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# Journal of Tourismology

**PROCEEDINGS PAPER**

# A Conceptual Framework of Raw Food Diet and Living Foods in Consumption Culture

Tolga Fahri Çakmak[1] ⓘ          Figen Sevinç[2] ⓘ

**Abstract**

The changes that come along with globalization in life styles are now evident in the tourism industry as well, and a variety of different diets have become available in the services provided by the industry. Further, eating and drinking habits, which differ according to the cultural features of their geography, are rapidly integrated into the existing consumption-driven concept. In this sense, this study discusses the raw food diet, which has been popular around the world, within a conceptual framework, provides an insight into different practices regarding live foods as well as the perception of the raw food diet in consumption culture.

**Keywords**

Living food • Live food • Raw food • Consumption • Consumption culture

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## Introduction

The changes in economic, social and cultural areas due to globalization manifest themselves in eating and drinking habits as well (Özdinç, 2004); food and beverage companies and the services offered by these companies have been differentiated (Kivela and Crotts 2006; Doğdubay and Giritlioğlu, 2011). As a result of globalization, one's taste, desire, appreciation, pleasure, eating and drinking habits, palate, as well as linguistic concepts have transformed, which have an inevitable impact on touristic products, and eventually on more people every day. Indeed, this is evident from live food diets, recently attracting attention in the food culture, and the use of new concepts related to eating and drinking habits.

Live food is a concept used to describe the food and living food, which are served alive or half alive in different ways. The concept of live food refers to meat and its derivatives in Asian cuisine and to plants, fruits and vegetables, sprouted seeds in Western cuisine and it is used together with the concepts of fresh food and raw food (Cousens, 2003; Fry and Klein, 2004; Esquibel, 2007). It is remarkable that these concepts, utilized in world cuisines, have become common and can describe different types of foods. That being said, this study seeks to review ongoing international practices on live food and to evaluate the potential of live food as a touristic product, thus adding to the literature. To that end, the study first provides an understanding of the trend of raw food and the concept of living food and presents a literature review on practices on live food.

## Literature Review

As an influence on consumer behaviour culture (You, O'Leary, Morrison and Hong, 2000) is a concept that includes material and spiritual values. Every society has a cultural structure of its own with the characteristics that can be learned, are transferable from one generation to the next, can change and meet the needs (Hawkins, Best and Coney, 2001; Güney, 2014). Therefore, a society's food culture is affected by way of life, geographical location, climate, mode of production, etc. as well as economic and technological developments, urbanization, mass media, migration and other cultures (Arslan, 1997; Türksoy, 2002, Ankeny, 2012; Albayrak, 2013). For that reason, how a society obtained the food that it has chosen, and where, when and how a society consumes this food vary according to social habits and culture. This cultural diversity is considered as interesting by tourists (Ganter, 2004; Sheldon and Fox, 1998).

Indeed, it would not be incorrect to say that due to developments and increased demands, gastronomy tourism emerged and grew into its current form (Boniface, 2003; Kivela and Crotts 2006; Albayrak, 2013). The urge to taste original flavours, to experience cultural food types and to observe how these foods are served in

place, creates considerable demand for destinations with culinary cultures (Hall and Mitchell, 2005; Okumuş, Okumuş and Mckercher, 2007). As a result of globalization, world cuisines with different presentations have spread to many countries and evolved into touristic products; with the increasing importance of food culture, gastronomic practices and values have become prominent (Kivela and Crotts 2006; Doğdubay and Giritlioğlu, 2011). Yet, values and understandings, behavioural patterns, eating habits may differ from culture to culture and impact each other; these cultural differences can even lead to conceptual confusions, clash of ideas, feelings of discomfort, moral and ethical considerations.

Based on a review of the related literature, it is evident that the number of studies on eating and drinking habits has been increasing (Nield, Kozak and LeGrays 2000; Tezcan, 2000; Long, 2004; Cohen and Avieli, 2004; Kivela and Crotts 2006; Kim, Kim, and Goh, 2011; Ankeny, 2012; Su, 2015) and more and more studies have focused on different types of diets in the recent years (Özdinç, 2004; Fox and Ward, 2008; Esquibel, 2010; Yurtseven and Kaya, 2011; Leitch, 2013; Kwon, Tamang, 2015; Yasemin, Son and Bulut, 2016; Dilek, 2017). The perception of and the demands for nutrition culture have diversified greatly, particularly due to differentiation in socio-economic level, educational status, different perspectives on life, ways of life. Thus, from a historical perspective, many changes have occurred from healthy eating to taking delight, from appealing to the eye and the taste buds to different and innovative practices, from fast food to slow food, to organic consumption, from fresh food to raw food, to live and semi live food diets, from food festivals to flavour and speed contests.

