclavic tourist spaces take their point of departure in observations of tourism in the third-world countries, where excessive differences in wealth between the locals and the tourists constitute an economic set-up for the performance that differs from the one in richer countries. Both scholars insist, however, that tourism performances take place in an identifiable time/space construct separate from everyday life, which ought to be applicable to tourism all over the world.

This thesis deals with foreign tourists and local guides who perform guided tours in a first-world country, engaging in a defined time/space construct, and applying all their senses in a physical co-presence 'on site'. With its focus on interactions, the thesis adheres to the ontology of the recent 'performance turn' in tourism studies. Haldrup and Larsen (2009) explain how the performance turn has been formed in opposition to the idea of the 'tourist gaze' and destabilizes semiotic readings.

'By shifting to ontologies of acting and doing (Frankling and Crang 2001) the corporeality of tourist bodies and their creative potentials as well as significance of technologies and the material affordances of places are exposed. Like the practise turn within consumption studies, the performance turn dislocates attentions from symbolic meanings and discourses to embodied, collaborative and technologized doings and enactments.' (Haldrup & Larsen 2009:3)

Haldrup & Larsen (2009) propose a circuit of performance that blurs the distinction between production (choreographing) and consumption (acting), calling for a dialectic relation between structure and agency. They refer to Edensor (2001:71) who explains that when tourists enter a particular stage, they are usually informed by pre-existing discursive, practical, embodied norms which help to guide their performative orientations and achieve a working consensus about what to do. But such norms are guidelines, blueprints and nothing more (or less), and at the same time they enable tourists to perform in playful, improvisatory and unpredictable ways when they enact and inscribe places with their own stories and follow their own paths (Haldrup & Larsen 2009). To understand the guided tour it is worth dwelling a little longer on the tourist's role and the tourists as performers to see how the theoretical approach has evolved in the course of time

1.2 The tourist's role

going through the literature on the tourist's role reveals a theoretical move, from a wish to classify and categorize the tourists in absolute terms according to how they consume places, to a performative, situated and mobile approach as explained by Bruner (2005) and Haldrup & Larsen (2009), while allowing for the uniqueness and the agency of each tourist.

In early tourism literature, Cohen (1972) tried to resolve the difference between Boorstin's negative depiction of the empty-headed tourist happy with artificial surrogates, and McCannell's sympathetic tourists in search of authenticity by developing a typology of tourists. He divided the tourists into the drifters, the explorers, the individual mass tourist and the organized mass tourist. Of course tourists on guided tours belong to the category of organized mass tourists. Cohen (1979a, 1979b) furthermore developed a phenomenology of five modes of tourist experience based on cognitive-normative dimensions: the recreational, the diversionary, the experiential, the experimental and the existential. The modes designate the meaning that the tourist experience has for the tourist within the context of his general attitude towards his society and the surrounding world. The basic question is where the 'the spiritual centre' of the individual is located. Insofar as he still identifies with the cultural centre of his society and finds no meaning in the surrounding cultures, he will tend towards recreational tourism. This comes close to the type of tourist described by Boorstin. The diversionary type is where the individual neither possesses a spiritual centre at home nor seeks one abroad. For him the trip is a pure diversion, a mere escape from the boredom and meaninglessness of routine, everyday existence into the forgetfulness of a vacation (i.e. a literally 'vacant' time). The last three modes represent progressive steps towards the identification of the tourist's experience with the pilgrim's. The experiential mode comes closest to McCannell's conception of a tourist. The tourist, aware of the fact that he himself is precluded from having an authentic experience, basks in the authenticity of the life of others. In the experimental mode the tourist goes one step further and experiments with various alternative ways of life in search of a new spiritual centre. Finally, the existential mode is represented by the tourist who has actually acquired a new 'elective' spiritual centre by his travel. The elective centre becomes the new centre of his cosmos.

This urge to classify the tourists and their experiences by developing typologies has been pursued in much subsequent research. Yannakis and Gibson (1992) made a study in the USA where they developed a typology of 15 different leisure-based tourist roles, which were tested and confirmed in Australia by Foo, McGuiggan & Yannakis (2004). Wickens (2002) managed to identify five different micro-types of British holidaymakers in Chalkidiki in Greece – the Cultural Heritage Type, the Raver Type, the Shirley Valentine Type, the Heliolatrous Type and the Lord Byron Type. These studies show the infinite possible development of new typologies, and in fact Wickens (2002) argues that the tourists subjectively negotiate

their roles, and while holidaymakers are committed to the individual mass tourist role arranged for them by the industry (the provided object), they choose to step out of it and assign themselves to one of the subjective roles or micro-types that shape their experience

Uriely's (2005) study on backpackers' roles leads him to similar conclusions and he argues that:

'These deconstructions of existing typologies stress the importance of the individual's practice, in which the subjective negotiation of meaning by the human actors is illuminated.' (Uriely 2005:206)

If we think of the guided tour as a performed practice, the tourists do not just engage in individual, introverted negotiations of meanings; as active co-producers they also negotiate meanings and content with the other actors on the stage (Holloway 1981, Bruner 2005, Tucker 2007, Haldrup & Larsen 2009).

Bruner observed how tourists and period-dressed interpreters performed tours at the historical site of New Salem in the USA, where Abraham Lincoln lived for a while, and he concluded that *'... the tourists bring their own concerns and interests to the interaction'* (Bruner 2005:166), and in another recent study of a one-week guided coach tour in New Zealand, Tucker (2007) explains how three competing tour narratives under the headings 'clean and green', 'chuck and fuck', and 'adventure' were being negotiated between the guide and a group of young tourists, which

'...at the same time were enabling in that they allowed the tour participants to play at them, to play one off against each other and to combine them creatively into their performance.... but at the same time the tour participants showed 'a performative resistance' to the main tour scripts and also to conformity of the tour group'(Tucker 2007: 155)

The tourists are very proactive, and if they are displeased with certain aspects and if they have another agenda than the guide, they will engage in 'performative resistance' which will be evident from their attitude and behaviour in a multitude of ways.

When tourists are studied as individual practitioners in a context where they negotiate meanings, the same logic may be extended to the notion of authenticity, where it has to be the tourist's perception that decides whether a performance is authentic or not. However, the question is to what extent tourists are concerned with authenticity.

Bruner (2005) explains how many tourist attractions that are perceived as 'local' and 'authentic', like the Ramayana Ballet in Bali, have been created exclusively for tourist consumption. He confronted a group of tourists with this fact after they had seen two versions of the Ramayana Ballet; one scheduled and paid performance followed by a dinner at the home of Princess Hadinegoro in Yogyakarta held exclusively for the group, and one performance for a large audience in a tourist hotel in Bali. The tourists were very pleased with the first performance, and it did not detract from their enjoyment when they were told that the ballet had basically been invented for tourism purposes, whereas they were less pleased with the second performance, because the many groups had made the experience less intense and exclusive. Bruner found that the tourists were not concerned with authenticity; they demanded a good performance, and they had their aesthetic standards. This convinced Bruner

'that the basic metaphor of tourism is theatre and that tourists enter into a willing suspension of disbelief. The key issue for students of tourism then, becomes the mechanisms by which a tourist production is made convincing and believable to tourists, which in effect collapses the problem of authenticity into the problem of verisimilitude (Cohen 1998:ch 5). What makes a theatrical or tourist production credible?' (Bruner 2005:209)

Bruner wants to transcend problem of authenticity, and he lets the tourists' perception of their own experiences decide whether it is believable or not. Bruner holds that a tourist production must be valued and understood on its own terms, not measured against outside standards, because all cultures are emergent, and so is the tourism culture. In this thesis tourists are viewed as active co-producers, who perform tourism experiences in interaction with the guides.

1.3 The guide role

'The guiding role is composed by a number of sub roles..... such as 'information-giver and fount of knowledge', 'teacher and instructor', 'motivator and initiator into rites of touristic experiences, 'missionary and ambassador for one's country', 'entertainer and catalyst for the group' 'confidant and shepherd and ministering angel' and 'group leader and disciplinarian' (Holloway 1981:385-86)

When Holloway (1981) followed the London-based guides on excursions in and around London, he observed that many of the guides' sub-roles conflicted, which made him conclude that the guide's role has not yet become institutionalized, so it is subject to interpretation by both the guides and the passengers taking part the excursions

The guides' interpretation of their role depends on their perspective on the job, and most guides perceive their prime role as that of 'information-giver', which Holloway ascribes to the emphasis placed on knowledge during their training. Guides disseminate information not only about tourist sites and attractions, but also about the whole spectrum of British life, and many develop an almost missionary zeal. This may conflict with the passengers' feeling of the aim of the excursion; Holloway notes that some passengers might take the coach tour just to 'pass time' and some single passengers might see the excursion as an opportunity to meet others and socialize. In this case the guides may then reluctantly be forced to adopt their subsidiary role of entertainer, but they find this role less satisfying, and some will reject it. Some guides feel, however, that they are meant to decide the aim of a tour, and if the tourists are not interested, they are regarded as amateurs in passing judgements and the guide will continue as an 'information-giver', as one guide stated

'You're a guide first. If there are forty people sitting behind you, and only three of them are really interested in the facts that you are putting across, that's what you are employed for' (Holloway 1981:386)

In Erik Cohen's (1985) seminal work on the guide's role, he structured the observations of Holloway amongst others by going to the historical roots to clarify the roles and sub-roles of the guide. He identifies two main roles: the pathfinder and the mentor. The pathfinder goes back to Greco-Roman antiquity, where guidance

was in demand from the army, the traveller and the explorer. The role of the mentor, or personal tutor or adviser, is more complex. The role as leader of a religious pilgrimage later developed into the role of the tutor leading young Englishmen on a cultural pilgrimage – the Grand Tour – to the centres of European learning and classical antiquity. The role of the modern tourist guide combines and expands elements from both antecedents, that of the pathfinder and that of the mentor. Cohen divides today's guide roles into the Leadership sphere and the Mediatory sphere, and both spheres have outer- and inner-directed components. In the leadership sphere the outer-directed instrumental role relates to the smooth accomplishment of the tour, involving certain central elements:

Direction: The guide bears the responsibility for the spatio-temporal direction of the tour. The guide has to find, follow and sometimes choose the route.

Access: The guide grants the tourists access to non-public spaces as the 'back regions' of educational, medical, governmental and other institutions.

Control: The guide is responsible for the safe and efficient conduct of the party. The guide has to exercise control over his party, prevent members from breaking away, and generally monitor the pace of movement of the party.

All guides will perform elements of these instrumental tasks, but they predominate in what Cohen calls the role of the Original Guide, that is today's Jungle guides, the Sherpas in the Himalayas etc. The Original Guides often have little formal education.

The inner-directed social component in the leadership sphere refers to the guides' responsibility for the cohesion and the morale of the tour, involving the following central elements:

Tension management: The guide is responsible for intervening and smoothing relations once a conflict has broken out.

Integration: The guide is responsible for the social integration of the group.

Morale: The guide is supposed to keep his party in a good mood and maintain high morale through pleasant demeanour, and occasionally jocular behaviour.

Animation: The guide should furthermore try to animate members of the party. This is a marginal element of the tourist guide's role, but is fully developed in the role of the animator type who often works at holiday resorts.

In the mediatory sphere there is a distinction between the communicative component and the interactional component. The outer-directed interactional component relates to the guide's function as middleman between his party and the local population, sites and institutions:

Representation: The guide integrates his party in and insulates it from the settings.

Organization: The guide is frequently responsible for the provision of services and amenities to his party during the tour, such as refreshments, meals and overnight stay. The guide has to know the proper procedures. This element is present in the role of most tourist guides' role, but is most prominent in the tour leader's or tour manager's role, that is of the person who will stay with the group for an extended time on tours lasting from several days to weeks.

The inner-directed communicative component is often considered the principal component of a guide's role, and is certainly given primacy in the formal training of guides:

Selection: The guide may select points of interest in accordance with his personal preferences and taste, his professional training, the directions received from his employer, or from tourist authorities or the assumed interest of his party.

Information: The dissemination of correct, precise information is considered by many to be the kernel of the guide's role. In advanced touristic countries this dissemination takes on an almost academic character. Despite the academic veneer and the frequently dry presentation of the information – recitation of dates, numbers and events related to a given sight – the information imparted is rarely purely neutral.

Interpretation: The guide has an important role as interpreter when mediating the encounter between two cultures. This takes the form of transcultural interpretation. The guide has to understand the tourists' preconceptions and expectations of the tour. Finally the guide has to possess 'keying' skills, that is the representation

through the use of appropriate language and dramaturgic effects of often blatantly staged attractions, as if they were authentic.

Fabrication: 'Fabrication' consists of outright invention or deception, like presenting fake antiques, or bringing people to a false destination.

The communicative component is most prominent in the role of the professional guide. Professional guides, who are the object of this study, mainly work with mass tourists and operates in urban areas, museums and institutions. However it is important to repeat that all the components in both the leadership and the mediatory sphere are present in the role of the professional guide. Cohen's schematic treatment helps us to get an overview of a highly composite role, just as it may help us to see how the role of the professional guide borders on that of other actors who may be present on the guided tour, such as tour managers.

While Holloway claims that the guide role is little institutionalized, Cohen says that the guiding profession is, at best, semi-professionalized, even in the most advanced tourist countries. Like many other not wholly professionalized 'service roles', the role of the guide suffers from internal and external role strain. The principal role strain is that between the inner- and outer-directed components of the guide's role. The guide has to shepherd his party, urge it to keep to the timetable, and at the same time create a pleasant, relaxed atmosphere. Another external role conflict derives from the fact that the guide must have jurisdiction, that is temporary authority, over his clients for the length of the tour, in a manner similar to that of professionals such as physicians or lawyers. But owing to the semi-professional character of the role, such jurisdiction is far from unequivocally defined or institutionalized. Hence, conflicts between guides and their clients may well turn into power contests, with no clear guidelines for their resolution. This becomes acutely clear if there are doubts about his competence – particularly his credibility as a source of information and interpretation of the sites visited. This happens with poorly trained guides or with tourists who are exceptionally knowledgeable amateurs. The first point was sustained by Alamagor (1985), who observed that the tourists to the Moremi Wildlife Reserve of Botswana did not follow the directions and advice of the guides, and this lack of authority was ascribed to the guides' poor training, poor knowledge and poor language skills. Finally Cohen (1985) points to the role strain that derives from the relationship between the incumbent's 'self' and his 'role'. What is the degree of the acting that sometimes

finds expression in insincerely subservient conduct or outright fabrication and deception? No guidelines for proper conduct exist. This is further aggravated by the fact that professional guides with licences or diplomas work side by side with less professional guides, where the former put pressure on the latter, attempting to regulate or even professionalize them.

The level of professionalization and hence the standards of local guides are inconsistent not only within countries, but also most certainly between countries, and no doubt this explains the lack of institutionalization in the guide role. It is outside the scope of this thesis to ask why the guide role is little institutionalized in spite of its long history, but I will quote Pond (1993), who claims:

'Guides have aptly been called the orphans of the travel industry somewhat hidden as they are within the trade' (Pond 1993:13).

In spite of divergent standards and the lack of public recognition and political awareness of the guide profession, scholars and the trade agree that the guide is of the utmost importance on guided tours. Pond states: *'The tour guide makes or breaks the tour.'* And she refers to a tour operator who claims: *'No other factor is as important' (Pond 1993:65).*

In fact there is a branch of study that investigates and measures the guide's impact on and importance to guided tours (see Lopez 1980, Almagor 1985, Fine and Spee 1985, Geva & Goldman 1991, Mossberg 1995, Duke & Persia 1996, Zhang & Chow 2004, Salazar 2005, Tucker 2007), and a number of these studies have taken the form of satisfaction and importance surveys (Geva & Goldman 1991, Mossberg 1995, Zhang & Chow 2004).

Zhang and Chow (2004) address the specific situation of Hong Kong tour guides working with mainland Chinese tourists. The guides often stay with the clients throughout the day and thus have a dual function as professional guide and tour manager. In an importance-performance analysis, the tourists rated 20 service qualities for their Hong Kong guides. The top three qualities the tourists found most important for their Hong Kong guide were 'Punctual', 'Able to solve problems' and 'Knowledge about the destination'. When the same tourists evaluated the actual performance of their guides, the three lowest ratings were given to 'my Hong Kong guide introduced us to reliable shops' 'my Hong Kong Tour guide

informed us about customs that were different from mainland China' and 'my guide was able to solve problems'. The last two ratings are critical, as they correspond to what the tourists considered the second and third most important service qualities, and the low ratings on these performance qualities are explained by the poor training of the Hong Kong guides. There is no formal certification or licensing system for tour guides in Hong Kong, although guides who have at least two years' experience may be registered with the Hong Kong Tourist Association upon successful completion of a tour coordinator certificate course lasting five days (Ap & Wong 2001).

The lowest rating of the tour guides' performance in Zhang and Chow's (2004) study was about being introduced to reliable shops. This refers to the fact that Hong Kong guides often work for very low pay, and sometimes even with no salary at all, so they depend heavily on commissions offered by the shops. In some cases guides even pay money back to the Hong Kong tour operators, who must in turn pay Mainland China to get tour groups. The studies by Zhang and Chow (2004) and Ap & Wong (2001) shed light on the different institutional and economic set-ups in which guides work around the world, and the possible practices that the tourists will encounter, which will subsequently give them mixed expectations. Holloway (1981), who observed the registered London guides, noted that the passengers might have encountered guides of all kinds before, and thus had mixed expectations:

'On the whole, passengers do not have high initial expectations of their (London) guides. In practice, the standard set by the registered guides clearly often exceeds the expectations of the audience....Many passengers are often surprised by the level of education and the social background of the guide, finding this difficult to reconcile with their previous image of the occupation' (Holloway 1981:390).

Guides always work with reference to a global framework which influences the tour and the relations between tourists and guides.

The question is whether the tourists see the guide as part and parcel of the tourism business from which they have bought the tour. Geva and Goldman (1991) investigated how the tourists' satisfaction with the guide influenced their satisfaction with the travel agency where they had bought the tour, and they found there was no strong linkage. The guests may be very satisfied with the guide and much less

with the tour as a whole. The guide and the guests enter into a relationship where they may together solve problems that they both ascribe to the agency, and the guide is perceived as an independent professional actor rather than an employee by the tourists.

Moving from an industrial perspective (see Geva and Goldman 1991, Arp and Wong 2001) to a political perspective (see Katz 1985, Arp & Wong 2001, Dahles 2002), guides are found to be important as image-builders for a destination. Cohen (1985) notes that the information imparted by guides is rarely purely neutral, and Bruner (2005) says that all narratives are constructed and told in competing voices. Some guides deliberately choose proactively to build and enhance specific images of a country, like the Israeli teacher-guide whose ultimate purpose is to sustain the building of the nation (see Katz 1985). In other countries the image management is controlled and enforced by the government. Heidi Dahles (2002) examines how the Indonesian government exercises image management in accordance with the 'Pancasila' state ideology by controlling the guide's information and activities. Pancasila (literally 'five pillars') consists of the following principles: monotheism or the belief in one supreme being specified in the world religions (Islam, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism and Buddhism); a just and civilized humanitarianism; Indonesian Nationhood and unity; unanimous consensus or democracy led by wise policies in a process of discussion and representation; and social welfare and social justice for all people in Indonesia.

In many countries like Denmark and the USA, there are no such public guidelines or controls on the information given by guides; but the American Kathleen Pond (1993) states that there is a long-standing maxim within guiding saying that guides should avoid the topics of sex, politics and religion because one can never be sure of the political views or affiliations of everyone in a group. However, Pond (1993) calls for a middle ground between absolute avoidance and the sharing of some personal views and advice,

'In democratic societies, everyone is entitled to his or her own opinion, and within reason, guides can share their own view provided they qualify their statements as their own opinion and remain open to the opinion of the others. Visitors will often appreciate a guide's openness' (Pond 1993:120).

Pond (1993) explains how tourists will ask controversial questions relating to the above-mentioned topics, and she lists a range of options for how a guide can deal with 'difficult' questions in a graceful manner. Pond's concern is to identify the guiding techniques that make a touristic production or performance convincing and believable, and she says that passion and genuine interest in people as well as in the subject matter is at the heart of guiding. She recognizes the tourists as active participants, and not only will the tourists ask questions – so should the guides.

'The ability to ask questions is an invaluable interpretive skill. By inviting visitors to participate, interpreters (and guides) involve them in the experience' (Pond 1993:146).

This brings us back to the interactionist and performative processes as a way of understanding and investigating the guided tour, and thus to the core of this thesis, and in the next chapter I will reflect on practice theories that may help us to do so.

Theoretical reflections on a field of practice

Most of the tourism research relating to the guided tours has been concerned with testing and developing theories that try to systematize or categorize the phenomena and the actors in absolute terms; very few researchers have investigated the guided tour as a situated, interpreted and negotiated practice (see Holloway 1981, Bruner 2005, and Tucker 2007), and of these only Holloway has had a focus on guided tours conducted by certified and professional guides. This leaves a void for this thesis to fill. In the following chapter I will reflect on theories that help us to approach the guided tour as a field of practice – theories that may inform and inspire, that may be played off against one another, adapted or eventually abandoned again in a non-linear research process. On the whole, though, a research process may be divided into two tempi: theories that inform and inspire before venturing into the empirical field, and theories that contribute to and fertilize the analyses of the collected material.

2.1 Getting theoretically equipped to enter the field

As mentioned in Chapter 1, more than twenty years as an authorized guide in Copenhagen, working in Italian and English, have given me inherent preconceptions about the guided tour as a situated practice where every tour is unique and constitutive as it develops through interactions between guide, tourists and possible third parties. At the same time the guided tours have a structural/institutional framework that conditions the performances and creates consistency in the tours over time and space. In the interplay between the repeated performances of similar tours and the uniqueness of each performance, I took part in a constant learning process where I developed my guiding over the years in interaction with the tourists. With such a practice-oriented perspective, I decided to place the study of the actor's practice at the forefront of this research, hoping that close

and detailed observations of a substantial number of tours would contribute to an explorative analysis of how guides and tourists perform the guided tour. With a predominantly inductive approach it is suitable to work along the lines of a grounded theory that has a bottom-up theory-generating approach to qualitative research. In grounded theory the researcher

'does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge' (Strauss and Corbin 1990:23)

Grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1998) maps out a way of analysing and theorizing over a substantial amount of data by ordering it conceptually – that is, organizing the data according to their properties and dimensions, and then using descriptions to elucidate these categories. The incoming data has to be organized in a meticulous coding process where the researcher starts to make hypotheses and propositions that must constantly be checked against one another as new incoming data arrive and new categories emerge, while others must be modified, extended or deleted as necessary:

*'At the heart of theorizing lies the **interplay** of making inductions (deriving concepts, their properties and dimensions from data) and deductions (hypothesizing about relationship between concepts, the relationships also are derived from data, but data that have been extracted by the analyst from the raw data.... In the end, it is hoped that the researcher has systematically developed the products of analysis into a theory.'* (Strauss & Corbin 1990:22)

Strauss and Corbin (1998) explain what they mean by theory

'For us theory denotes a set of well developed categories (e.g. themes, concepts) that are systematically interrelated through statements of relationship to form a theoretical framework that explains relevant social, psychological, educational, nursing or other phenomena. The statements of relationship explain who, what, when, where and with what consequences an event occurs.' (Strauss and Corbin 1990:22)

Although grounded theory serves as inspiration and has been a guiding principle in the research process, as will become apparent in next chapter on the methods applied, this approach might make the research appear completely 'self-generating'.

However, even grounded theory acknowledges that the researcher is not an island, and he/she does not conduct research in a theoretical vacuum; to develop the researcher's theoretical sensitivity the researcher will *'use and integrate a substantive body of literature'* (Connell & Lowe 1997: 167).

In fact, in order to investigate and answer the research question of how the actors perform the guided tour, Goffmann (1974) in particular may help us to understand procedures for action and interaction in situated social practices at a micro-level. He uses a strong, and persistent theatre metaphor when he explains how people take on roles and manage impressions when interacting with other people. People are concerned with *face-work*, where they present themselves and act to their own advantage, and for the same reason people will do *role-distancing* when they find themselves in a role that is perceived as negative. Actors may act *front stage*, which is the official and public version, and then go *back stage*, where front-stage impressions may be contradicted or elaborated, and secondary presentations may arise 'off the record'.

Any scene of interaction has a setting or a *frame* which governs the interactions. The *frame* is

'unstated rules or principles more or less implicitly set by the characters of some larger, though perhaps invisible entity (for example 'the definition of the situation') 'within' which the interactions occur.' (Goffman 1974:xiii)

However, actors are not simply trapped in predefined unstated or invisible rules, and

'...the character of a frame is not always clear, and even when it is, participants in interaction may have interests in blurring, changing or confounding it.' (Goffman 1974: xiv)

By meticulous studies of people's interaction, the rules and principles of interaction may be revealed, not always because people obey them blindly, but often because they try to work their way around them. In fact Goffman focuses on how

'persons 'negotiate' in their encounters employing maneuvers, ruses, stratagems, and other 'moves' in order to define or otherwise manipulate situations to their own ad-

vantage, to get their 'self-work' done, and their other aims accomplished.'(Goffman 1974:xv)

Goffman acknowledges that large and durable institutional structures exist, distributing the resources of interaction (power, prestige, social skills), which constrain and command the individual scope for strategic manoeuvres. However, macro-sociological variables are deliberately kept out of his research, as he confines his attention to relational modes of expression and the ways in which social meanings are attributed to individual actions and interactions, explained only at the micro-level where they are observed.

While Goffman's (1974) aim is to explain how individuals structure and perform an experience at a moment in their social lives, Garfinkel's *Ethnomethodology* (1967) only focuses on individuals as members of a cohort, where the concern is to understand how people in the plural create sense and order in everyday social situations, applying shared methods that are manifested through action and interaction, and this may help us to investigate and answer the research question about the guides' and the tourists' shared tactics and strategies

'If someone assumes, as Garfinkel does, that the meaningful patterned and orderly character of everyday life is something people must work constantly to achieve then one must also assume that they have some methods for doing so. If everyday life really exhibits a patterned orderliness, as Garfinkel believes it does, then it is not enough to say that individuals randomly pursuing shared goals will do similar things enough of the time to manifest trends, or patterns, of orderliness in society. Garfinkel argues that members of society must in fact have some shared methods for achieving social order that they use to mutually construct the meaningful orderliness of social situations.' (Rawls 2003: 9-10)

The key phrase is *shared methods*, which is why '*individuals are only dealt with as members of cohorts that populate social scenes*'(ibid.). Rawls (2003) explains how *Ethnomethodology* is concerned with the members' order-producing methods and their accountability, which are related to intelligibility and explicability, since an action has to be clear and make sense right away or at least be explicable on demand. It is a study of members' methods based on the theory that faithful dedication to the details of a social phenomenon will reveal social order. The focus is on procedural aspects of members' situated practices, not on overall causes,

conditions or effects of those practices. The object of study is therefore overt 'scenic' activities. Garfinkel (1967) explains how the method consists of treating an actual appearance as 'the document of' as 'pointing to' as standing on behalf of a presupposed underlying pattern. Not only is the underlying 'pattern' derived from the concrete individual evidence, but the individual documentary proofs are in turn interpreted on the basis of 'what is known' about the underlying pattern. Each is used to elaborate the other.

While Goffman's perspective sharpens attention to how actors perform in an attempt to make sense of and optimize social situations at the individual level, Garfinkel attends to what makes people's actions similar and mutually acceptable by looking for common traits and patterns behind the methods people apply in their performances. Both perspectives are useful as inspiration when one sets out to explore how the practices of tourists and guides develop through actions and interactions.

2.2 Power aspects

Both Garfinkel (1967) and Goffman (1974) investigate and understand social practices detached from larger institutional power structures. However, when one analyses the interactions among the actors on guided tours, the power aspects become crucial. I found that the tourists' roles, and subsequently their actions and interactions on guided tours, were fundamentally different from those of the guides and other actors. Much of the time, the tourists acted as consumers or users at the tactical level in De Certeau's term. De Certeau (1984) explains how consumers or rather users operate at a tactical level in the face of an environment defined by the strategies of the producers or planners, which in this context would be both the public and the private agents in the tourism industry. De Certeau calls

*'a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a **place** that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an **exteriority** composed of targets and threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives of research etc.) can be managed.'* (De Certeau 1984:36)

De Certeau (1984) argues that economic, political and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model. As the weaker party the users/consumers will apply tactics to make the product habitable in their minds, not by altering or changing the product, but by using or performing it in ways the producers or planners never intended or thought of. De Certeau compares users'/consumers' tactics with the tactics used by the Indians during the Spanish colonization.

'...the Indians nevertheless often made of the rituals, representations and laws imposed on them something quite different from what their conquerors had in mind; they subverted them not by rejecting or altering them, but by using them with respect to ends and references foreign to the system they had no choice but to accept.' (De Certeau 84: xiii)

A guided tour may very well be seen as a strategy, with a whole industry planning, marketing and selling a product imbued with a cultural script, where the tourists as customers apply tactics to perform the tour in unpredictable ways, in order to make it habitable and their own. However the approach leaves us with two loose ends. Sometimes the tourists would not be docile; they would engage in overt power games with the guide. This is not captured well by De Certeau's notion of tactics, and to this I will return later. Secondly it is a problem to inscribe the guides in De Certeau's notion of strategy, although the guides are obviously a part of the tourism industry.

De Certeau's strategy is '*panoptic in its practice*' (De Certeau 1984:36) and is depicted as remote from the end-users with whom there is little or no contact, as with city planners or business headquarters. This makes it difficult to situate a service provider like a guide, who depends on interaction and direct customer participation in order to produce an experience. The guides may well be seen as a part of the strategy, but they are certainly not remote from the tourists – on the contrary – and their strategies develop as they interact with tourists. At the same time, because the guide and the tourists depend on each other's physical proximity and participation in performing the guided tour, they may bond and see each other as allied in the face of an overarching strategy imposed by the industry, and they may thus act together at the tactical level, which emphasizes the fact that the guide is to be found somewhere between the panoptic strategy mainly based on economic rationality and the users' tactics.

To overcome this dilemma I believe Bourdieu's (1990) notion of *habitus* informs the guides' strategies better than De Certeau's approach.

'Habitus can be translated as the value and norm systems, cultural habits and systems of attitudes that individuals – and many individuals collectively – use for orientation. Habitus are the embodied and cognitive structures on which humans base their actions, their opinions and the choices they make – in short their practice.'
(Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996:106)

Habitus is a generative system of dispositions generated by an actor's – or a group of actors' – past experience/history and as such is the embodied and cognitive internalization of external structures, which does not necessarily operate on a conscious level. The guides' strategies are informed by their *habitus*, which is the generative system of dispositions based on their guide education, the experience they build up through repeated performances with tourists, their position in the *field* and of course the *habitus* generated by their full course of life.

De Certeau (1984) criticizes Bourdieu for making *habitus* too deterministic and dogmatic, as something whereby structures are passed on unconsciously and internalized into *habitus* with outlets in strategies that '*bring them under the law of reproduction*' (De Certeau 1984:59), and it is for the same reason that De Certeau introduces the notion of the users' and consumers' versatile, manifold and inventive tactics which create alternatives to the overarching strategy. However Bourdieu argues that *habitus* does not make actors reproduce mechanically, and he explains that one does not grasp the concept of *habitus*:

'...so long as one remains locked in the usual antinomies – which the concept of habitus aims to transcend – of determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity, consciousness and unconsciousness or the individual and the society. Because the habitus is an infinite capacity for generating products – thoughts, perceptions, expressions and actions – whose limits are set by the historically and socially situated conditions of its production, the conditioned and conditional freedom is as remote from creation of unpredictable novelty as it is far from simple mechanical reproduction of the original conditioning.' (Bourdieu 1990:55)

There is room for artful novelty, change and invention in the notion of *habitus*, but always within limits.

'habitus, like every 'art of inventing' is what makes it possible to produce an infinite number of practices that are relatively unpredictable (like the corresponding situations) but also limited in their diversity.' (Bourdieu 1990:55)

Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Waquant 1996:133) explains to critics that although *habitus* is a product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or moderates the structures. It is durable but not eternal. However, he adds at the same time that people are statistically bound to encounter circumstances that tend to accord with those that originally fashioned their *habitus*. Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* helps us to understand how the guides as professionals develop their working strategies in a learning process in interaction with the tourists, just as *habitus* may help us to understand how all the actors negotiate and compete in the field of the guided tour.

2.3 Conflicts and identification processes

The notion of consumers' tactics in De Certeaus's terms captures the consumers' non-obstructive, indirect, subtle and implicit ways of exercising power, but we need other theoretical tools to capture more overt conflicts and power contests between the actors. Goffman (1974) explains how actors negotiate by employing manoeuvres, ruses and stratagems in their encounters, and how they may have interests in blurring, changing or confounding the frame which may be connected with the notion of *boundary work* as a way to understand how actors negotiate and interpret their own and other actors' roles and responsibilities.

'Boundary work is the effort of demarcation in which people become involved, to distinguish and separate activities, phenomena, objects, conditions or people from each other. Through this work people bring some social objects inside a category or concept whereas they push others out of the definitional frame of this category or concept.' (Åkerström 2002:517).

The notion of *boundary work* may be helpful in explaining how the actors negotiate and compete, in demarcating roles, treating the identification of roles as a *'language of relationships, not attributes'* (Goffman 1963a:3 in Tavory 2009). At the same time the notion of *boundary work* also helps us to understand the social construction of roles at an individual level, when actors make interpretations in

discursive narratives (see Åkerstrøm 2009).

The power game between the actors may further be analysed through Bourdieu's theory of practice, by drawing on his terms *habitus*, *capital* and *field*. In some respects Bourdieu is close to interactionists (like Goffman), but at the same time he accuses them of myopia and blindness to the forces of objective structures that he himself captures in his theory of practice (see Bourdieu & Waquant 1992:113, Bourdieu & Waquant 1996: 96). Bourdieu explains:

'I feel a kinship and a solidarity with researchers who 'put their nose to the ground' (particularly symbolic interactionists, and all those who through participant observations or statistical analysis, work to uncover and to debunk the empirical realities that Grand Theoreticians ignore because they look down upon social reality from such heights), even though I cannot agree with the philosophy of the social world which often undergirds their interest in the minutiae of daily practices, and which, in this case, is in fact imposed upon them by this 'close-up view', and by the theoretical myopia or the blindness to objective structures, to relations of force that are not immediately perceivable, that this view encourages' (Bourdieu & Waquant 1992:113)

In fact when one is analysing conflicts of interest and occasional overt power contests between the guide and the tourists, but in particular the power contests between guides and third parties, it becomes clear that the actors enact and negotiate in relation to more or less institutionalized roles accredited with certain powers in an institutionalized play. Guides, tourists, drivers, tour managers, escorts, representatives from incoming bureaus, waiters, local inhabitants etc, who all appear on the scene of the guided tours, are identifiable as groups of actors within a field, which in Bourdieu's terminology is a constellation of objective relations between different positions. The positions exist objectively through the bindings they enforce on the actors and the institutions that inhabit the positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1996: 84). On the basis of the actors' position in the field, their habitus, and their relative amount of *cultural*, *economic* and *social capital*, understood as the actors' resources and competences, they play a game where they try to optimize their influence and power, but not necessarily in a conscious or deliberate way. From this more purely theoretical discussion of the guided tour as a field of practice, it is now time to move on and discuss how the methods applied have shaped both the use and the development of theories.

Methods applied

In this chapter I will account for the methods applied from the beginning to the end of the research process, explicating how and on what premises the body of empirical material was selected and gathered, how data was processed and analysed, and finally how findings have been and will be or potentially can be disseminated. Only presenting and reflecting on the research process from beginning to end, making it sufficiently transparent, will give the reader the opportunity to assess the validity and the reliability of an analysis. These two classic criteria of quality for research have however been developed from a positivist, quantitative research tradition, and qualitative researchers claim that qualitative research, which deals with contexts and complex human processes, thus getting close to people's life-worlds, should be measured against other yardsticks such as '*authenticity*' (Silverman 1995:10), '*recognizability instead of generalization*', and that in fact '*transparency*' ought to '*replace reliability*' (Thagaard 2004 in Tanggård & Brinkmann 2010:491 – my translation), as it is impossible to reproduce identical qualitative data. It is against these yardsticks that I will account for the research process.

In the previous chapter I tried to make transparent how theories of practice have inspired and been used in the research process. In this chapter I will try to bring adequate transparency to the methods applied. First I will reflect on the selection of what, when and where and not least who became the object of research, and discuss my relation to the field, not as object-to-object, which is a model pursued by positivists, but as subject-to-subject, which is characteristic of interactionists (see Silverman 1995:47). Secondly I will reflect on the methods applied in the process of collecting data. Thirdly I will reflect on the methods applied to the processing of the collected data. Finally I will reflect on the implications of the methods applied both for this traditional mainly text-based thesis, but also for all the other possible media – teaching materials, presentations at conferences, Internet presentations etc. – which address the various types of audiences that are target groups for this field of research.

3.1 Who, what, where and when – an outline of the research field

From the very outset, the theme of this PhD was the guided tour, on the basis of my combined position as Coordinator on the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme and as a part-time PhD student at the same place. After reviewing the tourism literature on guided tours, and drafting the first working questions on the theme of tourist-guide interactions, I had little doubt that the best way to find out about these interactions would be to observe them by following the tourists and guides on guided tours, and only then ask the actors about the interactions in interviews, because

'there can be significant differences between what people 'do' in practice and what they say they do in interviews.... Much social life is conducted unintentionally and habitually' (Haldrup & Larsen 2009:28)

However the interviews are still vital, as they allow the actors to explain how they ascribe meanings to their actions and interactions, and thus contribute to our understanding of the observations. The method is familiar from what Haldrup and Larsen (2009) term *mobile tourism ethnography*, which draws on mobile methods and multi-site ethnographies. The programme for mobile tourism ethnography is very comprehensive, as it sees

'performances as constructed through routes and moorings, connecting home and away as well as physical objects, imaginative, virtual and communicative mobilities' (Haldrup & Larsen 2009:49)

Haldrup & Larsen (2009) suggest that researchers should follow in the footsteps of the tourists and their objects from their home to the destination and back home again; and they want to investigate the communication flow of digital/virtual travel. They also want to follow images, objects and rumours as they circulate and create place myths. The focus of this thesis is personal interactions on guided tours, which is why it was necessary to follow in the footsteps of the guides and tourists while on tour. Through this communication it was also possible to explore how place myths were produced and reproduced, how objects were used and how virtual and technological mobilities were part of the performance. One way to pursue mobile tourism ethnography is to become part of the object either as guide (see Bruner 2005) or as tourist (see Haldrup & Larsen 2009). I decided at an

early stage of the project, during the summer of 2005, to become a tourist and to conduct participant observations of six guided tours in and around Copenhagen with four different authorized guides. On two of the tours I combined participant observation with the use of video recordings. Furthermore, I conducted a follow-up interview with one of the guides. In the summer of 2006 I carried out participant observation on another ten tours with ten different guides, using video recordings on eight tours. I also engaged in participant observation and video-recorded a one-hour City Sightseeing tour where the guiding was tape-recorded in eight different languages, in order to observe how tourists act when there is no live guiding. Altogether, I observed fifty-four hours of guided tours, out of which seven hours and thirty minutes were video-recorded. I held follow-up interviews with four out of fourteen observed guides and thirteen of the numerous observed tourists. At a later stage in the project I did three additional guide interviews with guides whom I had not observed, and one interview with an owner of an incoming bureau. Altogether I conducted twelve interviews with nineteen persons.

Collected data are not a collection of objective realities, but a construct created by the researcher, reflecting the researcher's outlook on the field and the consequences of a number of decisions and selective choices. Silverman explains (1995:36)

'The attempt to describe things 'as they are' is doomed to failure. Without some perspective or at least a set of animating questions, there is nothing to report. Contrary to crude empiricism, the facts never speak for themselves.'

In the following the criteria for the selection of guides and tours will be explicated and my position as researcher vis-à-vis the field will be discussed.

3.2 The authorized guides

Having worked as authorized guide myself for more than twenty years, and now as a teacher of guides to-be on the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme, I have a profound and long-lasting interest in the work of the guide. On the one hand I am curious about how the guides develop their guiding through practice, and on the other hand I want to understand how tourists perform and experience guided tours. Becoming a PhD student gave me a unique opportunity to step out of practice and become an observer and analyst, and I decided to concentrate my

work on guided tours conducted by the Copenhagen authorized guides, not on the multitude of other types of guides that exist.

Since 1991 all authorized guides in Copenhagen have undergone an adult education course at Roskilde University, since 2001 formalized into a diploma degree. To enter the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme, the applicants must speak a foreign language fluently, they must have taken a further education course of at least two years' duration after high school, and they must have a minimum of two years of work experience relevant to the guiding profession. The authorized guides in Copenhagen are a composite crowd with wide differences in age, work experience, educational background and ethnic origin, and are of course of both genders. However, the entry requirements and the Diploma Programme ensure a high average professional standard. The authorized guides work freelance and are hired from tour to tour, and the vast majority work only during the summer season, combining this with other jobs for the remainder of the year.

The permission to observe the guided tours was not granted by the guides in the first place but by their employers, and once I had this permission, the guides were not in an immediate position to reject my participation; but several factors were at play. First, public ethical guidelines for the conduct of research in social science say that

'The researcher must obtain consent from the people involved in the research, and herself has to inform them that participation is voluntary' (Danish Board of Research and Innovation (2002) in Brinkmann 2010:432 my translation)

Following the ethical guidelines, I needed to obtain permission from the guides before observing, and, just as importantly, I had to find a way to situate myself in a field where I am known from other positions. Put in another way, I conducted research in a field where I have *'complete membership'* (see Adler and Adler 1987 in Baarts 2010:157), meaning that I am fully integrated in the guide community I wanted to observe. Having *'complete membership'*, I did not need to develop a role as a member of the community; on the contrary I needed a space where my role as researcher could develop (see Baarts 2010:157).

I would not know which guide I was going to observe until at most half an hour before a tour departed. When I approached a guide, I tried to be completely open

about my purpose of research, and I either handed out a very short ten-line description of my research project, or I explained it orally to the guide and the driver. I then asked the guide if he/she consented to my participation, and I decided beforehand that if I felt in any way that a guide was uncomfortable having me as observer, I would choose another tour. However this proved to be very difficult to comply with, and in fact it never happened, although on a few occasions I felt the guide became insecure about my actions. If a guide had rejected my presence, and/or if I had chosen to go on another tour, this could signal insecurity and lack of confidence on the part of the guide, in the face of employers, colleagues etc, which would be detrimental to their reputation as performers. It could also signal a dislike for me or my project, and in fact both the guides and I had some 'face work' to deal with, which made it difficult to switch tours once I had introduced myself. Moreover, guides are used to having other professionals along on their tours, professionals who constantly evaluate their performance, and most of the guides welcomed me and appeared relaxed and comfortable performing a job they had done numerous times before. I was also left with the impression that even if the guides sometimes paid attention to my presence, they would also 'forget me' again, and carry on as usual. However, all researchers influence the field they observe, if not otherwise at least through their mere presence (see Andersen 1990, Silverman 1995), and a few times I registered that my presence overtly influenced the tour I observed.

One guide tended to see me as an authority safeguarding the *doxa* (see Bourdieu 1990) of how a City Sightseeing should be executed in time and space. The tour was conducted in English and German, but twice during the tour the guide switched to Danish and briefly addressed me through the loudspeakers explaining why she had omitted a certain route and a certain narrative because of time constraints, since the tour had been delayed from the outset. The guide had an image of 'the correct tour' or at least 'a better tour' which was unknown to the tourists but not to me, and she wanted to tell me how she would have guided if time had permitted.

Like all performers, guides live on their reputation, and my presence may have urged some guides to try to perform their best, but it was difficult for me to assess exactly how and whether my presence made a difference. Only on one occasion was I left with the distinct feeling that an actor tried to use impression management (in a Goffmanian sense) for my benefit as a researcher, which is a latent possibility in many ethnographic studies (see Czarniawska 2007).

On a combined City Sightseeing and North Zealand tour, the tour manager of a closed group participated throughout the tours along with the authorized guide. The tour manager was very interested in my academic career, and he explained how he himself had similar aspirations. I was sitting at the rear of the coach, and even if we spoke together only a few times during the day, I felt he wanted to impress me at a professional level. Several times he took the microphone from the authorized guide and began guiding himself. He was very active throughout the tour in promoting his own image, and sometimes this was at the expense of the guide. The guide was very annoyed with the tour manager's behaviour, and the situation became somewhat tense between them.

Some guides never learn to like having colleagues or other professionals observing or evaluating their guiding. One guide explained to me how it makes his stress level rise thirty percent to have an escort along from one of the cruise ships – and part of an escort's job is precisely to evaluate a tour. None of the guides I observed said he or she did not want me along; a few of them appeared a little nervous in the beginning, but my impression was that these few 'forgot me' once they had the tourists in front of them and the show started. I always placed myself at the rear or in the middle of the coach – out of sight of the guides, just as I tried to fit naturally into the group when moving around outside the coach. However, the clever performer may be able to conceal his/her nervousness from the public, and later I was told at second hand by a colleague of one of the observed guides that she had been somewhat nervous having me along. I did not get that impression myself; during the tour she had appeared confident and had a good hold on her group.