### From Raw Food to Living Food

The raw food diet, nowadays preferred to maintain a healthy life, promotes the consumption of organic fruits and vegetables, germinated roots and living foods, which are mostly grown with animal fertilizers and not exposed to any chemicals (Havala, 2002; Cousens, 2003; Craig, 2004; Reid, 2006). This diet also includes the consumption of raw and uncooked, heated at low temperature (40 o and below), unrefined, organic and sun dried foods. Therefore, this diet is considered as a type of the spiritual vegan diets and is occasionally used together with the concepts of live and semi live food diets and living foods (Howell, 1995; Cousens, 2005; Esquibel, 2007; Kyssa, 2009). Although the raw food diet is similar to vegan diets in terms of its goals and some of its practices, the way of consumption and the reasons for not consuming certain foods are different in these diets (Messina, Melina and Reed Mangels, 2003; Phillips, 2005; Esquibel, 2007; Vegetarian Society, 2016; Dilek, 2017). For instance, raw foodists are divided into three groups: those who do not eat meat, those who prefer eating raw but sauced meat, those who consume raw fish, mostly salmon (Koebnick, Strassner, Hoffmann ve Leitzmann, 1999; Leitzmann, 2014).

Today, the raw food diet is promoted as a way to become more resistant to diseases, to be an active person and maintain a healthy weight, and to have a good digestion (Howell, 1995; Cohen, 2004; Fry and Klein, 2004; Schenck, 2008; Knowler, 2010). Since one arguably gets all the enzymes, minerals, vitamins in the food by following the raw food diet. That being the case, the raw food diet has recently become a worldwide trend, although it has been long known by many, and achieved to attract a large number of people in numerous countries, mainly California, Canada, Spain, England (Cousens, 2005; Reid, 2006; Knowler, 2010; Leitzmann, 2014), including Turkey (Altıntaş, 2008; Ak, 2014; İnce, 2016). As a result, new debates have emerged around the positive and negative effects of cooked food, whether foods should be cooked or not, the benefits and risks of the raw food diet, different eating and drinking habits around the world (Howell, 1995; Korthals, 2015; Wanjek, 2013). Thus, through various scientific studies, diet programs, trainings on nutrition, certificate programs are organized, and new restaurants are opened, raw foods are included to menus, and the number of personal blogs about touristic experiences is increased; also, new groups on social media are created and numerous communities from different countries gather.

It is evident that scientific studies provide a different insight into spiritual diets paradigm (Rojek, 2003; Cousens, 2005; Schenck, 2008, Kyssa, 2009) and that this diet and other diets of similar nature have gradually evolved into a philosophy of life around the world (Living and Raw Foods, 1998; Fox and Ward, 2008; Esquibel, 2010; Living Foods Institute, 2016; Ross, 2016; Oflaz, 2017). The change in diets in Turkey, as well as other countries, has been covered in the news and suggestions about the diet are made based on expert opinions, which indicates the current and future situation of the raw food trend and consumption culture. In this sense, these developments may be associated with the desire of people, who are exposed to overconsumption, to overcome certain negativities such as malnutrition, stress, health problems, etc. and to love themselves, to be together with nature, to realize, and to abstain from a commoditized life full of consumption.

### Perception and Practices of Live Food

Modern societies relying on a consumer culture (Baudrillard, 1997) demand more as they consume and seek for different products. Such search can lead to novel products and services, but also bring about certain negativities caused by this understanding of consumption. It is observed that forward-looking consumption can also revive previous practices (Duman, 2014). The prominent presence of consumption cycle in every area of life has an impact on people, and the urge to overconsume makes it more difficult to be healthy, to be happy with and satisfied with what one has. After all, as one fulfils his/her wishes and desires, the cycle would start all over again (Baudrillard, 1997; Bauman, 1999). Trapped in a vicious cycle, some people follow a

lifestyle of their own choice in order to maintain their health and to be active. One of the resulting diets is the raw food diet, which is an active and healthy life philosophy.