My connections and knowledge of the field also entail other ethical considerations. The guide community in Copenhagen is relatively small, with approximately 260 authorized guides registered in the Association of Authorized Guides, but far fewer are really active as guides. The guides know one another, first through the Diploma Programme, and later as colleagues, for example when they meet on the quay, and finally through the many activities organized by the Association. In order not to expose or compromise the guides and to allow them to speak freely in the interviews, all guides are anonymous in this thesis, and they are referred to as numbers corresponding to a transcript of either a tour or interview. For the same reason I also choose sometimes to draw on my own experiences as a guide and tour manager when I want to exemplify less flattering practices or incidents. The fact that I am researching a field where I have extensive experience is a point

that I incorporate and use in the research, thus drawing on elements from the auto-ethnographic genre. Baarts explains how the reflexive auto-ethnographies take off from the researchers' own experiences and

'To a greater or lesser extent the researcher incorporates his/her own experience and personal points of view in the research by starting with a story about his/her own experience which gets connected to the research theme.' (Baarts 2010:157 my translation)

Although this research has clearly been developed against the backdrop of my own experience, and I incorporate this overtly in selected places, it is not an auto-ethnography, as my empirical focus remains primarily on the tours and the guides I observed. Altogether, I observed fourteen different guides working in English, German, Italian and Spanish. Eight of the guides were women and six were men. Seven were Danish-born, and seven were born elsewhere but now residing in Denmark. Some had guided for only a few years, others had worked as guides for more than twenty-five years. Although not an exact representation of the general distribution of types, this mixture reflects the guide corps well – but that is accidental rather than the result of deliberate choices. None of the above features guided my choices of tours, except for the languages and a wish to observe as many guides as possible. I decided at an early stage only to follow tours that cover the languages I understand, and at the beginning of the project I intended to look for differences in behaviour between nationalities. However, my findings proved to be transnational, and as such ought to be applicable to all nationalities. Italians and Germans do the same things, the Italians may just do it more loudly. I abandoned the idea of making national comparisons, which is not to say that nationality does not matter in guiding.

3.3 The tours and the tourists

In order to participate in the guided tours I had to ask permission from three incoming bureaus, one excursion bureau and one transport contractor. Two of the incoming bureaus, who mainly handle the land arrangements for cruise ships, were comparatively relaxed about the procedure, and told me to be in the queue when the cruise ships arrived and then I could choose any tour I liked. The third incoming bureau that handles closed groups doing round trips in Scandinavia

had to obtain permission to have me on board a specific coach from the Italian travel agent and the parent company in the UK. On the four tours handled by this incoming bureau, to protect the privacy of the tourists, I was not allowed to use a video recorder. The excursion bureau and the transport contractor, who both cater for individual tourists buying guided tours that depart regularly from the City Hall Square in Copenhagen, allowed me to follow the tours I wanted – the way I wanted and when I wanted – with no strings attached.

Besides the wish to follow as many different guides as possible in the languages I understand, I wanted to cover as many different types of tours as possible. The different tours take place in different settings: inside cultural institutions, walking outdoors, in a coach, on a boat and during specific events. Hastrup (2010:57:58) explains how a location is not just a passive scene for a kind of drama; it plays an active role in how relations between people are mediated. I observed nine City Sightseeings, one City Sightseeing combined with a Sabre D'Or Ceremony, one City Sightseeing combined with the village of Dragør, one City Sightseeing with tape recorded guiding, three Castle Tours to North Zealand, one Canal Tour, and one walking tour – altogether seventeen tours (see Appendix 1).

The groups I observed differed in all senses. Four groups were closed, inasmuch as all the tourists came from one country and they would remain together for an extended period. The seven groups from the cruise ships were mostly of mixed nationalities, and the tourists may have had some degree of familiarity with one another; but there are often several thousand tourists on board a cruise ship. And finally, five groups were composed of individual travellers from different nations, where the tourists would not know one other except their own travelling companions. The groups also differed a lot in size, from seventeen tourists on the walking tour up to sixty-two on one of the City Sightseeings in a double-decker coach and probably more than a hundred tourists in the canal boat. The groups were often a broad mixture of ages with all generations represented, but not surprisingly with an overrepresentation of middle-aged or elderly tourists who have time, money and an interest in cultural tourism.

All the tourists observed were probably leisure tourists, that is tourists who travelled for leisure and recreation as private persons, although I cannot exclude the possibility that some of the individual tourists may have been business tourists, combining work with pleasure. Business tourism *'is the provision of facilities and*

services to the millions of delegates who annually attend meetings, congresses, exhibitions, business events, incentive and corporate travel.' (www.iccaworld.com/aeps/aeitem.cfm?aeid), and this constitutes a particular segment of the guides' working area. Business tourism is deliberately excluded from the thesis as it is much harder to obtain permission to observe guided tours with business tourists than with leisure tourists. The guides would however refer to and compare leisure tourists with business tourists in the interviews.

My role as participant observer in relation to the tourists depended on the group, the tour and the guide. As explained above, I always presented the aim of my research to the guide and the driver, but from then on I left it to the guide to decide what to tell the tourists. On the four tours with closed groups there was no choice: the guide had to introduce me to the tourists, as I was an obvious stranger joining the group. On the seven tours from the cruise ships, the groups were of mixed nationalities but primarily Americans, and the tourists did not necessarily know one another well. I might have blended in on these tours, but all the guides chose to introduce me. On the five tours composed of individual tourists, none of the guides introduced me and I just blended in as another tourist, which is why I could engage in overt observation of these tourists. This was an ethical trade-off between the observed tourists' 'right' to know they were observed and the guide's right to decide on the framing of the tour.

When I was introduced, it was either as a professor from Roskilde University, or as a PhD student, or just as a student from RUC observing guided tours, and some of the guides would say a few words about my research aims. Although I tried to explain my focus on tourist and guide interaction, guides and tourists both tended to assume my main focus was on the guides and their performance. One guide explained to the tourists that I was writing a PhD thesis about tourism and how guests react to the guide – *'so you better react positively'*, she finished with a smile in her voice (guide tour no 15). In spite of such remarks, I did not register any difference in the tourists' behaviour towards the guide or among the tourists themselves, whether or not they were familiar with my enterprise – maybe because they did not feel they themselves were the primary objects of study. But it made a difference in their behaviour towards me if I was introduced.

During some tours, some of tourists would ask me what I was doing, and then they would offer me their opinion on the guide in question and on guides in

general, underpinning the idea that they assumed I was focusing on the guide. These informal conversations proved to be a valuable source of information. I was also assigned the role as co-guide. Once they knew I was Danish, some of the tourists would ask me standard questions about the royal family, the political system, religion etc., and they would use me as an additional source of information and a chance to get a quick answer from a local when the guide was out of reach. I would answer politely, but at the same time would try not to encourage them too much, as I was busy writing or video-recording.

3.4 The process of video-recording and participant observation

Larsen (2004:1) states: '*Tourism and photography are modern twins*', and the statement may of course be extended to include video as well. It is standard practice among tourists to take pictures and shoot videos, and this subsequently makes it easy for a researcher in tourism to take on the role as participant observer with a video camera. In fact the researcher blends more 'naturally' into the setting when shooting videos than when writing field notes. Furthermore,

'as tourism is, to a large extent, dominated by visual experiences we can regard it as a rich site for both 'creation' and analysis of evidence by both researchers and 'collaborators' (Feighy 2003:78).

The quote refers to the fact that being a tourist and performing tourism are dominated by visual experiences, and so is the performance per se from a research point of view; so video recording is an excellent way to capture interactions in ethnographic fieldwork (see Raudaskoski 2010).

'Video recordings make it possible to investigate past incidences not as past but as 'earlier presents' (Laurier & Philo 2006 in Raudaskoski 2010:82. My translation).

Videos can capture situations and interactions in a detailed and accurate way that is impossible when you are writing field notes, and the researcher can recall the live situation again and again, extracting an increasing number of layers and details. However, there are many implications in using video, and what is recorded is as much a construct as all other kinds of collected data (see Knowles and Sweetman 2004, Pink 2009, Raudaskoski 2010). The guided tour is a large, complex scene

in motion with numerous actors, where many actions and interactions take place simultaneously, so I had to decide where and on whom to place my focus. On the first tours I mostly followed the movements of the tourists borne up by genuine curiosity, asking what they were actually doing while the guide was guiding. In this way I could follow the tourists while keeping the relationship with the guide in mind. How did they act when close to the guide, how did they listen, and what did they do when they were not listening and moving away from the guide? When I filmed the tourists I varied the direction of the camera between the surrounding sights and the tourists in order not to be too 'intrusive', which was something of a balancing-act.

On later tours I focused on the guide, following her/his movements in relation to the constant ebb and flow of tourists. The guides are used to being filmed by the tourists, so I only acted like my fellow tourists when I pointed my camera at the guide. Inside the coach I was stuck in a seat like the other tourists, with a constant view of the neighbouring tourists and the passing landscape or cityscape from the window, while the soundtrack mainly recorded the guiding.

No matter on whom and where I decided to place my focus, I tried to be open and attentive, looking out for 'interesting actions and interactions', but I also experienced (as explained by Raudakoski 2010) that because of the complexity I would sometimes be 'late' for a scene that would be well under way before I caught it with my camera, just as several interesting scenes might have happened simultaneously, but I could only film one of them. Furthermore, I did not video-record the whole time, as it would have been very burdensome to film an entire three- or five-hour tour. A fully charged battery in the handheld camera would last one hour, and I set that as a limit for video-recording on each tour: for the remainder of the time I engaged in participant observation. I filmed between twenty minutes and one hour on eleven out of seventeen tours. On four tours I was not allowed to film, and on two tours I decided myself not to use video and just to concentrate on participant observation. It was somewhat stressful to do both, as I would be on the alert much of the time not to miss filming 'a great scene'.

As a participant observer I would focus on the actors the same way as when using the video, and I would write down observations of small movements, interactions, snatches of conversations etc., but of course in a much less detailed way than could be captured by the camera, where the soundtrack in particular was good for

recording the guide's running commentary. Generally I found there was a great difference between using video and doing participant observation. The video limits the perspective, because you have 'one eye' in one direction focusing on the situation being filmed, while as participant observer you have a wider audiovisual perspective where you can capture your impressions of a situation more as a whole and write down your first reflections. Silverman notes:

'In observational research, data collection, hypothesis-construction and theory-building are not three separate things but are interwoven with one another'
(Silverman 1995: 46).

In fact I found the two methods of data collection to be cross-fertilizing, as I had time to write down reflections on my observations that would later guide my attention with the camera, and vice versa. During the observations I also noted practices that I found interesting or that aroused my curiosity, thus preparing myself for the follow-up interviews that were mostly carried out immediately after the completion of the tour.

3.5 The guide interviews

The aim of this research is to explore how actors construe and perform guided tours through practice, so the emphasis is on observations. In interviews, however, the tourists and the guides could reflect on their practices and elaborate on how they ascribed meanings to these practices. Altogether I conducted twelve interviews with seven guides and thirteen tourists, and one with the owner of an incoming bureau. Eight of the interviews with guides and tourists were conducted immediately on completion of a guided tour I had observed, which created an analytical space where observed practices could be held up against the discursive account of the same practices

I did follow-up interviews with four of the fourteen observed guides. The interviews lasted between half an hour and one and a half hours. The first interview was conducted a couple of months after the tour, but the last three were done immediately upon completion of a tour, in order to be resource-efficient, but also because the interview would then take its starting point in the tour while everything was fresh in the mind. Except for the first interview, the decision on whom, when and where to interview was governed very much by the circumstances, and this

explains why all the guides happened to be female. I always carried a tape recorder, and if there was a suitable break in the guide's schedule and she consented, we sat down at a restaurant or somewhere outdoors, where I held the interview. The interviews were semi-structured, combined with questions that started with the tours we just had completed. The interviews had the character of conversations between peers, where I also would let the guides ask me questions and in parts let them decide the direction of the interview, underlining that an

'.. interview is a social incident in itself, where experience is constructed in the interaction' (Tinggaard & Brinkmann 2010:31 – my translation).

I also had opportunity to engage in small-talk with all the guides when breaks occurred in the guiding during the 54 hours I spent as participant observer. In these cases the guides would talk to me, express their opinions, reflect on situations right there and then, and I would pose questions. These were not conversations I looked for; they occurred naturally, and it would have been artificial if I had avoided talking to them in an attempt to be a 'neutral, objective observer'.

Much later, when I was writing the analysis, I needed to conduct some additional interviews in order to shed light on the power relations, in particular between guides and third parties, that emerged from the material. To that end I did one interview that began on the closed chat interface in Facebook, which was convenient since I had the transcript right at hand; later the interview was completed with a proper telephone interview. The last three interviews were telephone interviews with two guides and the owner of an incoming bureau. The interviewees were chosen because of their experience and specific knowledge, and the telephone was chosen as a resource-efficient medium for conducting the interviews.

3.6 The tourist interviews

It is always a problem in tourism research to get tourists to spend their valuable time participating in lengthy interviews when they would rather enjoy their holiday. I discussed this with one incoming bureau, and in collaboration we found a gap in an otherwise very tight schedule where it was convenient to ask for an interview. On three occasions the groups had just terminated a cruise, and they had their last City Sightseeing before they were let off at a hotel in the centre of

Copenhagen where they had to wait to get their rooms anyway. By the end of the tours I had picked out some tourists I had observed, and with whom I had made some connection during the tour, and asked if they would give me an interview in the hotel lobby.

I decided not just to ask one person, but to ask all of them if it was a small travel party that I had my eye on. It seemed easier to select them all than to 'abduct' a spouse or just one member of a small travel party. Furthermore, this was an easy way to get access to more voices. The interviews were done as semi-structured group interviews, not to be confused with focus-group interviews where the aim is to facilitate and study the discussion among the participants (see Halkier 2010:123). However, some of the dynamics in focus-group interviews where the participants know one other beforehand were also in play in these ordinary group interviews, where the participants stimulated one another and felt free to agree or contradict, or would *'elaborate on one another's perspectives because of shared experiences'* (Barbour 2007:66, Bloor et al. 2001 in Halkier 2010:125. My translation).

I conducted one group interview with four people, two middle-aged couples from New York. I did another group interview with a family of four representing three generations – two grandparents with their daughter and their ten-year-old granddaughter, all of them from Southern California. I also did a one-on-one interview with a male pensioner and widower from Connecticut. These interviews lasted between thirty and sixty minutes and were all conducted in the lobby of Hotel Scandic Copenhagen.

Finally I conducted two completely improvised interviews. One was with a middle-aged couple from Florida who had participated in a City Sightseeing for individual travellers, and upon completion of the tour we walked together through the main pedestrian precinct in Copenhagen, since they had asked me show them the way to a famous tearoom called 'La Glace'. While walking, I tape-recorded an interview. The other interview was with two American ladies while we were passengers on the coach doing a City Sightseeing with tape-recorded guiding in eight different languages. Some of the electronic equipment on the coach was out of order, and as we began discussing this, I asked if I could record our conversation, and asked them some questions about guided tours (see Appendix 1).

Although I selected different types of travel party, thus ensuring a range of ages, they do not represent all the types of tourists observed, mostly because they are all Americans. To illustrate the time constraints that kept me from asking other tourists for interviews, one can look at the schedule of the closed Italian groups. They arrived from Italy late in the evening. Next morning they did a three-hour City Sightseeing, then they had a one-hour lunch break on their own, where they had to find a place to eat by themselves, order the food, pay and then get back again to depart for a five-hour castle tour of North Zealand in the afternoon. When we returned to the hotel in the evening, they were completely exhausted, and early next morning they departed for Norway. However as with the guides, I had small informal conversations with the tourists during the tours, which sometimes turned into ‘informal mini-interviews’ where I posed questions. However, this only happened on a small scale – when the situations occurred ‘naturally’. In the thesis each of the tourist interviewees is referred to as a specific letter and interview number, but a list of references with the names and occupations of the interviewees is available in Appendix 1.

3.7 Processing the data

All the collected data; the videos, the observation notes and the interviews have been transcribed and processed in an open-source computer program called ADVENE, which is at the same time a research project based at a university in Lyons, France.

‘ADVENE (Annotate Digital Video, Exchange on the NEt) is an ongoing project in the LIRIS laboratory (UMR 5205 CNRS) at Université Claude Bernard Lyon 1. It aims at providing a model and a format to share annotations about digital video documents (movies, courses, conferences...), as well as tools to edit and visualize the hypervideos generated from both the annotation and the audiovisual document. Teachers, moviegoers, etc. can use them to exchange multimedia comments and analysis about video documents. The project also aims at studying the way that communities of users (teachers, moviegoers, students...) will use these self-publishing tools to share their audiovisual ‘readings’, and to envision new editing and viewing interfaces for interactive comment and analysis of audiovisual content’ (<http://www.liris.cnrs.fr/advenel>)

ADVENE is designed to analyse audiovisual documents, but it has a strong focus on how to share and discuss data on the Internet, and in fact it was not fully developed to cater to my needs. However, I became a user in the project, where an actor from my university associated with the ADVENE project followed my use of the program. This actor has been crucial to the thesis, as I could ask assistance and explain how I wanted the program to function, and then he developed the program or created alternative solutions, which was an exciting process. So this is a suitable place to explain my use of ADVENE and its significance in the analytical process.

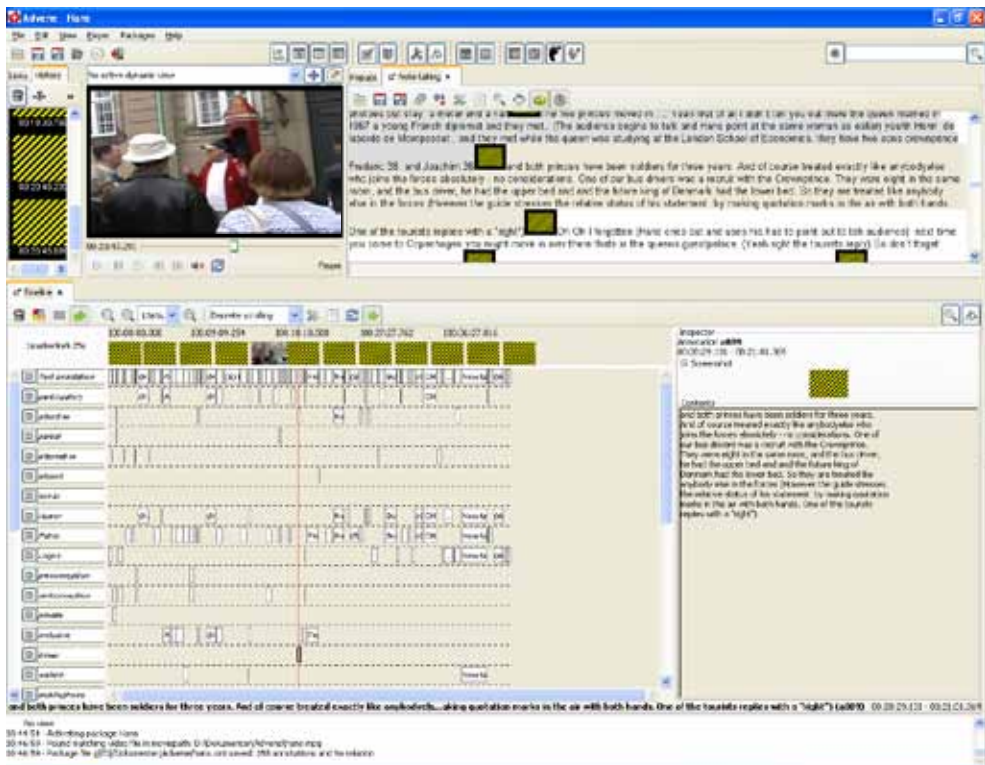


Figure 1. A screen dump of the ADVENE program in use.

All the collected data were converted into packages in ADVENE. Each package consists of either an entire video, a tape-recorded interview or the observation notes from a tour. In the above figure 1 we see a screen dump showing how a package looks in the ADVENE program. On the upper left we see a video of a guide commenting for a group of tourists in front of Amalienborg Palace. On the upper right we see the note-taking view, where the video has been transcribed – both its visual content, with an emphasis on how the actors moved around and

behaved in relation to one other, and its audio content. The transcript was then broken down into small scenes and entities as annotations to the relevant section of video, seen both as yellow and black striped boxes inserted in the transcription text, and again as the upper panel named 'text annotations' in the lower left view. Below the panel of text annotations we see all the annotation categories.

The still photo and the actual annotation in the above screen dump are also marked as a red line running down through the annotation categories, just as we can read the actual annotation text in the lower view on the right.

The annotation reads:

'and both princes have been soldiers for three years. And of course treated exactly like anybody else who joins the forces; absolutely – with no special considerations. One of our bus drivers was a recruit with the Crown Prince. There were eight of them in the same room, and the bus driver, he had the upper bed and the future king of Denmark had the lower bed. So they are treated like anybody else in the forces. (However, the guide stresses the relative nature of his statement by making quotation marks in the air with both hands. One of the tourists replies with a 'right')' (Transcript of Tour no 7).

The first part of the annotation transcribes the guiding while the guide's bodily expressions and the tourists' reactions are given in brackets. This annotation was imported to the annotation category named 'attentive', which refers to the tourists' attention to the guiding. The same annotation was attached to the category 'driver', because the guide includes a driver in the narrative.

The categories are mainly data-driven – that is, they build on the collected material, in line with the thinking of Grounded Theory (see Kristiansen 2010). The first rough outlines of the categories had already emerged in the field, when I was observing and following the various actors, and this was a determinant of the structure of the analysis. Annotation categories developed while I observed exactly how the tourists behaved and moved around in relation to the guide, and an outline of the tourists' participating tactics, began to take form from the first tours I observed. From the first tours I also identified 'the guides' communicative strategies', which were later developed into 'the guide's seductive strategies', placing more emphasis on bodily and non-verbal cues along with verbal practices.

The total number of packages amounted to thirty-nine. The annotations from the interviews were added to the soundtrack, and the observation notes were attached to a blank movie in order to work in the same format with all the incoming data. In order to create consistency in the annotation categories across all packages, a master package was created in which all the annotation categories were developed and refined. Any change made in the master package was automatically imported to the thirty-nine packages, which sometimes made it necessary to return and adjust the content of a package. Once all the packages had been worked through, the categories of annotations retrieved across the thirty-nine different packages were collected and printed out. For example all annotations made on the category 'driver', whether from videos, from observation notes or from the interviews, were collected. ADVENE was not designed to retrieve annotation categories across the packages, and this feature was developed in the program for the purpose. Reading an annotation category vertically through such a large body of material enabled new insights and developed and deepened the analysis, and it was in this phase that the categories 'settled' and became the final analytical themes. Reading across all the annotation categories also led to new insights, and this for example created scope for thematic analysis of the power contests among actors. The analytical process was characterized by loops, moving back and forth in the data while simultaneously reading and incorporating relevant literature, and at the same the process has maintained a steady forward progression.

3.8 Dissemination and discussion of findings

ADVENE's strength is that it enables users to share and discuss videos via the Internet, which I have not done so far. In fact, much of the potential of ADVENE as an analytical and knowledge-sharing tool has been far from fully exploited. However, I have made a number of presentations at seminars, conferences and the like where I have included stills and video clips in the power points. At the beginning of the project I asked verbally or via e-mail for the guides' permission to use stills or videos, but the most correct way is to obtain proper written permission, which was done towards the end of the project (see Appendix 2). The stills, and more particularly video clips, have proved to be good facilitators for discussions and multiple readings of the same sequence. My tutors and participants at seminars and conferences have all been valuable sources of feedback and input to the analysis, but one target group in particular is included overtly in the thesis.

I have held three seminars where authorized guides and guides-to-be were invited. The presentations of the preliminary findings always gave rise to interesting discussions, highlighting the areas of conflict and the fluid and negotiable character of the guided tour and the guide's role. One seminar was tape-recorded and on another two I took notes, and all the data have been transcribed and used as input to the thesis in line with the remainder of the collected data.

One aim of this research is to contribute to knowledge-sharing among guides. With programs like ADVENE it is possible to work with exchanges on the Internet, where it would be interesting to create a written document with videos inserted, and a possible way for the readers/researcher to engage in dialogue. Such a format offers many interesting perspectives for teaching and as an open-ended way of discussing and developing research both within and outside the academic community. Pink discusses the qualities of on-line visual ethnography resources:

'The notion of open-endedness can also be taken further to regard hypermedia texts as permanently unfinished. Theoretically this means neither knowledge nor representations of knowledge are ever complete; interpretations are open to re-interpretation and representations may be re-presentations. Practically this means that unlike printed books, and finished films, on-line hypermedia texts may be up-dated, added to or altered. Video sequences may be re-edited, photographs manipulated in new ways, written words changed and the hyperlinks between them modified. Hypermedia representations are also open-ended because their users can slip over their boundaries and explore their relation to other texts.' (Pink 2009: 202).

The above discussion however only points to the possible future prospects of working with hypermedia, while the present PhD thesis is being submitted as a written, printed document conforming to the traditional norms and ideals for the mediation of academic work, where the emphasis is on the written word and argumentation. The videos, the observation notes, the interviews and the seminars have been written up and are used to produce an authoritative analysis, although with critical reflections, self-reflections and reservations about the situated and constructed character of any academic work, including the status of the researcher as subject. In this thesis the visual part of the empirical data, which has been of equal importance with the audio part, has been reduced to stills from the videos inserted to support and illustrate points made in the text. This gives the text primacy in a hierarchy of texts and stills.

With reference to Van Maanen's (1988) distinctions among ethnographic writing styles, my writing style draws on several of these: the realist tradition, with a focus on the ever so small, mundane and minute details of the actors' practices; the confessional style, as I occasionally make myself visible as author, observer and former guide; and finally the impressionistic style, with small dramatic recalls of extraordinary events in which I was sometimes as involved as the rest of the actors. The events thus serve to prompt reflections at several levels. From this lengthy reflection on the process of producing the thesis, it is now time to introduce the narrative of the guided tour.

Chapters 4 and 5 concentrate on what the tourists bring to the performance. The tourists' interactions and actions are investigated with the focus on the guide-tourist relationship. I explore how the tactics used by the tourists are contingent not only on the guides' strategies but also on the entire strategy of the tourism industry, which constitutes the framework for the guided tour. In *Chapter 4* I investigate how the tourists perform the guided tour in the four main settings of such a tour: on the coach, inside cultural institutions, outdoors, and walking between stops. Here the focus is on how the tourists perform when they keep their actions within the framework of the guided tour. I argue that the tourists constantly 'log on and off' the guiding as they deploy a number of tactics to co-produce their own habitable version of the guided tour. *Chapter 5* takes the analysis one step further and investigates what happens when tourists challenge the frame of the guided tour. The focus is on conflicts and contestations of roles and how the tourists negotiate or mount performative resistance, which may take place in the four above-mentioned settings, but equally in between settings at such 'pit stops' as toilet stops, ice cream parlours, souvenir shops, restaurants etc

In *Chapters 6 to 10* I investigate what the actions and interactions of the guides bring to the performance of the guided tour. The guides work in the field between the tactics of the tourists and the strategy supplied by the industry, and within this the guides enact and develop their roles. In *Chapter 6* the role of the guides is investigated both in relation to the tourism industry and to the tourists. It is argued that the frame of the guided tour has a voluntary, playful character with blurred boundaries, and that the guides have to develop and apply a range of seductive strategies in order to attract and keep the attention of the tourists. *Chapter 7* explores the guides' rhetorical strategy, where the guides do not just impart 'neutral' information but try to be persuasive, seductive and entertaining,

appealing to *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* in dialogic communication with the tourists. *Chapter 8* investigates the intercultural strategy of the guides, examining how, in dialogic communication with the tourists, the guides infuse energy and create ‘conceptual pegs’ in the narratives by playing on the intercultural tension among the tourists, the guide and the destination. *Chapter 9* investigates the guides’ strategy of intimacy. The strategy of intimacy is produced when the guides draw overtly on their own or the tourists’ private self, and the strategy is interpreted and negotiated by guides and tourists alike. Here I argue that the strategy of intimacy serves to create a sense of closeness and confidentiality, and a contemporary ‘we’. When the guides apply the strategy of intimacy, this may well be the kind of guiding that makes deep, lasting impressions on the tourists. *Chapter 10* explores the guides’ logistical strategy, which is informed by the way the guides interact and negotiate with tourists in relation to the logistics of a tour; how they create a rhythm and flow in the movement of the group through landscapes and townscapes, through crowds in the museums and at pit stops, in the bus or on foot. I argue that the logistics may to a very great extent be shaped by external, unpredictable factors, which is why the logistical strategy of the guide is crucial to the success of the tour.

In *Chapters 11 to 15* the guided tour is investigated as a contested scene with multiple actors such as drivers, tour managers, escorts, interpreters, waiters, shopkeepers, police, custodians, local inhabitants and other tourists. The many actors may add to or detract from the scene, but they all have a stake in the performance, which they try to optimize. *Chapter 11* discusses how the guide, the tourists and third parties are placed within a frame where roles are little institutionalized and hence have blurred boundaries, so that the scene has a relatively open format with scope for negotiations and power plays. *Chapter 12* investigates how the drivers, as significant and indispensable actors, influence the performance of the guided tour, where they may be assigned and/or take on a number of sub-roles as co-guide, silent actor or co-tourist. On the basis of their ‘relative capital’ in Bourdieu’s terminology, the drivers and the guides interpret and negotiate, collaborate and compete in order to maximize their influence in the field. *Chapter 13* investigates how other professional actors such as tour managers, escorts, interpreters and colleagues who often participate throughout a guided tour may shape the performance in substantial ways. Here the boundaries between guides and third parties in analogous positions are even more blurred and thus prone to conflicts and overt power games. *Chapter 14* examines how subordinate actors

may have a strong influence on the performance of the guided tour. Subordinate actors may be programmed or improvised, and it is argued that they can add to the excitement and elevate the credibility of the performance, especially when they are local residents, whereas other subordinate actors like gatekeepers may result in negative encounters that detract from the performance. *Chapter 15* focuses on the relationship between the tourists and ‘walk-ons’, whether these are local residents or other tourists. It examines how the tourists and the locals negotiate their roles in relation to one other and how, together with the tourism industry, they negotiate the use of public space. Finally, the tourists’ relations with other tourists is scrutinized and I argue that tourists generally want to role-distance themselves, since tourism is depreciated by almost everybody, including the tourists themselves.

In the last *Chapter 16* all the analyses and conclusions in the thesis are synthesized and discussed in relation to the research questions. The core findings of the thesis are then extrapolated and discussed in relation to the future prospects of the guide profession and guided tour, not least in terms of the recent developments on the technological front. Here I argue that technology does not appear to be replacing human beings; on the contrary, humans and technology will engage in new ingenious combinations where the human factor seems to remain crucial – also on guided tours.

Tourists' Tactics on Guided Tours

In this chapter and in Chapter 5 the tourists' performance on guided tours will be scrutinized with a starting point in the tourist-guide interaction. By looking at how the tourists interact with the guide and observing them when they are not interacting with the guide, I will investigate what the tourists bring to the performance, and how they may circumscribe the same performance by acting at a tactical level in the face of a strategy. In this chapter the focus will be on interactions that are primarily kept 'neatly' within the frame, while Chapter 5 will focus on conflicts where the frame is contested and negotiated. The analyses serve to shed light on how tourists perform guided tours in relation the guide and guiding in various settings, as well as in relation to other tourists. The analyses may also help us understand the 'tactical' tourists and the strategy of the tourism industry on whose premises the guides work, as a preliminary to the analyses of the guides' strategies in Chapters 6-10.

What struck me most when observing the tourists on guided tours was how they continuously divided their attention between the guiding and other activities, and how when outside the coach they physically moved in and out of the groups. They were certainly not listening all time, and they certainly did not stay put. It was possible to organize the observations in terms of a selected, specified set of properties depending on the intensity of the interactions and the attention paid to the guiding.

Whether on an indoor stop visiting an attraction, in the coach, on an outdoor stop or walking between stops, the tourists would pose questions of all sorts to the guide: they would start discussions with the guide, and they would offer alternative explanations of the topic being spoken of. They would apply what I term a *participatory tactic* to the guiding. A second set of tourists would listen carefully to the guide, look in the directions pointed out by the guide, nodding and laughing at appropriate times, and with their body posture and utterances apply what I term an *attentive tactic*. A third set of tourists would apply a *partial tactic*, sharing

their attention between the guide and something else, either because they were engaged in parallel activities or they were in a position where they had difficulties hearing or seeing what the guide was talking about. A fourth set of tourists would completely break out of the guiding and engage in alternative activities, and thus apply an *alternative tactic*. These tourists did not listen to the guide at all, but they were certainly performing the guided tour by themselves or in interaction with the other actors. Finally, a fifth set of tourists would completely leave the performance and for example fall asleep, applying what I term an *absent tactic*. The same tourists could switch between these five tactics constantly, so I conclude that the tourists *log on to and log off from the guiding* while simultaneously engaging in multiple activities. These are some of the core findings that will be discussed at much more length in this chapter.

When asked about their behaviour on guided tours in the follow-up interviews, the tourists would address what they perceived as the ideals and norms of behaviour, as discussed by two American cruise passengers after a city sightseeing tour in Copenhagen:

'...you also need to keep your mouth closed when someone else is speaking.... the guide is speaking and you might not be interested, but that does not give you the permission to have a conversation with the person next to you. You need to be respectful (Tourist A) 'Yes, and pay attention' (Tourist B) 'If you want to, go to sleep, but keep your mouth closed' (Tourist A). (Tourist interview 1)

These rather strict views were modified a little later when we discussed the fact that tourists do make comments and do have conversations among themselves during the tour:

'That is appropriate, but if it is quiet and still and not distracting people sitting near you' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C)

It appears that the ideal tourists are supposed to listen attentively to the guide, and if they do not, the norm is that their other activities should not disturb fellow passengers.

When it comes to asking the guide questions, there are also norms. It is acceptable to ask questions when on the one hand the guides feed on the energy from the

tourists' questions and communication; on the other hand the guides have very clear ideas about when the business of asking questions contributes to or disturbs the guiding. One guide explained it like this:

'They (the tourists) have to ask, they have to be easy, they should preferably show interest – these are the good guests. You have a feeling with the ones you can have a ping-pong with -- or, yes, communicate with, but also when you get response in one way or the other. It doesn't have to be more than seeing a nod.' Later in the interview: *'..... in the coach you talk almost without interruption, and I had two ladies behind me that were asking constantly all the time. You know, many times I started and then it was too late They disturbed the whole coach'* (Guide interview 4)

In the interview this guide distinguishes between a walking tour where there is plenty of time for questions and communication, which she welcomes, and a city sightseeing tour in a coach, where she believes there is little time for questions. There is also a discussion of the norms for the kinds of questions that are appropriate to ask, and when asked directly what the limits are, one tourist offered this explanation:

'You are an adult. After living a certain amount of your life you should know what those limits are based on, what is common courtesy, and what you sense in the guide. I would not have asked about this man's family. It is twice I have heard this happening on this tour' (Tourist Interview 1, Tourist C)

Personal questions to the guide are viewed as crossing a limit. However, this happened on almost all the observed tours. Throughout the interviews the tourists and the guides explained the tourists' role as primarily being an audience to a performance put on by the guide, where the tourists only have a restricted, defined access to the scene. This contrasts with my observations of how the tourists actually did perform; they would not only co-write the script by asking all kinds of questions and making all kinds of comments; they would also make the scene their own by constantly *logging on to and off from the guiding, applying a range of tactics, and thus co-producing their own habitable version of the performance.*

The guided tour has four main settings: the coach, the outdoor stop, the indoor stop visiting attractions and finally the walks between stops. Each of the settings

has a different effect on the tactics, and in the following the tourists' *tactics* – *participatory*, *attentive*, *partial*, *alternative* and *absent* – will be discussed with regard to the four main settings of a guided tour.

4.1 On the coach

The coach may be characterized both as an external setting with regard to the city- and landscape that passes by outside the coach, and as an internal setting with regard to the interior of the coach. As the coach moves along with fast-changing scenery outside, it affords a more open space for interpretation and negotiations about the narratives to be told than an indoor visit to a cultural institution, where the topics seem to be more fixed. The inside of a coach is a setting which on the one hand regulates and delimits the physical mobility of the passengers, as they are fixed to their seats while the auditory space is dominated by the guide, but at the same time is a setting that unites the passengers in a group delimited from the outside world, and enhances interactions that promote the building-up of in-group feelings. The coach provides both protection and a space for relaxation, while at the same time allowing the tourists to apply all five tactics.

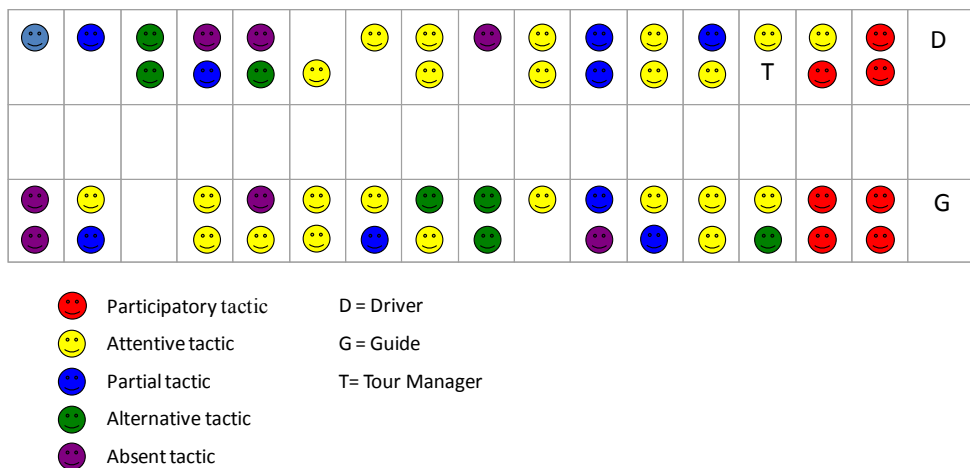


Figure 2. Tourists' tactics towards the guiding on the coach

The figure above illustrates the tourists' tactics towards the guiding at a given moment on a coach tour, and the tourists will constantly switch between tactics as the coach moves along.

On the coach the guides would sit on the front seat with a microphone giving a tour commentary, and on shorter tours like the three-hour city sightseeing tours, there would be only a few short pauses in between the talking. However, this did not prevent the tourists sitting right behind the guide to apply *participatory tactics*, seizing any opportunity to ask questions, when there was even a tiny pause (illustrated by red smileys in Figure 2). The guides' responses to these questions varied. Some guides would suddenly stop in the middle of a narrative and start on another, obviously answering a question from front-seat tourists, but not repeating the questions to the rest of the audience. The on-tour commentary thus became fragmented and a little confusing for the tourists in the back. On other occasions the tourists in the back would just hear murmuring between the guide and the front-seat tourists, but nothing was said on the microphone. Finally, some guides would repeat the question on the microphone and then answer it, thus making it a collective performance.

Front-seat passengers constantly applying *participatory tactics* is a well known phenomenon. Holloway (1981) notes that in the view of many guides the front-seat passengers are more aggressive than others:

'Guides recognize that to encourage the interaction of members of the party at the front of the coach may increase the isolation of those at the back, and it is for this reason they discourage conversation initiated by front seat passengers, choosing either to ignore direct questions or to repeat them over the microphone, thus drawing in other members of the audience' (Holloway 81 : 385).

Apart from the risk of socially excluding back-seat passengers, some guides simply find in general that there is too little time for the tourists to ask questions, especially on a city sightseeing tour, as stated by a guide in an earlier quote.

However, other guides actually encourage the tourists to ask questions on the coach, as the guide quoted below did during a city sightseeing tour. When I subsequently asked her about her practice, she explained:

'...but in the coach they are of course welcome to ask questions if they want – not all the time of course, but when I have finished talking, they are welcome to ask all the questions they want' (Guide interview 1)

In this coach, questions from all tourists were welcome, including the ones from front-seat passengers, and to ensure that the whole group had the same possibilities she would walk down the aisle and talk to the tourists, asking again if they had any questions. This practice I observed with several guides, and it seemed to be standard practice on the longer tours out of Copenhagen, for example to North Zealand.



Figure 3. *A guide walking down the aisle talking to the tourists on a city sightseeing tour in Copenhagen*

It is not only questions posed by the tourists on the tour that influence the guiding. Questions posed by tourists from earlier tours are also incorporated. One guide did this explicitly, when she referred several times to former tourists' questions as a cue for a narrative. When passing the National Bank in Copenhagen, she said:

'Speaking of the National Bank, you often pose the questions 'What is the economy like in Denmark, and do you have any money in the National Bank?' (Tour 5)

In this quote the first 'you' refers to the tourists in the coach but also to all their predecessors, and points to a learning process where the guide and the tourists develop narratives across time.

The guides mostly linked their narratives to something that was seen from the windows as the coach passed by, and the topics had a strong historical, architectural and cultural bias although they spiced their on-tour commentary with contemporary political, economic and everyday topics. The tourists for their part often ask more general questions about the country they visit, regardless of what is seen from the windows. One guide explained that her Italian leisure tourists mostly asked about contemporary social issues in Denmark. How do the hospitals

function, what is the cost of a visit to a GP or to a dentist, what are the prices of cars, and how much are the average wages? (Guide interview 1). An American tourist shared this interest in the everyday life of the Danes and explained that what he wanted get from a visit to a foreign country was:

'... to understand the people and the lifestyle, because you want to know that about a country. You can read about the history in the history books, but by them [the guides] sharing information about how people live, when they travel, and what they eat, and where they live, and all that kind of things, give you a sense of who people are, which is more interesting to me..... Personally I am not interested in every museum and every palace'. (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C).

The questions the tourists ask may be outside what the guide intends to tell them, and in this way the guide and the tourists negotiate the script of the tour. When the tourists asked questions, the guides chose to answer or postpone the answer, but also sometimes to ignore them. On all the observed tours there were tourists applying *participatory tactics*, and the guides' ability to absorb and even encourage questions depended on the temperament of the guide. The guides balanced between how much interaction they were able to handle while still remaining in control of the guiding, and what they believed was adequate and how much they found stimulating. Above all, there was a shared understanding that the guiding ought to be a collective performance, which was difficult for some guides to achieve.

The tourists applied *attentive tactics* when they appeared to give their undivided attention to the guide, as illustrated by the yellow smileys in Figure 2. They looked out of the windows, following the choreography of the guide. They laughed and said other things at appropriate times, giving feedback to the guide in front, assuring her that there was an attentive audience listening to the narratives. These are the ideal tourists, as described earlier by a guide. However, the tourists only applied *attentive tactics* for certain periods of time, and only for short periods were the guides able to keep the undivided attention of the whole group. Apart from the guide's own ability to 'seduce' the tourists, the level of attention seemed to depend on many intertwining factors, such as the length of the tour, the time of day, the temperature in the coach, the composition of the tourists, whether they were acquainted or not, whether they were young or old, etc.

Often the tourists looked in other directions than the ones pointed out by the guides, or they engaged in parallel activities such as reading guidebooks while listening. This way they divided their attention between the guiding and something else, applying a *partial tactic* illustrated by the blue smileys in Figure 2. One explanation could be that they were positioned in the coach, where it was hard to see what the guides were pointed out. No doubt the guides have the best view in the coach and see things first. It takes quite some understanding from the guide to time the on-tour commentary and make sure that both front-seat and back-seat passengers can see what she is talking about, and the tourists for their part can spend quite some time looking for the things they are supposed to see. However, many tourists appeared just to relax and follow what was right outside their own window, not worrying about whether it was related to the on-tour commentary. Another way to apply *partial tactics* was to read books or maps, while still appearing to listen to the guide, as can be seen in Figure 4.



Figure 4. On the left, a tourist reading a guidebook during a city sightseeing tour in Copenhagen. On the right, two tourists studying a map during a city sightseeing in Copenhagen

'A bus tour can be used by tourists to help organize their visit.' (Brown 2007: 377). The guidebook and/or the map in combination with the guided coach tour help the tourists to get their bearings in a foreign city and to decide where to go and what to do later when on their own. Many tourists followed the tour on a map, and some coaches had a monitor displaying an interactive map showing the current position of the coach, allowing the tourists to follow the route as we can on many aeroplanes. Most guides were aware of this aspect, and especially on city sightseeing tours they pointed out landmarks; some related the landmarks to the position of the tourists' hotel when they were a closed group staying at the same hotel. Furthermore, the guides offered advice on where to go and what to do after the tour, informing the tourists about opening hours, admission charges, local transport, local food and drink, local products they could buy, pointing out

particular areas worth visiting etc. Brown (2007) argues that the guidebooks, the coach tour and the tour guide along with travel agents, hoteliers, and vendors

'do not just constrain but enable and make tourism possible. While these structures are provided to tourists, tourists adapt them into their own use' (Brown 2007:378)

Another common *partial tactic* was to take photos while listening, as seen in Figure 5. Some were ready with their cameras to take pictures or shoot videos out of the window, and the most eager ones tried to switch seats to get better shots.

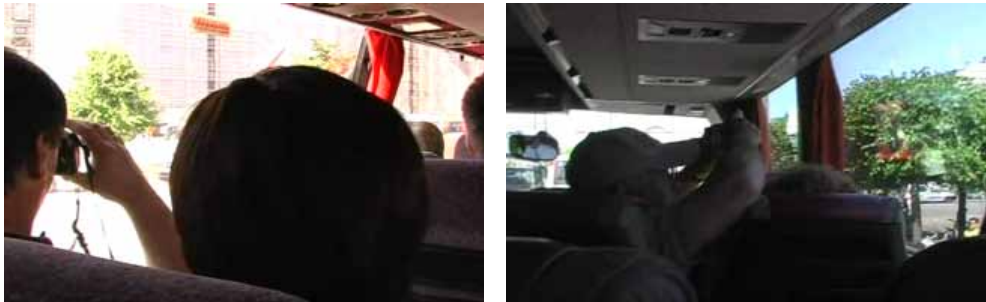


Figure 5. Tourists taking photos and videos from the windows of the coach on two different city sightseings in Copenhagen

Photos were taken of the things the guide pointed out, but also of other motifs that just happened to be outside the windows, showing that the tourists have their own visual agenda. On all tours a substantial number of tourists took photos or shot videos, underlining that tourism is very much a matter of visual consumption and performance. (See Urry 2002, Larsen 2004) Urry argues:

'The objects and technologies of cameras and films have constituted the very nature of travel as sites turns into sights, they have constructed what is worth going to 'sightsee' and what images and memories should be brought back' (Urry 2002:129).

But although visual memorization techniques no doubt prevail in sightseeing, the tourists are not just visual. Some place an emphasis on words and memorize a tour through their own words. It was not unusual to see one or two tourists in the coach writing down notes throughout a tour, as we see in Figure 6.

Listening to music is not a common activity during guided tours, but on one tour I sat next to a young woman who wore an earplug in one ear, listening to



Figure 6. A tourist writing down notes during a guided city sightseeing in Copenhagen

music from her mobile phone during an entire city sightseeing tour. At the same time she was reading a pamphlet, and in between she took photos. I asked her if she could follow the on-tour commentary and she replied that she could hear the guide and listen to music at the same time. The ability to multitask will vary between individuals, but young people in particular appear to be able to listen to music and concentrate on other things at the same time.

A *partial tactic* may also be imposed by the setting. A tourist may be sitting in a place that makes it difficult to see what the guide is talking about; the microphone may be out of order, or there may be noise inside the coach, making it difficult to hear the guide. On these occasions it is interesting to observe how much the tourists will endure before they react. On one tour the air-conditioning was so noisy that it was difficult to follow the on-tour commentary and the coach became very cold. The tourists tried to regulate the air jets, and they put on sweaters and cardigans, and more than one hour passed out of a three-hour city sightseeing before the air-conditioning was turned down so we could hear the guide loud and clear and there was a comfortable temperature in the coach. (Tour no. 8)

During the coach tours the tourists would at times log off from the guiding and apply *alternative tactics*, as illustrated by the green smileys in Figure 2. One interviewee explained:

There are moments of time when your eyes are all over .. they are tiring, because you are listening, you are observing what is on the street It is exhausting days and you are not doing what you normally do, so that is stressful. The energy level is very different. So there was one moment – I have it in my brain on the bus today – and I started talking to ‘Look at that’ – , in a flash – my husband didn’t see it. It was a father bicycling with his son, and a little child sitting on the back.

The children I see, they wear helmets, and their parents don't. But it was a bumpy street, so the father's bicycle was bumping and the kids were horseback-riding ... I thought it was the cutest little scene – but it was a second, and I said look out – so, moments like that that have nothing to do with what the guide is saying, but you observe something on the street.' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B)

The reasons for logging off can be many; sometimes something caught someone's attention as described in the above quote, and the interviewee used words like 'stressful', 'exhausting' and 'tiring' to describe the guided tours, underlining that it is impossible to keep your attention on the guiding during a whole tour, some of which last up to 7–8 hours. Furthermore, a guided tour in Copenhagen is often only a fragment of a tight programme. The above interview took place on the last day of a ten-day Baltic Cruise covering eight destinations including Stockholm, St. Petersburg and Copenhagen. In cultural tourism there is a potential risk of overloading the tourists with information and impressions served up in a limited time and space, and this induces tourists to log off every now and then to survive.



Figure 7. *Tourists talking together during a city sightseeing in Copenhagen*

One way the tourists applied *alternative tactics* was to engage in conversations, which they did constantly for short or long periods of time, like we see on Figure 7. On some tours there was a constant murmur all over the coach. Tourists talking loudly together can be a stress factor, and one guide described her way of handling these situations.

Yes, I also do that if I am driving and I hear somebody talking in the back. I let 5-10 minutes pass and then I get up to see why they are talking: is it just because they feel cosy, or don't they understand me?and then I have to

get hold of them and find out why they are sitting talking. I believe you owe that to the rest of the group... if they talk loudly. I don't mean if they small-talk, but if they talk loudly and bother the other guests in the group, then I take an extra walk down – not directly down to them, but to see what is happening. Sometimes people have bought a tour they believed was something else' (Guide interview 3).

This guide accepts that tourists small-talk and feel cosy together, but she takes responsibility for ensuring that the tour is a collective experience and wants to find out why they are talking loud. She points to the external factor that some tourists believe they have bought something else. This mistake can happen anywhere in the process when people buy a guided tour. Tourism is a large, complex industry and the logistics alone can be impressive. On the busiest days in the port of Copenhagen, several cruise ships will unload thousands of passengers on the quay, where more than half go searching among the numerous coaches, drivers and guides that are waiting. It is easy to imagine that errors can happen. I participated in two tours from a particular cruise ship where not all the tourists knew they were going on a city sightseeing tour. They were at the end of a cruise, which had also had started from Copenhagen, and they had a voucher saying they should just be transferred to their hotel. The guides would initiate their guiding, informing them that this was a three-hour city sightseeing tour, not just a transfer, and some of the tourists were surprised. saying that this was unexpected and that it was their second city sightseeing tour in Copenhagen as they had also taken one at the beginning of the cruise.

The guide quoted above does not just look for external factors when seeking explanations of why tourists engage in loud conversations; she also scrutinizes her own performance, asking if the tourists understand her. I never heard any tourists complaining about the guides' language skills on the tours I observed, but language skills were mentioned as an important factor with regard to the level of attention tourists pay to the guide. One interviewee explained how they had encountered guides with poor language skills at other destinations, which made it tiresome to listen to them (Tourist interview 3. Tourist A).

Another *alternative tactic* applied by tourists was talking on mobile phones. On several tours the tourist talked on mobile phones, and people who were not physical present thus entered the scene. If the mobile phone rang, most tourists would answer quickly and eventually phone back when there was a break in the tour.



Figure 8. Tourists talking on mobile phones during guided tours in Copenhagen. On the left in a coach, and on the right on a canal tour

Others had conversations in a low voice, trying not to disturb fellow passengers. One guide explained to me how he finds talking on mobile phones annoying and offensive, and it makes him feel insecure, but guides are not in a position to tell the tourists to switch off their phones, nor are fellow passengers. In above Figure 8 we see tourists talking on mobile phones in a coach (left) and on a canal tour (right). Canal tours may be compared to a coach tour, when the guiding is conducted by certified guides in one language only, which is unlike the guiding conducted by the guides employed by the canal boats. The guides employed by the canal boats are mostly young students, who memorize a pre-written script served up in two, three or four languages. The setting caters for the same participatory tactics, much as in a coach, insofar as the tourists are seated in rows facing the guide who talks through a microphone. However, being on the water in an open boat affords richer physical sensations and a different perspective on the city than the coach tour.



Figure 9. A tourist taking a nap during a guided tour in Copenhagen

It was possible to observe the tourists closing their eyes and dozing off for a while, and a few would fall asleep and even snore, thus applying an *absent tactic* as represented by the lilac smileys in Figure 2 and as seen in Figure 9. On tours going out of Copenhagen, for example to North Zealand, the guides would have

long breaks in their guiding on the return journey, leaving the tourists to have a rest. However, it was also possible to observe tourists applying absent tactics on shorter tours. On one city sightseeing, a man constantly dozed off for short periods of time, and his wife bashed him with a magazine to wake him up, as she obviously found it inappropriate. This made me reflect that some tourists may not have themselves chosen to go on a guided tour. In buying decisions there can be primary and secondary decision-makers, and in some cases, no doubt, a guided tour can be a part of a negotiated agreement between family members about what to do on a holiday, and this adds to the complexity of the explanations of why tourists log on and off.

One way for the guide to know that the tourists are logging off is when they talk to each other or on mobile phones, but too much silence can also be interpreted as logging off. On one tour the guide missed the feedback from the tourists that proved they were listening, and said:

'Are you still awake? You are so silent?' (Guide on Tour no. 13)

The guides obviously needed interaction and feedback, and when there was none some guides would look for external explanations, like asking the tourists if there had been a party on board the cruise ship the previous night (guide on tour no 8), or they would look inwards, perhaps fearing that their performance was falling short. One guide illustrated the uncertainty she sometimes felt by telling me a joke:

'A man is walking around in hell with a barrel full of burning coal while laughing. Two devils stand behind him saying 'I am not sure we can get through to him'. That is the way I feel – I am not sure if the people are listening' (Guide on tour no 3).

4.2 Outdoor stops

Almost all guided tours will have outdoor stops. On an ordinary three-hour city sightseeing tour in Copenhagen, the tourists will spend around half of the time outside the coach visiting attractions indoors as well as outdoors. Guides have relative freedom in the way they organize a three-hour city sightseeing. The tourists have bought a tour and have been promised that they will see the city and a number of highlights such as the Royal Palace, the Little Mermaid, and maybe an

inside visit to a castle or a church etc. This leaves it up to the guide, in collaboration with the driver, to decide the exact route, and it is possible to add or subtract things depending on the guides' preferences, the weather, the traffic, how mobile the tourists are etc. Many guides will try to do as much of the guiding as possible outdoors, and even go on small walking tours when possible. Being outdoors allows the tourists to experience the city in a situation of physical proximity that is richer in sensations and has a slower pace than in a coach. In recent years, guided walking tours through the city have become increasingly popular, thus avoiding the coach completely.

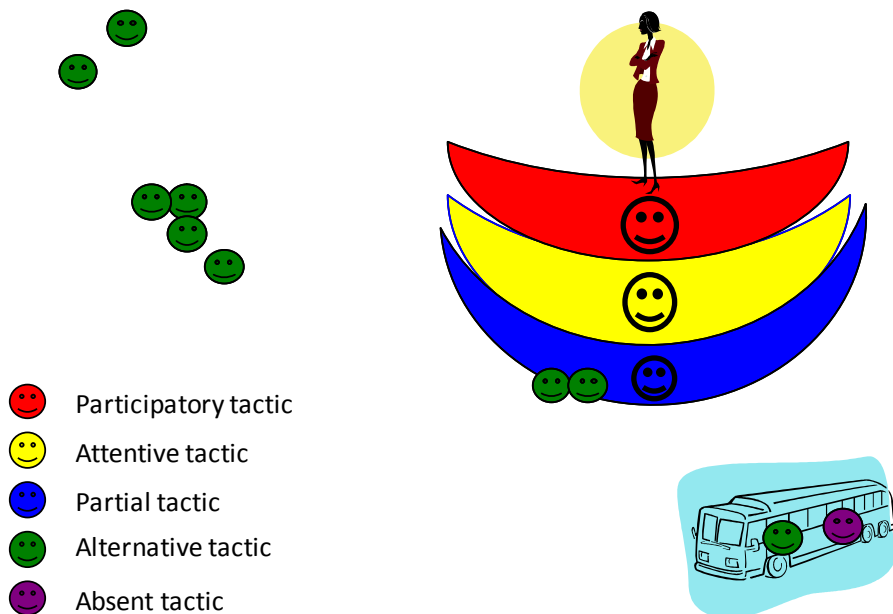


Figure 10. Tourists' tactics towards the guiding on outside stops.

The outdoor stop has a much more open format than the coach, and it allows for more face-to-face interactions between the guides and the tourists, just as it enhances the possibilities of interaction among the tourists themselves. Because the outdoor stop offers a less fixed scene, the tourists move more freely in and out of the group, and this gives them more freedom when they want to log on and off the guiding than the other settings. Another quality of the outdoor stops is the slower pace of the guiding – there is more time for elaboration and discussions. Tourists take advantage of being able to face the guide, which makes it much easier to ask questions, as illustrated by the red semicircle closest to the guide in Figure 10. At one outdoor stop, the tourists eagerly applied *participatory tactics* when the guide

explained about the Danish Constitution in front of the Danish Parliament. They asked questions, they finished the guide's sentences, they made loud comparisons with their own constitution, and the guide had to talk even louder to control the guiding, which turned more into a discussion, since she still had to ensure that it remained a collective performance. In spite of the fact that she had to struggle a little to remain in control, she seemed to enjoy the interaction from the eager tourists, and she managed to incorporate the questions eloquently in an ongoing narrative (Tour no 1). She would probably agree with one of her colleagues' statements:

'The guests are spontaneous and impulsive. I like the guests. They can be terribly troublesome. They ask questions, are noisy, carry on, and are crawling all over the place, but I sort of like it' (Guide interview 2).

The guides appeared to thrive on interaction and questions, but the open format also made tourists ask questions that were very detailed or unrelated to the sights around them, and the guides felt compelled to answer. Some questions were difficult to incorporate in a 'master narrative', and on several occasions I observed guides who ended up talking to the tourists closest to them, as if engaging in a 'private conversation', and the remainder of the group were forced to log off. When the guides were 'caught' in such 'private conversations', they often appeared a little hectic and stressed. They tried to answer the questions as quickly as possible and then get back on the track of the 'master narrative' in an attempt to strike the difficult balance between catering for individual demands for attention and still making it a collective performance.

Generally, guiding outdoors can be very demanding. First, guiding takes place in public space which is to be shared with other tourists and local residents. Secondly, guiding takes place in all kinds of weather, and the Danish climate is unpredictable. Thirdly, the size of the groups may vary from a few to more than 70 tourists. For some guides it was difficult to speak loud enough and it happened that the guide's voice drowned in noise from traffic, construction work, or from other tourist groups, and the guide only had to turn her head slightly and her voice would be carried away by the wind.

Tourists who wanted to be sure to hear the guide pursued a deliberate *attentive tactic*, trying to place themselves close enough to hear everything, as we can see in the above Figure 11 and in the yellow semicircle in Figure 10. They were looking



Figure 11. A stop on a walking tour in Copenhagen with a group of tourists applying attentive tactics to the guiding.

at what the guide pointed out, and they listened, nodded and laughed at appropriate times, giving their undivided attention to the guiding.

However, standing in the semicircle around the guide was by no means a guarantee that tourists gave their undivided attention to the guiding. Standing on the fringe of a group, as illustrated by the blue semicircle in Figure 10, made it more difficult to hear the guide, just as the events happening around the group could distract them. It happened that cute kindergarten children on an outing were passing and attracted their attention, and of course they inspected the surroundings in general. Cameras were adjusted, photos were taken, and pamphlets and maps were studied. Regardless of the size of the group, and no matter how close to the guide they were, the tourists applied *partial tactics*, especially towards the end of long tours or when the guides were giving lengthy explanations, which is what we see Figure 12.



Figure 12. A stop on a walking tour in Copenhagen with a group of tourists applying partial tactics to the guiding.

Sometimes the tourists would log off completely from the guiding and apply *alternative tactics* such as engaging in conversations with fellow tourists or breaking

out of the group and taking small excursions, as illustrated by the green smileys in Figure 10. Being out in the open gives people the freedom to move around in the land- or cityscape. Often some tourists fell behind because they wanted to take photos, others because they were discussing subjects that had been mentioned by the guide earlier on the tour, like the two gentlemen who left the group to study the parked cars in front of the parliament building, discussing and comparing car prices. They were clearly surprised by the level of taxation in Denmark. On the same tour, two tourists were constantly distancing themselves from the group, discussing their lost luggage and how they might have to face a two-week tour without their belongings. In their distressed state it was obviously difficult for them to concentrate on the guiding (Tour 1). Other tourists use the outdoor stops to talk on their mobile phones.



Figure 13. Tourists on a walking tour in Copenhagen having a rest on a stone wall, while the remainder of the group listen to the guide nearby.

When there were children in the groups, they would constantly log off and make small excursions – looking, chatting, playing and sometimes finding a place to sit down when possible. But they would not do it alone. Standing on your feet listening for a long time is tiring and grown-ups too would try to find places to sit and have a rest, even if it meant they were unable to hear the guide, as can we see in the above Figure 13. On most tours only a small number of tourists would leave the group at the same time. The norm seems to be that small excursions are acceptable, but not by everybody at once.

It was also possible to observe 1-10 tourists staying behind on the coach, thus applying *alternative* or *absent tactics* while the remainder of the group went outdoors to see the Little Mermaid, the cathedral or the Parliament etc., as illustrated by the green and lilac smileys in Figure 10. Some stayed behind because they suffered from physical strain, others because they simply could not be bothered to see the

sight and/or they were tired. On one tour a tourist had just bought some water and a fresh newspaper from his home country, and he sat reading or talking on his mobile phone while the remainder of the group made a half-hour outdoor stop at the Parliament building. I was sitting close to him in the coach and on my way out I asked why he was staying behind. He replied that he had been down to see the area by himself the night before. The same tourist read his newspaper through half of the city sightseeing tour, and appeared uninterested until major sights were reached; then he would take out his camera and take a photo. Here the guided tour appears to have been a means of transportation between highlights where he mainly wanted a photo of each sight (Tour no 1). On another tour a couple stayed behind in the coach when the group paid a visit to the Little Mermaid. The couple sat in front of me; I asked why they were staying behind and they explained that guided tours are tiresome when you have to get in and out of the coach all the time, and they thought it was nice that they could choose for themselves whether they wanted to go out (Tour no. 7),

4.3 Indoor stops

The indoor stop has a more closed and constrained format than the outdoor stop. In these cases the tourists are visiting churches, castles, museums and other cultural institutions which are often considered the highlights of the tour. Tourists have been compared to pilgrims, and in a sense a journey can be regarded as a kind of rite of passage or quasi-pilgrimage (Turner & Turner 1978 in Suvantola 2002). In this analogy the museums, castles and churches are the sacred places of these quasi-pilgrimages.

In cultural institutions there are often strict rules for how the public should behave, as in sacred places. In museums and castles there are rules – for example no touching of exhibited items, no use of flash, no big bags, you have to wear plastic covers over your shoes, keep mobile phones switched off etc. Guides are urged to keep their group together and make sure they follow the rules. The norm is that visitors should behave in a manner that does not harm the place they are visiting and that they should not disturb the experience of other visitors, and this contributes to a serious and concentrated atmosphere. The guiding mostly relates narrowly to topics related to the cultural institutions, and these are all circumstances that constrain the tourists' participatory tactics more than in other settings. The tourists have entered the sacred place of tourism, and guide is the

priest conducting the ceremony, so this appears to be the guide's best chance of gaining the tourists' undivided attention.

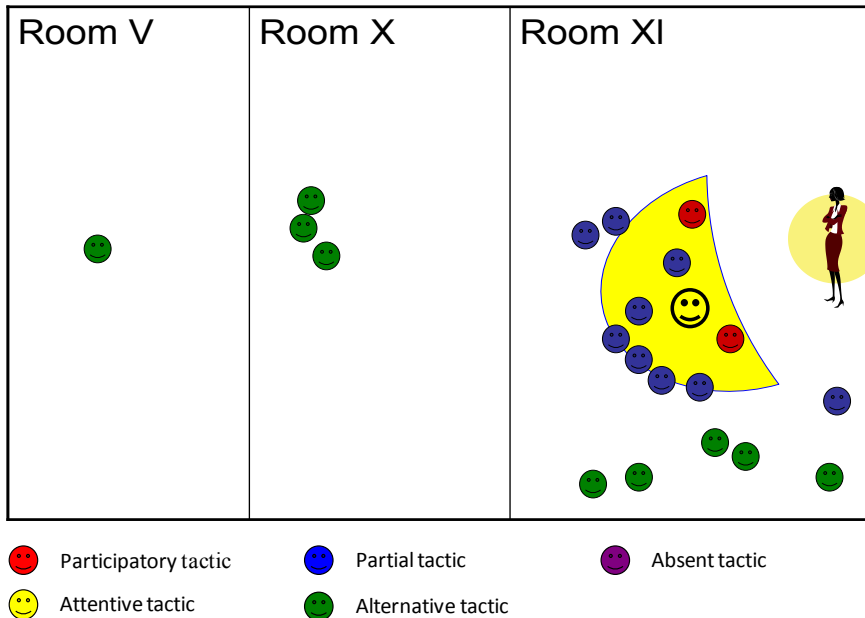


Figure 14. Tourists' tactics towards the guiding in a museum

Indoors the tourists would apply *participatory tactics*, as illustrated by the red smiley in Figure 14, but in comparison with the coach or the outdoor stop, the questions were tied much more narrowly to the cultural institution and the narratives of the guide. The questions often served to dig deeper into the subjects, like '...but then what happened?' or 'What is the connection between X and Y?', but also '...what is this?', asking about exhibits not mentioned by the guide, or 'What was in that room we just passed?' It is left to the guides to decide exactly which stops to make and what narratives to tell in the larger museums, and the tourists will often have to cross several rooms without stops, then when they finally stop in a room the guides will use specific narratives and point out selected exhibits. But then what about the rest?

The tours had very strict time constraints, and a visit to a castle or a museum was mostly completed in about one hour. Time constraints subjected the tourism performance to pressure that influenced the tourists' tactics, and the tourists asked questions to make sure they were not missing out on anything vital. Their willingness to accept the terms seemed to depend on the guide's ability to convey to them the feeling that they had got to see the highlights and the essence of the place.

During indoor stops the tourists appeared most willing to apply *attentive tactics*, as we see in Figure 15 below and from the large yellow crowd in Room XI in Figure 14. Furthermore, the limited space made the group stay more united and closer to the guide than outdoors.



Figure 15. Tourists applying *attentive tactics* to the guiding during a stop at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle

Guiding indoors requires less voice power than guiding outdoors, but at the same time the guide cannot speak too loud, especially when there are other groups and tourists in the same rooms. The closer the tourists stood to the guide the better they could follow the narratives and see what he pointed out; and the tourists pursued an active *attentive tactic* indoors as they did outdoors, trying to get as close to the guide as possible. During the stops they would move around to find a better spot to see and hear everything. However, in big groups not everyone could be close to the guide, and the tourists on the fringe of the group tended to log off more easily and apply *partial tactics*.



Figure 16. On the left we see tourists losing their concentration towards the end of a visit to the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle. On the right tourists are sitting down and looking around the room while listening to the guiding.

The tourists would also apply partial tactics when they were tired, especially towards the end of a tour or a long, day as we see in the above Figure 16. They would let their eyes wander all over the room, and otherwise divide their attention between the guiding and other things. Some would seize the opportunity to sit down while remaining within earshot.



Figure 17. Tourists applying alternative tactics to the guiding during a stop at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle.

Some of the tourists would completely log off the guiding and apply *alternative tactics* during indoor stops, as we see in Figure 17 above. They broke out of the group and made small excursions around the room, studying other exhibits than the ones the guide was talking about, and as we see in the figure to the left, they would engage in conversations, like the young man and woman, while the remainder of the group was standing around the guide in the same room. Families with children had quite a job keeping their children calm and entertained and still trying to listen to the guide. Other tourists again fell behind the group, because the guide has just passed through a room they wanted to study a little closer by themselves, and others fell behind because they were chatting.

On one tour, a tourist was so absorbed in taking photos during a visit to the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle that he completely lost the group. After a while somebody in the group discovered the man was missing, and the guide had to cooperate with the custodians, who managed to trace the lost tourist via their walkie-talkies and bring him back to the group safely. Everybody in the group was emotionally stirred by the disappearance, and they greeted him loudly, applauding when he returned (Tour no. 2). One tourist evaluated a Russian guide who had taken a group through the Hermitage in St. Petersburg:

'It was a different kind of tour. We were in very crowded places, interiors with many many people going through rooms, and it was her responsibility to make sure that we were together at all times and at the same time shared information, so I think that is a very difficult challenge... I say I think she did a good job of that, with people who strayed and she needed to find (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

The tourists log off, applying *alternative tactics* and even straying during indoor visits, but they do not want to get lost, and to make sure of this they rely on the guide's ability to keep the group together.

I never observed tourists who stayed behind in the bus during indoor visits to cultural institutions such as churches, castles or museums. This is not to say it may never happen on guided tours, but staying behind often means losing an hour or more of a guided tour, and inside visits are the cornerstones of a tour and explicit selling-points and thus something the tourists in general do not want to miss out on. However, despite the more formal, constrained and sacral character of the indoor setting compared with other settings, the tourists still log on and off, applying tactics so they can perform their own habitable version of the guided tour. The guides for their part are as busy as ever, making sure the group adhere to the code of conduct, performing the tour, sometimes in crowded places within time constraints, and at the same telling narratives that can capture the attention the tourists. On the one hand the guides may be challenged by the time constraint factor, the crowded places and very specific questions from the tourists; on the other hand this is a golden opportunity for the guide to excel, as it appears to be the place where the tourists most willingly apply attentive tactics.

4.4 Walking between stops

In some respects the most interesting setting for studying interactions between guides and tourists on a guided tour is when they walk between stops, as this has the most open and informal format of the four settings. Sometimes the purpose of the walk is only to take the group from the coach to a sight, but on other occasions walking through the city or the landscape is a central part of the performance. As the group moves along, this is the time when the guides and the tourists can get to know each other better through more informal conversations, and here the roles even may be reversed.

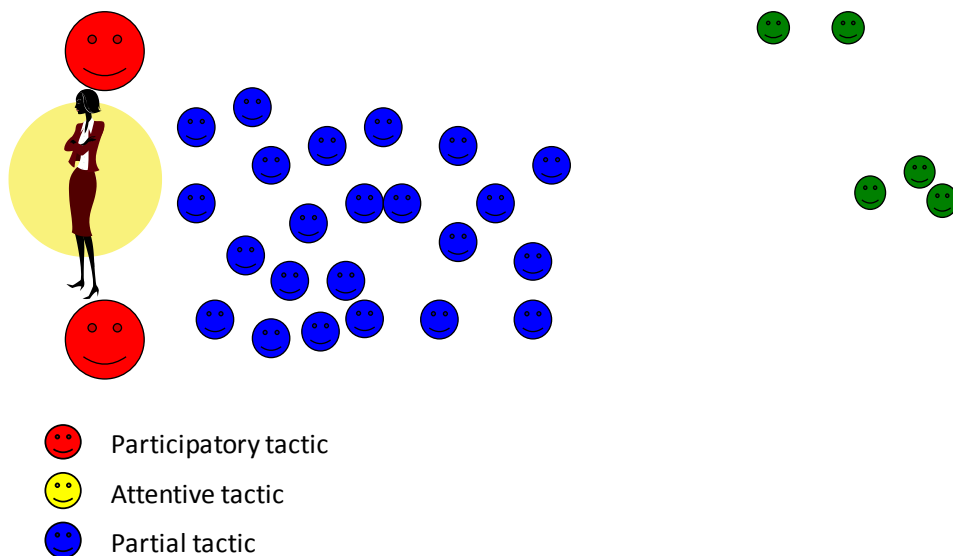


Figure 18. Tourists' tactics towards the guide walking between stops.

Walking between stops, the guides were almost constantly approached by tourists who applied *participatory tactics*, illustrated by the red smileys on Figure 18 and as we see on Figure 19. The tourists wanted to have conversations and ask questions. They asked the same type of questions as in the other three settings, but they would also ask questions that were inappropriate in the other settings, like personal and private questions to the guide. If the guide was Danish-born, the tourists wanted to know which connections the guide had to the tourists' own culture and nation, especially in the cases where the guide spoke a more exotic language than English. An opening question could be 'Where did you learn to speak Italian?' The foreign-born guides living in Denmark who guided in their mother tongue were asked why they had come to live in Denmark, and how they found Denmark. Sometimes the conversations went further and the tourists wanted to know even more about the guides' private life. The guides often had a little well-rounded narrative to serve up as an answer, and depending on their temperament they would go into more or less details. The fact that the tourists ask directly about the guide's personal life seems to cross a line expressed by a tourist, who believed it was not common courtesy to ask about the guide's family (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C). However, this happened constantly, and not only would the guides answer personal questions, some would even include personal and private information in the guiding on their own initiative, applying a strategy of intimacy, which will

be discussed at much more length in Chapter 8. In many cases the guide was the one of the few local people – if not the only one – with whom the tourists could have a proper conversation during their very short stays in Copenhagen, and the tourists would not only ask about the guide, but also begin to talk a little about themselves, giving and receiving equally. These conversations enhanced the quality of the guiding: as the guides got to know the tourists, it became easier to tailor the information to the specific target group in question.



Figure 19. A guide and a tourist having a conversation while walking between stops.

Walking between stops was also a setting for asking questions about sensitive religious or political issues that were not addressed during the regular commentary. These could be questions about the recent ‘cartoon crisis’, where one guide explained how she had to balance between opposing forces, as she felt obliged to give a satisfactory answer without entering into a political discussion with the tourists (Tourist interview 1). The guide is a ‘culture-broker’ (see Holloway 1981, Cohen 1985, Dahles 2002), but guiding is supposed to be a politically neutral sphere, and by and large this is easy to handle since much of the guiding concerns history, art and culture and only to a lesser extent contemporary political and economic issues. In some countries there are government policies on guiding, as in Indonesia, where guides are instructed in the *pancasila* state ideology (see Dahles 2001). In the former USSR guides were under strict control, and they never spoke about the contemporary political system to foreign tourists, restricting their guiding to historical subjects. This may well be the practice in Russia even today; one of my interviewees compared their Danish male guide with the Russian female guide from St. Petersburg they had had earlier on the cruise.

And I have the feeling that he (the Danish guide) might have responded to questions about politics. She (the Russian guide) was very careful, she stayed away absolutely totally. You wouldn't know anything had happened in Russia between the murder

of Nicholas II and last Sunday. You wouldn't know there was any history in the last 60 or 80 years. She was very careful talking' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C).

In Denmark there is no public policy from state authorities on what guides may talk about, and the Association of Authorized Guides in Copenhagen has no public code of conduct. It is left to the guides to decide what they find appropriate to discuss, although a *doxa* does exist that guiding should generally avoid sensitive topics such as sex, religion and politics (see Pond 1993). The Danish male guide referred to in the above quotation gave the tourists the impression that he might have answered political questions; but politics is a very sensitive area, as I myself realized as a young guide.

In the mid 1980s I worked both as a certified guide and as a tour manager for an American group on a tour around Scandinavia. At one point I gave a lengthy explanation of how we in Scandinavia have a universal welfare system where everybody has equal access to the health care system, to the educational system and how we receive benefits if we are unemployed, all financed by our tax and unemployment insurance system. I believed I was presenting a neutral picture, but when I left the coach on the subsequent break one lady was outraged and complained to her fellow passengers that she would not listen to such socialistic propaganda. Her fellow passengers tried to calm her, saying they believed that I was only telling them about the system as it was, and eventually she was calmed down. The episode did not have any consequences, but I learned to be very careful when talking about the economy and politics. The tourists may represent the whole spectrum of political affiliations in one group, and how the guides handle politically sensitive questions is an individual choice, but most guides keep a low profile on these subjects, and when asked they try to be as diplomatic, factual and neutral as possible. One guide explained how she would 'try to get to the roots' when explaining the cartoon crisis to foreigners, as she found that the foreign media had not given sufficient background information (Guide interview 1).

A third kind of question posed to the guide when walking between stops concerns the immediate travel interests. This may be as simple as asking for a recommendation of where to eat after the tour, or about places to visit or shop, not only in Copenhagen but in the remainder of Denmark/Scandinavia. They may bring their maps and pamphlets and want the guide to give advice and point out certain places. In this case the guide functions like a mediator, building bridges between the local

environment and the tourists (see Cohen 1985, Gurung, Simmons and Devlin in Dahles 2002) and the guide can have a decisive impact on the tourists' movements and consumption after a guided a tour. This puts the guides in a position where shops and cultural institutions may want to influence her to recommend their businesses/institutions to others in a highly competitive market. The way shops and institutions try to influence the guides in Denmark is mainly to let them have the advantage of free admission, or perhaps they are offered a free coffee or a meal when they arrive with tourists; actual commission is not used much.

'From city to city, the qualifications, regulations, educational programs, pay rates, and virtually all other standards vary greatly' (Pond 1993:preface).

The Association of Authorized Guides in Copenhagen has an agreement with the employers that gives them a fair salary compared with many destinations around the world, based on the fact that the guides are highly qualified and hold a diploma. In other countries the income of guides may depend heavily on commission. A survey from Hong Kong conducted in 1999 showed that 44% of the income of the guides came from commission and only 38% from the basic salary; and of course this influences not only the advice they give but the guided tour as a whole, where shopping may be a part of the itinerary (Ap & Wong 2000). This is not the case in Denmark, where shopping is rarely included on guided tours, and on the whole the guides do not talk very much about shopping except in rather general terms, unless the tourists ask directly. A tourist noted this feature after a guided coach tour in Copenhagen:

'The other thing which did not happen here, and barely happened on the tour in St. Petersburg. but many years ago it did happen in Morocco. Although we were on our own in an automobile for most of the three weeks, we did hire a tour guide and we were taken to places where they tried to sell us rugs, and we were under hard pressure in that way, and he obviously got a cut on anything that would have been purchased. (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C)

The tourists are very sensitive to being coaxed into shopping, and they notice and appreciate it when they are not.

A fourth kind of question asked while walking between stops can be of a more sensitive character, and may not be suitable for the rest of the audience to hear.

Tourists may ask in general where to go out in the evening, but walking between stops may also be the time when a tourist asks if it is possible to bring an escort girl to his hotel room, as one guide noted dryly during a preliminary presentation of this PhD. How a guide chooses to answer such a question will undoubtedly vary, depending on the guide's own attitude and moral values, and the guides may consider this outside the template for a guided tour in Copenhagen. But travelling and sex are intertwined, as is very evident on special tours like 'single' tours (see Tucker 2007) or at destinations like the Caribbean ones (see Lett 1983) or Ibiza, where the template is based on the 'four S's' (Sex, Sea, Sun and Sand). In this perspective, Denmark has a reputation as morally liberal, as it is known as the first country in the world to have legalized photographic pornography in 1969. This is a subject some guides may talk about briefly, especially if are driving down the street Istedgade, where the tourists can see what little is left of the 'red light district'.



Figure 20. (Top left and right:) A young woman hands out flyers from the 'Museum Erotica' to tourists on their way to and from the square at Amalienborg Palace, the royal winter residence. (Bottom right:) On the way between stops a guide looks at a tourist who is studying the flyer from the Museum Erotica

While only a fraction of tourists will be taken down Istedgade, a lot more will encounter 'liberal-minded Denmark' at the main sights like Amalienborg Palace, the winter residence of the Royal Family, or the Little Mermaid. During the summer

good-looking young women stand on the outskirts of Amalienborg Palace or at the Little Mermaid, distributing flyers promoting the 'Museum Erotica' to tourists passing on their way to and from the sights as we see on Figure 20. The Museum Erotica refers to the legalization of pornography as its *raison d'être*, and exhibits pornography from a cultural and historical perspective, but it also announces that there are more hard-core elements in the exhibition that are unsuitable for children. The flyers have some photos in them and it was very interesting to observe how the tourists reacted when they were handed the flyers. Some would take a look and then hand it back with disapproval to the young girls. Others took it on the fly and then maybe threw it away later, and you could find the flyers as litter on the street. Finally, some would stop and appear to be quite interested, inviting their friends to study the flyer a little closer. The emancipated and liberal stance has also moved into public advertising, where the regional tourist board 'Wonderful Copenhagen' actively promotes Copenhagen as a gay-friendly destination known for the Copenhagen Pride Parade, just as the city hosted the Gay Soccer World Cup in 2005. Finally, the booklet *Copenhagen This Week* dedicates a number of its final pages to advertisements for escort girls, not to be confused with the tour escorts who are working at the cruise ships. One aspect of the 'public destination image' of Denmark/Copenhagen is thus associated with sex, and it is understandable that tourists may have questions about the subject.

Talking to the guide walking between stops was very popular, and often there were several tourists waiting to approach the guide. They all wanted their turn, and the guide and the tourists knew this. If a tourist tried to monopolize the guide, the guide adopted a number of counter-tactics to cut the conversation after a while, either by redirecting their attention with an excuse, or starting to walk faster or applying other similar tactics to constrain inquisitive tourists.

While the guides only talked to one or two persons at a time, the remainder of the group would follow paying attention, in this case not to the guiding but to the movements of the guide and the group, while engaging in other activities such as observing the passing landscape or conversing with fellow tourists, thus applying *partial tactics* as shown by the blue smiley in Figure 18. Some guides used props to steer the movements of the group, holding up a 'Lollipop', an umbrella or the like so that the tourists could see the guide in front and knew where to go. Some groups wore tags or stickers on their clothes so the guide and fellow tourists from the same group could recognize one another during the tour.

Some of the guides as well as some of the tourists disliked the use of lollipops and stickers, as it made them feel they had a 'herd identity', a subject that will be discussed in the next chapter. At the same time, however, the tourists appreciated the guides' ability to take them safely through a tour. The guide is a 'pathfinder' (Cohen 1985) and the tourists are on unknown territory for a limited time. On one walking tour I overheard tourists discussing how somebody from their party got lost on a tour in Tallin, Estonia, and one of the talkers said she found the mere thought pretty scary, and counted on the guide to keep the group together. Besides talking a lot together when walking between stops, the tourists would at the same time become integrated in the local life for a while as they observed the landscape or cityscape, heard sounds, smelled odours and scents, looked at passers-by, construction workers or street performers, window-shopped – thus getting a full bodily sensation of a place. For seconds or minutes, tourists would stop to take photos; and since tourists walk at different paces some would fall behind the group, applying an alternative tactic illustrated by the green smileys in Figure 18. In general, the guides would adapt their pace and make regular stops to ensure everybody was keeping up. On some tours, when a tour manager participated with the group, the guide expected the tour manager to bring up the rear. It never happened that tourists were lost on the walking tours I observed, but it *can* happen, as mentioned in the previous section.

4.5 Discussion and conclusion on tourists' tactics on guided tours.

The guided tour is a unique performance where the tourists' tactics towards the guiding has its own set of properties, which I have tried to capture within the terms *participatory, attentive, partial, alternative and absent tactics*. Often guiding has been compared to teaching or acting (Holloway 1981), but although guiding involves elements from both, I rather want to stress what distinguishes guiding from the other two types of performance.

Guides very often emphasize the information-providing character of their role (Holloway 1981) and '*in advanced touristic countries, indeed, the dissemination of information takes on an almost academic character*' (Cohen 1985: 15). However, compared with a teacher, the guide is not in a position to order the tourists to listen or to ask them to turn off their mobile phones. In short, the guide does not have the legal authority of the teacher. The ordinary leisure tourists who are the

objects of this study are on holiday, they have paid for the tour and their participation has a voluntary and commercial character where the norm is by and large that whatever you do when not listening should be done in a manner that does not disturb fellow tourists or prevent them listening to the guide.

The entertaining qualities in guiding, compared with a theatre performance, are obvious when you observe guided tours.

'Each coach excursion, like a theatre performance, is a unique performance involving a different audience. That audience must be evaluated in the opening moments of contact, to sense the mood of the group and select appropriate appeal'
(Holloway 1981:389)

However, the guided tour caters for a rather different set of responses to the tourists' tactics from those a theatre for theatregoers. First, the tourists can have a much more decisive impact on the 'script' of the performance, primarily by applying participatory tactics. By asking questions, they not only influence the guiding on the tour in question; guides also build their questions into their future guiding. This trait points to the playful aspect of the guided tour. Secondly, the tourists may log off the guiding completely, not only by falling asleep (which may happen in a theatre too) but by having conversations with fellow tourists, talking on mobile phones and physically moving in and out of the group on small 'excursions'. They may fall behind or simply choose to stay behind, which again stresses the voluntary character of a guided tour.

The four main settings of the guided tour – the coach, the indoor visit, the outside stop or walking between stops – cater differently for tourists' *tactics*: the indoor visit has the most formal and constrained format, while walking between stops has the most open and informal format. By logging on and off the guiding, alternating among the five different *tactics*, the tourists try to co-produce their own habitable version of the guided tour, where it becomes apparent that the guiding is only one element, although a very decisive one for the outcome of the performance. It is possible to conclude that the guided tour has a voluntary, playful and commercial framework that allows for a relatively high degree of freedom in the participating pattern of the tourists.

The Guided Tour – a Contested Scene

So far the tourists' interactions have been analysed and discussed in cases where the actors primarily keep the performance neatly within the frame of the guided tour. In this chapter the focus will be on conflicts and contestations of roles, and I will investigate how the frame itself is sometimes up for negotiation. One could argue that the 'frame' in the Goffmanian sense is much less institutionalized and less pure than a lecture or a real theatre play, and the boundaries on guided tours are in fact blurred. The actors engage in boundary work when they interpret and negotiate their roles and the space of action, just as they will try to optimize their influence in the field of the guided tour in more or less overt power contests. This may to some extent be captured by the tourists' *tactics* in the four main settings, but it is played out just as much in what I term the in-between settings: at pit stops like toilets, ice cream parlours, souvenir shops, restaurants etc.

5.1 Performing sociality on guided tours

The fact that tourists perform a tour together with travelling companions, building and strengthening social relations, is a very important part of travelling (see Schmidt 1979, Holloway 1981, Larsen 2004, Bærenholdt 2007, Tucker 2007). Bærenholdt (2007) has studied the relationship between tourism places and sociality, and he argues:

'The sociality of place is not a given frame; it is something produced through social interaction, but also by more discreet attention to the presence of others, where the individual performance only relates indirectly to other performances.' (Bærenholdt 2007:13-14).

Barenholdt refers to Ingold (2000:196) who says that 'the gestures of the performers may be said to resonate with each other...' and Barenholdt continues 'Resonance is not just performed in a single place but to a high degree by travelling through more places – and by the group's co-presence in more places' (Barenholdt 2007:14).

Tourists on guided tours continuously pay attention to one other as moods build up throughout a tour. Any action will resonate against the sounding-board of the group, and as moods are reflected, the group establishes a tone that can be anything from open, vivacious and inquisitive to more closed, calm and introverted. When guides first meet a group they have to tune into the group and vice versa, and from then on they develop the performance together.



Figure 21. Tourists holding hands and walking arm in arm between stops on a guided city sightseeing in Copenhagen.

The social interactions among tourists can be studied at a verbal and a non-verbal level. At the non-verbal level I observed a lot of physical connectedness. Tourists were holding hands or walking arm in arm or with their arms around each other, (see Figure 21) not only the younger ones and couples, but people of all ages and of the same sex. Parents would hold their children, younger people would hold older people, and there were two elderly ladies holding each others' hands, performing physical connectedness and providing protection in a foreign environment. Inside the coach a husband or wife would hold or pat the hand of his or her spouse, a child would lay his head on his mother's shoulder or stretch his leg over the lap of a grown-up. The physical intimacy I observed was pervasive but not intrusive, although there was a little kissing here and there, for example between honeymooners.

Through body language and verbal communication the tourists made sure that the experience of a destination was a collective performance. They constantly

looked at one another, they pointed out things to one another and commented, assuring one another that they saw and heard the same things. The tourists also talked about issues unrelated to the guiding or the destination, but the issues were meaningful for the parties involved.



Figure 22. A tourist pointing out of the window, addressing the person sitting next to him on a guided city sightseeing in Copenhagen.



Figure 23. Two tourists – a father and his child – interacting during an indoor stop at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle

This was very obvious when there were children in the party. The grown-ups would constantly pay attention and talk and explain things to the children to keep them calm. More and more children and young people participate in ordinary guided tours with their families, as opposed to the idea of the mature cultural tourist; but in general the frame does not cater well for children. On most of the observed tours there were children, but only on very few occasions did the guides address the children directly, and they did not try to adjust the narratives or the tour in general to the interests of the children. One mother travelling with her 10-year-old daughter and their grandparents wondered:

'I don't think they [the guides] have seen her at all. Sometimes I wonder, when they are counting, if they even see her [they laugh]' (Tourist interview 3. Tourist A).

The guiding was generally geared towards adults, and on the whole it was left to the parents and the children to find a suitable way to perform the tour. They did so by constantly switching between social interaction and experiencing the destination, while all along they had to be quiet enough not to disturb fellow tourists too much.

5.2 When performed sociality takes precedence

On most tours the performed sociality is contained within a frame where the aim of the tour appears to experience a foreign destination with peers; but on some tours or for certain tourists the sociality takes precedence.

'Among some types of tours, it is the group itself that is the main attraction' (Schmidt 1979: 443).

This is a phenomenon elaborated on by Holloway, who notes:

'In inclement weather, for example, some passengers will take a coach trip to 'pass time' and the excursion itself may be as important as the destination. Equally, single passengers may see the excursion as an opportunity to meet others and socialize, and here again the destination may be of secondary importance' (Holloway 1981: 381).

This is exactly what I observed on a tour to North Zealand with a group composed of individual tourists. Two young men were paying court to a young lady throughout the tour. When the group paid an indoor visit to a castle, the three of them let themselves fall behind constantly, and only paid sporadic attention to the guiding and the castle. By the end of the visit one of the two young men had won the favour of the young woman, and they went aside, small-talking, in each room, while the defeated friend walked restlessly around the rooms studying all other items than the ones the guide was talking about. In this case the guide probably did not even notice the agenda of the three young people, as they were a part of large group where the majority paid attention to the guiding most of the time. On other tours the guides noticed when performed sociality took precedence. On one tour, a mother and her son stayed behind in the coach chatting, while the remainder of the group went outside to pay a visit to the Little Mermaid. The guide discovered the two 'deserters', and she persuaded them to come out

with mild disbelief in her voice, as if they had no real choice, and finally they got out. The guide and the tourists were thus negotiating the aim of the tour, and the question is where does it leave the guide if the tourists are not interested in what is supposedly one of the highlights of Copenhagen? Holloway argues:

'This is a failing symptomatic of many occupations as Everett Hughes (1958:346) recognized: 'It is characteristic of many occupations that the people in them, although convinced that they themselves are the best judges... of what is best for the people for whom they perform services, are required in some measure to yield judgement on what is wanted to these amateurs who receive the services'. As one guide put it in an interview: 'You are guide first. If there are 40 people sitting behind you and only three of them are really interested in the facts that you are putting across, that's what you are employed for'(Holloway 1981:386).

The certified guides are trained to convey information about the destination, and they may well see that as their primary function; but rather than just rejecting tourists with alternative agendas, I observed guides who tried to embrace and persuade the tourists, thus engaging in boundary work. An example already mentioned in a former chapter is the guide who walked down the aisle of the coach after five to ten minutes to find out why people were talking. She wanted to find out if they were just feeling cosy, which she accepted, or if there was anything wrong with the tour or the guiding. This guide expressed a more humble attitude to tourists' alternative agendas, but at the same time there was also a wish to find out if there was anything wrong that might be corrected to get the tourists back on the track to listen to the guiding. When tourists obviously do not listen and appear uninterested in the guiding and the destination, it leaves the guides insecure about how to handle their roles. One guide offered this explanation:

'People who pay for their tour want something for their money. The ones who have the tour paid for them, they want to have fun with their friends from another department..... they speak on the phone or they are not interested at all.....It is maybe the fifth or sixth tour they have been on together, maybe they go on a tour every year, and they almost don't care. So you really have to use strength not to lose control' (Guide on tour 17).

This guide compares leisure tourists who pay for their tour themselves with tourists who have their tour paid, for example by a company, as with incentive tours. I can-

not confirm the sharp line he draws between paying and non-paying tourists, as I observed the same attitudes though on a smaller scale among the paying tourists who are the objects of this research. However, on incentives tours the guided tour is primarily a prize meant to strengthen cohesion within and loyalty to the company that pays for the tour. If more or less everybody in such a group decides to log off to engage in social interaction, the guide can do very little. In these cases it is very obvious that the guided tour has a commercial frame, where the users, if they agree, can turn the tour into a social event and the tour is just a subsidiary frame. The guide quoted above finds that some non-paying tourists do not care about what he as the guide considers important, and he stresses his need to control these groups, which indicates that he has difficulty negotiating a role that merges with the agenda of the group. Holloway, who observed the certified guides in London, noted that when the tourists aim with an excursion conflicts with that of the guides:

'Guides may be forced reluctantly to adopt their subsidiary role of entertainer, but they find this role less satisfying and some will reject it' (Holloway 1981:386).

Whether the guides are forced to adopt a subsidiary role as entertainer or another type of role, it confirms that the frame of the guided tours has blurred boundaries that are up for negotiation. Who gets the upper hand and who sets the agenda will depend on the guide, the composition of the group, the type of tour etc., and not least on how the actors negotiate. However, it is worth stressing that on most guided tours tourists are interested in experiencing the destination in one way or another, and the cases where this is completely subsidiary will be few and far between, at least according to my experiences.

5.3 Technological sociality

Sometimes the tourists performed sociality through technological devices, and the mobile phone is a communicative mobility connecting home and away, creating '*telecopresence*' (Zhao 2001 in White and White 2006:90) between the tourist and people from elsewhere. I overheard all kinds of subjects discussed on the mobile phone during tours, from the solving of practical problems back home to a tourist explaining that he was now standing in centre of Copenhagen and giving a vivid description of the surroundings, thus performing the tour with '*virtual travel companions*' (White and White 2006:95). The tourist narratives that might other-

wise have been told on their return from the trip are told right there and then. Haldrup and Larsen (2009) explain how tourists' photos are sent instantly via camera-phones, but also through internet cafés, in e-mails and travel blogs to a more or less instantaneous live audience, and they ask:

'Is the new spatial-temporal order of tourist photography, and by implication many other tourism performances, one of 'I am here' rather than 'I was here?' (Bell and Lyall 2005 in Haldrup and Larsen 2009:52).

The guides may dislike tourists talking on mobile phones, but they are not in a position to ask the tourists to turn off their mobile phones, nor are fellow passengers. The norms for when and where it is acceptable to talk on a mobile phone in public space are still being negotiated, although you find signs saying mobile phones should be turned off in an increasing number of places such as inside museums and castles. On guided coach tours there are (still?) no such signs, and mobile phones did ring on the observed tours, and in this way sociality was performed with actors who were not physical co-present. While performed sociality was mostly a challenge to the guides in terms of the lack of attention and people's alternative agendas, too much attention can also pose a challenge when the tourists contest the knowledge of the guides.

5.4 Contesting knowledge

Certified guides often see their primary function as giving information. Hence, their body of knowledge will be the core of their professional identity (see Holloway 1981, Cohen 1985). Tourists also find the knowledge of the guides very important, and they measure their performance against this standard. At the same time the tourists will bring their own general knowledge and interests to the performance, just as everybody has some previous knowledge about the destination, no matter at which level. Sometimes conflicts can arise, and there can be a contest over knowledge between guides and tourists.

The knowledge that tourists have of a destination may stem from multiple sources such as education, the media, acquaintances etc. Some cruise ships offer lectures by people like retired professors on subjects that prepare the tourists for the coming destinations (Tourist interview 4). Finally, tourists read guidebooks, and many tourists will sit and read guidebooks while being guided.

'Guidebooks come in many different forms, from free handouts to Michelin and Baedeker' and the information in guidebooks can be divided into *'two types of information: ready-to-use answers and cultural/historical knowledge'* (Brown, 2007:372). Some guidebooks appear to have the status of *the* guidebook, like the green ones from Touring Club Italiano entitled *'Danimarca Islanda'* or *'Cittá del Nord'* which are the guidebooks most frequently used by Italian tourists on guided tours of Denmark. Sørensen & Therkelsen (2005:54) found that for those

'...who read the guidebook as part of preparing for a holiday, the guidebook predominantly functions as a cognitive source for cultural and historical insight rather than an instrumental tool.'

The knowledge that tourists accumulate about the destination is measured against the information given by the guide. As one tourist said about a guide,

'She speaks well and one senses that she knows her material and is correct. If a guide is making up stories you stop listening, then you'd better read it yourself' (Tourist on Tour no. 2).

How the tourists know/sense when a guide makes up stories ought to be explored further, but no doubt the tourists will question discrepancies between the information given in the guidebooks and what is presented by the guide.

Some tourists are very prepared, and want to dig still deeper into a subject, asking ever more detailed questions, maybe testing their own knowledge against the guide's knowledge. One tourist offered the following reflection on being prepared and informed before embarking on a tour:

'I think it gives a lot more to be more informed, but at the same time that is a two-edged sword isn't it? Sometimes they come so utterly prepared and they are difficult for the guide and difficult for the rest of the people who don't have the advantage of having done their homework. So I don't know?' (Tourist interview 4).

Whether the tourists have done their homework or the guiding concerns subjects where the tourists are more knowledgeable than the guides, either as professionals or as exceptionally knowledgeable amateurs, they will pose a challenge to the guide.

'This can at times lead to a fear of being 'up-staged' by particularly knowledgeable passengers, which some guides feel may undermine their authority over their audience'(Holloway 1981:386).

The following observation was made during an indoor stop at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, where the guide was explaining how the castle had burned down and was later reconstructed. One tourist asked how marble burns, and as the guide was unable to answer, another tourist eagerly took over the guiding, explaining the burning point of marble, and how it turns into coal. The guide did let the tourist steal the scene, and in diplomatic fashion remarked *'How nice to have such knowledgeable guests along'*, thus managing the situation in a professional way so that no one lost face (Tour no 2). However, tourists are sensitive to the guide's reactions, and one tourist found that the guide got annoyed when they asked questions she could not answer, in spite of the fact that she was an experienced guide who tried to tackle questions in an upfront manner and with humour.

It is obvious that a guide cannot answer all questions, and the advice given to guides on how to handle these inevitable situations is copious (see Holloway 1981, Pond 1993). Tourists may ask questions in a variety of modes: some may be spontaneous, easy and light-hearted, while others may be felt more as an intended challenge. No matter how the guide handles questions, and no matter what the tourist's intention is, the performance may turn into a contest over knowledge based on the actors' cultural capital – a contest where the authority of the guide is being negotiated. If it is an uncomfortable aspect of the guiding role to have one's authority as the knowledgeable actor at stake, it is even harder when it is one's entire role as a tourism actor that is at stake, and here guides and tourists are in the same boat.

5. 5 Role-distancing

'Tourism is a mystifying subject, because being a tourist is depreciated by almost everyone. Even tourists themselves belittle tourism as it connotes something commercial, tacky and superficial'(Culler 1981 in Bruner 2005:7).

Sometimes both tourists and guides feel uneasy about their role, to the point where they dislike it and therefore attempt to distance themselves from the role.

'...role distance is one of the mechanisms by which the individual in a so-called 'situated activity system' attempts to remedy, downplay or deny what he or she perceives to be a faulty, strange or otherwise inappropriate self while in role before a particular audience.' (Chris 1999: 72)

When groups walk with a guide in front of them, they are very easy to identify as tourists on a guided tour. At the cruise ships the guides were given a 'lollipop' with a number on it, and the tourists wore stickers on their clothes with the same number. On one tour I observed that the guide used the lollipop as little as possible, putting it into the bag and only taking it out on a few occasions. When I subsequently asked her about her practice she explained:

'No, I hate it, I feel just like an idiot. I believe when you have such a small group, when you have stopped a few times and looked at them, then you know them – luckily they have these stickers, so I can recognize them. I do not walk with this lollipop, I think it is close to embarrassing. I can see that it is practical in some places, like when you go to Amalienborg [the Royal winter residence], where there are many groups, and you try to gather people. Some come later than others, and there are ten guides all with a red jacket, so then I hold it up. It depends on where we are, how many there are around us. Then you have companies that do not use stickers, and then you are forced to do it' (Guide interview 4).

This guide has a strong feeling about being identified as the shepherd and the group as a flock, and later in the interview she explained how she tried to see and treat the tourists as individuals. However, she was happy about the stickers, since they helped her to identify the tourists belonging to her group, especially in crowded places. Tourists may also try to distance themselves from a negative, stereotyped image of being in a flock, as observed by Holloway:

'To assist in identification, some guides may use adhesive coloured tabs, which they ask members of their group to attach to their clothing. During the research, it was noted that some of the wits in a group would take to sticking the spots on their foreheads. This appears to be a light hearted protest against efforts at 'herd identification' and representing a interesting example of Goffman's role distance (Goffman 1961:95 in Holloway 1981:391).

Both guide and the tourists may perform role-distancing from this 'herd identification', but at the same time both guides and tourists appear to accept it as a practical way of keeping the group together. Some tourists' fear of getting lost at a foreign destination may count more than the fear of feeling ridiculed.

Some tourists in general dislike being identified as someone who goes on guided tours, because they believe it signals that they are unable to manage a visit themselves, and one of my interviewees started by saying:

I have not been on that many guided tours, when we have gotten to a city we take on our own – to go on our own. The only other guide we used on this trip was in St. Petersburg' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C).

It was important for this interviewee to distance himself from a stereotyped picture of the dependent tourist, and he explained that he participated in a guided tour for other reasons.

In Tucker's (2007) analysis, one of her informants expressed the feeling of depreciation involved in being a tourist on a guided tour:

'Frankly I'm embarrassed by it – some places we go to be part of a tour, it's just like I feel I'm cheapening the experience' (Tucker 2007:152).

The statements show that being a tourist on a guided tour is not easy, and tourists fear being identified as helpless, dependent and ridiculous.

The guides may suffer from the same negative image of the tourists, and they may distinguish between tourists. One guide who conducted a city sightseeing tour composed of individual travellers who were only together on this 2½-hour tour said off the record to me:

'It is very very different from the normal, because our tourists are individualists'(Guide on tour no. 11).

This guide compared the tourists on the guided tour he conducted with what he calls '*the normal*' – that is, tourists who are in a group for an extended period of time and have the guided tour as a part of an itinerary or as an option. I believe this to

be an arbitrary division of tourists, and the ones travelling in a travel party for an extended time and the ones who are travelling independently and choose to go on a city sightseeing tour may very well be the same tourists on two different occasions.

The motives for going on a guided tour are many, and are not just indicative of helplessness or dependency; but the negative stigma that adheres to guided tours, tourists and tourism in general prompts the actors to distance themselves from the negative images. The negative images are forged in the construction of the 'other', when people say 'I am not one of them', or the guides state 'they are not one of mine'. Who exactly the 'others' are we never really know, but the negative image of the 'others' is a persistent part of the discourse of tourism.

5.6 Performing resistance to the guide and the guiding

In her recent study from 2007 Hazel Tucker introduces the notion of performative resistance, which also can be seen as related with role-distancing. Tucker investigates how contesting narratives were negotiated between a guide and a group of young tourists during a one-week package coach tour in New Zealand. Tucker traces three, all partly pre-written main themes: the 'clean and green', the 'chuck and fuck', and the 'adventure' theme, which

'...at the same time were enabling in that they allowed the tour participants to play at them, to play one off against another and to combine them creatively into their performance Similarly some of the tourists' on-tour behavior enacted a performative resistance to the main tour scripts and also to [the] conformity of the tour group' (Tucker 2007: 155).

Resistance may be performed during the tour in relation to the guide and to the guiding, either in direct confrontation or without the guide being privy to it. The resistance may take place in the main settings of the tour, but equally in the in-between settings at pit stops that could be labelled 'back-stage' in Goffmann's (1974) terms, which with their informal frame offer ample opportunities for tourists to perform resistance and air their views.

One situation tourists may resist is when they feel they are being treated like schoolchildren and that the guide is acting too much like a schoolteacher. The

comparison between a school class on an outing and a guided tour was made by one tourist, who explained:

'The closest – I don't know if you agree with me – the closest feeling I had as an adult going on a tour with a school – and the teacher told when to come and when to go, and to stand in line and not disappear, the history, and you could raise a hand and ask a question – there is a closeness' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B)

The comparison is not exactly positive, and earlier in the interview she used the same metaphors in a very derogative manner when she had to explain about a particular guide they had had at another destination earlier in the cruise.

'So she was also very schoolteacherish. She did not like to have anyone speaking when she was speaking. You remember when we were commenting, she frowned' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

On one tour I observed a guide using a loud 'schoolteacher voice' when she was instructing the tourists about the toilet facilities at one pit stop. The tourists were standing in a semicircle around the guide outside a shop with toilets, and the guide repeated several times that this was their last chance to go to the toilet before the tour finished at noon. In spite of her instructions, the tourists remained firm and smiled in a teasing, indulgent way at her tight control of the group, thus using humour to perform resistance. When nobody moved and they kept smiling at her, the situation became a little embarrassing, and finally the guide ordered the tourists to go back to the coach.

The tourists used humour to perform resistance on several occasions. On one tour three single men were sitting on the back seats of the coach constantly joking and commenting on the guiding. They reacted when they considered the information either irrelevant, too normative or served up too enthusiastically. An example of the last of these was when the guide explained with great emotion how the Queen had celebrated her anniversary at Kronborg Castle in North Zealand in clothes from the 16th century. One of the men commented ironically in a low voice *'Congratulations, we are sooo excited...'* (Tour no 1) This kind of resistance is performed backstage, so the guide may never be aware of it. The audience for the resistance is fellow tourists, with the tourists showing one other that they do not 'buy' the narratives or the style of the guiding without questioning it.

When the tourists are backstage – in restaurants, toilets, shops etc. – they may discuss and evaluate the guide and the tour when they believe the guide is out of earshot. This happened to me during one of my early years of guiding. I was on a two-week coach tour around Scandinavia with an American group, and on our way through Sweden I gave lengthy explanations of all kind of features of Sweden and Swedish society: the geography, the climate, the economy, the history etc. I was eager to prove that I possessed sufficient knowledge. At one pit stop I paid a visit to the toilet, while two ladies from the group came in. Unaware of my presence, they were complaining to each other about the overload of information, saying it was soporific along with the long coach drive. It was embarrassing for me to overhear the conversation without the two ladies knowing, and I did not reveal my presence. I learned, however, that tourists air their opinions when they believe the guide is out of earshot as a way of performing resistance. I listened to the criticisms and from then on I tried to be more sensitive to the reactions of group. Long monologues are not the way to guide.

5.7 Conclusion

Sometimes the performance takes on a more discursive character where the power relations between tourists and guides, but also between these two types of actors and the outside world, is more overtly negotiated. The frame of the guided tour is less institutionalized than a lecture or a theatre play, for example, leaving scope for the actors to interpret and negotiate the aim of the tour and who is in control. Sociality among the tourists is a very important feature on guided tours, and it is performed as both physical and technological connectedness, ensuring that an experience is shared with peers. The guided tour has a commercial frame, and at its most extreme the tourists, as paying clients, can transform a tour into a social event. In such cases the tour is only a subordinate frame and the guide is forced to find an alternative role.

The core of a guide's identity is knowledge, but here too the guide's authority may be challenged by tourists who are knowledgeable and perhaps too well prepared, and this can be difficult for the guides to handle. It is not easy to establish a yardstick for when the guide's knowledge is sufficient, but tourists are sensitive to fabricated and incorrect facts.

Finally, the guided tour does not lend prestige to the tourists, as a theatre play can do for theatregoers, and boundary work is done to negotiate and distance the actors' selves from their roles. One way for tourists to role- distance is to engage in performative resistance to the guide or to the commentary – for example when they consider the guide too schoolteacherish, or the on-tour commentary boring, irrelevant, too normative or served up too enthusiastically.

Seductive Strategies of the Guides

In the previous two chapters I have analysed the interaction between guides and tourists with the focus on what the tourists bring to the performance. I have found that the tourists have a high degree of freedom, constantly logging on and off and applying a range of tactics to the guiding. They can have a strong impact on the guiding, and sometimes negotiate and contest the very frame of the tour. In the following five chapters I want to analyse the interactions between tourists and guides with the focus on what the guides bring to the performance.

The frame of the guided tour has a voluntary, playful and commercial character with blurred boundaries, and Holloway (1981:389) argues that '*the guide while 'an authority' is not 'in authority'*', and the guide's scope for action is partly defined by the degree of authority vested in the guiding role. According to Cohen (1985) the guides' roles are to be found in the mediatory and leadership spheres. In the mediatory sphere, the guide has to disseminate information about the destination, and this forms the bulk of the communication and interaction between guides and tourists. As cultural mediators, the guide is expected to be 'an authority' on his or her body of knowledge, but is not 'in authority', being unable to order the tourists to listen and stay put. As cultural mediators I found the guides rely on their ability to attract and keep the attention of the tourists by applying what I call a range of seductive strategies.

In the leadership sphere, the guide has the responsibility for the spatio-temporal direction of the tour (Cohen 1985). Guided tours in and around Copenhagen have tight programmes where the tourists have been promised a certain number of sights, often including admission to cultural institutions and programmed refreshment stops or meals. The tourism industry operates in a highly competitive and volatile market, and in the effort to cut costs and keep a competitive edge, there has been a tendency over the last 25 years to make guided tours ever-shorter with ever-tighter programmes. Most tours involve expensive coaches paid by the hour, and the employer will be unhappy paying for an extra hour in the event of delay, just as the coaches often need to finish on time, as they have to start on

another tour immediately afterwards. The industry mainly places the responsibility for completing the programme within the time limit on the guide, thus vesting a degree of authority in the role that the guide has to manage within a frame that otherwise has a voluntary, more playful character.

In the case of the guided tour, 'the industry' is often synonymous with travel agents or cruise lines who sell the guided tours to the tourists. On their part the travel agents or cruise lines often buy the tours from Danish 'incoming bureaus' that design, organize and handle the tours, and all the parties involved work in accordance with cost-benefit analyses and economies of scale. The incoming bureaus will use different suppliers – coach companies, restaurants, cultural institutions and guides – to enact the performance. The travel agencies, the cruise lines and the incoming bureaus are rarely present at the 'moment of truth' in the performance of this service. To know how a guide, a driver and the tourists perform a tour, the industry relies on the feedback from questionnaires or complaints, although sometimes a representative from a travel agency or a cruise line will participate in a tour and be used as a source of information. But on most tours the guide and the driver work 'alone' with the tourists. The guides will not report back from a tour unless something unusual happens, and in this sense 'no news is good news'.

The guides themselves work as what could be called semi-professionals. They have no regular contractual relationship with a single employer, but are booked from tour to tour, and the guides work for many different employers. Most of the guides however are paid and pay tax like regular wage earners, and many are members of a union and have unemployment insurance, but they are hired by the hour or rather by the tour, which in this sense places them in the same category as freelancers and the liberal professions. As a counterweight to the transience of this working relationship between guides and employers, the bureaus often cultivate their relationship with favoured guides. They need to do so in order to get the better guides and to secure a sufficient numbers of guides in the peak season, when the demand far exceeds the supply. At the same time, the guides want to create more stable relationships with employers to get the more interesting tours and to secure sufficient work especially in the low and middle seasons.

However, a guide may work for one employer in the morning, another in the afternoon, and a third the next day, and their working identity is more linked to their profession than to the employer who has booked them for the tour in que-

stion. The actual performance of the guided tour is detached in time and space from the agents who design, sell, organize and handle the tour. This detachment also influences the tourists' perception of the relationship between guide and industry. Geva and Goldman (1991:178) argue:

'The bond that develops between the guide and the tour participants is stronger than the bond between them and the tour company.'

The tourists do not necessarily identify the guide with the company from which they have bought the tour:

'The participants often perceive the guide as the one who, by virtue of his or her resourcefulness and expertness, is likely to provide solutions for problems caused by the company, and as the one correcting the company's mistakes' (Geva & Goldman 1991:178).

This places the certified guides in a position between the business strategy based on an economic rationale and the tourists' tactics aimed at making their performance 'habitable'. The guides work on the premises of a strategy belonging to the industry, and sometimes guides have to act at a tactical level together with the tourists to make a performance succeed within a tight, often standardized commercial framework. The framework does not calculate with a large number of individual variables among the participating actors, or with unforeseen incidents. The guides, however, are not end-users (tourists) either. The guides are professionals who engage in new performances over and over again in close contact with the tourists, and the guides develop strategies in their guiding based on experience and in response to the tourists' interactions.

Guides are identifiable as a group of actors within the field of the guided tour, and their ability to exercise power in the field is primarily based on their cultural capital. Through their work guides exchange their cultural capital for economic capital. The guides develop a system of strategies generated by habitus in order to perform the exchange and to maximize the exchange rate for the cultural capital. It would be simplifying too much, however, to reduce the work of the guides to an exchange between cultural and economic capital. Through their work the guides accumulate even more cultural capital, just as they derive satisfaction from the social aspects of being and dealing with people. One guide offered this explanation when I asked if she found the job sometimes wore her out:

'Yes, but on the other hand if you do something that you really think is fun from start to finish, it is not so much of an effort. Of course you get tired, but on the other hand you recharge – my batteries are completely recharged when I get home. But I think it is so much fun – the guests are happy, they have some good experiences. I show them my lovely country. I feel really good about that. I have really found my niche (Guide interview 3).

This declaration of love for the work as a guide indicates that it is from the interaction with the tourists that the guides derive a great deal of their work satisfaction, a trait they share with other workers in tourism (see Cederholm and Hultman 2008, Bærenholdt & Jensen 2009); and guides do feel rewarded when they pull off a good performance. Holloway observes:

'Guides, like theatrical actors, experience a 'high' as a result of a successful performance, and winning over a difficult audience is seen as a personal triumph boosting the self image' (Holloway 1981: 389-90)

These aspects may counterbalance the comparatively moderate wages and the financial instability of freelancing.

In my field work I observed 14 different guides in action on 17 different tours, and although each guide is different from the others and each tour is a performance in its own right, a system of seductive strategies emerged when I analysed the guides' interaction – verbal as well as non-verbal – across the tours. The strategies can be distilled into four distinct types: first, the guides applied a *rhetorical strategy* in their narratives, primarily drawing on the Aristotelian appeals, logos, pathos, and ethos; secondly, the guides applied an *intercultural strategy* where they played on the tensions between cultures to construct their narratives; thirdly, the guides applied a *strategy of intimacy*, bringing their own as well as the tourists' private selves into play; fourthly, the guides applied a *logistical strategy*, where they could refine the logistical flow to an extent that impressed the tourists. The strategies were often applied in combinations where they could reinforce one another but could also be played off against one another, just as they could be counterproductive. The guides applied and combined the strategies each in their own personal way; some guides cultivated some of the strategies to perfection while others appeared less reflexive and had a less firm grip on the strategies.

Rhetorical Strategies of the Guides

In the previous chapters it has been established how knowledge is at the core of the guides' identity, or as Cohen puts it:

'The dissemination of correct and precise information is by many considered to be the kernel of the guides' role (e.g. McKean 1976:13, Nettekoven 1979:142) In advanced touristic countries indeed, the dissemination takes an almost academic character. Despite the academic veneer and the frequently dry presentation of information – such as recitation of dates numbers and events connected with a given sight – the information imparted is rarely purely neutral (Cohen 1984:15).

The information a guide gives can never be neutral, no matter how it is presented, because information is always imparted from a subject position, and mediated in dialogic communication. The guides make choices in selecting and interpreting the information, and one mean is to choose from a range of rhetorical strategies and devices aiming at seducing the listener.

*'Rhetoric' derives from the Greek *rhêtorîê*, the art or the technique of a *rhêtôr*, public speaker. What came to be called *rhêtorikê* was in earlier Greek texts described as *peithô*, persuasion' (Nillsson 2009:5)*

Rhetoric used by a public speaker can be described as *'...A form of consciously persuasive communication'* (Thomson & Davidson 1995 in Nillsson 2009:6). Guides speaking to groups of tourists are exactly such public speakers who do not just impart 'neutral' information about sights, but in various ways try to perform a persuasive, seductive, and entertaining tourism experience, where one mean is to use rhetoric.

Aristotle was the first one to describe the three persuasive forms of appeal in rhetoric: *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. *Logos* is the appeal to reason and logic. *Pathos* is the appeal to the feelings and emotions of the audience. *Ethos* is the appeal to ethics

and morality, reflecting the ethics and morals of the speaker and is therefore considered a means of enhancing the credibility and trustworthiness of the speaker. Rhetoric is not one-sided communication from the public speaker to an audience; it is dialogic communication between an addresser and addressee, where identities and meaning are constructed in an infinitely reciprocal process and both parties are of equal importance.

'One person cannot turn his back on the other without implications for what the first one says. A teacher cannot uphold his authority if the pupil stands looking out of the window... Yokishawa believes you can see communication as an infinite process where two persons are alternately the addresser and addressee of messages' (Jensen 2000:21-22. My translation).

How the tourists react to the rhetoric of the guide influences the communication and vice versa. In this chapter I want to investigate, in the perspective of dialogic communication, the rhetorical strategies and devices applied by the guides in disseminating information. I will examine not only how the guides communicate but also how the tourists receive and return the communication.

7. 1 Appealing to logos

The certified guides generally have comprehensive knowledge of Denmark and the sights visited, and they are eager to demonstrate that knowledge. A very large proportion of the information mediated by guides is constructed to appeal to logos, with narratives based on facts, numbers, dates and logical explanations, addressing the intellect of the tourists. The level of information can be very dense, but also somewhat snapshot-like, especially in a fast moving coach during a city sightseeing where the guide touches on many loosely related topics quickly, one after another. On walking tours, at outdoor stops or on long coach tours out of Copenhagen there is time for more comprehensive narratives.

If the guides were quite dry in their presentation, as argued by Cohen (1985), I believe the tourists would log off much more often than is the case; in fact I observed the guides spicing up even the most logos-driven narratives, applying a range of rhetorical devices – such as reflecting on a topic by pointing to paradoxes or contrasts, or simply by using humour and irony. One example is the guide

who had just given an introduction to the new subway system in Copenhagen where trains are completely run by computers and therefore have no drivers or other personnel on board at all. While the guide told the story, he observed one and then a second metro train stopping at the rails in front of the coach, while no train entered the station. The guide seized the moment and asked the tourists to note the ‘stray’ metro trains while wondering if anything was wrong:

‘I think that train has stopped a little too early. Why did it stop? Maybe there are no passengers inside? Maybe it would be better with a driver for this train!!’ (Tour no. 11).

Then the guide laughed and the tourists laughed. Another guide gave a detailed technical account of the new opera house in Copenhagen, which has six stages, all operated by computers. She explained how the new opera house offers opportunities to set up new, large productions that attract international artists, directors and audiences as never before. In the middle of the narrative she said:

‘The only thing I wonder is what they do if the computers don’t work? THEN THEY ARE IN TROUBLE’ (Tour no. 16).

She placed great emphasis on the last words. Independently of each other, these two guides inserted a reflection on human dependency on high technology, thus adding a little spark to the narratives.

Another device is pointing to paradoxes, like the guide who explained about the statue of The Little Mermaid. She started her narrative by telling the tourists how the donor, the brewer Carl Jacobsen, was inspired by the ballerina Ellen Price, who danced in the ballet The Little Mermaid, and he wanted her to model for the sculptor, Edward Eriksen. Ellen Price refused to model nude, and the sculptor had to use his wife instead. In the middle of the narrative the guide pointed to the paradox of creating a ballet about a character with a fish-tail, and the tourists laughed (Tour no. 16).

A third device is to emphasize contrasts in passing from one topic to the next, like the guide who contrasted the statue of The Thinker by Auguste Rodin in the back courtyard of the Glyptotek Museum with the rides in the neighbouring Tivoli Gardens. Passing The Thinker, the guide explained its symbolic meaning:

'If you think too much you might fall into Hell, with inspiration from Dante, the Italian poet,' and then he continued right away, as we saw the Tivoli Gardens, 'but you don't have time to think too much in the rollercoaster and the highest carousel in the world. You can check these things out later in the afternoon' (Tour no. 11).

All the tourists were applying an attentive tactic, eagerly looking to the right and to the left, bending forward, tilting their heads in order to see first the statue and then the rides pointed out by the guide. It can be difficult to see all the details from all positions in the bus. Most guides would infuse energy and humour into the narratives, exactly like these two guides.

7.2 Enthusiasm and humour

In all interviews, the tourists used words like temperament, energy, humour and enthusiasm as the features they found most important in guides, next to knowledge, and one tourist evaluated the guide of the day this way:

'And he was fun to be with and he could laugh'. I asked, 'So humour is important?' and the tourists replied 'Yeah, but also you are on holiday, it is not.... in general it is not like you are in a study room'(Tourist interview 4).

This view was shared by a guide, who explained about the role of the guides:

'You have to make the tourist feel welcome, and then mediate your knowledge, but in a way such that it becomes an experience – how shall I put it? You have to understand that you must not lecture, but try to be enthusiastic and infect them with the pleasure you feel for the things you see – and they see' (Guide interview 1)

The guides infuse energy and enthusiasm into the verbal construction of the narratives as well as playing with their tone, voice and body language. One of the most common rhetorical devices is to use humour. A study of indigenous tour guides at work in Australia concluded that humour also enhanced group cohesion:

'Humour was also used as a means to 'wake-up' people, to change the pace of the tour, to renew people's interest in their surroundings and to ensure an enjoyable experience' (Howard, Twaites & Smith 2001: 34).

All the guides I observed used or at least tried to use humour, and they did so in different ways, as one guide explained to me before we embarked on a coach for a city sightseeing:

I will do what I usually do – start out with a couple of jokes. Then people laugh. If you have them from the start, you have them for the rest of the tour. All guides find their style, and we say different things' (Guide on Tour no. 10).

This guide cracked a couple of jokes right at the start of the tour, thus striking a tone that promised this was going to be an entertaining experience, not a lecture. Other guides would start cracking jokes even before the actual tour had started. When the tourists arrive at a coach they experience the first moments of contact. Most guides will greet the tourists with a smile, welcoming them in a cordial manner asking them to step inside the coach; and if there is time they may begin to engage in small talk. One guide would greet each tourist individually almost as a family member, and as they embarked on the coach the guide and the tourists were talking and laughing a lot. At one point the guide asked if the tourists had brought umbrellas for the tour, as it was a very rainy summer day. Some of them answered they had not brought one, and the guide said, 'I have a spare one' and then addressed an elderly lady saying 'Because of my good breeding the oldest should have it. Even if a twenty-year-old blonde asked for it, I would still give it to you' The lady replied 'I don't believe that'. The guide returned 'So you don't believe me?' and then they all laughed. When the tour started there were high spirits in the coach (Tour no. 17).

Humour can be distant, dry and ironic as in the example of the driverless metro trains, when the guide addressed the whole group as listeners, or it can be slightly racy, involving the tourists directly, as we shall see in the following examples. Some guides would draw the tourists into the scene as in a street performance or in a circus when somebody from the audience is invited to participate.

In Figure 24 below we see a guide who involved the tourists by asking questions as part of the guiding. The guide began:

'So, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Amalienborg, the Royal Winter Residence. The four palaces built in the years from 1754 to 1760. When they started to build here, they also started to build the church. But something happened. What happens when you start building a house? What happens?'



Figure 24. A guide asking the tourists questions as part of the guiding at Amalienborg Palace Square.

The guide was talking loud and clear, raising his hand and pointing out towards the whole audience. Several tourists answered simultaneously *'They ran out of money'*. The guide laughed and replied directly to one lady in the front:

'That came from the bottom of your heart, madam. They ran out of money. So they had to decide either to build palaces or a church, and they decided on...???'

The guide looked out for an answer, and the same lady in the front was quick to answer: *'the palaces'*. *'That is right, madam'*, the guide replied and pointed towards her with his hand in recognition and with a big smile, as we see in the above illustration (Tour no. 7).

Quite a few guides would include and activate the tourists by asking them questions during the guiding, but this guide would take it one step further, and would tease and activate the whole bus collectively, making all the tourists answer in chorus. During the city sightseeing he would repeatedly talk about the Danish King Christian IV, who built several of the sights in Copenhagen – Rosenborg Castle, the Round Tower, the Old Stock Exchange, Nyboder – just as he founded the Christianshavn neighbourhood. Christian IV is always mentioned during a city sightseeing, and at an early point in the tour the guide teased:

'You must never forget the years of his reign (1588-1648). You mustn't forget, and I will check you at the end of the tour, and if you cannot remember you have to pay extra' (Tour no. 7).

Passing one of Christian IV's buildings, he would say: *'On the left we see the Stock Exchange build by whom? – YES WHOM?'* He almost shouted the last two words,

and the tourists answered in chorus 'King Christian IV', and afterwards everybody laughed. The scene was repeated several times during the tour.



Figure 25. A guide activating and teasing the tourists on the coach during a city sightseeing in Copenhagen.

When the coach passed a statue of Christian IV, the guide came up to the top floor of the double-decker, and after making the tourists reply in chorus, he gave a brief outline of the life of Christian IV and finished off the narrative by telling them that Christian IV had 23 children – that we know of – with his queen and his three mistresses.

'Yeah, yeah he knew how to live. How many children have you got sir – that you know of?', the guide directly asked one of the male tourists. *'Two,'* the tourist answered. *'Two that you know of – very good. I hope that's right, madam' (Tour no. 7),* he replied to the woman sitting next to the man, and the tourists laughed, which is the moment that we see in Figure 25.

This guide had a very interactive style and direct, racy humour, which worked well with the group on the day. All the guides I observed would use humour within a continuum: at one end they were direct and interactive, and at the other they used a more distant kind of humour, addressing the tourists only as listeners. In the latter case the guide would know that the tourists were listening when they laughed back – in some cases only with scattered laughter; and then again in some cases there was no response at all – which was a powerful message to the guide that he or she did not master the strategy in that particular situation and with that particular group. Taste in humour is individual, both for the addresser and for the addressee, and each tour has its own result. I observed tours where the humorous elements worked very well and others where they fell flat.

7.3 Appealing to pathos

Enthusiasm and energy can be conveyed to the tourists using other rhetorical devices than outright humour. Hyperbole, for example, is the use of superlatives and colourful descriptions when guides want to infect the tourists with their enthusiasm and love of the local heritage. All the guides I observed appealed at some point to the hearts, emotions, sympathy, passions and sentimentality of the tourists, and thus used the appeal to *pathos*.

The guides would enhance the emotional content of narratives using imagery that appeals to one or all five senses: seeing, hearing, tasting, smelling or touching. More than one guide would give vivid descriptions of the lack of hygiene and sanitation in the Middle Ages in Copenhagen, asking the tourists to imagine the smell within the city walls at that time. During a walking tour a guide gave such a description, and judging from the facial expressions of the tourists, it looked as though they were very capable of imagining such a smell, and the story at least made me happy that this is not the case in present-day Copenhagen.

Another device is using metaphors and allusions to spice up narratives. An allusion is the use of a reference to something real or fictional from any phase of a culture – like the guide who made a reference to Nordic mythology when she commented on the weather of the day,

'The weather god Thor, he has been in a good mood and wiped out all the clouds, so we have a clear sky here for us' (Tour no. 2).

However, mythology can add much more to guiding than simple references to the weather. Mythology, history and literature offer a wealth of stories with which the guides can flesh out the narratives with human elements and add feelings in order to appeal to *pathos*.

There are sights where the guides are almost compelled to appeal to pathos, as on the compulsory visit to the statue of The Little Mermaid, where all the guides tell their brief version of the sad, dramatic tale by Hans Christian Andersen. Most tourists listen attentively, not least because many do not know the real tale, only the Walt Disney version, which has a happy end, unlike the real tale, where the mermaid dies because the prince ends up marrying another princess.

Appealing to pathos can be a very effective strategy for connecting with the tourists and livening them up. Some guides would be very precise about how, where and when to use this kind of appeal, as we shall see in the following example. After a very long day when the tourists had done a three-hour city sightseeing in the morning and a five-hour castle tour to North Zealand in the afternoon, the group appeared worn out, and to have lost their concentration towards the end. When the group visited the last room in the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle before they were to return to Copenhagen, the guide had a ‘scoop’ – a story from 18th-century Danish history. The guide talked with great passion about the poor 15-years-old English Princess Caroline Mathilde, who married the schizophrenic Absolutist monarch King Christian VII. Caroline Mathilde fell in love with the Royal Physician, the German Johann Friedrich Struensee, with whom she had a daughter. Struensee had a very positive influence on the childish, incompetent King, but the physician took advantage of his position and began ruling Denmark through the mentally ill king, and this plus his love affair with the queen made him a threat to the State of Denmark and he ended up condemned to execution on ‘the wheel’. Caroline Mathilde was exiled from Denmark and lived for only a few years in Celle in Hanover before she died at the age of 23.

By the time the guide had ended the dramatic story, the group was very stirred and emotional, and at one point it seemed as if everybody was talking at once. Several tourists wanted to know what had happened to the daughter of Struensee and Caroline Mathilde, and the discussions continued as they left the castle and walked back to the coach. The tiredness appeared to have vanished completely, and one of the high-spirited tourists said loudly:

‘I would like to read more about the Royal Family’ and continued: ‘This castle is a jewel, and you cannot find its like in Italy, because it is so well furnished. It is absolutely marvellous’ (Tour no. 2).

The same tourist also said she loved Copenhagen, which she considered was a fantastic city full of atmosphere. The guide’s ability to use various rhetorical strategies has an enormous impact on the tourists’ participation in the performance, which can subsequently generate an atmosphere that appears to colour the tourists’ overall perception of the sight and the tour in general.

7.4 Appealing to ethos

The appeal to *ethos* is the appeal to the conscience, ethics, morals, values, standards or principles of the tourists. This is a more sensitive strategy, as it overtly reflects the moral and ethical habitus of the guide, and as a rhetorical strategy it aims to enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of the speaker. It is an ongoing discussion in the field just how much the personal views and opinions of the guide should be evident in the guiding, and how much the guides should make themselves the focus. Pond (1993:120) argues:

'The longstanding maxim about avoiding topics of sex, politics and religion is advisable for guides, as one can never be sure of the political view or affiliation of everyone in a group. At the same time there is a middle ground between absolute avoidance and sharing personal views, which allows some of the guide's personality to emerge..... Visitors will often appreciate a guide's openness.'

In the preceding chapter on tourists' tactics towards the guiding, I showed how in more informal settings such as walking between stops the tourists would ask questions about so-called sensitive topics, and how the guides would answer these questions, more or less overtly expressing their own opinions. Explanations given while walking between stops are an individual and informal way of conveying opinions, but some guides would also do this overtly in their collective, formal on-tour commentary, appealing directly to *ethos* as a rhetorical strategy for infusing the narratives with energy.

One device is to take a critical stance on a topic, like the guide who explained how young men can do their military service in Denmark in only four months. The guide explained:

'people in the military are outraged [about this fact], because they say: 'What can you teach in four months? You can't even get them into shape'

Some of the tourists replied 'Yeab!', sharing the indignation of the guide (Tour no. 16).

This guide made her opinion of scarce resource allocation to the military clear, and some of the tourists openly appeared to agree.

The same guide would at one point make an outdoor stop in front of some marvellous, expensive apartments on the harbour front in Copenhagen, prompting her to initiate a narrative about the skyrocketing property prices (the tour took place in 2007, before the financial crisis); and she lamented that young people who had just graduated had little chance to buy an apartment in the city. She continued:

'So it is a big problem and the older generation sits in their big houses, big apartmentspensioners today are very active.....they travel, they simply will not give up anything. For the first time we say the next generation will be living one step down. Before it was always one step up for each generation' (Tour no. 16).

The tourist group she addressed consisted of a mix of all ages from pensioners to families with teenagers, and even some young children, and thus represented all sides of the matter from a generational point of view. One of the tourists commented: *'It's the same thing in the States'* and the guide replied, *'Yes, it's universal'*. As the group moved off the guide continued to discuss the subject with some of the tourists around her, repeating her points, and explained in detail about salaries and prices. On the surface it seemed as if everybody in the group accepted her criticism of the older generations. The two normative narratives did not seem to create any dissonance in the relationship between the guide and the tourists, who appeared to enjoy the guiding, and they participated actively, discussing and asking questions about the topics raised during the tour. The appeal to *ethos* can help to make the tourists apply participatory and attentive tactics.

I did not observe many guides appealing to *ethos* in such an outright manner as the guide in the two examples above, but occasionally I observed that the guides would share their opinions on more sensitive current topics in the guiding. Pond (1993) points to the existence of a maxim, or in Bourdieu's term a *doxa*, that guiding ought to be politically neutral, and (I would add) should stay at the lighter, more entertaining end of cultural mediation. However, just as the frame of the guided tour is less institutionalized than a classroom or a theatre, for example, the role of the guide is less institutionalized than that of a teacher or an actor. The role is negotiated by the actors *in situ*, and there are no clear guidelines for exactly what can a guide say or which topics can be touched on. However, there are topics where it is more clearly and globally acceptable to appeal to *ethos* than with others, for example climate change. In 2009 Denmark hosted the Copenhagen Climate Conference, and in connection with the conference the certified

guides used narratives about sustainability and the environment. Although I did not observe these tours, it is fairly easy to imagine that the guides built up and still use narratives that appeal to *ethos*, drawing on the politically mainstream global consensus that everyone is involved and everyone shares responsibility for climate change.

7.5 Discussion and conclusion

In the communication with the tourists, the guides mixed the various types of appeal and rhetorical devices. At the same time all the guides favoured some rhetorical strategies over others, and all of them had their own personal guiding style in accordance with their individual personalities, their habitus and situational factors. When the guides succeeded in their strategic manoeuvres the tourists responded by applying an attentive and/or a participatory tactic.

In this chapter I have mainly used cases where the guides' strategies were successful; but not all guides were able to master the strategies all the time. To become a good rhetorician takes both some talent and a lot of practice, as in all other arts. In one case I observed a guide who constantly used hyperbole and very colourful language in an attempt to share her enthusiasm for the city of Copenhagen; but the tourists did not seem to respond too well to the enthusiasm of the guide. A guide may also appear to lack any rhetorical strategy at all. No matter how knowledgeable and linguistically fluent, if a guide is unable to infuse energy into the communication, it can be difficult to keep the attention of the tourists. This was exactly what I observed during an outdoor stop on one of the bastions at Kronborg Castle, where there is an excellent view of Sweden just five kilometres across the Sound. The guide was giving the tourists an introduction to the castle and its surroundings, stating correct factual information in a neutral, medium-low voice that tended to fade out. During the stop an increasing number of tourists logged off and began wandering around on the bastions on their own, applying alternative tactics. By the end of the stop the guide was left with the few remaining tourists who were listening, and the guiding took on a more informal, unstructured character.

The guide's role is still not institutionalized, and the boundaries are fluid with regard to exactly the kinds of topics guides may talk about and how. The guides interpret and negotiate their role *in situ* during the guiding, and sometimes guides appeal

to *ethos*, overtly displaying their moral and ethical habitus, bringing themselves more to the forefront in the guiding. This is to a certain extent in accordance with the wishes of the tourists, who in more informal settings will themselves ask the guide about more sensitive subjects, and may try to coax out the guide's opinion. There is a demand for some openness from the guide, and no doubt the guide is *per se* a part of the experience on a guided tour. The guides know that, and each guide deals with the fact in his or her own way. Some guides have a very up-front approach, where they include themselves and sometimes the tourists at a more personal level in the guiding. In this case the guides apply what I call the strategy of intimacy. The appeal to *ethos* can be one device in the strategy of intimacy, but the guides can create intimacy in many other ways at the verbal as well as the non-verbal level, and this will be investigated in Chapter 9. First I will turn to the fact that all the guided tours I observed took place in an intercultural setting, and the tensions between cultures created a dynamic that influenced the interactions and the communication between guides and tourists.

Intercultural Strategies of the Guides

Earlier research on the intercultural meeting between guides and tourists has been concerned with aspects like the guides' perception of differences among the nationalities of various tourists, judged in terms of a number of predefined parameters (see Pizam & Sussmann 1995, Pizam & Jeong 1996); or the behaviour of tourists has been scrutinized with regard to Hofstede's 'uncertainty avoidance dimension' as a direct function of the tourists' nationality (Litvin et al. 2004). Other studies do quite the opposite empirically, examining how tourists of different nationalities perceive the guides' communication competences as measured by a number of predefined parameters, non-verbal as well as verbal (see Leclerc & Martin 2004). My concern is not to understand how tourists or guides perceive one another as a function of their nationalities, but rather to examine how the actors interpret their own cultural positions, and how the guides use the intercultural tension in discursive constructions as a seductive strategy to attract and keep the attention of the tourists, and finally how the tourists react to this strategy.

On all the 17 guided tours observed, intercultural elements were in play between the tourists, the guides and the destination in various combinations. In the first place, the tourists were all foreigners visiting Denmark. The members of the groups were either a mix from several countries or, as on some tours, all from one country. Secondly, seven of the guides I observed were Danish-born while the other seven were born abroad (Italy, Argentina, Sweden and Finland), but were all now living in Denmark. Four out of the fourteen guides were guiding in their mother tongue (Italian or Spanish), the rest in their second, third or fourth language. The tours were a mix of the possible combinations – for example a Danish-born guide guiding in English and German for a mixture of tourists from, America, the UK, Germany, Austria and France, or a Swedish-born guide guiding in English for a mixed group of tourists from the UK, Malta and the USA; or an Italian-born guide guiding in Italian for an exclusively Italian group. The guides used the intercultural tension between the tourists, the destination and not least themselves as a strategy for infusing energy into and sometimes creating a leitmotif in their narratives.

Iben Jensen (2000, 2004) argues that culture is not only linked to nationality, and that cultural belonging cannot be defined in terms of external criteria. Intercultural communication is defined as communication between parties

'.....who identify themselves as distinct from one another in cultural terms' (Collier & Thomas 1988:100). The definition differs from the then dominant thinking by taking its point of departure in the actor rather than in the culture. It is the interpretations of the participant that determine what culture the person belongs to' (Jensen 2004:4).

Jensen (2000, 2004) proposes a model for examining intercultural communication with four analytical tools that refers to the practitioners' everyday experiences. The first analytical tool is the actor's 'cultural presuppositions', a term that

'refers to knowledge, experience, feelings and opinions we have towards categories of people that we do not regard as members of the cultural communities that we identify ourselves with' (Jensen 2004:8).

To find an actor's cultural presuppositions we have to follow the construction and the descriptions of the 'other'. Jensen argues that 'they' are very often described as the 'inadequate other', while our own culture is idealized.

The second tool is the actor's cultural self-perception, that is, *'the ways in which an actor expresses a cultural community as the one he or she identifies with'* (Jensen 2004:9). This is done by following the 'we' construction in the communication. Actors often idealize their own cultural community and this kind of cultural self-perception is often concealed as assumptions about 'the right way' to organize life.

The third tool is cultural 'fix points', which are:

'the focal points that arise in communication between two actors who both feel they represent a certain topic. For a topic to be seen as a 'cultural fix point' it requires that both actors identify with this topic' (Jensen 2004:9).

The fourth tool is 'positions of experience',

'which refers to the fact that all interpretations are bounded in individual experiences, but although the experiences are subjective, they are related to the social

position of a person' (Jensen 2004: 6).

Here the analyst has to listen to where and how an actor speaks about his/her primary experiences, how this influences the actor's position in the culture, and how this subsequently influences the actor's interpretation of the communication process.

Iben Jensen's tools serve as inspiration in the following analysis, and as in the previous chapters the communication between parties is seen as a dialogic communication where both parties are of equal importance, and the communication changes sides over and over again. In this chapter I will analyse how the intercultural tension is used to create dynamics in the communication, and can thus be considered a seductive strategy in its own right.

8.1 The guides' cultural presuppositions about the tourists' presuppositions

When the tourists arrive in Denmark they have cultural presuppositions about the country they visit. Their level of knowledge and their ways of obtaining information have already been discussed in the earlier chapters, and partly by listening to the questions from the tourists the guides build up ideas of the tourists' presuppositions. This is what I call the guides' presuppositions about the tourists' presuppositions. The guides may insert elements from what they believe are the tourists' presuppositions in their narratives in order to make connections between the tourists' image of the destination and the actual destination. This can be done in a variety of ways.

One example was the guide who referred several times on a canal tour to the Danes as Vikings completely out of the historical context of the Viking Age, which was around 800-1050. Sailing through Holmen, a fashionable island in Copenhagen, the boat passed expensive new condominiums built right on the waterfront, with private berths for the residents' boats. The guide explained that sailing boats are not very expensive in Denmark, and that the Danes, as old Vikings, make these boats. Later we passed an old mast crane from the 18th century, and she explained that it took a lot of Vikings to work with the crane. Vikings ceased to exist around 1050, and it is certainly a free interpretation to call present-day Danish boat-builders or 18th century workmen Vikings, but by referring to Danes as

Vikings she makes the connection with one of the cultural presuppositions she assumes the tourists have about the Danes.

Another guide would refer explicitly in a narrative to what she believed was the tourists' presuppositions about 'Wonderful Copenhagen', the fairytale city associated with the writer Hans Christian Andersen. The guide explained:

'You heard me right – Wonderful Copenhagen, this is also the epithet of the official tourist organization WOCO Wonderful Copenhagen, and derives from the movie made of the life of Hans Christian Andersen..... He was born in 1805 and I think everybody knows Hans Christian Andersen the famous fairytale bird and one of the most famous Danes' (Tour no. 5).

Just as the guides may enhance and cultivate the tourists' presuppositions about Danish culture, they may do the opposite and dismantle them. A classic presupposition is that Denmark was one of the few nations where the population really stood up for their Jewish compatriots during World War II. However, history can produce myths, and one such myth is that the Danish King Christian X wore the Star of David on his clothes during World War II when he went on his daily horseback ride through the streets of Copenhagen. This is a story that many tourists have heard, but it is not true, and in an interview one guide explained her attitude to fabricated history:

'And then, once, one of the tourists said 'Oh yes, but King Christian he rode with the star on'. And then I said, 'Yes, that is a very sweet story', but now we are not supposed to say anything incorrect as guides, so we have to stick to the truth, and this was not correct. But he did ride every day, and that made people happy about him' (Guide interview no. 1).

This guide emphasizes that in general guides have to be historically correct in their information, even if the tourists may be a little disappointed. In fact several guides dismantled the myth about Christian X when passing a statue of him in Copenhagen, even if they were not asked about the topic. However, exactly how correct guides have to be in their historical information is something that is very much at the discretion of the guides themselves and is up for negotiation between the guides and the tourists, as we shall see in a later section about 'cultural fix points'. The guides may or may not be right in their presuppositions about the tourists'

presuppositions. Several guides believe that the tourists expect to see a bigger, more glamorous statue of The Little Mermaid, and that the tourists are in for a disappointment when they get to see the real thing, a statue that is just about life size. One guide would try to lessen the assumed disappointment by warning the tourists about the small size of the statue before arriving at the sight. When the group came back after seeing the statue, one tourist returned to the guide, saying *'She is not that small'*. At first, the guide did not hear the remark correctly and thought the tourist agreed with her statement, then she found out that the tourists disagreed, and she became somewhat confused. Back on the coach the guide followed up on the statement collectively, and she asked in the microphone, with surprise in her voice, *'So you did not find her too small?'* It is a widely held cultural presupposition among guides and future guides that the tourists expect something more spectacular and glamorous when it comes to one of the best known tourist sights – if not *the* best known – in Copenhagen.

A group of guides-to-be, students on the Tourist Guide Diploma programme, set out to investigate their cultural presuppositions about the tourists' presuppositions, working on the hypothesis: *'The tourists get disappointed when they see The Little Mermaid'*. They interviewed 75 tourists from 32 countries picked at random while they were paying a visit to The Little Mermaid. The tourists were asked if the statue lived up to their expectations, and what they thought about her. 56 tourists said that the statue lived up to or exceeded their expectations, two answered that she lived up to their expectations to some degree, while 17 said they were a little disappointed, and only one was very disappointed (Ebert et al 2005). This little survey indicates that the tourists generally have a positive experience of the statue, and the ones who were a little disappointed were not asked why they were disappointed. Instead they were asked the more open question, 'What might in your opinion make this attraction better?' and the tourists mainly wanted to have more information at the site about the statue and the story behind her (Ebert et al. 2005). At the site absolutely no information is available, so unless the tourists are on a guided tour, they are left to their own sources of information.

The guides' cultural presuppositions about the tourists' expectations may stem from remarks from tourists over time. As the survey in fact suggested, not all the tourists had their expectations fulfilled. However, this may also reflect the guides' own taste; perhaps they themselves find the Mermaid too small and boring; or it could reflect an inferiority complex in Danish cultural self-perception. Den-

mark's national icon could be conceived as a small, unpretentious, sad-looking mermaid on a rock on the shore of the Sound. The statue is not illuminated at night, there are no billboards to explain her story, and only a couple of small vendors sell T-shirts, souvenirs and roasted almonds at the site. This is far from the grand, self-promoting icons of other big cities in the world, like the Statue of Liberty in New York or the Eiffel Tower in Paris. If the guides believe the tourists' expectations are attuned to icons like these, no wonder they fear the tourists are in for a disappointment. But by and large these fears are unfounded, since the student survey and my observations indicate that the tourists are generally quite happy with what they get.

The guides address the tourists' cultural presuppositions as an intercultural strategy, either by cultivating or by dismantling their presuppositions. However, it is the guides own cultural presuppositions about the tourists' cultural presuppositions that drive the strategy, and it is hard to know whether they apply to all the tourists in a group, just as they may be wrong in their presuppositions about the tourists' presuppositions.

8.2 Connecting 'we' and 'they'

A much-used strategy is to link the narratives about Denmark to the tourists' own culture. Making connections between 'we' and 'they', the guides feed into the tourists' cultural self-perception and create

"conceptual pegs' that are pronounced links between the tourists' own experience and knowledge and the features of the setting at hand" (Cohen 1984: 143).

One Italian-speaking guide explained her strategy when she had to decide which stories to tell at the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle:

'And then of course I follow the Danish line, but then I look for a leitmotif – the Italian leitmotif – and try to find out what interests them (the tourists) historically, what they can match with their own history and world history, and where Italy enters the picture' (Guide Interview 1).

This guide would constantly refer to connections between Italy and Denmark, not only in the castle but throughout the whole tour. The connections were plentiful: just to mention a few, the Italian Odorico family, who made the mosaics on Amalienborg Palace Square, the Italian Anna Maria Indrio who was the architect of the new extension to the National Art Gallery, and President Berlusconi's visit to Denmark in 2002. In the other direction she pointed to Danish connections in Italy, for example choosing to talk about a large painting in the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle that shows the Danish King Frederik IV's visit to Venice in 1709; and when we passed the museum dedicated to the Danish sculptor Thorvaldsen, who lived and worked in Rome for 41 years (1797-1838), she said that works by him are to be found in St. Peter's Church in Rome (Tour no. 2).

Most of the guides managed find connections with the tourists' own national culture, no matter where the tourists came from; for the Australians we have the Danish Crown Princess Mary, originally from Tasmania. One guide could tell the German and the Swiss tourists that the famous Danish sculptor Thorvaldsen had modelled the statue of Schiller in Stuttgart, the statue of Gutenberg in Mainz and the monument known as the Swiss Lion in Lucerne. For the British tourists the guides pointed to an infinity of Danish connections, from the Viking attack on the monastery at Lindisfarne in 793 to Lord Nelson's naval attack on Copenhagen in 1801 until the present-day collaboration between British and Danish soldiers on the mission in Iraq. It is logical that the closer the tourists' native country is to Denmark, the more connections there are, and the more there is a shared history. A Spanish-speaking guide said he found it easier to guide Spaniards than Latin Americans, since the Danish and Spanish cultures are closer to each other and there is more shared history than between Denmark and the Latin American countries.

Another way the guides connected 'we' and 'they' was to make comparisons and translate the Danish culture into familiar terms for the tourists. One way would be to translate the Danish metric system into the British imperial system of weights and measures, the Celsius/Centigrade temperature scale we use in Denmark into the Fahrenheit scale, or to convert prices and money amounts into the tourists' own currency. A second way was to make direct comparisons between the countries, for example by saying that Italy is seven times the size of the territory of Denmark. A third way was to make conceptual comparisons, like the guide who said that the main pedestrian street in Copenhagen 'Strøget' is our 'Magnificent Mile' – a famous shopping boulevard in Chicago – or another guide who said that

the Marble Church (in Copenhagen) is our little St. Peter's Church. The guides have been called cultural mediators or culture brokers (see Schmidt 1979, Holloway 1981, Cohen 1985, Katz 1985), and this becomes very obvious when they overtly connect 'we' and 'they' in the narrative, thus opening windows between the host culture and the tourists' culture.

8.3 Cultural fix-points

At times the guides did more than just connect the 'we' and 'they'; they managed to find topics with which both parties could identify and that both parties considered important; they found what Jensen (2004) calls 'cultural fix-points'. A cultural fix-point is a focal point for the linking of 'we' and 'they', but it has a further dimension, as it has to be identified as an important topic in both cultures, and important topics often arouse strong feelings that can appear in animated discussions. When the guides managed to find such cultural fix-points in their guiding, they were sure to have an eager audience. In the communication between guides and tourists it was possible to trace several such fix-points.

Topics that relate to common human experiences can yield fix-points, and the topic 'At what age do young people leave home?' appears as a fix-point in the intercultural meeting between Danish and Italian culture. Several of the Italian-speaking guides would at some point manage to weave the topic into a narrative, and the Italian tourists would almost jump in their seats and show strong emotions when they heard that young Danes traditionally leave their families around the age of 18-25. One Italian-speaking guide would link the topic to the narrative about the welfare state and the educational system;

'But it is not expensive to have children in Denmark, because schools are free and universities are also free..... Then the young ones turn 18 and when they study any subject recognized by the state, they are subsidized with a grant of a maximum of 600 Euros. This indicates that study is serious work, and this is the reason that most kids go and live by themselves when they are between 18 and 25. To live at home when you are 25 is very rare' (Tour no. 14).

Another Italian-speaking guide would connect the topic with a narrative about the Royal family. The group was standing on Amalienborg Palace Square and the

guide explained about the Royal Family and said that Crown Prince Frederik left his parents at the age of 18 to go and live in his own apartment, just as other young people do in Denmark.

It is well known that many young Italians remain with their families until late in their 20s, and often into their 30s before they leave home to settle down with a family of their own. Nor is it unusual that for even older adults to live with their parents if they have no family of their own. The topic is discussed regularly in the Italian media, and the Italians hotly debate the strengths and weaknesses, causes and effects of their family structures. The Danes may not focus on and identify with the topic as much as the Italians, but the meeting with a cultural 'other' who represents the complete opposite makes us aware of our own culture and stand-points. One of the guides quoted explained the Danish family structure in terms of an economic rationale, but I believe that the majority of young Danes, even those younger than their mid-20s would hardly think it was an option to live at home with their parents, regardless of their economic situation. The other way round, very few Danish parents could imagine living with their children at that age still servicing them. (This is the author, a Danish mother of three, speaking). Both guides narratives created instant reactions and emotions in the groups: some people started to laugh, others appeared startled and began to discuss the issue among themselves, and one tourist commented *'Yes, but that is Denmark' (Tour no. 1)*.

Shared history can also yield cultural fix-points, and the story about the rescue of the Danish Jews in October 1943 is such a cultural fix-point for Danes and Jewish tourists in particular. In a large-scale rescue action organized by the Danish Resistance, with the help of many ordinary citizens, around 7000 Jews were transported to Sweden in fishing-boats during the night. The rescue action saved about 95% of the Danish Jewish population, and this was outstanding in a period of world history better known for the Holocaust. The rescue action is a cornerstone of the construction of Danish history in World War II, and is extremely important to Danish cultural self-perception; at the same time it is an important element in the construction of global Jewish history; all Jews will know about the topic and most have strong feelings about it. However, in recent years there has been a period of historical revisionism in Denmark where the rescue action has been scrutinized and it has been suggested that everything was not as rosy as it is painted in the history books. Some historians tell us that some fishermen took large amounts of money for what they did. In this case we are not dealing with

an outright myth like the one about King Christian X wearing the Star of David, but about a more complex piece of Danish history which actually did take place. However, the guides appeared much more cautious about dismantling this kind of story, and the guides I observed only told the very positive version.

The guides were very deliberate in their use of cultural fix-points as an effective intercultural strategy. At the same time they were cautious because they hit a nerve in the tourists' cultural self-perception. The entertaining, playful and commercial frame of the guided tour could be jeopardized by too much soul-searching.

8.4 Viewing the culture from the outside – an ethnographic approach

While all the guides applied the intercultural strategy by addressing what they believed were the tourists' cultural presuppositions, by connecting 'we' and 'they', or using 'cultural fix points', the guides were completely divided in terms of how they identified their own cultural background. The guides identified themselves either with Danish culture or with a culture outside Denmark. The latter case was very pronounced with some foreign-born guides who had been living in Denmark for a number of years, but through their construction of 'we' and 'they', clearly still identified themselves as members of the cultural community where they were born. Furthermore, these guides often identified themselves with the same cultural community as the tourists, which enabled them to form strong bonds by including the tourists in the 'we' construction.

An Italian-born guide, now living in Denmark, would explain about Danish food traditions, and how the Danes would often have just one dish for dinner, mostly served with potatoes, and continued '*Remember, the Danes eat potatoes like we eat bread in Italy*' (Tour no. 14). Throughout the tour the guide would interpret Danish culture on the basis of an Italian self-perception. Talking about the weather and the seasons in Denmark, she started the narrative by pointing to the absence of Venetian blinds, which are used a lot in Italy. She went on:

'In Denmark they don't use Venetian blinds, because they have little sun. When the sun is there, they make it enter their houses. They hardly use curtains, but they often use candles in the windows to give some of the light they miss, especially in

the wintertime. Remember, Denmark is close to the North Pole and there are few hours of daylight [in the wintertime] and the light is very low' (Tour no. 14).

These observations about the Danish climate and culture are obviously made by a person who comes from warmer and sunnier climate where you use Venetian blinds to protect yourself from the heat and sunlight. However, the narrative does not draw on a national cultural category, but rather on differences between cultural communities close to the North Pole, as the guide puts it, and cultural communities in warmer climates. In Danish self-perception we would hardly associate our country and climate with the North Pole.

The cultural communities an actor can identify her/himself with can be drawn along many lines. Another guide would introduce Copenhagen this way:

'Copenhagen is a rather calm city in comparison with other big European cities. It is not very numerous, but compared to the rest of the country it is 'the big city' with traffic' (Tour no. 6).

The guide then drew a picture of a city without too much life, but explained that the Danes considered it 'busy' because they compared it with the rest of Denmark, which was described as very quiet and rather empty, especially the countryside. This description of Copenhagen and Denmark comes from a person who, in his cultural self-perception, identifies with a more densely populated country with a much larger and busier metropolis than we have in Denmark.

A third guide would construct a narrative that drew on the cultural differences between the family structures in Denmark and the ones found in Latin countries. The guide said:

'Now I will talk about the Danes' relationship with each other. They are very much individualists if you compare [Denmark] with Argentina, Spain and Mexico' (Tour no. 17).

The guide associated this individuality with subsequent weak family ties, and explained how Danish grandparents might be more busy playing golf than taking care of their grandchildren. He also talked about solitude as a result of these cultural characteristic, and said:

'Here people live alone and spend much more time alone than in Spain and Mexico. The elderly go to rest homes' (Tour no. 17).

In this narrative the 'we' was a Latin 'we', including the guide and the tourists who came from Argentina, Mexico, Spain and Portugal. The cultural self-perception of the 'we' represented a strong sense of the collective with subsequent strong family ties as opposed to a Danish 'other' with an individualistic culture and subsequent weak family ties.

In these narratives the guides have what I term an *ethnographic approach* to Danish culture, which is possible for immigrants who have had time to study the culture of their new homeland over time through the lens of their native culture. Some of the narratives tended to have a critical edge, which is not surprising, as the description the 'other' reflects an actor's cultural self-perception, often concealed as 'the right way' to organize life (see Jensen 2004). In the ethnographic narratives the tourists are often included in the 'we' construction, and as a consequence they are given a feeling of getting first-hand insight into the cultural 'other' by one of their own. I observed that the ethnographic narratives had a very strong appeal to the tourists, and often aroused the tourists' curiosity, and made them ask questions.

When the guide is born in the same native country as the tourists, it is not a matter of secondary importance how the guide identifies his/her cultural background. The tourists conceive the guide as a compatriot who is now living abroad, and is therefore still a part of the same cultural community as the tourists. If the guide does not conform to this conception it can create considerable curiosity and confusion. This was clearly the case with one guide who was born in the native country of the tourists, so her mother tongue was the same as that of the tourists and her physical appearance and her body language clearly made the tourists identify her as one of their own. However, she identified herself as Dane, and consequently said 'we' and 'us Danes' in her narratives. The tourists appeared puzzled and confused by this compatriot who had gone native in her second homeland. The guide conducted two consecutive tours for the group, and the tourists had ample opportunities to solve the puzzle. All day long she was subjected to an inquisition, approached by the tourists singly or in pairs asking her in detail about her life. Although tourists generally ask the guides this kind of question, these tourists in particular were trying to place the guide's identity in relation to their own identity. The guide answered the same questions again and again, and repeated a short version of

her life story – where she was born, how she came to Denmark as a very young woman more than 50 years ago, how she had married into a Danish family and now had children and grandchildren of her own. With this story she interpreted her intercultural identity through her social position in Danish society.

The ability to view a culture from the outside is not confined to guides who identify with a culture outside Denmark. Many guides, although identifying with Danish culture, have had extensive international experience, not least through their work as guides. This colours their own view of Denmark, and they are well aware of how Danish culture can be perceived from the outside and will account for this in their narratives. One guide would initiate a narrative about the Danish monarchy this way:

'For those of you living in countries without this system it might seem strange to you, that we have a monarch. It is a woman on top of everything, and she doesn't have any power, but we still need her for a lot of functions' (Tour no. 16).

Initiating the narrative with a view of the culture from outside, the guide anticipated that some of the tourists, who in this case came from democratic republics, may have been puzzled that a democratic country like Denmark maintained a royal house – a residue from another historical epoch. Then she stressed the fact that the monarch is a woman, which addressed the possible collision with more patriarchal cultures. Afterwards she switched position and she used a Danish self-perception as a basis for explaining why 'we' Danes, after all, still need the monarchy.

All guides may view the culture from the outside; but when the guides identified with a culture outside Denmark, they could form strong bonds with the tourists. At the same time, however, the guiding could at times have a more critical edge that could collide with the perception of the guide as an enthusiastic ambassador for the country they represented. The guides who identified themselves with the Danish cultural community were more likely to take an ambassadorial approach as a local proudly presenting his or her own culture.

8.5 Viewing the culture from the inside – an ethnocentric approach

Most of the guides I observed had a cultural self-perception rooted in Danish culture. This was the case for all the Danish-born as well as some of the foreign-born guides. Jensen (2004) stresses how actors in intercultural communication tend to idealize their own culture, and if there is any intercultural meeting more than others where both parties agree that one of the parties is supposed to promote his or her own culture, it must be the encounter between guides and tourists. During one city sightseeing a tour manager told me her idea of what it takes to be a good certified guide:

'A guide has to be enthusiastic and show that they are proud and they like their country and their cultural heritage more than just giving mere facts. If you do not have these qualities, people fall out. There has to be a fervour' (Tour no. 4).

This tour manager assumed that guides identify themselves with the culture they present, and she expected guides not only to display a positive bias towards their culture, but also to be enthusiastic. The majority of the guides I observed did exactly this, and they were very conscious that they were projecting a positive image of Denmark on to the tourists. Many guides have strong positive feelings about the culture they mediate, feelings I believe are further developed through their work. One guide, who conducts guided walking tours along the Copenhagen harbour, explained why she is so enthusiastic about these walking tours:

'[Someone] who like me finds it fantastic that a small capital like ours can present such a beautiful harbour front where a lot of things are happening, and what happens is international and of international standards. I am so proud of it' (Guide interview 3).

Holloway (81: 385-385) notes that one of the guides' many sub-roles can be that of

'missionary or ambassador for one's country...[and] many [guides] will develop an almost missionary zeal in their effort to arouse the interest of their passengers' (Holloway 81: 385-385).

An excellent example is the guide on a city sightseeing tour who gave an account of the healthy Danish economy, and accentuated that it is a model economy for others to learn from. The tour took place in 2006, when the Danish economy

excelled in almost all economic parameters. The guide linked the narrative with the other OECD countries, and went on:

'They [at the OECD headquarters] are pointing to Denmark at the moment, and saying to France and Germany 'Well, look at Denmark.' France and Germany in particular unfortunately have a 10% unemployment rate' (Tour no. 2).

On the surface it appears as if there is conformity between the tourists' expectations and what many guides try to deliver. However, acting as a missionary or ambassador is not without its implications. As discussed in earlier chapters, the guide's role is little institutionalized, and there are no clear guidelines about the extent to which a guide should adopt the ambassadorial or missionary sub-role, as in the opposite case, where there are no guidelines for how critical a guide may be. This opens up the potential for the guides' own interpretation of their role and their subsequent choice of intercultural strategies.

Some of the guides I observed would display an unequivocally positive bias towards all aspect of Danish culture, but most guides allowed themselves to add a critical edge, using humour, irony and self-irony, thus downplaying the ambassadorial role. In an intercultural context is worth mentioning that irony and self-irony are important ingredients of Danish self-perception. To illustrate my argument I will use two guides' narratives about the ever-valid topic, the Danish welfare system. Both guides drew on Danish self-perception, but in two different ways. One guide would describe the Danish welfare model as a fair and just system that protected the poor, and although it is financed by heavy taxes she stressed that 'we' Danes are happy with our system and for that reason 'we' willingly pay our taxes. The other guide would also explain faithfully and in exhaustive detail the benefits of our universal welfare system, but when he had to explain about the taxes that finance the system he would lament:

'...there is only one place to find the money and that is in the taxpayers' pockets. So talking about taxes – you name it, we've got it. Unfortunately we are the champions of world in respect of taxation' (Tour no. 7).

The guide explained in great detail about the Danish tax system in an ironic and humorous way, and he did little to hide his point of view. When the coach passed the Ministry of Finance he said:

'The Ministry of Finance to the right – definitely not very popular' (Tour no. 7).

The two narratives, although they both started with Danish cultural self-perception, show clearly that cultural identity is rooted not just in national identity but also in political and social identities. The latter guide played off two strategies against each other: the one as ambassador, talking nicely about the welfare benefits and then underpinning his personal credibility in appealing to *ethos* by reflecting on just how many taxes the state can heap on the citizens' shoulders. In order to navigate between the two contrary strategies, he used humour and irony.

The two narratives illustrate well how differently the guides interpreted their cultural identities, although both viewed the culture from inside, just as there are marked differences in whether a guide views the culture from the outside or inside. The guides discuss their obligations as representatives of Denmark, and in an interview one guide expressed her concern that not all her colleagues were projecting a positive image of Danish culture to the tourists (Guide interview 1). However, the guides rarely or never hear their colleagues in action, and the negotiation of the role of the guide is first and foremost an issue between the actors involved in the guided tour, that is the tourists and the guide. If the tourists are satisfied and happy with the guide and the guiding, a tour will normally be rated as a success by the employers, no matter how the cultural mediation is performed.

If we take the earlier quote from the tour manager at face value, the tourists ought to be happy when the guides are *'enthusiastic and show that they are proud and they like their country'* (Tour manager Tour no. 4). Generally my observations support this statement, and the guides who applied enthusiastic and ambassadorial strategies often managed to make the tourists apply attentive and participatory tactics to the guiding – and these are after all success parameters from a guide's point of view. However, to exaggerate the strategies may be counterproductive, as one tourist explained about a guide from St. Petersburg:

'The guide we had in St. Petersburg became tedious after a while – repeating the glory of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great became boring after a while' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

Exaggeration is one pitfall, but some guides take it a step further and become outright missionaries, not only pointing to the virtues of Danish culture but also

addressing the deficiencies of the tourists' culture, like the guide who pointed to the high unemployment rates in France and Germany. Another guide I observed would do the same, repeatedly emphasizing the virtues of Danish culture and more or less directly addressing deficiencies in the culture of the tourists. In the follow-up interview the guide explained how she saw guiding as a mission:

'We are representatives of the country they [the tourists] visit, and we have to give them a good experience and maybe inspiration to change certain things in their own country' (Guide interview 1).

This guide was very conscious of her missionary call, and explained how tourists on other tours had expressed gratitude for her instructions. However, not all tourists may be equally grateful, and I observed tourists on the back seats performing resistance to missionary interpolations by making critical and ironic remarks.

8.6 Conclusion

The guides apply the intercultural strategy in their guiding by playing on the cultural tension between themselves, the tourists and the host culture. They address what they believe are the tourists' preconceptions about Danish culture. The guides may reinforce or dismantle the tourists' preconceptions; however, it is the guides' preconceptions of the tourists' preconceptions that drive their strategy, which may prove to be the right or wrong strategy in relation to the individual tourists. The guides also hang their strategies on conceptual pegs in the tourists' life-world by connecting 'we' and 'they'. They do so by finding connections between the tourists' culture and the host culture and translating the host culture into terms familiar to the tourists. Furthermore, the guides address 'cultural fix points' as an efficient seductive strategy to make the guiding interesting. 'Cultural fix points' are reference points in the culture with which both parties identify and therefore find important. For the same reason the guides are careful and cautious when they address cultural fix points, since the ethos of guiding involves being entertaining and light-hearted.

The intercultural strategy also depends on the guides' interpretation of their own role and cultural identity. Guides who identify with a culture outside Denmark may apply what I have called an ethnographic approach when interpreting Danish

culture. Viewing the culture from the outside they may be somewhat critical of the host culture, which is measured against their own culture, which is 'the right one'. When the guides identify with the same culture as the tourists, they may form strong bonds and give the tourists a feeling of getting first-hand insight into the 'cultural other'. When the guides identify with the host culture, they may apply what I call an ethnocentric approach when interpreting Danish culture. By viewing the culture from inside, guides may truly become local ambassadors proudly presenting their country, and this may conform to the tourists' expectations. However, if the guides become outright missionaries, to the point where they address deficiencies in the tourists' culture, the tourists may perform resistance. The intercultural strategy can be very efficient and successful in judging the tourists' reactions, but the opposite may also be the case when the tourists find the strategy confusing, exaggerated or too missionary.

Guides' strategies of intimacy

A guided tour lasting 3-5 hours is characterized by close physical proximity and very intense interactions among the actors within a short span of time. The guides performing what may be labelled emotional work, just like other front-line personnel in the tourism sector (see Cederholm & Hultman 2008, Bæhrenholdt & Jensen 2009) with an intensity that lends itself readily to various types and degrees of intimacy.

'Four types of intimacy exist: physical intimacy (actual contact), verbal intimacy (exchange of words and communication), spiritual intimacy (sharing values and beliefs) and intellectual intimacy (sharing reflections and disclosures of knowledge' (Ryan & Trauer 2005:482).

I have already examined how the guides share their values and beliefs with the tourists, for example when they appeal to *ethos*, and I have argued that they do so to infuse energy into the narratives to attract and keep the attention of the tourists. This could also be viewed as an attempt to create spiritual intimacy between the actors. Likewise, when the guides appeal to *logos*, sharing reflections and making disclosures of knowledge, it could be argued that they are trying to create intellectual intimacy; and both strategies may result in discussions, thus leading to more sharing and creating still more intimacy between the guide and the tourists. Trauer and Ryan (2005) argue that the very fact of being guided by a local who is by definition is an 'insider' enhances the level of intimacy.

'...a place and a space to which a tourist is being introduced by someone with intense longitudinal experiences of, and association with, creates a level of intimacy to which a 'normal' tourist would never be exposed' (Trauer and Ryan 2005:482).

In this chapter I want to investigate the type of intimacy that is produced when the guides draw overtly on their own or the tourists' personal and private selves in the guiding. The guides apply what I call a strategy of intimacy when they try

to create a sense of closeness and confidentiality that is characteristic of relations between people who are well acquainted and have known each other for much longer than three hours. I will further argue that the guides apply the strategy of intimacy when they try to create a contemporary ‘we’ on the tour.

9.1 The guides – part and parcel of the guided tour

So far I have already examined how the tourists try to ‘get a piece of’ the guide as a private person by asking questions about their private life. They do this partly to identify the guide in relation to themselves in an intercultural context. Whether the guide as a private person is part and parcel of the tourism experience is negotiated by the guides and tourists. In an interview one guide discussed her role as a private person when she was guiding:

‘I don’t talk about my own person, unless they are interested to know. My person does not exist – so to speak. In this case I am a certified guide, but if they ask personal questions of course I will answer ... I know I have colleagues who stand up and tell them about everything they do, how many children they have and so on, and you can do that when you get to know them better – that is, when you have been together for a while, then you can also show photos. But I believe that the strictly personal has to wait a little, because that is not what it is about. That is how I feel’ (Guide interview 1).

This guide cites a norm – that the guide’s role as professional cultural mediator is separate from her role as private person, and that guiding is not about herself – a norm that was shared by a tourist quoted earlier in this thesis, who considered it inappropriate to ask the guide personal questions (Tourist interview 1. Tourist C). At the same time the guide recognizes the paradox, that the tourists want to know the guide as a private person, and she is willing to answer private questions, especially when she feels she has got to know the group, and in this case she might then even show them private photos. The guide elaborated later on the kinds of groups with whom she is willing to share more intimate details of her private life:

‘...when I feel it is a group where they know each other well – there are many who travel together and do it every year. Then it is something else, then I get up and say so-and-so, and I tell them right away. But then there are couples who do not know

each other, and then I think it is inappropriate just to stand up and talk about oneself' (Guide interview 1).

Even though the guide interprets her role as guide separately from her private self, she will do boundary work negotiating this separation with the tourists, and situational factors such as time and the type of group will decide how and when she will share intimate details of her private life. If the group members are familiar with one other, she finds that there is a pre-existing scope for intimacy within the group that makes it natural for her to share some of her private and intimate information.

When they disregarded the norm that the guide is exclusively a professional, the guides observed would do much more than just answer the tourists' questions; they would insert personal and private information, deliberately creating intimacy in the narrative and ultimately among the actors. The examples are many, and this was also done by the above-quoted guide. Three times during the same city sightseeing, she drew the tourists' attention to groups of young children who were on outings. On one occasion she said:

'OHH look at these children, aren't they beautiful? Maybe it is because I am a grandmother' (Tour no. 1).

This way she drew the passing locals into the performance as walk-ons, and on top of this she shared private and intimate details about herself. Not only did she reveal her family status as a grandmother; pointing to children three times during same city sightseeing made her appear very emotional and enthusiastic about children in general and her grandchildren in particular.

On a city sightseeing combined with a visit to the little fishing village of Dragør on the shore of the Sound, another guide pointed out some allotment gardens. She explained that in Denmark allotment gardens are relatively cheap, and because of the sky-high prices of real estate they have become increasingly popular (the tour was conducted in 2006 before the financial crisis). She continued: *'We are so lucky to own one [an allotment garden], and I go out there on weekends with my husband and my two kids' (Tour no. 15)*; and then she gave the names of her two children to the tourists, thus personalizing the local culture.

Inserting information about their family was something many of the guides did, and the tourists appreciated the personal touch this gave to the guided tour. Returning from a city sightseeing in Copenhagen with a third guide, I asked two couples who travelled together about their opinion of the tour, and two of the interviewees evaluated it as follows:

'He also spoke about his children at the university. He was more like a real person, he didn't just – didn't just have a script – a need to just read from a script that never changes' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

'I think it was absolutely a great overview of the city. It was very personal. I liked the touches he gave in terms of who he was – his personal life. The fact that he is married, a marriage of 40 years, things that are not important, but they do give you a sense of talking to somebody – like you can relate and get an understanding of life here. He was great at that...' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist A).

These tourists appreciated the guide's sharing of personal information. First of all, it made the guide appear as a real person, not just a professional. Having a real person in front of them opened the way for a personal, more intimate relationship, and it gave them a better understanding of how life was actually lived by real people in the city they were visiting. When a guide mediates historical or cultural facts about a destination, the tourists explain how it may be perceived as being read from a script – probably not in a literal sense but rather as a rehearsed and repeated script to be served up 'on stage' for any audience, while the personal information is perceived as more spontaneous, individual and intimate, reserved for these specific tourists as in a private conversation.

In the above examples the guides revealed their family status at the lighter end of a confidentiality scale, but on other occasions they shared more serious, deeper information about themselves. The guide on the combined city sightseeing and Dragør tour made a stop at the harbour in Dragør, placing the group in front of a fishing boat called *Elisabeth*, which was once used to transport Danish Jews in the rescue action of October 1945. The guide recounted a heroic narrative, introducing Denmark as:

'the only nation in the world where you had people risking their own lives in order to save the Jewish population'. At one point in the narrative she drew their attention to the fishing boat and said: 'Just like Elisabeth, which has been

restored, and which probably also transported my family. My family – which also went from Dragør in October '43 to safety in Sweden on the other side. So nobody knew if they would ever come back again. Will this be for a week, will this be for a year, for the rest of our lives? The thing was, it took two years from October '43 to May '45, when the war ended, and then the Jewish population could return to Denmark again' (Tour no. 15).

In this narrative the guide appealed to *pathos* by narrating an emotionally charged part of Danish history. The story was told in terms of both Danish and Jewish self-perception, conveying a very positive, undifferentiated image of Denmark. The tourists in the group came from the USA, and there was always the possibility that some were Jewish, which meant that she would be addressing an intercultural 'fix point'. The rhetorical and intercultural strategies were reinforced by the strategy of intimacy when she added her own family history, making it a powerful and personal narrative which was followed attentively by the tourists, and several of them videotaped the whole scene just as I did.

When I interviewed tourists about guided tours in general, they said it was exactly this kind of intimate guiding that made a deep impression. One interviewee talked about a similar experience that some of her fellow travellers on the cruise ship had had with a German guide earlier in the cruise:

'...she [the guide] was German and one of the things they [the tourists] loved most was that she shared her family experiences during the war – during World War II, and what life was like with her parents and her grandparents. They said it was just a wonderful, wonderful experience' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist A).

The guides appear to be acting very deliberately when they choose to share private information, and the strategy of intimacy can contribute considerably to the overall success of a performance. The wish to be a success as a narrator may be one motive, but sharing personal information does more; it creates a sense of a personal relationship from which the guides themselves derive much of their work satisfaction; and the tourists not only want to receive, they also want to give, as stated by a tourist:

'As much as we are looking at the guide to get a piece of them, we are trying to give a piece of ourselves' (Interview 1. Tourist B).

A personal relationship has to be reciprocal to be successful, and it is also in this light that we can understand the strategy of intimacy.

Not all guides shared personal information voluntarily in their guiding, but all of them answered personal questions in one way or another when asked directly by tourists. The guides interpret their professional roles differently and they do boundary work when they negotiate just how much, where and when their private selves should be part of the tourism experience. The tourists demand a certain amount of private information; put differently, it could be argued that the guides negotiate with the tourists the extent to which the guide is an attraction in his/her own right, as part and parcel of the performance that the tourists have bought into.

9. 2 Bringing the tourists into play at the personal level

The guides did not just share information about themselves in order to create intimacy; they also tried to get to know the tourists at a personal and individual level, and if possible to incorporate them in the performance. I have already examined how the guides would ask questions and address the tourists in other ways, drawing them into the performance, often in a humorous way, as in a street performance. Here I will examine how the guides tried to individualize the performance by addressing the tourists at a personal level to establish a more personal relationship and a feeling of intimacy in the guiding.

Several of the guides would try to get to know each tourist right from the start of a tour. The guides explained to me how they try to make eye-contact with each tourist, and how they try to remember their faces. One guide gave the following description of how she meets the tourist at the start of a tour:

'That is what I like about the job. You meet so many different people. No, you say – isn't it deadly boring that you see the group come down to your bus every single day? But I say no, because I stand there watching them thinking: there we have the craftsman, there we have the manager, there we have the complainer, then there are ... you can recognize them all. Then you stand there and spot them and feel cozy about it. And one of the things that has really puzzled me – I can't tell you how, but I believe most guides can do it: if you receive a group at Langelinie [a port in central Copenhagen for cruise ships] in the morning and then you drive

directly to The Little Mermaid [a three-minute drive], then they have a look, and then ten minutes later they come back to your bus. I have no doubt who has to come to my bus even if I have only seen them when they handed in the tickets. I can recognize them, and I believe most guides can. If that is a part of the profession I don't know, maybe it's because we just like people, I don't know? Then I also use this thing – counting them very carefully when I go through the bus – to make contact with people, I don't just stand in front of them and say blah blah blah...'(Guide interview 3).

This guide does not just see the tourists as numbers in a group; she sees them as individuals that she remembers even after a very short initial meeting. She also tries to categorize them by profession or temperament, probably in order to assess the kind of people she is going to guide and spend time with for the next couple of hours. Finally she emphasizes that even if it is more or less the same kind of work she does every day, it is exactly the meeting with new people that she likes about the job. The tours may be repeated, but the tourists are different each time, which makes each performance unique.

The guides tried to get to know the tourists at the individual level in various ways. On a three-hour walking tour in Copenhagen starting from a cruise ship, shortly after an introduction to the tour, the guide asked the tourists where they came from. The tourists explained that they came from Malta, England and the USA respectively, and she went into detail, asking whereabouts in the States or England they lived. One tourist answered that he lived near Bristol, and the guide replied: *'Okay, so you are used to this weather?'* It was a windy summer day with showers, and everybody was constantly opening and closing their umbrellas. The tourist replied *'Yeah'*. Later on the tour, when it was raining and the wind was particularly hard, she addressed the same tourist again and said jokingly: *'Sorry sir, but we call this British weather'*, explaining that this kind of weather mostly comes from the west; and then she touched the British tourist lightly on his shoulder with an apologetic smile (Tour no. 16). The guide combined the intercultural strategy connecting the 'we' and 'they' with the strategy of intimacy, addressing the tourist in a very personal way.

The physical intimacy between the guides and tourists was often confined to handshakes, but sometimes they touched each other, as in the case above, and as we see in Figure 26, where two different guides touch the tourists lightly on the

arms while engaging in conversations. To touch somebody on the arm demonstrates attention, and in these cases conveys a message saying 'I am engaged and I care'.



Figure 26. *Two guides on two different city sightseings in Copenhagen, both touching tourists lightly on the arm.*

In the chapter on rhetorical strategy I described how one guide used humour as an ice-breaker when the tourists boarded the bus. He greeted the tourists almost as family members, he told jokes and complimented them, thus managing to establish a familiar, intimate atmosphere from the beginning. Other guides would also compliment the tourists to develop a personal relationship. On a guided tour to the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle the group entered the Banqueting Hall, where huge oil paintings of various royal persons hang on the walls. One painting depicts the beautiful Queen Alexandra, a Danish princess who married King Edward VII of Great Britain. At one point the guide patted a young woman on the arm and asked her if she thought Queen Alexandra was beautiful, and then added, *'You look like her'* (Tour no. 2). The guides addressed the tourists at an individual and personal level, drawing them into the performance. They touched them, complimented them and joked with them and in doing so created a friendly, almost family-like, intimate atmosphere. They created a sense of 'we'.

When the guides bring their private selves and the tourists' private selves into play, the actors emerge as unique individuals, and this helps them to role-distance themselves from the negative image of the shepherd with the group as a flock of sheep. It has already been investigated how guides adopt practices in order to distance themselves and the group from these negative connotations, as illustrated by the guide who tried to avoid using the 'lollipop' as much as possible while on a walking tour through Copenhagen. The guide explained:

'And that is why I don't like to walk with it [the lollipop]. You look at them as a flock of animals, you don't look at them as 16 individual guests. In a way I think it is like condescending to them'

This guide breaks the 'dumb' group down into individual guests. During her guiding she would also break down the dichotomy between the guide and the group, making all the actors including herself personal, private individuals who were together for a certain amount of time. And she did not only guide, she talked to the group as if they were acquaintances, almost friends, sharing information and opinions throughout the tour. She managed to create a coherent group, thus installing a sense of 'we' in them.

9.3 Conclusion

The strategy of intimacy can be a very persuasive way of seducing the tourists into the performance. When the guides reveal and include their private selves in the guiding, the tourists may in return perceive the performances as more real, deep and memorable. When the guides at the same time include the tourists in the guiding at a private and personal level, both the tourists and the guides emerge as individuals united in a personalized, informal, almost family-like performance. This seems to satisfy both tourists and guides, who value the social and interpersonal aspects of the performance, and at the same times it serves to avoid the negative stigma attached to guided tours.

However, the strategy of intimacy can be difficult to manage, as both guides and tourists mention the norm which states that the role of the guide as a professional is separate from her role as a private person; but at the same time they acknowledge that there is a clear demand from the tourists, just as the guides explain that they derive much of their work satisfaction from the intimate relationship with the tourists. The guides do boundary work when they interpret and perform their roles somewhere between the private and the professional, and they all do it differently, some more intimately than others. At the same time they negotiate with the tourists just how much they should be part and parcel of the tourism experience.

The logistical strategies of the guides

In this chapter I will analyse the fourth and the last strategy – the logistical strategy. The logistical strategy is informed by the way the guides interact with tourists in relation to the surroundings, how they move in time and space – that is, how they create rhythm and flow in the movement of the group through landscapes and townscapes, through crowds in the museums and at pit stops, in the bus or on foot. When the logistical strategy is successful it makes the tour a smooth, pleasurable experience without friction internally and externally.

'The guide has responsibility for the safe and efficient conduct of the party...he should exercise control over his party, prevent members from breaking away, collect stragglers and generally monitor the pace and movements of the party' (Cohen 1985:12).

Cohen (1985) divides the guide's role into the mediatory sphere and the leadership sphere, and the logistics belongs to the latter. In the responsibility of the leadership sphere a certain power and authority is vested that we cannot find in the mediatory sphere. When the guides gave directions and instructed the groups on logistics and security matters, their tone of voice would often change and become more strict and firm; it sounded more as if they were giving orders. However, this is not an easy shift to make from the soft, mediatory sphere, and it accords badly with the otherwise commercial, playful and voluntary frame of the guided tour. In order to soften the instructions, many of the guides would often add humour and tell small anecdotes to blunt the authoritative edge.

However the logistics go beyond the responsibility issue: as both a local and a professional the guide may use the logistical strategy in order to excel and impress, and to give the tourists an extraordinary experience; but when they slip up the tourists may have some of their worst experiences.

10.1 Movement and placement

The guided tour is an ongoing movement from start to finish, with constant scene shifts. The guide's ability to read the group's changing needs and the physical surroundings, and to manoeuvre the group around in the different settings, is as important as mediating the culture. Places that are very crowded may pose a particular challenge to the guide, but may also constitute an opportunity to excel and impress. An interviewee explained, talking about a successful visit to the Hermitage in St. Petersburg:

'We had a wonderful guide at the Hermitage. We had a very small group. We had a group of 13 and it was mobbed, but he was so experienced and so skilled that he took us through and gave us fun and just four or five hours of sure pleasure. Now we didn't stop and see everything we would have liked to have seen, but that is impossible there, but it was jammed and he wove us in and out in those hours so – and he knew the Hermitage so well' (Tourist interview 4).

This interviewee compares the guide's logistic strategy to weaving, moving the little group in a nice smooth pattern in and out through the massive numbers of tourists in this huge castle. Other interviewees would praise guides who managed to avoid long queues in front of the ticket offices by arriving before the rush hour, or who knew small pit stops that were not crowded. Flow and movement have to be smooth, and congestion is an omnipresent feature in the popular tourist settings.

Congestion combined with time constraints influence the logistics and have an overall impact on the experience of the guided tour. In an interview with an American family of four representing three generations, they returned to these issues several times, and the restroom stops were mentioned in particular as a problem. One of them said:

'And they don't give you very much time to shop, so... You have to go to the bathroom and you have to shop. You probably spend all your time going to the bathroom and you don't have time to shop or even for the tours. That has probably been our biggest problem – the restrooms through Europe. By the time we get through the line of the restrooms, whatever – the stop is over and done with, so we don't get to see the sight or we don't get to participate in whatever it is they are looking at...' (Tourist 2. Tourist A).

Time constraints are an omnipresent feature in a guided tour, and are imposed by the industry. As such they may be viewed as part of an overarching strategy in De Certeau's terms, and the tourists and the guide often act at a tactical level to perform the tour within the time limit. On a one-hour guided tour at Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, the guide and the tourists were exchanging remarks about their dislike of the time constraints, and they sided together against the strategy imposed from the outside. At one point the guide praised the tourists for being able to keep up the pace and said: *'You are some very brave and sympathetic soldiers'* (Tour no.2). If we follow this analogy, the guide is like a sergeant out on the battlefield with the soldiers obeying almost impossible orders from the distant headquarters.

The logistical strategy is also about placement – that is, how to place the group so they get to see and experience whatever they have come to see. A very illustrative example is the tourists who come to see the Changing of the Guards at noon on Amalienborg Palace Square. In the peak season hundreds of tourists will be standing in front of one of the four mansions that make up the Palace to see the arrival of the new guards and the first changing. After the first changing the guards will march off to the other three mansions and carry out a changing at each mansion. Most of the guides I observed would do the guiding somewhere on the Palace Square and then leave the tourists on their own to watch the changing of the guards. The great bulk of tourists would place themselves in front of the first mansion to see the arrival and the first changing. Many of the tourists who stood behind in the crowd could hardly see anything, and many raised their cameras high above their heads, hoping to get a good photo. On one city sightseeing the guide deliberately placed the group in front of the mansion where the second changing of the guards takes place. On the ground some painted markers show where the guard is supposed to walk, and onlookers must stay away. The guide placed his group right behind the markers so that they were in the first row and they got the very best view and photos of the changing. While they were waiting for the guard, he would ensure that the tourists stayed behind the markers and would narrate, filling in the time until the arrival. This was a clear logistical strategy used to give the tourists the very best experience.

10.2 Rhythm and breaks

Many of the guides observed were very detailed and precise when they presented the programme of the tour. They gave information not only about what they were going to see, but also about distances and stops, and would repeat the information along the way so the tourists were mentally prepared for the rhythm and the breaks in the tour. Guiding is about narrating and moving the group around, but it is also about deciding when not to narrate and when to let the tourists relax or venture out on their own. Some breaks are compulsory, such as 'comfort stops' with time for visiting restrooms or shopping. It is in the hands of the guide to decide exactly when these comfort stops takes place; on the other hand the environment and the design of a tour do not offer endless opportunities – there are often only a few places to choose between. The guides may also make small additional breaks, just to let the tourists have their own experience of a place.

On a combined city sightseeing and guided tour to the village of Dragør, the whole tour had been somewhat delayed right from the outset. This caused some frustration, and the guide informed the tourists along the way about the delay, and promised them that they would not miss anything out on the tour. Arriving in Dragør, the group had a refreshment stop at a café where they were served coffee and Danish pastries, and the guide helped the waiters to pour coffee, making the serving more efficient. Furthermore, the guide decided to speed up the guiding in Dragør in order to give the tourists 20 minutes on their own to walk around in the small town. She left the group in the town centre on the pedestrian precinct, and she gave directions on how they could find their way back to the bus. Within seconds all the tourists were going in all directions. Some went down the street to window-shop, others went to buy water and fruit and settled down on the benches on a little square. The group was left right in front of a grocery store, and one lady remained in front of the shop and took numerous photos of heather in pots, and of a sign saying 'two for 45 kroner'. I asked her why she took these photos, and she explained that she herself grew and sold heather. She remained in front of the shop and continued to photograph the exhibited fruit and vegetables. Giving the tourists time to log off allows them to cater for their own interests and needs, of which the guide may never be aware.

Time constraints and delays are external factors that guides and tourists both have to deal with, but the guide can apply a logistical strategy that relieves or worsens

these factors. One of the interviewees in the American family of four recalled a Russian guide who had refused to make an additional restroom stop:

'It certainly was in Russia when she [the guide] was so rude to us – because she [a fellow traveller] had to go to the bathroom, and she [the guide] said no, I told you to go before. Well, I said, she [the fellow traveller] did go before, and we need to find a restroom. She [the guide] wouldn't tell us. She kept walking. It was pretty rude' (Tourist interview 3. Tourist D).

Not knowing the Russian guide, one can only guess why she would not make an additional restroom stop in spite of the urgent need. However, the case illustrates that the logistical strategy is also a negotiated strategy where the guide may choose to form an alliance with the tourists; but she may also view the tourists as difficult adversaries testing the power relations between the parties. In this case the guide had the upper hand, as the tourist perhaps risked getting lost if she chose to log off and cater for her needs.

It is impossible for a guide to cater for all the individual needs and interests of the tourists, but by being sensitive to the tourists and holding regular breaks both in the coach and outside the coach, the guide ensures that the tourists have time to log off and cater for themselves and create their own performance, alone or together with their fellow travellers.

10.3 Friction

Part of the logistics involves preventing friction between the tourists and the surroundings. Many of the guides would warn the tourists against pickpockets, and everybody would be instructed on the rules of behaviour, whether in public places or inside cultural institutions. On Amalienborg Palace Square there are four rules of behaviour: 1. It is forbidden to lean against the walls of the mansions. 2. It is forbidden to sit on the steps leading up to the mansions. 3. It is forbidden to get closer than 1 metre to a working guard. 4. It is forbidden to walk or stand on the routes marked out on the ground when the guard is changing. It is the responsibility of the guards to ensure the security of the Royal Family and the Palace. As a guide explained dramatically:

'The soldiers are doing their national service. Their rifles are loaded with ammunition and the soldiers shoot if necessary. They have a job to do, they guard the head of state' (Tour no. 7).

The guide said this with a big smile on his lips, as it is unlikely they will use their rifles against tourists, but the guards often shout loudly at people who break the first two rules. They will also let people know if they get too close when they want to take pictures. As for the fourth rule, the police will help to clear the route of people when the changing of the guard is taking place.

On a city sightseeing a second guide wanted to apply the same logistical strategy as described earlier, taking the group to the mansion where the second change takes place. He placed his group in the first row; however, the markings on the ground are not very striking, and the tourists may not notice them unless they are told loudly, clearly and maybe repeatedly to do so. This guide did not manage to instruct the group clearly, and when the guard marched towards the group, some of them were standing beyond the markings. One of the police officers who cleared the route was pretty rude in the way he pushed the tourists behind the markings. A woman from the group got very upset, and said *'Don't push me'*, and then she began to complain to her fellow-travellers, saying *'He has no right to touch me'*, and a little later *'We need to take their pictures'*. She was so disturbed by the negative interaction that she left the group and missed the changing of the guards (Tour no 11). There are obviously different perspectives on the changing of the guards from a police officer's point of view and from a tourist's point of view, but this illustrates the fact that the guide is a gatekeeper and a mediator of local rules, and that the guide's ability to apply a successful logistical strategy is crucial in preventing bad experiences.

On the various tours I observed several tourists who were yelled at because they broke the rules of behaviour at Amalienborg Palace Square; others were corrected by custodians in the museums. Fortunately I did not observe people being robbed, but the guides were able to tell stories about thefts on tours. The guides applied different logistic strategies to avoid friction, but often they softened up their instructions and warnings with humour, softening the unpleasant message and downplaying their authoritative role.

10.4 The logistical strategy in a situational context

The logistical strategy depends on how the guides interpret their role, how they negotiate with the tourists, but also very much on situational factors, as has been indicated in the above cases. One interviewee summed up the tourists' position, and explained what a good guide should do.

'The timing, again, when you are with people all day. Sensitivity to who needs a drink, doing a bathroom stop. Are they looking tired so they need to sit down for a few minutes? Good guides observe the group that they have, since they have certain needs sometimes it is hard for some people to stand upright for hours. Sensitivity to the sunlight. You know there is a shady spot over here; not standing on a corner. The guide not losing us – the fact they carry a coloured umbrella. You know, sometimes they work hard to make the groups stay together ... These are proving..The security and comfort' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

This interviewee explains well how logistics are very much about observing the situational needs of the tourists and acting accordingly. At the same time, the tourists also have responsibilities, and the same interviewee stressed that the tourists ought not to sign up for a tour if they are not prepared to carry it out, and that they should obey to instructions and adhere to the time limits.

'You cannot have 18 people waiting for one couple that disappears going flea-market shopping or eating an ice cream in an ice-cream parlour' (Tourist interview 1. Tourist B).

However, the guide and the tourists are not alone when they negotiate the logistics; they are performed in environments and with other actors. The industry imposes an overarching strategy in terms of route and time. Other actors like police officers, other tourist groups and the drivers can influence the logistics in unpredictable ways. It makes a big difference whether the coach driver is a local driver who knows all the tricks and the shortcuts of the city, and can thus help the guide, or if it is a foreign driver who doesn't know the city, and the guide has to give directions to the driver and guide simultaneously. Often the guides will not know which kind of driver they get until they get on the coach. Delays and misinformation, sun or rain and many other factors, influence the logistics.

The logistics are performed and negotiated in interaction with the tourists within a situational context shaped both by external actors like the tourism industry and many other, unpredictable factors. As professionals the guides can apply a logistical strategy that aims at ensuring a smooth and pleasant tour without friction, and they can even give the tourists an extraordinary experience, but they can also do the opposite.

The guided tour – a stage with multiple actors

So far the analyses have focused on the tourist-guide interaction, and what the two types of actors bring to the performance on the guided tour; third parties have only been dealt with sporadically, for example when they directly influence the actions of the guides and the tourists. In reality the guided tour is performed by multiple actors who all have their roles and their own stake in the performance. The group and the guide may be viewed as playing the leading roles, but other actors may have major roles and participate throughout the tour, while others again have subordinate or 'walk-on' roles, entering and leaving the performance. The Figure 27 visualizes the types of actors who may perform a guided tour in Copenhagen. Beyond the guide and the tourist/the group, there is often a driver and sometimes a tour manager or a tour escort, or an interpreter, who participate throughout the tour. They are significant third or fourth parties who may have a great impact on the performance and the relationship between guide and tourists. Behind the scenes we find important professionals such as the employer's representative from an 'incoming bureau' for example, and/or an excursion manager from a cruise ship. More subordinate roles may be enacted by policemen, custodians, waiters, distributors of fliers, people on mobile phones, etc. They enter the scene, they interact and then they leave the performance again. Some actors themselves function as sights, like the royal guard or the more informal street musicians with whom some interaction also may take place. Finally, some actors are extras, like the local inhabitants and other tourists who by their mere presence are part of the experience, and peripheral interactions sometimes take place with them.

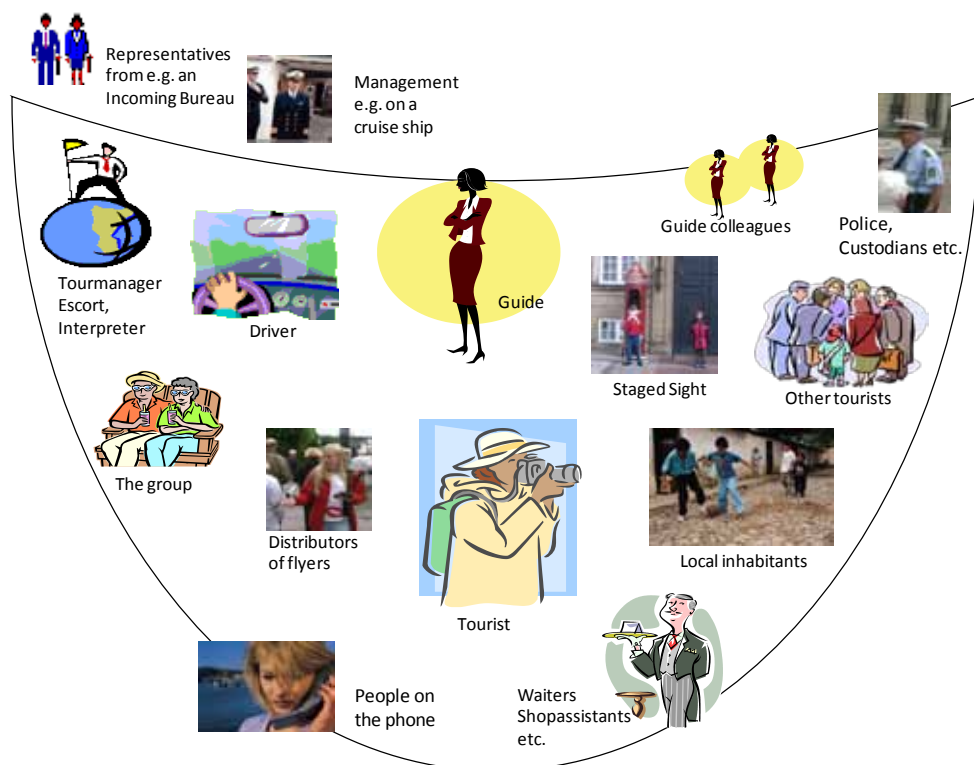


Figure 27. Actors on a guided tour in Copenhagen. Leading roles: Guide and Tourist/group. Major roles: driver, tour manager, escorts, interpreters and guide colleagues. Subordinate roles: waiters, police, custodians, people on the phone, distributors of fliers, actors as staged sights. Extras: Local inhabitants and other tourists. Behind the scenes: Employers' representatives, e.g. from an incoming bureau and a cruise ship.

Before a tour, the guides will often not know with whom they are going to collaborate. They will not know which driver they are going to work with, or if there is a tour manager or an escort on board the coach. Because the roles of the actors are little institutionalized, this leaves fairly wide scope for interpretations and negotiations about the distribution of power and responsibilities with regard to the actors on stage as well as the backstage ones. When one observes all those enacting guided tours, the performances very often take the shape of a power play where the actors, on the basis of their 'relative capital' try to maximize their influence on a performance, to enhance their own role and defend what they believe are their prerogatives in a relatively fuzzy hierarchy. There are many stakeholders who claim ownership of a tourist group and therefore believe they have both power over and responsibility for the overall outcome of a performance.

The guided tour is a mobile stage in public space, and while some actors may have pre-determined or programmed roles, most do not; they just happen to be co-present in time and space with the group. Sometimes the guide will leave the stage to another actor for a while, and at other times the guide may drag other actors on to the stage to bolster their narratives or increase their own cultural or social capital in other ways. It is a selective process where some actors are regarded as useful and attractive, others as useless or even unattractive and hence made invisible. The tourists may also engage in direct interactions with third parties, and while positive interactions make a performance more credible and convincing, negative interactions are of course undesirable; in these cases the guide may act as a gatekeeper, just as a guided tour is limited to certain 'front-stage' paths.

In the next four chapters I will investigate what other actors bring to the performance of the guided tour, still keeping the guide-tourist relationship as my point of departure. How do third parties interact with the guides and the tourists? But also how do third parties influence the relations between guides and tourists? The voices of other actors that I have used come from observations and small remarks confided in me during the tours, often when the guides and/or the tourists were out of earshot.

Drivers on guided tours

Although guided walking tours have become increasingly popular in Copenhagen, most guided tours still involve a coach, and automatically the drivers become significant actors in the performance. The guide and the driver will almost never know who they are going to work with before they meet, and if they have never worked together before, the two parties will immediately try to assess each other's 'capital'. A driver's cultural capital in the field consists as a minimum of his formal training to obtain a driving licence for large vehicles; but beyond that he has a range of professional competences in terms of his level of experience as driver; whether he is a local or a non-local; his language proficiency; and not least his social competences, that is his capacity for teamwork and service-mindedness. The guides' cultural capital in the field is primarily based on their formal training as diploma guides; as such they are expected to be local experts able to mediate the local culture in a foreign language. However, they may be more or less experienced as guides, and their social competences and teamwork skills will vary from individual to individual.

The driver and the guide are forced to collaborate, and they engage in simultaneous, intensive team work where they negotiate and distribute power and responsibilities in relation to their habitus and their capital in the field. What is primarily at stake in these negotiations is the ability to carry out their work, which has often been assigned by employers like incoming bureaus and carriers; but they may also try to maximize their influence on the overall outcome of a tour, building up a position in the field both as colleagues and professionals, and perhaps try to enhance possible tipping.

In analysing the relations between guide, driver and tourists it is fruitful to draw on Cohen's (1984) distinction in the guide role between the leadership sphere and the mediatory sphere and apply it to the relations among the guide, the driver and the tourists. The leadership sphere has an outer-directed instrumental component which relates to the practical physical accomplishment of a tour, and an inner-directed social component which relates to the cohesion and morale of the tour.

The mediatory sphere has an outer-directed interactional component which relates to the function as middleman between the guided party and the local population, sites and institutions, and an inner-directed communicative component which relates to the dissemination of information. The driver's cultural capital is more marketable in the leadership sphere than in the mediatory sphere in terms of influence and power, and this will be discussed in the following sections.

12.1 The driver's role in the leadership sphere – who is the boss?

When the guide and the driver meet at the outset of a tour, they start to plan. They discuss where to go first, where and when to stop, and where to end the tour. First and foremost, they have to obey the instructions given by the employers in their tour description, if they are available. If there is no description, there is a *doxa* for a city sightseeing tour of Copenhagen that says it should comprise the major institutionalized sights of the city: The Little Mermaid, Amalienborg Palace, Parliament etc. However, the sequence and route are optional. They plan to avoid congestion, road repairs and the like, but also to be in certain places at a certain time. They also plan for the weather: in good weather the group may drive less and spend more time out of the coach than in bad weather. On the tours I observed, the groups spent approximately 1½ hours on the coach on a 3-hour city sightseeing. The more knowledgeable driver will be able to influence the planning, but the major power to decide the spatiotemporal direction of the tour is vested in the guide, and guides are judged by the drivers for their ability to manage this responsibility. One driver confided in me during a city sightseeing:

'Guides who cannot make up their minds are annoying. You agree one thing, and then they change the system. But most guides are nice and friendly' (Tour 8).

The guide and driver may agree on what this driver calls a 'system', something that makes a tour in some way predictable; but it is in the power of the guide to alter the agreement along the way. When the guide exercises this power she/he demonstrates that the driver has little or no power, which obviously frustrates him. Keeping time is also a very big issue for the driver, as mentioned in earlier chapters, and a guide who cannot keep time and is delayed can cause considerable frustration and problems for the driver, who may have a new assignment immediately after a tour has ended. In the eyes of the drivers, good guides are good

timekeepers, and this is very much a question of the guides' ability to control the movements of the group.

I have already discussed how time constraints influence the tour, and how some tourists log off and uses absent tactics to perform their own habitable version of the tour. However, when the tactics influence the collective performance negatively, it will frustrate not only the driver and the guide but also the other tourists, who will resent being kept waiting for stragglers to return. The guides I observed would adopt various logistical strategies to exercise control over the groups, and one guide would install the driver as the boss and the 'bogeyman', in a narrative about who had the power to decide when to drive or not. She explained:

I tell [my groups] a story about a group of young people who played big and smart and all that, and then the driver had told them that if they were not back at a certain time, then he would leave, and of course they didn't believe him. Then they were late, and they had to take a cab back to the hotel because the bus had left. And I just tell them that story. I don't say I will do it or this driver will do it. Then sometimes I play on the driver because it isn't only the guide that decides' (Guide interview 1).

This narrative is more like a gimmick, as I have never observed any driver instructing the tourists about timekeeping, and the Danish driver might not even be aware that he was attributed with this power by the guide, as she delivered the narrative in a 'Latin' language. However, the narrative serves several functions: the guide manages to threaten the tourist to keep the time schedule, and by installing the driver as the decision-maker and bogeyman, she can deliver an unpleasant message without harming her own role as playful and friendly mediator. At the same time she can demonstrate that she considers the driver and herself a team that shares power and responsibilities. In reality the responsibility and power to decide the spatiotemporal direction of a tour is primarily vested in the guide, and this is most obvious when the guide is supposed to conduct a tour with a driver with no local knowledge at all.

Some groups arrive in their own coach from other parts of Europe, and the driver may never have been in Copenhagen before; or a Danish carrier may have to supplement with buses and drivers from southern Sweden on the busiest days in Copenhagen. In these cases the guide has to give directions to the driver and

perform the commentary simultaneously. The guide has to know the city well from a traffic perspective, and she has to ensure the huge vehicle is in the right lane well before making a turn; she must know the tricks of shortcuts, turns and parking etc. Some guides find this part of their job stressful, and they tell stories about inexperienced or insecure foreign drivers who can turn a guided tour into a dangerous ride. One guide talked about a Swedish driver who drove the wrong way in the roundabouts, ran several red traffic lights and almost knocked down a cyclist. In Copenhagen the large numbers of bicycles constitute a special challenge to foreign drivers. In this particular case of a dangerous ride the guide filed a complaint about the driver with the Danish incoming bureau (Guide interview 3).

Another problem may arise if the driver and the guide cannot communicate. Some Swedes and Danes have difficulty communicating in spite of the closeness of the two languages, and a Swedish-born guide talked about an incident at the pier at Nordhavnen in Copenhagen, where several coaches and guides had been hired to do the same type of guided tours from a cruise ship. A guide colleague came running up to her, pleading:

'You know what, we have to switch coaches. It will end in a disaster. He [a Swedish driver] will not understand a word of what I am saying' (Guide interview 4).

The two guides switched coaches and driver, which was possible in this particular case.

The two incidents above illustrate well how, despite the fact, that the guide has the formal power to decide the spatiotemporal direction of a tour, the guided tour is the result of teamwork, and each party depends on the other having a basic amount of cultural capital; in the driver's case this means enough confidence and experience to drive, even in an unknown city, and some basic communication skills in a common language. The guides also need to have some basic skills beyond their mere formal training, and some of these skills will come only through practice. New guides or guides who guide rarely may benefit greatly from experienced drivers. These guides may leave much of the power to decide the spatiotemporal direction of the tour to the driver, and the driver may help the guide with local information that is obtained only from practice. On one city sightseeing I observed a guide who lives far from Copenhagen, and only transfers occasionally to the city to work during the peak season. On that tour the driver told me that the guide had left to him to decide the route, and he really liked that.

Power over and influence on the spatiotemporal direction of a tour thus depends in part on the actors' relative capital, but also on how the two parties are able to establish a good working relationship. On my observations of the 17 tours in and around Copenhagen I never detected any serious dissonance in the cooperation between the drivers and the guides. However, through observations and through the interviews, it appears that there is a certain amount of power play, and Holloway (1981) argues that differences in social class and gender between guide and driver (and I would add age and nationality) are all significant factors in how guides and drivers negotiate and distribute the power, and all these factors are constitutive of the actors' habitus.

12.2. To be or not to be a service team

'If you have a good driver and the people sense that you work well together and there is a good atmosphere – that makes a world of difference' (Guide interview 4).

The collaboration between driver and guide is generally regarded as very important to the overall atmosphere of a tour, and I mostly observed good working relationships between guides and drivers. This would be manifested in various ways. If the tourists had to hand in tickets, the driver and guide would often each stand in front of their entrance to the coach and collect them. Every now and then they would inform each other on the numbers, and finally the driver or the guide would do the final count. At the stops many drivers would help the tourists in and out of the coach, and sometimes the guide would do the same at the middle entrance to the coach, something that was appreciated by the tourists, as shown by small remarks.

All the guides without exception would introduce the driver at the outset of the tour, and many of them would add compliments:

'You are lucky this morning, you got the best driver I know' (Tour 7), or as one who added humour said: 'The most important guy is the driver as without him we stay on the same spot' (Tour 8), and then the tourists laughed.

The driver would also become the centre of attention when difficult traffic situations emerged. The tourists would make comments like *'What is the driver sup-*

posed to do?' (Tour 8), and they would anxiously follow a drive through extremely narrow passages with small exclamations and maybe even a round of applause upon successful completion. Sometimes the guides would interrupt their ongoing commentary and comment, complimenting the driver by saying '*Bravo – X is a very skilled driver*'. Some guides would simply include the driver along the way by saying '*Here we are thanks to our skilled driver*' (Tour 15) when arriving at a stop. It is very much at the discretion of the guides to include the driver through the commentary and to make him a visible actor in the performance in front of the tourists.

The driver is at the same time a colleague with whom the guide can engage in small talk, and one could often hear a little murmuring at the front of the bus, and sometimes laughter, when the guide and driver were talking together. Especially on longer drives, guides would engage in conversation with the driver. Generally, the guides and the drivers were very much aware that good collaboration at the front of the coach creates a good atmosphere which will be propagated to the rest of the coach.

However, in spite of some guides' efforts to include the drivers and make them visible, not all drivers would respond to the invitation. One guide explained:

'I have some [drivers] I just can't get up out of their seats; how shall I put it? To participate. They just drive and that is good enough – but it is just not good enough'. [I ask: 'Do you say anything to them?'] 'No I can't; as I mentioned before, you try to praise them, and give them the value they have – but it is in their hands to receive it. If they don't, there isn't much you can do' (Guide interview 1).

Another guide expressed a similar feeling – that she was unsure whether the drivers themselves always understand just how important they are. And she pointed to qualities like being well-mannered and well-groomed as important features in their cultural capital and as factors that contributed to the overall success of a tour:

'First of all they [the carrier firms] could give them some nice clothes. – I promise you it makes a different impression. X [the drivers of Carrier X], for example, they are always nice, with ties, and they have nice company shirts, with X written on them. Y [the drivers of Carrier Y] are always nice and well-groomed – instead of getting somebody sitting in a knitted cardigan with tattoos on their arms etc.

It doesn't make the same professional impression. He may be good as a driver for steering the coach – but it makes a different impression' (Guide interview 4).

Differences in habitus and cultural capital between guides and drivers are in play here, and it appears that they do not always have the same commitment to the performance. Holloway (1981) argues that drivers on the whole are less likely to be committed to the team role than guides. He attributes this to the difference in status attached to the roles of guides and drivers by tourists; the drivers may be overlooked or taken for granted. During an interview with an American family of four, we discussed the drivers they had met on tours. The family praised their driving skills, but when I asked if the drivers spoke English one of them replied.

'Oh yeah, some did...but we didn't speak much with them. But they were there to help us find the buses. Help us in and out' (Interview 3. Tourist C).

The drivers are recognized as important, but they may not always feel the recognition from the tourists in terms of feedback, and it is this defect that the guides try to remedy. My observations show that many guides would do a lot to make the driver a visible and important actor; but just as not all drivers would respond positively to the invitation, not all the guides I observed would do more than just introduce the driver, and from then on he turned into a kind of 'non-person' in front of the tourists for the rest of the tour. A 'non-person' is

'a term which by Goffman describes a category of persons who may be treated in some social encounters as if they were not present, even though their services may be indispensable' (Holloway 1981:394).

So even though many guides would draw the attention to the driver, not everyone did, and at a first glance this could be viewed as a very unequal power relation, where the guides are in a position to decide whether or not to invite the drivers into the play, on whatever terms they choose.

However, not all drivers accept a passive or invisible role or wait for an invitation. One driver would explain how he had improved his English working with tourists, and he felt it was part of his job to talk to the tourists, even if it was not a part of the official job description: *'There you are just hired as a driver' (Driver on tour 11)*. He explained how the 'people-to-people' part of his job was left to himself

to figure out, but he managed well, and he was very happy working with tourists and said that Americans in particular were good at complimenting him on his driving. Like the guides, the drivers may do boundary work when they interpret their roles, and a driver who is proactive will most likely benefit from the response from the tourists. The guides are generally in favour of a proactive attitude, and language proficiency appears to be very important, or at least willingness to learn, as one guide explained:

'If you [the driver] are interested in the tourists you drive, then you can always say 'Buon giorno' or 'Ciao' or 'Prego' or something else. They [the tourists] like you to give it even just a try. They feel you are interested – that means a lot. But you don't HAVE to talk to them – there is also the body language and a smile and a helping hand' (Guide interview 1).

When both driver and guide are committed to being a service team, and both communicate with the tourists, there seems to be a win-win situation where the tourists respond positively to the drivers, which ought to be an incentive for the drivers to interact. However other factors may be at work. Holloway (1981) points to the social distance between driver and guide as one reason why drivers may be less committed to the teamwork. He observed that while the guides were generally from the middle class, which was reflected in their dress, manner and accent, the drivers were almost without exception from the working class.

'The greater the social distance between driver and guide, the more likely it is the guide will claim to detect resentment towards them from the driver. Some of this is due to economic reasons as much as social ones, since passengers may be uncertain whether they should tip guides, who are clearly from upper middle class origins. Since tips are customarily pooled between the guide and the driver, the end result is a lower 'take-home' for the driver' (Holloway 1981:393).

Holloway's observations were made at the end of the 70s in Great Britain, and he analyses the relationship between driver and guide as a class struggle where the remunerative rewards in terms of gratuities may be viewed very differently by guides and drivers. Holloway explains that unlike the British guides, British *'drivers depend on gratuities to ensure an adequate income'* (Holloway 1981:396).

Neither Danish guides nor Danish drivers in 2005 and 2006 depend on gratuities to ensure an adequate income, but they may be welcomed as extra pocket money. Gratuities are very uneven from group to group and from nationality to nationality. In Denmark gratuities are always comprised in the price of services. Many Danes will tip if they are pleased with a service, but it is absolutely voluntary. Although tourists try to learn the tipping system of the country they visit, they will still tip very much as is customary in their own countries. The USA has a system where tipping is a compulsory part of the salary in some service trades, and Italy has a system more like in Denmark. It is not strange that Americans are known for being more generous than European tourists.

Gratuities are a sensitive area, and while the Danish guides generally welcome tips, they find it very unethical, and below their professional standards, to 'tout' for tips. If a colleague trespasses against this norm, he/she will be looked down on. The Danish drivers' attitude to tipping needs to be investigated further, but I assume that the more gratuities a guide is able to produce, the more popular he/she is among the drivers. The other way around, one guide found that the driver's attitude to the tourists is an important factor for the result in gratuities (Guide interview 1). In this light gratuities are partly a result of the ability of both guide and driver to offer service and teamwork.

Gratuities are mostly handed to the guides directly as they bid farewell to the tourists outside the coach, and then guide and driver split the proceeds afterwards. However, on certain tour series, the tour operators have formalized the tipping system for local guides and drivers in order to relieve the 'burden' of tipping from the tourists, and to ensure good service; in these cases an envelope will be handed to each one. To my knowledge as a former tour manager the amount for the guide is higher than the one for the driver – which is very straightforward evidence of the different values attached to the two roles by the tourism industry.

It is obvious that differences in cultural capital and the value attached to the roles make a difference in the behaviour of the players. However, in spite of the differences, I mostly observed that the two parties collaborated as a service team for the benefit of the tourists and the overall success of a tour. But their commitment to the performance may vary. Some guides would lament the inappropriate appearance and non-service-minded behaviour of a few drivers, just as some guides were less conscious of the value of inviting the drivers to participate.

12.3 The driver's role in the mediatory sphere – silent actor, co-guide and co-tourist

At first glance the mediatory sphere belongs to the guide, as it is the guide's job to mediate the culture and the driver's job to drive. On some tours the drivers will not even speak or understand the language of the tourists. Nevertheless, the driver is still there as an actor, and he will still play a role in the mediatory sphere. As already explained, the guides may draw the drivers into the performance as professionals by praising their driving skills or by installing them as decision-makers, but they may also include the driver as a private person in a narrative. A prime example is when the guides include the driver in a narrative about Danish beer. A narrative about Danish beer is always about the famous Carlsberg Brewery, the Carlsberg Foundation, and sometimes about beer consumption in Denmark. One guide said:

'We drink 11,3 litres of beer per year per person, including children and people like me, who do not drink beer, so X [the driver] drinks a lot of beer!' (Tour 15).

When a driver is installed this way in a narrative, it is not based on whether the actual driver really is a heavy beer drinker or not. It is based on the assumption that drivers as a cohort share habitus and cultural capital that put them in the category of working-class beer drinkers, while the guide is not in that category, which stresses the social difference between the two actors.

Other stories may do the opposite and stress social proximity at a completely different level. One Copenhagen driver has an ace up his sleeve in his social capital, as he did his military service with Crown Prince Frederik, and they shared bunk beds and were army comrades for a period. One guide would recount a narrative about the driver and Crown Prince Frederik, stressing that the Crown Prince was treated like any other soldier and enjoyed no privileges – which served as a proof that there is a low power distance in Denmark (Tour no. 7). When Crown Prince Frederik and this particular driver pass each other on their way to and from Amalienborg Palace, they will salute each other, causing great excitement among the tourists.

The drivers are primarily installed as silent actors in the narrative served up by the guides. However, some drivers try to alter their role as silent actors if they speak the language of the tourists, and become what I term co-guides. A *co-guide* is a person who takes the guide role in the mediatory sphere and performs a commentary for a while, either in the presence or in the absence of the guide. One driver told me:

'Just the other day I grabbed the microphone when we made a stop at Langelinie [a quay in Copenhagen] and I asked the guests who had remained on the coach whether they were able to guess what is inside the large grey building across the harbour. Then somebody guessed – damn, because I had bet a bottle of water!'
(*Driver on Tour no. 11*).

The driver was referring to a huge grey anonymous building in the Port of Copenhagen with an indoor golf course. The driver seized the opportunity to joke with the tourists who had remained on the coach while the remainder of the group and the guide went outside to see the Little Mermaid. If the drivers speak the language of the tourists, they may find cracks and loopholes in the mediatory sphere and become co-guides, even just for a few minutes, thus departing radically from the role of silent or invisible actor; but the drivers are not the only actors who opt for the role of co-guide, as will be evident from subsequent chapters.

Another way the driver can have an indirect impact in the mediatory sphere is when the skilled and experienced driver helps a less experienced guide. There is a first time for everybody, and even an experienced guide may be assigned a new tour. If the driver knows the area well, he may help the guide to time the narratives to the surroundings and offer hints for new narratives that he might have heard from other guides on earlier tours. This brings us to the last and final point – that in addition to being a colleague, a silent actor and a co-guide, the driver is also a co-tourist on the guided tour. *Co-tourists* are what I call all the actors outside the formal group of tourists who listen to the guide's commentary.

Many drivers have exhaustive experience of guided tours, and they will listen to numerous guides in different languages, some of whom they understand and some not. However, a large number of guided tours are conducted in English, which almost all Danes understand at some level, and the drivers will listen to just as many versions of a city sightseeing, for example, as there are guides. This way the drivers not only build up a body of knowledge; just as importantly, they

see the various guides in action and get a solid foundation for comparison, and they become important informants for building the guide's reputation. A class of students in the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme at Roskilde University wanted to benefit from an experienced driver's knowledge as *co-tourist*. During their training tours they developed a learning culture where they decided that if they could thrill the driver, they would be able to thrill the tourists in the future.

12.4 Conclusion

Drivers and guides enter into an intensive short-term working relationship, and they negotiate and distribute power and responsibilities in relation to their relative capital in the field. Differences in capital and status attached to the two roles may make drivers less committed to the teamwork, but most guides are very conscious that the driver has an important role, and if the two of them manage to appear as a united team it will maximize the outcome of the performance. Depending on the drivers' capital in the field and how they interpret their role, they will commit to the teamwork and engage with the tourists. The drivers may play various roles, from deciding on the spatiotemporal direction of a tour, or being visible co-guides and co-tourists, to being invisible, taken-for-granted 'non-persons' if neither the guide nor the driver is proactive in enhancing the driver's role in front of the tourists.

Other professional actors on guided tours

In addition to a guide and driver there may be other types of professionals who directly or indirectly influence a performance on a guided tour. Some actors may participate throughout the tour, such as a tour manager, an escort or an interpreter, who thus becomes yet another significant actor. They all have different functions and roles, and on the basis of their habitus and relative capital in the field the parties involved negotiate and distribute power over and influence on the performance. A tour manager accompanies groups of people on organized trips, which can last from a few days to several weeks. The tour manager is with the group almost 24 hours a day and the relationship becomes very intense and close. On such organized tours, local certified guides may be used at selected destinations, for example in the capitals. Tour managers may also be termed tour escorts, but I choose in this context to distinguish between the two, using the simpler title escort in accordance with the terminology of the cruise ships, where an escort is an employee on the ship who participates in an event ashore, which is also termed 'a call'. An escort normally has the dual function of assisting and controlling. On some tours the guide does not speak the language of the tourists, and an interpreter will participate. The interpreter and the tour manager or the escort may be one and same person, but may also be a completely different third person.

Behind the stage, a representative of an employer such as an 'incoming bureau', or a representative of the customers such as an excursion manager from a cruise ship, may be present and may influence the distribution of power and responsibilities among the actors on a tour. Finally, the guides may have to collaborate with guide colleagues, especially where large groups have to be divided into smaller groups doing parallel tours. Here guides have to collaborate and adapt to one another throughout a tour.

13.1 The role of the tour managers in the leadership sphere

The tour manager has many roles in relation to the certified guide on a local guided tour. The tour manager is a colleague with whom the guide can collaborate but also compete. In addition the tour manager represents the client, and as such has to attend to the needs of tourists and serve the interests of the travel agency. Finally, the tour manager also automatically becomes a co-tourist, and this may be viewed as a fringe benefit, or the opposite.

When the guide and the tour manager meet, they have to establish a working relationship; but the guidelines for the distribution of power and responsibilities here are even less clear than between guides and drivers. Rather than in preliminary discussions where expectations of the two actors may be attuned, the power play takes shape in the course of the action. In general the guides expect the tour managers to assist in the logistics by making sure the group remains together and keeps to the time schedule.

'I believe the tour manager should keep the group under control and tell them when to be here, so I don't have to be the bogeyman – I'd rather not. Make them keep the time, and then I give the orders to the tour manager, so to speak' (Guide interview 1).

Tour managers operate very much in the leadership sphere, and the local guides expect them to continue to fulfil that part of their role during a guided tour under the instructions of the local guide. This relieves the guide of some of her logistical functions (described in the above quote in negative terms) and leaves her to concentrate on the playful and entertaining mediatory role. However, this requires that the tour manager has the same perception as the guide, and on two consecutive tours – a city sightseeing and a North Zealand tour (Tours 1 and 2) the tour manager did not play his part to the satisfaction of the guide. The guide would urge the tour manager to keep the group under control, and when the tour manager was out of earshot she would complain about him to me:

'He is not doing his work well. He should keep the group under control, staying behind the group making sure nobody is lost, and make them keep the time, and then he should not interrupt' (Guide on Tours no. 1 and 2).

It appears that the division of responsibilities and power is not formalized but is negotiated. In my experience and from my observations, tour managers will often assist with the logistics, but not always, and on this particular tour the tour manager did not. He left that part of the work to the guide, even if she urged him to take the responsibility. However, he did not leave the whole performance to the guide. Several times he asked to have the microphone during the tour and began to guide himself, as well as interrupting and commenting on the guiding, which obviously annoyed the guide.

13.2 The role of the tour managers in the mediatory sphere

When a local guide is hired as a local expert to do a local guided tour, he/she is assumed to be in charge of the cultural mediation. If there is a tour manager on board, the tour manager may introduce the guide and the tour, and from then on the tour manager is expected to leave the mediation to the guide. But there are no clear guidelines here either, and in reality the mediatory role too is up for negotiation between guide and tour manager. If the tour manager asks to have the microphone and co-guide during a tour, the guide is dealing with a customer and does not have the power to refuse. They may negotiate, if the tour manager will wait for a suitable break in the guiding, but she cannot deny the tour manager the right to co-guide. On four out of the seventeen tours I observed, there was a setup that made the tour managers want to communicate with their tourists during the local guided tours. The groups had just arrived from Italy by plane the night before, and the tour managers had had little time to establish a relationship with the group and give general information on the two-week Scandinavian round trip ahead of them.

During the two consecutive tours with the same group – first a city sightseeing then a North Zealand Tour – the tour managers asked for the microphone several times to give practical information. During the city sightseeing we managed to drive around Kongens Nytorv, an important square in Copenhagen – a neighbour to the main pedestrian precinct, and the old harbour area Nyhavn while the tour manager gave introductory information about the trip – disregarding the fact that this is a square where local guides normally provide lots of information about the city. Later in the afternoon, returning from a tour to North Zealand, having visited Kronborg Castle ('Hamlet's Castle') and the Museum of National History at Frederiksborg Castle, the tour manager began to sell optional guided tours in Oslo and

Stockholm. He gave detailed descriptions of the Kon-Tiki museum (about Thor Heyerdahl), the Fram Museum (about Amundsen) and the Norwegian Folklore Museum, three museums situated on an island called 'the museum island' in Oslo. In Stockholm they could look forward to the museum dedicated to the Wasa, a ship that sank on its maiden voyage, and Drottningholm Castle. He ended by saying:

'This not to advertise – but they are all fantastic museums worth seeing'. A guest asked 'Where will we see the Viking ships?' and the tour manager replied 'On the same museum island that we will see during the city sightseeing in Oslo'(Tour manager and tourist on Tour no. 2).

The tour manager had a completely different perspective on the local guided tour from the guide. For the tour manager the city sightseeing in Copenhagen and the North Zealand tour were only fragments of a Scandinavian totality, and just one day out of a two-week trip. Even before the North Zealand Tour had ended, the tourists were taken on a mental trip to the other Scandinavian capitals, and Denmark was over and done with while they were still touring it. When the guide finally got the microphone back to greet the tourists it was not a grand finale after eight hours of intensive guiding in Denmark – the tour manager had stolen her thunder.

The guided tour is a commercial performance and the tour manager needed to sell optional tours, even though he tried to down play the commercial aspect. The guided tour is also commercial in the sense that if the tourists and the tour manager as customers have alternative agendas, there is not much the guide can do. The guide may try to negotiate, but the client is king. After observing this tour manager in action I asked the guide in a follow-up interview how she felt about the tour manager taking the microphone.

'He is welcome to take the microphone. If they [the tour managers] want to, they can have it as much as they like, because if you tried to prevent them you would not succeed. But it may create an atmosphere that is wrong. There has to be a balance between the tour manager and the guide – that is, you give him [the tour manager] space and try to be generous to others as you want them to be towards you when you do your work. But if the tourists are satisfied, then it is fine. It is most important that they do not feel any tension – because they feel that instantly. There has to be a joyful and relaxed atmosphere so everybody can do their part of the work (Guide interview 1).

The guide acknowledges her position in the field of a packaged tour as a contemporary commercial service provider, and if the clients at times want something other than what they have ordered, her own professional ambitions have to be subordinated to the needs of the clients. However, while on tour she expressed her frustration and annoyance with the constant interference. In the interview she explains how she asks to get the microphone back from a tour manager if the coach passes an important sight, and she pleads for mutual respect between colleagues, a mutual respect that was not always evident on the observed tours.

The same tour manager actually took this one step further – he began to interfere in the cultural mediation of the local heritage, which is at the very core of the work and identity of a local certified guide. The tours took place on a very warm summer day, and at one point during the North Zealand tour, the tour manager took the microphone and began a narrative about air-conditioning and duvets in Denmark. He explained that it is not customary for hotel rooms in Denmark have air-conditioning, and Danes do not use blankets but duvets. And then he told a long story about an experience he had had with an earlier group in Copenhagen. It had been a very hot summer night, there had been no air-conditioning in the hotel rooms, and there had been noise from a bar below. The tour manager and the whole group had ended up spending the whole night in the bar until 5 a.m. At one point during the narrative a tourist turned to me and said: *'People must take the country as it is'* (*Tourist on Tour no. 2*), as if to blunt the critical edge of the tour manager's narrative, but also to express that as experienced tourists they do not expect things to be like they are back home. On the completion of the narrative the guide took the microphone back and corrected the information, saying that we Danes use two kinds of duvets: a light one for the summertime and a warmer one for the winter. The guide and tour manager competed at centre stage over the right to narrate and interpret the local culture. As for the tourists, they were not necessarily willing to be inscribed in a collective cultural prejudice about the host country having cultural habits with their cooling systems inferior to those of their home country. Experienced, cultured travellers expect cultural differences, which is why they travel in the first place, and they know how to adapt.

The same tour manager even took things so as to overtly question the value of some of the information given by the guide. When she pointed out a popular ice cream parlour on the coast road to Helsingør, the tour manager interrupted and asked why they should be given this kind of information if the group did not get

the opportunity to buy an ice cream. The guide replied *'You have to know where to eat well'* (Tour no. 2) The guide and tour manager were in conflict, each trying to seize the power over the mediatory sphere and establish credibility as a professional, and the case is a good illustration of the fluid boundaries between roles in analogous positions and of how little institutionalized they are. The relationship between the guide and the tour manager was strained – not to the extent that it ruined the tour – but it gave it a certain dissonance.

At a presentation of the preliminary result of this PhD thesis to a group of Copenhagen guides, they recognized this power play as problematical and a long discussion broke out among the guides. One guide explained how she had once resolved the problem on a city sightseeing. The group had been delayed when they arrived in the morning with the ferry boat from Oslo. Time was scarce and the guide had told the tour manager that she could have the microphone at the start of the tour, but from then on she was asked to sit at the back of the bus and not to disturb the guiding. Another guide who also works as a tour manager said that in his opinion the tour manager is in command. Among themselves the guides could not agree on roles and the division of power and responsibilities, and as the above cases illustrate, the situation is very open to interpretation and negotiation and the outcome depends on situational circumstances and the individual actors' ability to negotiate on the basis of their habitus and relative capital.

Finally, it is also clear that the tour manager acts as a co-tourist during a guided tour, and seeing and experiencing new places is a large part of the incentive to work as a tour manager. As a co-tourist the tour manager may perform and apply the same participatory tactics as the tourist, logging on and off, asking questions etc. However the tour managers are co-tourists who have been assigned certain obligations and powers, since they have to report back on whether the guiding lives up to expectations, whether it is excellent or falls below standard. This control aspect is even more prominent in the role of the escorts, and the escorts are another type of professional who may participate in guided tours.

13.3 The role of escorts

'The escort is a staff member on a cruise ship who has a daily function on board. He or she may be anything from a waiter to a dancer, and on a 'call' or a TA

(turnaround) participates in the guided tour as a representative of the ship. There is great variety in their roles during the tours, and I have experienced everything from those who accommodated themselves in the coach and just enjoyed the tour, to those who really represented the ship, serviced the tourists, distributed candy and hot face-cloths, controlled the rear of the group during visits to castles and museums, and actually filled in an evaluation form with details regarding the coach, driver, guide, language proficiency, length of tour, stops etc' (Guide interview 5).

The escorts know the tourists from the ship, but often there are more than a thousand tourists on a cruise ship, so the relationship with the group in question is less intimate than between a tour manager and a group. As stated in the quote, the role of the escort varies. In the first place, it depends on how the cruise line defines the job of the escort. On some cruise ships being an escort is viewed more as a fringe benefit to the work on board, and the control function is secondary. In these cases the escort acts mainly as a co-tourist. Other cruise lines are much more precise and demanding in their job descriptions, and more selective about who is assigned the job as escort. Secondly, it depends on the escorts' habitus and cultural capital and how they interpret and negotiate their role.

The escort may take the microphone at the start of a tour and introduce him/herself to the tourists – in terms of both his/her function on board the ship and now as an escort – and then introduce the guide and the tour, and subsequently leave control of the leadership as well as the mediatory sphere to the local guide. Some guides find that escorts can be very helpful, and no doubt if the two actors manage to work as a team the overall level of service on the tour may be enhanced. However, some guides focus on the escort's control function, which they find very stressful. One guide told me that he found his stress level went up by 30% with an escort on board, and such cases may be detrimental to the overall performance. At least it is experienced as detrimental to the work situation of the guide.

The control function has several aims. First, the cruise lines want to control the incoming bureaus who handle the arrangements ashore. The competition is fierce, especially in the light of the recent economic recession (2008-2009), and the cruise lines may change incoming bureaus every so often if they get a more profitable offer from a competing incoming bureau. They have to check that quality is not sacrificed in the effort to cut costs. Secondly, cruise lines want to be furnished with details of a tour in order to deal with possible customer complaints. In fact,

the evaluation form is about all the factors that constitute a guided tour, not only the guide. However, guides are crucial on guided tours and the escort's evaluations may have a third, more positive side effect in relation to the individual guides, because just as they report back on flaws and faults, they also report back when a performance has been excellent. One guide explained how the escorts sometimes debriefed the guides about the evaluation before they take their leave. He explained how one escort had told him that his tour had been excellent, and the escort would be sure to use him as guide on similar tours when the cruise ship returned to Copenhagen. Colleagues build up one another's reputations, and good relations and networking are important factors in getting new jobs (Guide interview 5).

The division of the roles and tasks between guides and escorts is little institutionalized, but in the eyes of the guides they themselves are in charge in both the mediatory and the leadership sphere on a guided tour, and the escort should assist, monitor or act as co-tourist. However, as with the tour manager, this is a matter of negotiation and interpretation. One guide talked about an escort who began to interfere on a city sightseeing in the mediatory sphere as well as in the leadership sphere. The escort placed herself right behind the guide, and urged the guide to interrupt the commentary to answer questions put by the tourists who were also sitting in the front row. Later the escort demanded that the coach stopped in the centre of Copenhagen to let the tourists off on a square where it was illegal to park. The guide and the driver both felt this was untimely interference and that the escort was putting them under pressure, and after some further disagreements the guide and driver agreed that the tour could only continue if the escort was put off the coach.

They returned to the ship to drop off the escort before continuing the tour. A representative from the incoming bureau was present at the ship when they returned, and the guide explained that the escort had created an atmosphere of conflict on the coach, and that she and the driver felt they were unable to carry out their work with the escort on board. The employer supported the decision for the time being, and it had no immediate aftermath, but it was clearly not easy to take such radical action, and the guide explained that she felt she had risked her professional credibility as a teamworker. The guide made a follow-up call to the incoming bureau to further explain and excuse the incident, although she felt she was not to blame, and she was very sensitive about avoiding similar situations in the future. Later the guide met the representative again and they discussed the

incident, and she was informed that there had been a subsequent inquiry involving the tourists and the escort on board the ship. The guide explained that she felt this was an unfortunate blot on her reputation that was remembered long afterwards by the parties involved:

'.. that means that the memory lingers on and you have to be very careful about that as a guide – it should not be repeated' (Guide interview 6).

The guides have to balance between teamwork with many different actors who all build up one another's reputations and defending what they believe are their prerogatives, the control of both the mediatory and the leadership sphere on a guided tour. However, many actors will negotiate these prerogatives, and the guides are well aware of this. The guide concluded:

'Who decides what and when and who has which role is a question of walking a fine line so that the others do not take over too much' (Guide interview 6).

While in reality a guided tour can do just fine without an escort, the next actor I will investigate within this category is indispensable if needed, namely the interpreter. In this context an interpreter is a person who interprets from one language to another – not to be confused with the American use of the term to mean a person in period dress interpreting local culture at a local sight (Bruner 1995: 147).

13.4 The role of the interpreter

It happens that guides are not available for a guided tour in a requested language. At the website of the Association of Authorized Guides in Copenhagen, the association claims that it can provide 260 guides in 25 different languages (<http://www.guides.dk/2-110-define-a-guide.html>, 23-11-2009), but in the first place this does not cover all languages in the world, and secondly there may be a shortage of guides in certain languages for periods of time. This can be resolved in two ways: either the employer can hire a 'guide light', who speaks the language of the tourists, or they can hire an authorized guide as well as an interpreter. A 'guide light' is the unofficial term for a guide without formal training and authorization; they are definitely not popular with the authorized guides and are a source of strife between the employers and the authorized guides. On the 17 tours

I observed there was never a need for an interpreter, but the guides would touch on the subject in the interviews or when I did presentations, and I myself have had the experience of having interpreters on guided tours. Having an interpreter is generally experienced as difficult and detrimental to the overall performance, because the direct interaction and communication between the guide and the tourists is obstructed.

A tour manager may act as interpreter, as may be an escort from a ship; or the interpreter may be a quite different, third person. The language proficiency of the interpreters varies a lot. In the 1980s I undertook a number of city sightseeing tours in Copenhagen for Taiwanese groups where a Taiwanese or Chinese tour manager translated from English into Chinese. On the first tours I tried to give a fuller commentary, but most of the time the interpreters translated my commentary into very few sentences. Often I was unsure how much English they understood, and apart from the fact that they omitted most of what I had explained, I never knew what they actually told the tourists. On later tours with Taiwanese groups, I boiled the commentary down to a minimum of information, and they appeared to be quite happy with that. Having no knowledge of Chinese language and culture I was marginalized as actor. I still had control in the leadership sphere – that is, of the spatiotemporal direction of the tour, but I felt almost out of control in the mediatory sphere. Although the tourists and the guides were nice to me, and the groups tipped well, I found the work unsatisfactory. I found I became an auxiliary actor in a performance I did not fully understand, in which the interpreter and the tourists had the leading roles.

Interpreters are not always selected from a range of choices or with care, and the setup of a guided tour may to a great extent be the result of a large organizational jigsaw puzzle with last-minute decisions and solutions. One English-speaking guide was very surprised when she found herself unprepared on a coach with French-speaking tourists on a combined city sightseeing and thematic tour of the Louisiana Museum of Modern Art, a very fine museum in North Zealand which is rarely included in guided tours. When guides get an assignment for the Louisiana they will most likely have to prepare in advance for the current exhibition there. This guide knew the group was French, but she had not been informed that they were going to the Louisiana. As a professional guide she adapted quickly to the unforeseen situation and decided to do her best. At the outset of the tour she tried to monitor the expectations of the tourist by saying she was a guide, and that she knew the

Louisiana, but she was not a graduate in art history. However another problem emerged right from the start, since the tourists reacted negatively to the interpreter:

'All the way from the ship up to the Little Mermaid [a four-minute ride], they were shouting, 'We do not understand what she is saying'..... Yes, it was a little dark girl from some African country, who had just arrived as a refugee, and they [the cruise ship] had hired her ... and for such art connoisseurs! They turned out to be a circle of connoisseurs. They said, 'We do not want her at all'. So I had to call back to the ship. But she just had to do – it was her or nobody. I thought, this does not work. I have to be with them for seven hours. Finally, one of the guests, who was a schoolteacher, when she saw everything was going wrong, said, 'I will translate', so I had her translate for the rest of the day' (Guide interview 3).

The above case illustrates very clearly how roles, responsibilities and power may be negotiated by the actors on tour as well as with the actors behind the tour. The outcome of a negotiation depends on situational factors, and on the actors' relative capital and their position in the field. In this case a French tourist's cultural capital as a schoolteacher, and a collective rejection of the African girl as interpreter by the tourists overruled a management decision on the ship. The guided tour sometimes requires adaptation, improvisation and quick solutions, and it has a relatively open, negotiable format in the way it is organized.

13.5 The role of the guide's colleagues

A guide performs with a group in public space simultaneously with other guides and groups, individual tourists and local inhabitants. The logistical strategy of the guides is partly reflected in their ability to move around in time and space without friction and in harmony with other actors. At museums the guides have to follow certain rules to ensure that guide colleagues can do their own work: by not being too noisy, by making space so that one group can pass another; or if a room is small, they have to time their guiding to ensure a constant flow in the movement of all the groups, choreographing as in a big space ballet. Everyone has to collaborate on streets and squares, in museums and churches, and physical behaviour, greetings and small remarks among colleagues are factors that contribute to the overall atmosphere of a tour. A guide's social capital is evaluated by colleagues and employers in terms of his or her abilities as team players, and networking is important for getting future jobs.

Some groups are so large that they have to be divided into smaller groups, each with its own coach and guide. In these cases the guides have to perform exactly the same tour simultaneously, and here collaboration among colleagues is pivotal.

One guide told me about an experience with a large group where four guides had to conduct parallel tours:

'We had to do identical tours, and had agreed in advance on this. So it was the same tour for all the tourists. So nobody could say anything' (Guide Interview 6).

The four guides negotiated and agreed beforehand where to go, which sights should be included, and which should be excluded within the framework of the directions given by the employer, so that all the tourists in the large group would get the impression of experiencing the same performance. However, one of the guides violated the agreement and decided to make an additional stop, which gave her part of the group an extra bonus over the group as a whole. This caused resentment, both from her guide colleagues and from the other tourists, who now began complaining, because they felt deprived of an experience compared with some of their fellow travellers. The interviewee explained how she had told her colleague that she was boosting her own ego as a performer at the expense of the other three guides and the remainder of the large group. From an employer's point of view, too, it is the global outcome of all the performances of the large group that is interesting, rather than the individual performance. The guide probably just wanted to excel, but if an individual performance is successful at the expense of one's colleagues, this may be detrimental to the guide's reputation.

However, no matter how much guides agree to conduct identical tours in terms of the route and stops, each performance will still always be unique. From my experience of parallel tours I know that the tourists may compare the guides while on the tour, and tourists sometimes switch coach/group, either because they want to sit with other fellow-tourists, or because they believe the guide in the neighbouring coach is better than the one in their first coach. In these situations it is possible for the guides to overhear evaluations of their guide colleagues while on the tour, which is very sensible.

Guides are competitors in a liberal, seasonal market, but they are also colleagues, and the community of authorized guides in Copenhagen is relatively small. Of-

ficially it consists of 260 guides, but a lot fewer are actually active as guides. The guides know one another as fellow students from the Guide Diploma Programme, and later through the many activities provided by the Association of Authorized Guides, and of course not least through work, where colleagues for example meet at the pier before the arrival of a cruise ship and discuss their work, as seen in Figure 28. One guide explained:

'Yes, this is a staff culture which is mighty important, and it is one of the reasons why I like to work with the cruise ships – otherwise we work a lot alone...but we have a colleague community meeting down here' (Guide at the pier).



Figure 28. Guide colleagues discussing at the pier before starting on guided tours from a cruise ship in the summer of 2006.

The guide stresses that interaction with other guides provides a feeling of belonging to a work community, which is important for their work satisfaction. Furthermore a guide's ability to collaborate and be a good colleague is central to a guide's reputation.

13.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that besides the guide and the driver there may be a number of other professional actors both on stage and backstage who interpret and negotiate the frame of the tour as well as the division of roles and powers. The result of a negotiation depends on the actors' cultural and social capital, and not least their ability to collaborate and work as a team.

The actors may have ideas of which powers and responsibilities belong to which roles, but where the professional roles are in analogous positions, as they are among

guides, tour managers, escorts and interpreters, the boundaries are very fluid. If problems occur, the negotiations are not just an issue between the guide and the tour manager or the escort or interpreter, but may be negotiated by all the stakeholders: the driver, representatives from an incoming bureau, the management on a ship and the tourists in the group. The actors try to maximize their influence in the field on the basis of their relative capital. However, the guided tour is a commercial performance and the satisfaction of the paying clients – the tourists – is paramount, which is why an actor who is perceived to work to the detriment of the tourists or the overall performance may be challenged by all the other actors. The guides work in the field of tension between acting out unique performances ‘alone’ with the group, and having to collaborate with a host of actors who may challenge their role and authority.

Subordinate actors on the guided tour

The roles of significant professional actors performing on a guided tour alongside the guide and the tourists have been investigated in the last two chapters. They often participate throughout a tour, where they play a major role, but there are also a large number of actors who take on more subordinate roles – policemen, distributors of fliers, waiters, shopkeepers, local inhabitants etc. who enter the scene, stay for a while and then leave. But while they are on stage they interact and influence the performance. The guided tour is a mobile stage in public space, and while some subordinate actors are on the programme, others have walk-on roles or are extras, who happen to be co-present with the guide and group in time and space. In this case situational factors and the actors' own attitude decides whether an extra becomes a subordinate actor.

14.1 Programmed subordinate actors

On some tours events are included, and subordinate actors enter the scene and take over the performance for a while. One city sightseeing with a visit to Rosenborg Castle also included a 'Sabre d'Or' as a festive intermezzo. A Sabre d'Or ceremony involves uncorking a bottle of champagne with the precise stroke of a sabre. The Sabre d'Or was invented by '*dashing young cavalry officers in the French Army*' (<http://goldensabre.co.uk/sabrage/history.html>) around 200 years ago, and as such is not rooted in Danish culture. However, the event has an aura of luxurious extravagance and is entertaining, and thus lightens up a more serious cultural tourism performance. The group I observed conducted the Sabre d'Or ceremony at a restaurant close to the harbour and Amalienborg Palace. The waiters greeted the tourists and showed them to an outdoor table laid with glasses, champagne and a large kitchen knife. One waiter started the performance and beheaded a bottle first before inviting one of the tourists to give it a try. An American lady volunteered, and with a lot of laughter and support from the surrounding group, she tried to

open the bottle with the kitchen knife. After she missed several times, one of the fellow tourists got anxious and said, 'You need your husband to hold the bottle for you' (*Tourist on Tour no. 12*). The husband did not respond to the request, but with help from the waiter the American lady finally succeeded in cutting a bottle open, as we see in Figure 29, and after a round of applause, a glass of champagne was poured for all the tourists. The waiter was very helpful and attentive during the whole ceremony and the group seemed to be very excited about the event and made exclamations like 'That was fun' (*Tour no. 12*)



Figure 29. A waiter helps an American tourist to perform a Sabre d'Or ceremony on a city sightseeing in Copenhagen

It was obvious that the waiter and the American female tourist bonded, and after the ceremony she went into the restaurant with her husband and some of the other tourists to see the interior while the waiter acted as a co-guide. He explained about the restaurant, which dates from 1854 and has a maritime interior with photos and paintings showing royalty and other famous personalities who have frequented the restaurant. At the end of the visit, the waiter first shook the hand of the American lady, but then they gave each other a big hug, obviously excited and moved by the intense performance.

The visit lasted 30 minutes out of a four-and-a-half-hour tour, but during this half hour the waiter and the American lady had the leading roles, while the guide stepped aside to monitor that the whole event was held to the satisfaction of all the tourists. In a follow-up interview the guide evaluated the event and said that normally it took place in another restaurant, but this Sabre d'Or had been arranged as a last-minute solution. She noticed that both the waiter and the American lady

had done it all wrong, as they had beheaded the bottle instead of just uncorking it, and small splinters of glass had been flying all over the place.

I noticed when he was pouring afterwards. He was shaking. He has probably never done it before. It was organized at the last minute. So he has not done it before, but the guests do not discover that' (Guide interview 3).

The guide also noticed that they did not pour from the bottles used at the ceremony, probably because there were splinters of glass in them, and she said she would report to the incoming bureau how many bottles of the expensive champagne had actually been consumed. In spite of technical flaws, she concluded that the event had been successful, and she noted that the waiters had been very professional and attentive to the tourists. In an event like this the guide saw her role as controller and facilitator of the ceremony, and she explained how she had acted as a stand-in at other Sabre d'Or ceremonies if the tourists refused to volunteer:

'And then sometimes there is no one who wants to try – you [the tourist] don't want to make a fool of yourself. To avoid a rotten atmosphere I say I will try – so I have tried it a couple of times' (Guide interview 3).

The guide feels responsible for the overall atmosphere of a tour, and an event like this is judged by parameters related to atmosphere rather than technical correctness. During the ceremony I observed that the tourists appeared very satisfied and entertained, and perhaps like me they were unaware of how a Sabre d'Or should really be executed – that is with a real sabre, not a large kitchen knife, and the bottle should be uncorked, not beheaded. Nor did I notice that the waiter was insecure or that his hand was shaking. I only observed that the waiter was very attentive, open, kind, talkative and service-minded, and managed to pull off a good, convincing performance in interaction with the tourists.

The case supports Bruner's argument that rather than authenticity, tourists are interested in credibility in convincing and believable performances (Bruner 2005). The credibility of a tourist production depends very much on the actors: they have to appear trustworthy and 'real', preferably sharing something of themselves. This has also been explored in the chapter on the guides' strategy of intimacy and illustrates the importance and significance of the human factor in tourism productions in general and the guided tour in particular.

As a final remark, it is worth mentioning that programmed subordinate actors may be found on many different guided tours combined with visits to specialized places like farms, companies or public or private institutions. Here the tourists often are met by an employee or owner who explains about the activities. If the employee or owner does not speak the language of the tourists, the guides may act both as interpreter and facilitator of the performance.

14.2 Improvised subordinate actors

Many of the subordinate actors are not programmed; they are people who just happen to be present in time and space along with the group and guide. Situational factors and the actors' attitudes may decide whether a walk-on becomes a subordinate actor. Some 'improvised subordinate actors' contribute positively to the performance, while others have a more negative role.

With a constant flow of walk-ons around the scene of the guided tour, these are potential subordinate actors who can be dragged on or choose by themselves to take the stage. This is exactly what happened within five minutes on a guided city sightseeing in Copenhagen. The guide was waiting with the group for the guard to arrive at the Amalienborg Palace Square when a policeman came to clear the way for the guard. The guide interrupted his commentary and approached the policeman with a big smile. He shook hands with him and said in Danish, *'Where were you yesterday, you bandits?'* The policeman laughed and replied in Danish *'At a football match'* (Tour no. 7), and then the guide gave the policeman's shoulder a friendly punch, as seen in Figure 30 at the left. The tourists did not understand the exchange, nor did the guide translate or comment on the incident, but it certainly left the tourists with the impression that their guide was popular and on good terms with the authorities and thus well rooted in the local environment. This impression was further strengthened when Per Thornit, Chamberlain to Crown Prince Frederik at that time, passed the group five minutes later and greeted the guide with a smile and passed a brief remark about the tourists the day before, clearly showing that he knew the guide. The guide turned to answer the greeting, which is what we see in Figure 30 at the right. First the guide continued his ongoing commentary, but then he added a casual remark to inform the tourists who were curiously watching Per Thornit entering the palace, that he was the Master of Ceremonies for Crown Prince Frederik. The two incidents added excitement

to the performance, and added value to the guide's social capital in the eyes of the tourists.



Figure 30. Left: A guide shaking hands with a local policeman in front of a group of tourists at Amalienborg Palace. Right: Per Thornit, Chamberlain to Crown Prince Frederik, greeting the same guide in front of the same group of tourists.

As they are in a public space, the guide and the tourists may begin to talk to locals, who may for example represent an institution or a trade. An example from Copenhagen is a visit to some allotment gardens called 'Vennelyst' close to the city centre. This was a very popular feature of city sightseeing tours for many years because of the characteristic, imaginative miniature houses built on the allotments. In one of the gardens the owners grew (and probably still grow) a lemon tree, which surprised the tourists, and when the owners were in the front garden a conversation started among the owners, the guide and the tourists. Very importantly, this was the owners inviting themselves on stage because they thought it was fun (Guide interview 8). Similar occasions may occur unexpectedly, and if the local inhabitant does not speak the language of the tourists, the guide will translate back and forth. The tourists are generally very excited when locals enter the scene and interact, and it enhances the credibility of the performance; but if the encounters are repeated massive conflicts of interest may arise between the local residents and the tourists, which I will investigate in the next chapter.

Some tourists will also themselves engage in brief conversations with shop assistants, distributors of fliers or waiters, who then play a subordinate role for that tourist or for a fraction of the group, but all the same they contribute to the overall performance.

In the previous chapters I have investigated how some encounters with subordinate actors are less positive, as when policemen, custodians and other 'gatekeepers'

reprimand the tourists for inappropriate behaviour. In these cases the guide's logistical strategy may be applied to inform the tourists of the code of conduct and safe behaviour in order to avoid negative interactions.

14.3 Conclusion

Subordinate actors enter the scene of the guided tour for a short while and then leave again. They may be programmed or improvised, but in both cases they may be very influential on the performance. The subordinate actors have to pull off a convincing performance like everybody else and, especially when local inhabitants enter the scene, this may add to the excitement and elevate the credibility of the performance in the eyes of the tourists.

The guide's role depends on the part played by the subordinate actor. Sometimes guides act as facilitators between the subordinate actor and the tourists, at other times guides are addressed by the subordinate actors, or the guides may drag them on stage to enhance their own performance. Finally, guides have to act as intermediaries in order to avoid negative encounters.

Walk-ons

Since guided tours take place in public space, there are often massive numbers of walk-ons. They consist of mainly two categories: the local residents and other tourists. All the actors constitute the environment for one another, and this may be perceived as positive, for example when they contribute to the liveliness of the city; but it may also be perceived as negative, for example in cases of congestion, just as some walk-ons are regarded as unattractive and therefore ignored and treated as invisible.

15.1 Local residents

'I am less interested in seeing the museums and churches. I have seen that before over the years. New York has some very, very wonderful museums. I am just not interested very much, but I am interested in seeing the city, seeing what people are like – getting a view of people on the street, hearing people talk. That is important' (Tourist Interview 1. Tourist C).

The guided tour – particularly the coach tour – has been described as an artificial environmental bubble where the tourists have little or no contact with the local population (see Boorstin 1977, Schmidh 1980), but several of the interviewees, like the one quoted above, emphasized that seeing and hearing the locals was an important part of the performance, and the locals were far from perceived as distant or unreal, even from the coach, as stated by one of the interviewees:

'That is the nice thing about a bus tour also – you see real life. It is nice' (Interview 1. Tourist A).

The tourists and the local inhabitants may just see each other for fleeting moments, but they are all performing the city in bodily co-presence, which is perceived as real life. Sometimes the actors recognize the presence of each other by waving,

which is very common between passengers on the open canal boat and people on the street.

On a canal/harbour tour in Copenhagen with Italian tourists the boat passed through a narrow canal in the area Holmen with residential buildings on each side. Just before we entered the area the guide said:

'Right after the bridge we have a residential area. At this short distance I cannot speak, as the residents do not want to be disturbed, so I cannot talk, but look to the right and left and see the buildings, they are very expensive' (Tour no. 14).

The guide put down the microphone and the tourists were very eager to look at the area. Many of the tourists stood up in the boat to get a better view of the private gardens. Many shot videos and took photos, and some waved to the residents, as seen in Figure 31.



Figure 31. Upper left: A tourist waving from a canal boat to a local resident at Holmen in Copenhagen. Upper right: Italian tourists standing up to look into the front gardens and take photos at Holmen in Copenhagen. Lower left: A resident at Holmen standing in the front garden while a canal boat with Italian tourists is passing. Lower right: A group of young girls playing on the quay in Holmen while being videoed by an Italian tourist.

The residents at Holmen largely ignored being filmed by the eager tourists, but one of them waved back to a waving tourist. The fact that the guide had to stop her commentary is based on an agreement between the company owning the canal boats and the local residents, illustrating a conflict of interest between the tourists' insatiable curiosity to experience real local life as it is lived and the residents' right to privacy. The conflict of interest is well known in situations like 'indigenous tourism', where locally-based business activities are related to the daily life of an indigenous group like the aborigines in Australia (Howard, Smith & Thwaites, 2001), the natives in Africa (Bruner 2005; Ch. 1) and the Sámi in northern Scandinavia (Müller & Viken 2006, Pettersson & Müller, 2006). An Australian survey of cultural tourism to aboriginal and islander communities concluded that

...many [tourists] expressed the desire to interact with the locals, [which] suggests that they expected to occupy a 'participant' rather than 'observer' role' (Hughes 1991:167).

In indigenous tourism conflicts of interest may be resolved by making a 'front stage' of daily life reserved for the tourists, and a backstage of daily life out of the sight of the tourists (Bruner 2005, Müller & Viken 2006), just as the guide may act as a gatekeeper to secure the privacy of the locals (Howard, Schmidh and Twaites 2001).

Tourism in Copenhagen is not to be compared to indigenous tourism, as Copenhageners are not perceived as the main attraction. However, I found that the tourists on guided tours had a strong desire to watch, listen to and interact with the local residents, and it has always been popular when tours included local residential areas like Holmen or the allotment gardens 'Vennelyst'. In indigenous tourism and all other kinds of tourism where locals and tourists co-exist, the point of balance where both parties feel that co-presence is a mutual benefit and is up for negotiation. In fact the visits to the allotment gardens 'Vennelyst' stopped when the Allotment Association 'Vennelyst' contacted the Association of Authorized Guides in Copenhagen. The residents at 'Vennelyst' thought the number of tourists had become too massive, and the groups would arrive on weekends from early in the morning between 8 and 9 a.m. while the residents were having their morning coffee in the front garden. The two associations negotiated on how to restrict access, and it was suggested that entrance fees could be introduced. However, the conclusion of the negotiations was that the guides completely stopped bringing

tourists to ‘Vennelyst’ (Guide Interview 7). After all, the allotment gardens are not major selling points on guided tours in Copenhagen.

Similar negotiations have taken place in other parts of Copenhagen, in some cases between carriers, residents’ associations and the public authorities, where residents felt bothered by the constant flow and parking of heavy tourist coaches around certain attractions situated in the middle of residential areas. This may result in signposts prohibiting parking and stops, which monitor the route of the city sightseeings. The institutionalization of the route and stops of a guided tour is never fixed, it is negotiated by all the stakeholders, and the movements of massive numbers of tourist groups and coaches are kept on certain front-stage tracks. No doubt it is easier to strike a balance between locals and tourists on squares and pedestrian streets in the historic centre of Copenhagen where the composition of actors contributes to the liveliness of the city, which is part its charm, just as the tourists are warmly welcomed by the local tradesmen.

In public space, we may actually find the reverse situation, where local inhabitants want to join a tourist group. Local inhabitants may join a group of tourists in a square or in a cultural institution for a while to listen to the commentary of the guide and thus become co-tourists, and as co-tourists they apply the same participating tactics as the tourists. This happened on one tour during an indoor visit to Rosenborg Castle. A Dane placed herself on the outskirts of the group to listen to the guide’s commentary, and when the group moved to next room, the Dane came up to the guide and asked for a further explanations of the sub rosa phenomenon about which the guide had been talking. The guide explained kindly to the co-tourist that sub rosa means ‘under the rose’ and is used in English to denote secrecy or confidentiality. In Rosenborg Castle, as in many other castles, there is a dining room called ‘The Rose’ for the ladies and gentlemen of the court, where they could speak in confidentiality (Tour no. 12). The guides are used to locals acting as co-tourists, and most of the time they embrace them, but not without a certain stress, since the tours are pressed for time and guides are hired to service their own groups, not ‘outsiders’.

The last category of local inhabitants I will mention consists of the ones who are silenced and thus made ‘invisible’. A tour takes place in public space, and while some locals are perceived as attractive and may be drawn into the narratives, such as cute kindergarten children on an outing, others are silenced even when they are

very noticeable. On the tours I never observed any guide mentioning the homeless, the alcoholics or the drug abusers, even though we occasionally passed right in front them. Most of the guides used narratives about the Danish welfare system, but none of them explained why some Danes nevertheless fall through the mesh of the social security net, and I never heard the tourists ask any questions in spite of occasional discrepancies between what could be observed and what was being said.

It was not only locals with social problems who were ignored. Most city sightseings in Copenhagen pass Christiansborg Castle Square in front of the Parliament building, where a small group of peace activists called 'Peace Guard Christiansborg' has been demonstrating continuously every day since 19th October 2001 against Danish military participation in Iraq and Afghanistan in the 'War in Terror' (see <http://www.fredsvagt.dk/grundlag.php>).



Figure 32. Two Peace Guard activists on Christiansborg Castle Square underneath a banner saying 'KRIG er TERROR', translated 'WAR is TERROR'.

The Peace Guard is mostly represented on Christiansborg Castle Square by a couple of activists and a banner with 'WAR is TERROR' written on it, as we see in Figure 32 above. They also have a table with pamphlets for distribution and a lighted torch called 'the flame of hope', a symbolic flame of life for the people who have had their lives, families and societies ruined as a consequence of war (see <http://www.fredsvagt.dk/grundlag.php>). However, the Peace Guard was never mentioned on any of the tours I observed, even though some groups just walked right in front of them. Some local inhabitants are ignored and silenced, and although some guides add a critical edge when they appeal to *ethos* in their rhetorical strategy, they still omit many of the less attractive or controversial features of the city in order to conform to the generally more positive, enthusiastic and promotional *ethos* of a guided tour.

15.2 Other tourists

'We like to have tourists, but sometimes there are too many. Many take a walking tour – that is fine, so we avoid traffic, if you have the energy. But you can also borrow a city bike for 20 kroner' (Guide on tour no. 13).

Other tourists – especially if there are many of them – are generally perceived less positively than the local population. One obvious reason is that tourists often compete for the same space at the same time. The above quote is from a guide doing a city sightseeing on a coach, and while we were moving slowly through the dense traffic around Amalienborg Palace, she lamented both the large number of tourists and other tourists taking a coach tour like her own group, and she advised them to walk or bike in order to avoid congestion.

Tourists have to queue up for the same toilet facilities; they want to buy from the same shops; and they block the clear view of sights for one another. For a tourist standing on the outskirts of a group listening to the guide's commentary, the sound may be mixed with the commentary of nearby guides in all kind of languages, while other tourist groups are chatting as they pass by, adding the general noise from the public space, so the soundscape may turn into a mild cacophony.

In spite of the negative impact of other tourists, some features are positive: first, there may be important social interaction inside a group; secondly I observed friendly greetings between tourists from different groups, for example if they knew each other from a large cruise ship. Other tourists also represent the potential of meeting new people other than the locals, and the social aspect of performing a tour has already been investigated in earlier chapters. However, no matter how the tourists perceive other tourists, tourism in general is depreciated by tourists themselves (Culler 1981 in Bruner 2005:7). I have investigated how tourists apply various tactics to distance themselves from their role as tourists, and role-distancing is made all the harder when the individual tourist finds himself/herself in the middle of hordes of other tourists. The tourists try to act out a unique and habitable tourism performance, and many of the tourists' tactics and the guides' strategies on guided tours are applied precisely to counteract the guided tour as a routine mass performance.

15.3 Conclusion

Walk-ons are an omnipresent feature of guided tours in public space. The local residents are generally perceived as a positive feature, and many tourists show strong interest in the locals and local life. Locals may respond positively or at least accept the interest as long as it does not get out of hand. The locals are particularly sensitive to tourists in residential areas, which is why the routes of guided tours are regularly negotiated by all the stakeholders, and the routes are monitored to follow certain front-stage tracks, just as the guides may act as gatekeepers. However not, all local residents are equally attractive, and controversial or socially disadvantaged inhabitants are by and large ignored and silenced, so as not to harm the positive, enthusiastic and promotional *ethos* of the guided tour.

As walk-ons, other tourists are generally perceived as less attractive than the locals. One reason is that they compete for the same space at the same time. Social interaction with some of the other tourists may be an important part of the tourism performance, but when hordes of other tourists are co-present they remind one another of their role as tourists, which is in general belittled, and the tourists and the guides apply various tactics and strategies both to role-distance themselves and to individualize and particularize the experience of a guided tour that otherwise might be perceived as a mass routine performance.

The prospects of human guiding

In this last chapter the analyses and conclusions arrived at so far in the thesis will be discussed and synthesized in an attempt to highlight the core findings and see how they contribute to our understanding of the guided tour as performed through interactions which might also apply to similar performances in the experience economy. The chapter will end by pointing to central problems and paradoxes in the guiding profession and raising questions about the future prospects of guided tours, an area where not least technology is challenging and transforming the way humans interact and perform experiences.

It should come as no surprise that a PhD conducting research on human interactions ends up producing results that point to the importance of those very interactions. However, keeping the focus on a relatively narrow field of practice for almost six years – the timescale of this PhD – has produced new and detailed insights into how these interactions are actually enacted and the ways in which they contribute to the tourism performances on guided tours.

16.1 The tourists – performing individuals

'What you are seeing depends on your point of view. In order to see your point of view you have to change it' (Czarniawska 2007:45),

The guiding profession is part of my habitus, and my interest in understanding the tourists departs from a guide's view, why the focus in this thesis has been on the tourist-guide relationship, where the tourists' tactics are assessed in relation to the guide and the guiding. However, as a guide you mainly focus on the tourists around you and the ones who respond to you, and less on the tourists behind in the crowd or the ones who log off, stray or stay behind in the coach. Following in the footsteps of the tourists as a researcher, trying to observe and understand them, changed my view of them both in a literal sense, but also of how they performed

the guided tour with and without the guide. At the same time the change in position and numerous fruitful discussions with good colleagues in the academic community have made me realize and reflect on my viewpoint.

This study highlights how the tourists as individuals bring their own interests and preferences to the performance on the guided tour: some are keenly interested in history, others are not; some are curious about local life, and others just want photos of the highlights to take home; and they are all on the same tour. One core finding is that the tourists very much enact and pursue their own individual agendas by *logging on to and off the guiding, applying a number of tactics* in order to perform their own habitable version of the guided tour.

I found that *the frame of the guided tour is playful, voluntary and commercial*, and that the tourists have relatively wide scope for manoeuvre, which means they can apply *partial, alternative and absent tactics* to the guiding, such as talking to other tourists, reading, studying maps, sleeping, going on small individual excursions or staying behind in the coach without jeopardizing the general frame. The guide and the guiding only constitute one offer – albeit an important one – to the tourists on guided tours. However, norms exist saying that tourists are supposed to listen to the guide and do what they are told, and as a minimum not to disturb fellow tourists, and these norms are deeply rooted, which was apparent from the interviews with both guides and tourists. In fact the guides may feel they are on slippery ground when they discover that the tourists *log off* the guiding, and they may engage in negotiations with the tourists about their right to log off, as when they persuade the tourists to get out of the coach when they would rather stay behind. The guides acknowledge the tourists' right to have a rest after a long day of guiding, just as some guides are careful to create breaks in the guiding, in order to give the tourists time to cater for their own individual interests. However, in general the guides focus on their own part of the performance, and as performers they are sensitive about having an attentive and collaborative audience, which is their ultimate success parameter. This means that the guides may focus on how to control the attention of the tourists, and may be less sensitive about creating blank spaces for the tourists to fill in, or they may simply accept that tourists cater for their own interests by logging off. In fact, in one of my preliminary presentations of the results of this PhD, one guide reflected on her own practice and said that in the future there would be less of a 'straitjacket'.

On most tours, however, the tourists will *log on* to the guiding a lot of the time and *apply participatory and attentive tactics*. These tactics are generally favoured by the guides, because they feed on the energy and interaction from the tourists, and when the tourists apply *participatory tactics*, asking questions, discussing or even taking over and *co-guide*, it becomes apparent how the tourists *co-produce* the performance with the guide. When the guides succeeded in including the tourists in the performance they turned the guided tour into *interactive mobile street theatre*. It is the improvisational, unpredictable and playful qualities that give nerve and colour to a performance and that distinguish the guided tours produced by humans from tours with recorded guiding for example.

16.2 The guide – a ‘real’ person.

When I went on a city sightseeing in an original English double-decker bus with recorded guiding, it was possible to hear the commentary in the headset in eight different languages. This commentary was delivered as small, nicely packed coherent narratives drawing on a *rhetorical strategy* that appealed to *logos* and *pathos* spiced with humour, and it was not unlike live guiding. However, the narratives were identical in all languages and did not draw on the *intercultural strategy* that plays on the tension between the tourists and the destination, just as the narratives were spoken by an impersonal narrator, which meant that the *strategy of intimacy* was absent. There was a minimum of *logistical strategy*, as the narratives were timed to fit the route and what was seen from the coach.

Unfortunately, the technology on the coach did not work too well that day and my fellow tourists and I had quite a lot of trouble, as the languages on the display did not correspond to the ones being spoken in the headset, and at times it was difficult to hear the commentary clearly. As we were turning knobs and moving around the coach to find better headsets, two American ladies and I began to exchange remarks. When we had introduced ourselves, I conducted an improvised interview, asking what they thought of live guided tours compared with recorded guiding. One lady said she preferred live guided tours and explained that live guides tell you so much more, and later she pointed to:

'knowledge – itsy bitsy things about the area, not the stuff you just read in the books. You know something personal's going on' (Tourist interview 5. Tourist A).

The interviewee distinguished between general knowledge you can read in books, implicitly referring to what was being narrated on the tape, compared with the personal, particular and locally based knowledge that is tied to humans. The quote supports a very important finding in this thesis about the role of the human and personal factors in guiding, where both the performance and the place seem to gain credibility from interactions with genuine, 'real', personalized others.

The guides appear as individual persons when they share their views with the tourists. This is in a way inherent in all human guiding, as human communication is always imparted from the position of a subject; but it becomes very obvious when the guides apply the *rhetorical strategy appealing to ethos*, thus explicitly sharing their values and beliefs. The tourists will often be interested in the guides' personal interpretations of a given subject, and the tourists will use more informal settings such as walking between stops to coax out the guide's opinions and maybe raise questions about more sensitive topics such as sex, politics or religion. Here, however, the guides may get caught in a dilemma. The generally positive, enthusiastic and promotional *ethos* of guided tours risks being jeopardized, and a *doxa* exists saying guides should stay away from sensitive subjects. At the same time, the guides themselves may support the idea that they are truly neutral mediators, and that they themselves and their personal standpoints should be kept away from centre stage. However, when something is risky it often indicates there is something at stake in terms of potential gains or losses. The guides know from experience that expressing their views may pay off, making the performances more exciting and suspenseful, and in fact the guides do boundary work when they interpret their role between the personal and the professional, just as they negotiate it with the tourists.

The guides also appear as individuals when they apply the *intercultural strategy*. Through their narratives they display their cultural identities, and if the guides identify with another culture than the Danish one, they apply what I have called an *ethnographic approach*. If the guide identifies with the same culture as the tourists, he or she may form strong bonds where the guide becomes the tourists' emissary who explains the host culture through the lens of their own culture. The narratives produced about Denmark and Copenhagen may have a critical edge, because actors often idealize their own cultural community, and their 'cultural

self-perception' is often disguised as 'the right way' to organize life (see Iben Jensen 2004).

When the guides identify with the host culture, they may in fact turn into hosts who are proudly presenting their own country. This conforms to the tourists' expectations, and a guide's enthusiasm and personal pride in the local heritage may be contagious and infuse energy into the performance if served in judicious doses. However, some guides exaggerate and become outright missionaries, taking what I term the *ethnocentric approach* to an extent that makes the tourists perform resistance to the guide and the guiding.

At a more 'technical' level the guides apply the *intercultural strategy* when they connect 'we' and 'they' in the narratives by translating facts and figures into terms familiar to the tourists; they point to connections between the hosts' and the tourists' cultures, just as they draw concrete or conceptual comparisons. They can also play emotionally charged cards – the cultural 'fix-points', which are subjects with which both the host culture and the tourists' culture identify, and which therefore may arouse strong feelings. For the same reason guides are careful when addressing 'cultural fix-points', again in order not to jeopardize the positive and entertaining *ethos* of a guided tour. Both when guides connect 'we' and 'they', and when they play on cultural fix-points, they display a personal knowledge of the tourists' as well as the hosts' cultures.

The guides may well play their trump card when they apply the *strategy of intimacy* and put their own and the tourists' private selves into play. My findings indicate that when the guides offer a piece of their private selves they appear as 'real' persons and the communication is subsequently perceived as spontaneous and personally addressed to the tourists, as opposed to a 'rehearsed script' served up for any audience. If the guides share deeper private information, this may well be the kind of guiding that makes lasting impressions on the tourists. The guides also apply the *strategy of intimacy* when they draw the tourists into the performance at an individual and personal level, and they may touch them, tease them and compliment them. The tourists for their part also want to give a piece of themselves to the guides, which emphasizes the reciprocity in human interaction from which the guides derive much of their work satisfaction, and the tourists gain exciting tourism experiences. When the actors put their private selves into play it enhances an intimate, familiar atmosphere, installs a contemporary 'we', and at the same

time the actors emerge as unique individuals, which helps them to distance their roles from the negative image attached to tourists and guides on guided tours.

Finally, the guides give the performances their personal touch in the way they move around in time and space, demonstrating that they know the local area well, while they interact with other local actors, which helps them to excel in their *logistical strategy*. When the guides excel in their *logistical strategy* the tourists may be in for a smooth, pleasurable, frictionless tourism experience from ‘front row seats’. The effect of the human factor on guided tours also includes family, friends, other fellow tourists and even people on the phone with whom the tourists perform the tour. Guided tours become meaningful precisely because they are performed with peers, and this is an important reason why tourists log off the guiding every so often. This may challenge the guides in their role as cultural mediators, but guides with empathic abilities, who can read the tourists’ needs, apply a *logistical strategy* that creates small free spaces for the tourists to perform together, just as the tourists can cater for their individual needs and interests.

The *frame of the guided tour is playful, voluntary and commercial*, and the tourists have a high degree of freedom *to log off and on to the guiding*, while the guides develop a range of *seductive strategies* precisely to seduce the tourists into performance. In this thesis four such *seductive strategies* are identified: *the rhetorical strategy, the intercultural strategy, the strategy of intimacy* and finally *the logistical strategy*. The guides develop their strategies in accordance with their habitus in the field of tension between the strategy of the industry and the tourists’ tactics. Likewise, the tourists apply and develop their tactics both in accordance with their habitus and in response to the guide’s and the industry’s strategies. The guides perform with the tourists rather than for them, and the findings of this study point to a dissolution of the dichotomy between guides and tourists, to an understanding of them as actors co-producing not just one unified, coherent performance, but a performance where many scenes may take place simultaneously.

16.3 The guided tour – a playful but contested performance.

It has been established in this thesis how the frame of the guided tour has an open format which allows for a playful performance with improvisations. However, the open format also involves roles that are little institutionalized and therefore

leave plenty of scope for interpretations and negotiations that may turn into power contests between the actors. This is the case between guide and tourists, but certainly also between guide/tourists and third parties, highlighting the human qualities, for better or worse, of guided tours.

While the guide is expected to be ‘an authority’ on the knowledge communicated, he or she is not ‘in authority’, and in fact both the aim and the content of a tour may be subject to negotiations between guide and tourists. If the tourists see the tour as a framework for performing in a sociable group, there is little the guides can do, and they have to submit to playing a subsidiary role. The tourists may also apply participatory tactics that challenge the guide’s knowledge, perhaps opting for the role of *co-guide*, just as they may perform resistance to the guide and the guiding, for example when they consider the guide too schoolteacherish, or the guiding boring, irrelevant, too normative or served up too enthusiastically.

When other professional actors like drivers, tour managers, escorts, interpreters or guide colleagues enter the scene, the power contests may become even more accentuated. If the actors manage to collaborate and form a strong team, they may take the performance beyond what they could accomplish as individuals, but if they enter into power contests they may likewise detract from the overall outcome. The boundaries between roles are blurred, particularly between actors in analogous positions, and any collaboration seems to require a good deal of negotiation where the actors assess the co-actors’ capital and on the basis of their own capital try to optimize their influence on the performance. This may ultimately develop into unfortunate power contests, where in some cases colleagues end up exposing one another’s weaknesses, often involving other actors like the tourists, the employers etc. However, the guides are very sensitive to this kind of power game, because professional colleagues build up one another’s reputations, and guides are also judged by their capacity for teamwork. Furthermore, the commercial aspect of a tour makes it clear that a guide is a concurrent service provider, and the tourists are the customers. The guides walk a fine line, and they have to pick their battles carefully when defending what they perceive are their prerogatives.

Subordinate actors like custodians, policemen and other gatekeepers may take the stage for a while and create negative friction because the tourists do not apply the code of conduct. Here the guides have the role of intermediaries, ensuring that their tourists are well informed about public and informal rules. However,

subordinate actors like waiters, distributors of fliers, shopkeepers or other local residents may also play a very positive role, adding considerable excitement and credibility to a performance, precisely because they personalize the host culture.

For the same reason, local residents are generally regarded as positive ‘walk-ons’, and the tourists enjoy watching the locals pursuing their daily tasks; even when the tourists just watch the locals from the windows of a coach, they get the feeling that they are seeing real life as lived in public space. The locals for their part seem to accept the tourists who curiously watch, wave, and take photos. Occasionally the locals also become *co-tourists* and join a group to listen to the guides’ narratives about their own city. However, conflicts between tourists and locals may arise, particularly in residential areas where locals are anxious to protect their privacy and peace. The right to use public space is negotiated, and tourists are kept on certain front-stage tracks.

Not all walk-ons are equally popular, and socially disadvantaged or controversial local residents are silenced and made ‘invisible’ in the guides’ narratives, because they do not conform to the positive and promotional *ethos* of a guided tour. Other tourists are not perceived as positive walk-ons either, not only because they compete for the same space (often at the same time), but also because they remind them of their own role from which they are trying to distance themselves, since ‘tourism’ and ‘tourists’ generally connote something tacky and superficial.

Guides, tourists and many other actors enact the performance of the guided tour together. The guided tour has a playful frame that allows for improvisations; but because the roles are little institutionalized and the boundaries are blurred, there is also room for individual interpretations and negotiations among the actors, and sometimes they devote considerable energy to establishing their roles and striking the balance of power.

16.4 A future for guides and guided tours?

‘Guides have aptly been called the orphans of the travel industry, somewhat hidden as they are within the trade’ (Pond 1993:13).

Guiding is a seasonal, part-time, freelance job – features which it shares with

many other jobs categories in the tourism industry characterized by low professionalism, moderate to low wages and a high staff turnover. Furthermore, guides have to adjust to unpredictable circumstances where almost any parameter may be unknown or may be altered right up until departure, and from then on may still be negotiated or altered. Finally, guides are often met with ignorance or prejudice about the character of their work, mostly outside the tourism industry, but sometimes also within it (see Pond 1993). There are conspicuous discrepancies between the many demands on the guides' high level of education, their language proficiency and their general professionalism, and then the conditions in the labour market, where they are treated as 'variable costs'. In this sense the guides have always been at the forefront of present-day demands for the completely flexible employee who is moreover 'self-generating' in building up and maintaining his or her professional knowledge. Most students pay the approximately 6000 Euros (2009 prices) it costs to attend the Tourist Guide Diploma Programme at Roskilde University out of their own pockets.

This study indicates that the job satisfaction of the guides is linked to their personal identity as cultural mediators and performers, as well as coming from the social interaction involved, thus sustaining the findings of other studies of frontline workers in tourism (see Bærenholdt & Jensen 2009, Cederholm & Hultman 2008). However, drawing on Hochschild's (1983) term 'emotional labour', Bærenholdt & Jensen (2009) also conclude that frontline work in tourism is vulnerable and risky because it is tied to the worker's identity and depends heavily on recognition from the tourists. This study has repeatedly pointed out how the frame and the roles on the guided tour are little institutionalized and hence negotiable, and in this sense of course also vulnerable. It is easy to imagine how guides can experience stress, stage fright and perhaps discomfort over the financial instability that might prevent them getting a foothold on the labour market or eventually make them leave. With specific reference to a group of employees like the Diploma guides it could be interesting to investigate why guides are attracted to the guiding profession, why and how they stay in the profession, and not least why they leave the profession, if they do.

Even though tourists are becoming more and more experienced and a negative stigma adheres to guided tours, the number of tourists who want to participate in guided tours in Copenhagen is not in decline. The tourists seem to come from an ever-renewable source in spite of the economic crisis. The clientele on the cruise ships, for example, an important segment of the guides' labour mar-

ket, has changed over recent years, with a much wider variety and spread, both socially and age-wise. The economic crisis has also favoured cheaper and shorter tour types such as walking tours. Certainly, the industry is trying in various ways to accommodate the changing demands and preferences of the market, with the goal of designing new, profitable tours. This study suggests that one motive for participating in a guided tour is the wish to be introduced to a city and a country through an encounter with a local, individual and personalized 'other'. It could be interesting from a non-economic point of view to investigate further why new generations of tourists continue to go on guided tours, now that most of them would presumably be able to manage on their own, and to ask what kind of tours they would like to go on, and what they generally expect from guided tours.

There is much creativity outside but certainly also within the guiding community, developing new types of guided tours, and quite a few guides set up their own little enterprises catering for specific markets like Jewish walking tours, tours catering only for individual Italian tourists, or thematic tours like 'ghost tours'. There are many stakeholders and many opinions on what guided tours are and what they should be. Phil Schmidt, a UK guide and scholar, explains what he finds problematical in what he terms the 'standard tour':

'It is segmented, incoherent in its narrative structure, evokes the notion of 'mystery' but rarely delivers any revelation, it is under-explained, it immerses its audiences into their own pre-conceptions, it sustains reactionary binaries, it is insufficiently aware of itself as performance, too modest about its own constructedness, it is careless of the ideological significance of its routes, gestures and costumes' (Schmidt 2010:101).

Schmidt calls for a much more reflexive approach to the guide role and to the guided tour as constructed performance, and to remedy the defects of 'standard tours' he proposes 'the Mis-guided Tour' as an alternative building on four principles: 1) the Mis-guides immerse themselves bodily and autobiographically in the narratives of the tour and for example enact historical persons; 2) all offhand comments are folded back into the themes of the tour, constructing a complex matrix of meanings. Everything in the tour serves its theme; 3) mixing respectable as well as non-respectable sources of information, by drawing on historical sources and academically cogent theories of matter as well as ghost-hunting websites; 4) the audience should be immersed in the performance and eat, drink carry, sing

and assist the guide. The audience is stimulated to become super-sensitized to the textures of the site, and theirs is an active intellectual, experimental and participating spectatorship (Schmidt 2010). With this approach the guided tour is literally turned into mobile street theatre where both guides and tourists are enacting an often-historical script written and directed by the actor-guide. 'The Mis-Guided tour' demands that the guides reflect on their role and the constructedness of a guided tour – there is no highlighting of neutral positions and all performances are charged with value.

I believe the findings in this thesis do not sustain the sharp dichotomy between a 'standard tour' and a 'Mis-guided Tour'. I have observed critical guides on 'standard tours' reflecting with tourists on sensitive subjects, and other guides who immersed the tourists in the performance and even made them sing. The 'Misguided Tour' illustrates however that the guided tour as a phenomenon is constantly subject to negotiations and power contests defining 'the right way' or at least 'the better way' to guide, and it also suggests that guides are important drivers of innovation. In order to grasp future development it could be interesting to ask a substantial number of guides about their visions of guided tours – for example in future workshops.

Technology is another driver for the development of guided tours. Studies have been made of technological guided tours, where researchers have tried to decipher live guided tours and investigate how the qualities of the live guided tour may be transferred to technology. The advances in mobile technologies offer exciting alternatives that are flexible, customized and cost-efficient compared with live guided tours, and they are being developed in the spirit of individualization, addressing tourists who are becoming increasingly experienced and independent as travellers. Doyle & Isbister (1999) and Jonasson (2009) have investigated the relationship between live guiding and mobile technologies; they identify the characteristics of live guiding and investigate how they can be mimicked in mobile guiding, but also point out where mobile guiding falls short of live guiding.

'While live guiding must be able to relate to different representational silences by being creative in the moment of producing the guide, by timing a process of manipulation and producing imaginative and new time-spaces, the mobile platform must be able to pre-recognize those creative elements and can thus not improvise in the specific time-space context' (Jonasson 2009:5).

Jonasson refers to the fact that while the guides can improvise in relation to the context when they create time-spaces through their narratives, the mobile platform is more fixed in its form. However, the mobile platform offers other intriguing possibilities, whether they involve mobile phones, personal GPS receivers, mp3 players, portable game consoles or handheld computers like PDAs (Personal Digital Assistants). First, some of the devices have access to multilayered information and the tourists can combine information in individual imaginative ways precisely when they want in the way they want (see Ohlsson 2009). Secondly, mobile platforms can offer interesting soundscapes like music and access to local voices, and can revive the past enacted as radio plays, drawing the listener on to the stage. Such a tour to Boston Downtown can be downloaded free to your mp3 player (<http://itunes.apple.com/us/podcast/boston-downtown-audissey>). This kind of mobile audio-walk shows that intimate, personalized and emotional guiding can be transferred to technology and engage the tourists both in an inner dialogue with actors on the soundtrack as well as in outward interactions with the environment.

The opposite is also taking place – namely that technology is moving into live guiding, as some guides today use microphones not only in the coaches, but also outside. Around Europe it is possible to see groups wearing headphones where the guide can speak to the tourists via a headset through a microphone, and the tourist can then move around freely while being guided outdoors or indoors in cultural institutions. It is fairly easy to see some advantages in this, as the guides do not have to speak so loud in public space, and everyone is able to hear the guide, and potentially it will also allow the guides to add other soundscapes than their own voices. However, this no doubt also affects and alters the dynamics of the guiding, and to my knowledge the phenomenon has not yet been investigated. It could be interesting to pose a more open question: how does technology affect and change live guiding?

Changes and innovation will come with interest in and awareness of the guided tour's productive potential. Technological development will no doubt drive some of the innovation, but so will human imagination, and humans and mobile technology will enter into new ingenious combinations so far unseen. One thing I believe this thesis has established, though, is that the human factor is pivotal in tourism experiences, and guides and tourists are human beings who move, touch, laugh, compete and reject in a genuine, albeit very short, relationship, precisely because they are genuine human beings.

Abstract

The object of research in this thesis is guided tours as performed by tourists and guides. Partly on the basis of my personal experience as an authorized guide in Copenhagen, the guided tour is viewed as a performance in ‘*dialogic interaction that allows for improvisations and that facilitates the constructivist process*’ (Bruner 2005:166). The first research question is ‘***How does the performance of the guided tour develop through interaction, and is it possible to identify strategies and tactics shared by guides and tourists when one observes a range of guided tours?***’ However, on guided tours there may be many other actors such as drivers, tour managers, escorts, interpreters, waiters, custodians, police etc., all of whom enact their roles in the guided tour and thus have a stake in the performance. The second research question is thus ‘***How are roles, responsibility and power interpreted and negotiated by all the actors involved in guided tours?***’

With the focus on interactions, the thesis draws on Goffman’s (1974) microsociological theory of people’s presentations of the self, using his theatrical metaphors. The guided tour is a tourism performance ‘on the move’, and the thesis adheres to the methodology of *mobile tourism ethnography* (see Haldrup & Larsen 2009). The research builds on fifty-four hours of participant observations combined with video recordings of seventeen guided tours in and around Copenhagen, followed by twelve interviews with seven guides, twelve tourists and one director of an ‘incoming bureau’. The incoming data have been processed in a video analysis program called Advene which makes it possible to work along the lines of ‘Grounded Theory’, applying a bottom-up theory-generating approach.

Following in the footsteps of the tourists enabled me to observe their different tactics towards the guiding in terms of De Certeau’s notion of ‘users’ or consumers’ tactics’. The tourists constantly switched between five tactical modes: *participatory tactics*, where they asked questions, interrupted, discussed things and sometimes offered their explanations and thus acted as *co-guides*; *attentive tactics*, where they showed in every way, with their body posture and utterances, that they were attentive listeners; *partial tactics*, where they divided their attention between the guiding and other activities like reading, writing, taking photos; *alternative tactics*, where they completely *logged off* the guiding and engaged in other activities such as talking to fellow tourists, going on small excursions etc.; and finally

they applied *absent tactics*, where they completely left the performance and fell asleep. The five tactical modes are explored in the four main settings – the coach, indoor stops, outdoor stops, and walking between stops – all of which cater differently for interaction. I conclude that *the tourists constantly log on to and off the guiding, applying a range of tactics in order to perform their own habitable version of the guided tour*. The tourists could apply all the tactics without jeopardizing the ‘frame’ of the tour, but would sometimes challenge the frame and try to alter the aim of the tour – as paying customers they can turn the guided tour into a frame for in-group socialization. Likewise, the tourists *performed resistance* to the guide and the guiding, as when they considered the guide too schoolteacherish, or the guiding boring, too normative or irrelevant. It is possible to conclude that *the frame of the guided tour is playful, voluntary and commercial*

In order to capture and keep the attention of the tourists, the guides had to apply a range of *seductive strategies*. The guides’ work in the field of tension between the tourists’ tactics and the overarching strategy of the tourism industry, which is based on economic rationality, and the guides’ strategies, are partly developed through interaction with the tourists and in accordance with the ‘habitus’ of the guides (see Bourdieu 1990, Bourdieu & Waquant 1996). Observing the guides enabled me to identify four *seductive strategies*. First, the guides applied the *rhetorical strategy* when they alternated between appeals to *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos*. Many narratives appealed to *logos*, but were spiced up with rhetorical devices like humour, irony and reflections on paradoxes. The appeal to *pathos* was also much used to infuse energy into the narratives, and when applied successfully it also energized the tourists. Finally, the guides appealed to *ethos*, displaying their moral values and beliefs, just as the tourists tried to coax out the guides’ opinions. However, this may conflict with a *doxa* saying that guides are neutral mediators who should stay away from sensitive topics, which is why guides and tourists did boundary work when they interpreted and negotiated the guide role.

Secondly, the guides applied the *intercultural strategy* when they played on the tensions between their own, the tourists’ and the host culture. The guides *played on the tourists’ preconceptions* of the host culture, for example by constantly referring to the Danes as ‘Vikings’. The guides also *connected ‘we’ and ‘they’* by pointing to connections between the tourists’ and the host culture and by translating their narrative into terms and figures familiar to the tourists. The guides also displayed their cultural identity to the tourists through their construction of ‘we’ and ‘they’.

When the guides identified with a culture outside Denmark, they applied an *ethnographic approach*, interpreting Denmark through the lenses of their own culture. This could be particularly seductive for tourists who identified with the same culture as the guide. When the guides identified with Danish culture, they applied an *ethnocentric approach*. This conformed to the tourists' expectations of the 'local ambassador' proudly presenting his or her country; but taken too far it became 'missionary' and the tourists would sometimes perform resistance.

Thirdly, the guides applied the *strategy of intimacy*. When the guides inserted private and personal information into the guiding, the tourists felt they were with a 'real' person and perceived the guiding as spontaneous and as personally addressed to them, as opposed to a 'rehearsed script' served up for any audience. When guides in addition addressed the tourists at a personal and private level, and discussed things with them, teased, touched or complimented them, this broke the 'group of tourists' down into unique individuals, which helped them to distance themselves from the less flattering role of tourists, just as it enhanced the 'family' atmosphere and installed a concurrent sense of 'we'.

Finally the guides applied the *logistical strategy*, where with their local and professional knowledge they were able to move in time and space in ways that could impress the tourists. The logistical strategy is very much a matter of the guide's ability to read the environment, collaborate with all the surrounding actors, and finally read the tourists' changing needs, not least for breaks during which they can attend to their own interests and needs. Finally, the logistical strategy serves to prevent negative friction with the environment, and to ensure a smooth, pleasurable tourism experience 'in the front row'.

A number of other professional actors may be present on the guided tour as drivers, tour managers, escorts and interpreters; and then there may be employers' representatives backstage. It was possible to observe good collaboration, but also occasional contests over the division of responsibilities and power, particularly between guides and professionals in analogous positions. On the basis of their habitus and their relative capital the actors would negotiate to maximize their influence and the outcome of the guided tour. It became apparent that the *roles in the guided tours are little institutionalized*, which left wide scope for interpretation and negotiations between the actors.

Subordinate actors like waiters, distributors of fliers etc, and the local inhabitants enacting 'walk-ons', may all play a positive role in the guided tour. The tourists liked to interact with or just watch and observe the local residents, just as the guides would bolster their performances by drawing locals on to the stage. Locals could add considerably to the excitement and credibility of a performance, precisely because they personalized the host culture. Controversial or socially disadvantaged local residents, however, were silenced and ignored, since they conflicted with the generally positive, promotional ethos of guided tours. Other tourists were not too popular either, because they competed for the same space at the same time, just as they reminded the tourists of their own role, which is depreciated even by the tourists themselves.

The thesis summarizes its findings by pointing to the significance and the importance of the human factor on live guided tours. Tourists and the guides each have their stake and interests in the guided tour. As a performance, however, it is a co-production that tends towards a dissolution of the dichotomy between guide and tourists. Guides and tourists are human beings who move, touch, laugh, compete and reject in a genuine, albeit very brief relationship, precisely because they are genuine human beings. The thesis concludes by asking questions about the future prospects of the guiding profession and of guided tours in general.

Resumé (dansk)

Den guidede tur bliver ofte karikeret som en gruppe dresserede busturister der passivt konsumerer guidens enetale. Overfor det billede anskues den guidede tur i denne afhandling som en performance, hvor guider og turister skaber en oplevelse i dialogisk kommunikation, og hvor formatet tillader improvisationer og fremmer en konstruktivistisk proces (se Bruner 2005). Denne (for)forståelse bygger bl.a. på mange års egne erfaringer som autoriseret guide i København på henholdsvis engelsk og italiensk, og det er netop de autoriserede guider og i de senere år diplomerede guider fra Roskilde Universitet, der sammen med turister på guidede ture er genstand for analyse i denne afhandling. De første spørgsmål, der stilles er: ***Hvordan skabes den guidede tur gennem interaktioner mellem guider og turister, og er det muligt at spore fælles strategier og taktikker for henholdsvis guider og turister, når man observerer på tværs af en række guidede ture?***

På den ene side ses kultur og herunder turismekultur altså som noget, der konstant skabes og genskabes, og som bør forstås og vurderes på egne præmisser. På den anden side erkendes, at kultur altid indgår i en institutionel magtrelational diskurs. Her er den guidede tur og de tilhørende roller paradoksalt nok relativt lidt institutionaliserede på trods af en årtusind lang historie, og det betyder, at grænserne mellem rollerne er flydende, og både rollerne og selve rammen (i en Goffmansk forstand) for den guidede tur er genstand for fortolkning og forhandling mellem de implicerede parter. Dette forhandlingsspil udfoldes mellem guider og turister, men også mellem de mange andre aktører, der optræder på guidede ture som chauffører, rejseledere, tolke, kustoder, betjente, tjenere, lokale borgere osv., der alle er med til at skabe den guidede tur. Det gør det interessant at spørge hvordan disse mange aktører bidrager til opførelsen af den guidede tur, ***men også hvordan rammen for turen samt roller, ansvar og magt fortolkes, forhandles og fordeles af alle de involverede parter?***

Afhandlingen har en overvejende empirisk tilgang bl.a. inspireret af 'Grounded Theory', hvor forskeren ikke begynder med en teori for at bevise den, men snarere tager udgangspunkt i et empirisk genstandsfelt og lader begreber og analysekategorier og fortolkningsvokse frem (se Strauss & Corbin 1990). Afhandlingen bygger først og fremmest på 54 timers deltagerobservation kombineret med videooptagelse af sytten guidede ture i og omkring København i sommeren 2005

og 2006. Derudover blev der udført tolv opfølgende interviews med syv guider, en bureaujeer og tolv turister. Al empiri; videooptag, observationer og interviews er transskriberet og behandlet i videoanalyseprogrammet Advene, hvor det er muligt at bearbejde data og opbygge analysekategorier efter retningslinierne i Grounded Theory.

Ingen går dog forudsætningsløs ind i et felt ligesom alle analyser er i dialog med og hjælpes af tidligere forskning. Med afhandlingens fokus på mikrosociologiske interaktioner bliver vi hjulpet af Goffmans (1959, 1974) slagkraftige teatermetafor, der forklarer, hvordan mennesker påtager sig - og spiller - roller 'front stage' (på scenen) eller 'back stage' (bag scenen), mens de forsøger at lave 'facework' eller 'impression management' for et nærværende eller potentielt fremtidigt publikum. Goffman forklarer også, hvordan aktører spiller inden for nogle givne rammer, som de således samtidig opretholder, men de kan også forsøge at påvirke, ændre eller udviske rammerne (se Goffman 1974). Hvor Goffman har fokus på individet, hjælper Garfinkels (1967) Etnometodologi os derimod med at forstå, hvordan grupper af mennesker anvender fælles genkendelige og forklarlige metoder til at skabe fornuft og orden i sociale situationer. Begge teorier er nyttige, når man ønsker at studere turisters og guides interaktioner og praksis på guidede ture.

Da det empiriske materiale forelå, pressede de iboende magtrelationer sig på. Når turisterne agerer og interagerer, handler de som taktiske kunder eller slutbrugere i et strategisk rum, der er defineret af turismeindustrien. De Certeau (1984) forklarer, hvordan kunder eller slutbrugere anvender taktikker for at tilegne sig et produkt, en oplevelse eller by og gøre den til deres egen. Det gøres ikke ved at ændre eller gøre ophævelser over produktet, oplevelsen eller byen, men ved at (for)bruge og performe på måder som producenter og planlæggere slet ikke har haft til hensigt eller tænkt på.

Guidernes kan anskues som værende en del af strategien på en guidet tur, men De Certeau (1984) forklarer, at strategien, der bygger på økonomisk, politisk og videnskabelig rationalitet, er fjern fra slutbrugeren, med hvem der er ringe eller ingen kontakt. Guider derimod er afhængige af kontakten til turisterne, og de udvikler deres strategier bl.a. gennem interaktioner med gæsterne. Det placerer guiden i en position mellem industriens strategi og gæsternes taktikker, og for at forstå guidernes strategier informeres vi bedre af Bourdieus` habitus begreb. Habitus er det generative system af dispositioner for praksis, der er genereret af

en aktørs eller en gruppe af aktørers tidligere historie og erfaringer, og den består både af kropslige og kognitive indlejring af eksterne strukturer, uden disse nødvendigvis opererer på et bevidst niveau. Guidernes habitus formes bl.a. af deres guideuddannelse, og de erfaringer de gør i forbindelse med arbejdet som guider.

Bourdieu's praksisteori hjælper også med at forklare de mere åbenlyse magtspil mellem guider, turister og ikke mindst de andre aktører på den guidede tur (se Bourdieu & Waquant 1992, Bourdieu 1997). Bourdieu forklarer, hvordan aktører på basis af deres position i et givet felt, deres habitus og deres relative mængde af kulturel, økonomisk og social kapital indgår i et forhandlingsspil, hvor de prøver at optimere deres indflydelse og magt. For at indfange de mere subtile identifikationsprocesser og rollekonflikter som fortolkes på individuelt plan og forhandles mellem guider, turister og andre aktører, er det frugtbart yderligere at inddrage begrebet 'boundary work' (grænsearbejde). 'Boundary work' refererer til det arbejde, mennesker laver, når de skelner mellem og kategoriserer aktiviteter, fænomener, objekter eller mennesker fra hinanden (se Åkerstrøm 2002).

I **kapitel 4** identificeres gæsterne taktikker til guidningen, når de holder sig 'pænt' inden for rammerne af den guidede tur. Turisterne skifter konstant mellem følgende fem taktikker; En **deltagende taktik** (*participatory tactic*), hvor de byder eller bryder ind og deltager i guidningen. En **opmærksom taktik** (*attentive tactic*), hvor de giver guiden og guidningen deres udelte opmærksomhed. En **delvis taktik** (*partial tactic*), hvor de deler deres opmærksomhed mellem guidningen og andre aktiviteter. En **alternativ taktik** (*alternative tactic*), hvor de slet ikke lytter til guiden, men foretager sig andre ting, som giver mening for deres egen oplevelse af turen. Endelig anvender turisterne en **fraværende taktik** (*absent tactic*), hvor de fuldstændig forlader forestillingen og falder i søvn. De fem taktiske modi undersøges i de fire primære fysiske rammer, som udgør en guidet tur, nemlig bussen, henholdsvis udendørs- og indendørsstop, og endelig når de går mellem stoppene. De forskellige fysiske rammer faciliterer forskellige typer interaktion. Konklusionen er, at turisterne *konstant' logger af' på guidningen for at producere deres egen 'beboelige' version af den guidede tur.* Guiderne var specielt glade for de opmærksomme turister, og de fik også meget energi af turister, der deltog i guidningen, hvis de ellers kunne styre dem, hvorimod gæster der loggede af kunne gøre dem usikre på deres egen rolle. Både turister og guider udtrykte normer, der betonede, at turister bør lytte opmærksomt på guidede ture og ikke forstyrre, men turisterne selv brød konstant disse normer, og da guiderne ikke var i en position

til at kræve deres opmærksomhed konkluderes, at *rammen for den guidede tur er legende, frivillig og kommerciel*.

Ind imellem forsøger turisterne at ændre og omdefinere både rollerne og rammerne, og i **kapitel 5** anskues den guidede tur som en omstridt scene. Socialiteten mellem turister spiller en stor rolle – også på guidede ture. Når turister ’logger af’ guidningen, er det ofte for at opleve og skabe turen sammen med ligestillede. Hvis alle gæster i en bus sætter socialiteten højt og først bliver den guidede tur kun en sekundær ramme, og guiden tvinges til at findes en alternativ rolle, samtidig med de måske kæmper for at bevare kontrollen i formidlingsfæren. Turisterne kan også på forskellig vis udfordre guiden på dennes kernekompetence nemlig som videns- og kulturformidler, og i begge tilfælde forhandles guiderollen. Via sådanne forhandlinger bliver det tydeligt, at rollerne og rammen for den guidede tur er svagt institutionaliserede. Det er heller ikke prestigefyldt at være turist på en guidet tur, og turisterne og nogle gange guiderne med kan på forskellig vis distancere sig fra deres egen rolle (jvf. Goffmanns begreb ’role distancing’). Derudover kan turisterne udvise forskellige former for modstand (’performative resistance’) mod guiden, hvis de f.eks. finder, at denne er for skolemesteragtig eller guidningen for entusiastisk, for kedelig, for normativ eller irrelevant.

I **kapitel 6** undersøges guidens rolle. I formidlingsfæren er guiden en autoritet på deres viden, men de har ikke autoritet over gruppen (se Holloway 1981), og da de ikke kan **kræve** turisternes opmærksomhed, benytter de sig af en række **forførelsesstrategier** til at fange og fastholde gæsternes opmærksomhed. I leder-skabssfæren placerer turismeindustrien en stor del af ansvaret for turens praktiske gennemførelse på guiden og tildeler dermed guiden en grad af autoritet, som skal forvaltes inden for en i øvrigt frivillig og legende ramme.

Guiderne arbejder freelance for mange forskellige arbejdsgivere, men stadig under lønmodtagerlignende forhold. Den løse tilknytning til bureauerne betyder dog, at guiderne identificerer sig mere med deres profession end det firma, de arbejder for. Denne opfattelse deles af turisterne, der ofte knytter stærkere bånd til guiden end til det firma, hvor de har købt turen, ligesom de kan se guiden, som eksperten der løser nogle problemer forårsaget af firmaet (se Geva & Goldman 1991). Guiderne er netop at finde et sted mellem industrien og turisterne, og de må iblandt handle på et taktisk niveau sammen med gæsterne for at få en tur til at lykkes. Samtidig er guiderne en gruppe af professionelle aktører, der kører de

samme typer ture mange gange. Guiderne er en gruppe af aktører i et felt, der veksler deres kulturelle kapital til økonomisk kapital samtidig med, at arbejdet bidrager til de akkumulerer stadig mere kulturel kapital, ligesom den sociale side af arbejdet er en vigtig kilde til arbejdsglæde. Med udgangspunkt i guiderne deres habitus og i tæt kontakt til turisterne udvikler guiderne deres forførelsesstrategier for at optimere vekslekursen mellem de forskellige kapitalformer. I denne afhandling identificeres i alt fire *forførelsesstrategier*; den *retoriske strategi*, den *interkulturelle strategi*, *intimitetsstrategien* og den *logistiske strategi*, som behandles i de fire følgende kapitler.

I **kapitel 7** undersøges guiderne *retoriske strategi* som en dialogisk kommunikation. Guider bruger den *retoriske strategi* til at overtale, overbevise eller forføre turisterne ind i fortællingerne og til dette anvender de Aristoteles appellformer: *logos*, *patos* og *etos* samt en række retoriske greb. En stor del af guidningen appellerer til *logos*, men de fleste guider skaber liv i selv de mest faktuelle fortællinger ved at bruge humor, ironi og ved at reflektere over paradokser og pege på kontraster. Andre forlader sig mere på at rose og fremhæve måske endda overdrive og i det hele taget være entusiastiske. Fortællinger hentes bl.a. fra historien, mytologien og litteraturen, hvor der optræder mennesker af kød og blod, som gør det nemt for guiderne at appellere til *patos*. Det er mere problematisk at appellere til *etos*, da en norm siger, at guidning principielt bør være neutralt og bl.a. ikke berøre sensitive emner som politik, religion og sex (se Pond 1993). Mange guider lader dog alligevel deres personlige holdninger skinne igennem i fortællingerne, og nogle indgår i diskussioner med gæsterne om værdiladede emner, hvor det ikke mindst er turisterne selv, der efterspørger guidens holdninger. Det peger på, at guiden *per se* opfattes som en del af oplevelsen, et punkt der forhandles af guider og turister. Guiderne udvikler deres egen retoriske strategier, og når de lykkes svarer turisterne igen med opmærksomme og deltagende taktikker, men mislykkes de, begynder gæsterne at logge af.

I **kapitel 8** analyseres, hvordan guiderne udnytter spændet mellem turisternes, værtslandets og deres egen kultur i en *interkulturel strategi* for at fange og beholde gæsternes opmærksomhed. For det første *adresserer de gæsternes forforståelser* af Danmark ved f.eks. konstant at referere til danskerne som vikinger. De kan også finde på at bekræfte, korrigere eller afmontere myter, som gæsterne måske har hørt om Danmark. Hvor vidt gæsterne rent faktisk har disse forforståelser om værtsnationen, beror dog dybest set på guiderne forforståelser af gæsternes

forforståelser. Guider hægter også deres interkulturelle strategi op på turisternes forestillingsverden, når de *forbinder 'dem' og 'os'*. Det gøres ved direkte at pege på forbindelser mellem de to kulturer, men også ved at sammenligne eller 'oversætte' værtsnationen til for turisterne kendte terminologier. Det er særligt effektivt, når guiderne adresserer et *kulturelt fikspunkt*, som er et emne, både værtsnationen såvel som turisterne kan identificere sig, og som kan vække stærke følelser. Historier om redningen af de danske jøder i 1943 er et kulturelt fikspunkt i flere kulturer end den danske. Guidernes *kulturelle selvforståelse* i forhold til turisterne er også vigtig. Guider, der identificerer sig med en kultur uden for Danmark, ser og fortolker Danmark med udgangspunkt i deres egen kultur. Her kan fortællingerne om Danmark godt få en kritisk kant, da en aktørs egen kultur altid implicit repræsenterer 'den rigtige måde'. Hvis guiden har samme kulturelle selvforståelse som gæsterne, kan der skabes stærke bånd mellem guider og turister, der får en *etnografisk* præsentation af værtslandet fra deres egen udsendte. De guider, der identificerer sig med værtslandets, kan derimod leve op til billedet af den entusiastiske vært og ambassadør, der stolt præsenterer sit land for turisterne. Dette er i overensstemmelse med turistens generelle forventning til en guide, men nogle guider tager denne *etnocentriske tilgang* et skridt videre og bliver direkte missionærer, der belærer turisterne, og det falder ikke altid i god jord, hvorfor gæsterne kan udvise modstand. Hvorvidt guiderne identificerer sig med værtslandets kultur afhænger ikke af, hvor de er født, men kan afkodes i deres konstruktioner af 'os' og 'dem'.

I **kapitel 9** analyseres guiderne *intimitetsstrategi*, der refererer til, når guiderne inddrager dem selv og gæsterne direkte i guidningen på det private og personlige plan. Som udgangspunkt mener både guider og turister, at guidens professionelle rolle som kulturformidler ikke har noget at gøre med deres private person. Turister og guider laver derfor grænsearbejde og forhandler i, hvilken udstrækning guiden selv skal være en del af oplevelsen. Turisterne ønsker nemlig at lære guiderne at kende på et mere personligt plan, og guiderne anvender selv intimitetsstrategien aktivt, når de fletter personlige og private informationer ind i guidningen. Dette bliver vel modtaget af turisterne, der følgende opfatter guiden som en 'rigtig' person, der taler til netop dem som mennesker og samtidig giver indblik i og personificerer den lokale kultur i modsætning til en mere upersonlig kulturformidling, der kan serveres til et hvilket som helst publikum. Ind imellem deler guiderne dybe personlige historier, som kan give turisterne nogle mindeværdige oplevelser. Guider anvender også intimitetsstrategien, når de adresserer gæsterne på det personlige og private plan ved at røre dem, drille dem, komplimentere

dem og således trække dem ind i guidningen. Når guider inkluderer dem selv og turisterne på et personligt og privat plan, brydes 'flokken af turister' ned og de fremstår som individer, der er sammen i en personlig, uformel måske næsten familiær performance.

I **kapitel 10** undersøges guiderne *logistiske strategi*, der informeres af, hvordan guider interagerer med turisterne i forhold til tid og rum samt andre aktører, og hvordan de skaber rytme og bevægelse i bussen og til fods, i museer og ved de obligatoriske pauser på toiletter, butikker m.v. Guiderne har ansvaret for turens praktiske afvikling, og det kan høres på deres tonefald, når de instruerer gæsterne, men denne mere autoritære rolle stemmer dårligt overens med den mere blide og underholdende rolle som formidler og mange bløder instruktionerne op med humor og anekdoter. Som aktører med et indgående lokalt kendskab kan guiderne bruge deres logistiske strategi aktivt til at imponere turisterne ved behændigt at væve dem ind og ud af overfyldte steder, undgå lange køer, og sørge for, at netop deres gæster står i første parket til en seværdighed eller begivenhed. Guiderne logistiske strategi skal også sikre, at gæsterne kender og overholder lokale regler for opførsel, så de undgår friktioner med omgivelserne, og hvis guiderne logistiske strategi fejler, kan turisterne få nogle meget negative oplevelser. Endelig handler den logistiske strategi om guidens evne til at aflæse gruppens skiftende behov for læ, skygge, forfriskninger og ikke mindst pauser. Det kan være hårdt og udmattende at være turist, og evnen til at skabe de rette pauser fremstår som yderst vigtige, da gæsterne netop her kan tilgodese deres egne behov og interesser alene eller sammen med deres medrejsende. Afslutningsvis kan de tætpakkede ture med stramme tidsprogrammer ses som turismeindustriens strategi, hvor turister og guider iblandt handler sammen på et taktisk plan for at få turene til at hænge sammen.

I **kapitel 11** laves en kort introduktion til de mange andre aktører, der optræder på den guidede tur. Hvis man forbliver i scenemetaforen har guiderne og turisterne hovedrollerne, chauffører, rejseledere, escorts, tolke har store gennemgående roller, da de ofte er med på hele turen, mens tjenere, politibetjente, kustoder, folk, der ringer på mobilen etc., har biroller, idet de kommer ind på scenen spiller deres rolle og forlader scenen igen. Endelig har vi statisterne, som er alle de lokale indbyggere samt alle de andre turister, der alle fylder på og omkring scenen. Guiderne ved oftest ikke, hvem de skal samarbejde med, før de møder gruppen, og da rollerne og rammen på den guidede tur er lidt institutionaliserede, giver det

rum for mange fortolkninger og forhandlinger, der kan udvikle sig til kampe i et relativt uklart magthierarki. Der er mange aktører, der føler ejerskab overfor en turistgruppe og som derfor føler, de har magt over og ansvar for en turs samlede udfald. I de følgende fire kapitler undersøges de andre aktørers indflydelse på den guidede tur og ikke mindst på guiderne og turisternes interaktioner.

I **kapitel 12** analyseres chaufførens rolle. Chauffører og guider indgår i nogle meget korte intense arbejdsforhold, hvor de forhandler og fordeler magt og ansvar i forhold til deres relative kapital i feltet. En chaufførs kapital består som minimum af det store erhvervskørekort, men også nok så meget af erhvervs erfaringer, kendskab til lokalområdet, sprogkompetencer og evnen til at yde service og samarbejde. En dygtig og erfaren chauffør kan få stor indflydelse på en turs udførelse. Forskelle i chaufførers og guideres relative kapital og den status, der er knyttet til hver rolle, kan gøre en chauffør mindre dedikeret til samarbejdet, men de fleste guider er meget bevidste om chaufførernes vigtige rolle og vil gentagne gange fremhæve dem gennem deres guidning, ligesom de kan bruge chaufførerne som lynafledere, når der skal afleveres behagelige budskaber. Afhængig af chaufførernes kulturelle kapital og måden de fortolker deres roller, interagerer de mere eller mindre med turistene. Chaufførerne kan være alt fra dem, der bestemmer turens rute, tager mikrofonen og optræder som med-guide, når guiden er ude af bussen, være aktive med-turister, til at være usynlige 'ikke-personer' (i Goffmans terminologi) der tages for givet. Endelig er chaufførerne vigtige, da de er med til at skabe deres guidekollegers renommé og vice versa.

I **kapitel 13** undersøges henholdsvis rejseledere, escorts, der er repræsentanter fra krydstogtskibene, tolke og guidekolleger, da de kan have vigtige gennemgående roller på den guidede tur. Når guider skal forhandle og fordele opgaver og ansvar med kolleger i analoge positioner, bliver det særligt tydeligt, at rollerne ikke er stærkt institutionaliserede. Aktørerne har nogle oftest implicite forventninger til hinanden, som sjældent bliver afstemt før en tur startes, men snarere bliver forhandlet frem undervejs. Dette forhold samt de uklare grænser mellem rollerne kan give magtkampe i både formidlingssfæren og lederskabssfæren, og disse magtkampe kan yderligere involvere både turistene og aktørerne bag scenen; repræsentanter fra arbejdsgiverne, ledere på krydstogtskibene m.fl. Aktørerne dømmer hinanden bl.a. på deres samarbejdsevner, og kolleger er med til at bygge hinandens renommé, hvilket betyder særligt meget i et fag, hvor man arbejder freelance. Guiderne er derfor meget sensitive overfor disse magtkampe, og der

kan bruges meget energi på at ramme magtbalancen, og samtidig kæmpe for det de opfatter som deres rettigheder.

Kapitel 14 har fokus på programmerede eller spontane biroller på den guidede tur. En programmeret birolle kan være en tjener, der udfører en Sabre D'Or ceremoni, der er indlagt som et festligt indslag på en guidet tur. Her kan birolleindehaveren overtage scenen for et stykke tid i samspil med gæsterne og guiden får en tilbagetrukket assisterende og kontrollerende rolle. Gæsterne responderer på birolleindehavere i forhold til deres evne til at være overbevisende og engagerede, hvilket skaber en troværdig forestilling, uagtet tekniske eller historiske ukorrektheder. Det er som regel populært at inddrage lokale indbyggere, der spontant trækkes ind på scenen af guiden, eller de inviterer sig selv. Disse ikke programmerede biroller kan tilføre ekstra spænding til forestillingen og øge både turens og guidens troværdighed.

I **kapitel 15** undersøges især turisternes forhold til de mange statister, der er allestedsnærværende på en guidet tur i det offentlige rum. Lokale indbyggere opfattes grundlæggende positivt og som en del af oplevelsen ved at besøge en by. Nogle gæster giver udtryk for, at de er mere interesserede i samtidsforhold og det lokale liv end i kulturhistorien. I København omgås turister og lokale indbyggere som regel hinanden i fred og fordragelighed og med stor gensidig accept. Gæsterne har dog et større behov for interaktioner end de lokale, og der kan opstå interessekonflikter f.eks. i beboelsesområder. I sådanne tilfælde kan interesseorganisationer og lokale myndigheder forhandle om retten til det offentlige rum og lægge turisternes ruter på særlige 'front stage' spor. Guiderne kan også fungere som 'kontrollører', der sikrer de lokale beboeres ønske om fred. Dog er ikke alle lokale indbyggere lige interessante, og de socialt svage eller kontroversielle bliver stort set ignoreret, uagtet man lige går forbi dem, da de står i modsætning til den guidede turs generelle positive, entusiastiske og promoverende etos. En anden kategori af statister er alle de andre turister, og de er heller ikke særligt attraktive. Turister kæmper om de samme rum på samme tid, de spærrer for hinandens udsyn og giver lange køer. Andre turister kan udgøre et positivt potentiale for at møde nye mennesker, men da turisme generelt er behæftet med negative konnotationer er andre turister for det meste uønskede ikke mindst, fordi de gør det sværere for den enkelte turist at distancere sig fra deres egen rolle.

I **kapitel 16** diskuteres og syntetiseres analyserne og konklusioner i de forudgående 15 kapitler. Denne afhandling bidrager til en dybere forståelse af, hvad de menneskelige interaktioner betyder for produktionen af turismeoplevelsen på den guidede tur og sandsynligvis også for lignende produktioner i oplevelsesøkonomien. Afhandlingen fremhæver de menneskelige kvaliteter på den guidede tur, hvor turisterne netop som individer har forskellig smag og interesser og derfor anvender en række taktikker, hvor de logger af og på guidningen for at skabe deres egen 'beboelige' version af turen. Turisterne kan både samproducere turen med guiden, ligesom de kan øve modstand, hvis de er utilfredse eller har en helt anden agenda end guiden. Turisterne finder at levende guidning er interessant, fordi de møder en 'virkelig' person, der har en særlig, lokal og personlig viden.

Guidernes personlighed kommer til udtryk via en række forførelsesstrategier, som når de appellerer til etos og dermed viser deres holdninger og værdier. Gennem konstruktionerne af 'vi' og 'de' viser guiderne også deres kulturelle tilhørsforhold, ligesom de med deres personlige viden om både gæsternes kultur og værtsnationen, kan de lave forbindelser mellem disse. Når guiderne trækker deres eget eller turisternes private og personlige liv ind i guidningen, bliver det helt tydeligt, at oplevelsen er af, for og med virkelige mennesker. Endelig fremstår guiden også som person via sin måde at bevæge sig på gennem de lokale områder og interagerer med andre lokale indbyggere. De menneskelige kvaliteter handler også om samarbejde og muligheden for spændende input fra de mange andre aktører, der kan optræde på den guidede tur, der dog samtidig også udgør et fora for forhandlinger og magtkampe. Det konkluderes, at den guidede tur opnår troværdighed gennem interaktion med 'virkelige' og overbevisende personer, og der peges på en ophævelse af dikotomien mellem turister og guide i selve produktionen af den guidede tur.

Afslutningsvis perspektiveres afhandlingen, og der peges bl.a. på de åbenlyse modsætninger mellem de høje krav til guidernes uddannelse, sprogkompetence og professionalitet og det faktum, at de betragtes og behandles som en 'variabel omkostning', og spørgsmålene er, hvad får guider til at søge ind i erhvervet, hvad får dem til at blive, og hvad får dem til at forlade erhvervet, hvis de gør det? Andre spørgsmål der rejser sig er, hvorfor de nyere generationer af turister egentlig tager på guidede ture, når de formodentlig godt kan klare sig på egen hånd, og hvad ønsker fremtidens turister sig af guidede ture?

Guiderne selv er innovative og udvikler nye typer ture, og det kunne være spændende at lave et fremtidsværksted med guider og dermed skabe et kreativt forum, der ikke havde økonomisk sigte for at se, hvordan guidede ture kan udvikles i fremtiden. Endelig peges på de teknologiske landvindinger, der muliggør, at turister bliver guidede af elektroniske medier. Det undersøges allerede, hvordan man kan overføre de menneskelige kvaliteter i guidning til elektroniske medier, men spørgsmålet er, hvordan de elektroniske medier har indflydelse på den menneskelige guidning?

Denne afhandling slår dog fast, at de menneskelige kvaliteter er vitale på den guidede tur, og turister og guider er mennesker, der rører, driller, komplimenterer, konkurrerer og afviser i et kort, men ægte møde, fordi de er virkelige mennesker.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

Guided tours

- Tour no 1 3 hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 2 5 hour North Zealand. Castle Tour
- Tour no 3 3 hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 4 5 hour North Zealand. Castle Tour
- Tour no 5 2 ½ hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 6 5 hour North Zealand. Castle Tour
- Tour no 7 2 ½ hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 8 3 hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 9 1 hour city sightseeing with tape recorded guiding
- Tour no 10 3 hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 11 2 ½ hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 12 4 ½ hour city sightseeing with Sabre D'Or
- Tour no 13 3 hour city sightseeing
- Tour no 14 1 hour canal tour
- Tour no 15 4 hour city sightseeing and Dragør
- Tour no 16 3 hour walking tour
- Tour no 17 3 hour city sightseeing

Tourist interview 1

- Mrs. Dorinne Wolwic. Librarian. New York. Tourist A
- Mrs. Erna Scheinbrott. Radiologist. New York Tourist B
- Mr. Stuart Scheinbrott. New York. Tourist C
- Mr. Robert Wolwick . Physician. New York. Tourist D

Tourist Interview 2

- Mr. Bentzen. Florida USA. Tourist A
- Mrs. Bentzen. Florida USA. Tourist B

Tourist interview 3

Mrs. Shannen Yasman (mother). California USA. Tourist A
Ms. Brooke Yasman (10 years daughter). California USA. Tourist B
Mr. Luis Burka (grandfather). Property Manager. California USA.
Tourist C
Mrs Burka (grandmother). California USA. Tourist D

Tourist interview 4

John Rorhbach, retired lecturer. Connecticut. Tourist A

Tourist interview 5

Mrs Vivian Seger. New York. Tourist A
Mrs Sharon Winegard. New York. Tourist B

Guide interview 1

Guide interview 2

Guide interview 3

Guide interview 4

Guide interview 5

Guide interview 6

Guide interview 7

Interview 8

Lene Gaard. Director of Destination Management Copenhagen

Appendix 2

Tilladelse til brug af videooptagelser i forbindelse med Ph.d. projektet

'The Guided Tour – An Intercultural Co-Produced Tourism Performance'

Navn XXXXXX

Sommeren 2006 deltog jeg på en tur, hvor du var guide. Her lavede jeg lavede videooptagelser, som jeg hermed gerne vil bede dig om tilladelse til at bruge i forskning og undervisnings sammenhæng. **Alt materiale behandles anonymt.**

Du bedes krydse de relevante felter af og skrive under.

Tilladelse til at bruge de fremsendte billeder i ph.d. publikation.

Ja

Nej

Tilladelse til at bruge video og billeder i videnskabelige artikler

Ja

Nej

Tilladelse til at bruge video og billeder i forskningspræsentationer og anden formidling

Ja

Nej

Tilladelse til at bruge video og billeder i undervisningssammenhæng

Ja

Nej

Dato

Underskrift

På forhånd tak
Jane Widtfeldt Meged
Ph.d. & Koordinator