The term of living food is used to express the fact that food are high in energy for life and have a noticeable effect on body. The idea that the nutrients required by the body for a healthy life can be met by different foods (substitution products) and similar tastes can be created and the relevant practices are adopted in the vegan diet as well as this lifestyle. So, the concept of live food in the raw food diet is not considered as the consumption of live animals (Cousens, 2005; Reid, 2006); instead, this diet avoids the consumption of any live animals. Yet, the concept of live food also indicates different culinary cultures with eating and drinking habits including certain practices which serve animals alive or half alive (Demetriou 2008; Su, 2015; Tomlinson, Akbar and Pickles, 2016; Liao and Meskin; n.d.) In the Eastern Asian culinary culture, *"Live Food"* refers to a cuisine where animals, which are alive and half alive with still active nerves, are served.

Practices involving live foods are available in Chinese, Thai, Korean, Japanese cuisines; these foods are daily consumed and also served as a touristic product at restaurants, and festivals for live food practices as well as flavour and speed contests are organized in these countries. With globalization, this understanding of food culture has spread to many areas in the world through mass media and tourism activities. Many species varying from live octopus in Korean cuisine (Sannakji), raw-live fish in Japanese cuisine (ikizukuri- live sashimi, fugu), partially fried half-alive fish in Chinese cuisine (yin-yang) to shellfish (lobster, shrimp, mussels, oysters, sea urchins, etc.), reptiles, insects, cats, dogs, monkeys, frogs, turtles in the food chain of this cultural structure (Demetriou, 2008; Sashimi, 2014; Pollack, 2015). Although these foods are not usually preferred in Turkey due to various reasons, it is reported that they affect eating habits, create similar foods, evolve into touristic products, and have the potential to be one of the new products in menus, following raw fish served with seasoning in world cuisines, such as "ceviche" and "poke", and sushi, octopus, lobster, etc. (Bozok, 2016).

The consumption of the living, for the sake of lasting feelings such as flavour, pleasure, prestige, has become a matter of debate, and a campaign titled *"Stop Cooking Live Animal"* on Change.com and a campaign titled *"Live Sushi or "*İkizukuri*"* by Occupy for Animals were launched to raise awareness and to challenge this consumption culture. It is remarkable that similar campaigns have appeared and been criticized in the press and social media; even animal rights defenders raised their voice and such campaigns have been addressed in the literature too (Demetriou 2008; Bird, 2013; Tomlinson, Akbar and Pickles, 2016; Dilek, 2017). The live food cultures, which have been lately prominent, was discussed by Liao and Meskin (n.d.) in terms

of their moral and aesthetic dimension. In this sense, serving fresh food was associated with aesthetic and the food, which are alive during preparation and consumption, contrast sharply with morality. The increase in world population, the current status of consumption culture, the commodification in tourism activities have become more evident day by day. In conclusion, unethical production in a wide range of products from poultry to culture fish and consumption and service network differentiated the diet and life style of many people, changed their values and understanding.

## Conclusion and Suggestions

Values and understanding, which have become an object of consumption with the effect of capitalism (Aytaç, 2006) as well as unlimited services are now prevalent in many areas of tourism. The modern societies based on a consumer culture (Baudrillard, 1997), the creation of more differences, and the desire of consumers in search of innovation for different products and services lead to the fact that this understanding of consumption is adopted by more people. Because the individuals exposed to consumption in every area are prompted to consume rapidly without thinking and criticizing. For that reason, a consumer culture has become common in tourism activities and the spare time, which is supposed to be of significance, has been given a commoditized and consumptional dimension. There are some changes in the steps taken to meet the needs, different production and consumption habits and controls over consumer needs through the services provided. As stated in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, food is a physiological need and as long as it is met, it stimulates other needs. In this sense, according to views and critiques, it should be properly questioned whether the consumption of alive and half alive animals to present a more delicious meat is a need or not. Also, it would be useful to consider the effect of the drive for status and prestige in order to determine which level in the hierarchy of needs should include the desire for such consumption. Since, in today's consumption structure, animals are either included in food chain or medical, cosmetic fields, etc. The commodification of animals and the consumption of alive or half alive animals, and the use of animals as a touristic product, which eventually causes them suffer or die, should not be overlooked in tourism sector, which is most affected by the deterioration of ecological balance and where automation is minimum and human relations and emotion management is maximum. Therefore, the adoption of the idea of happy food and happy animals is an important step in transition from a consumer perspective to an inventor one. As, it should be emphasized that when a society, who are get used to what is going on and indifferent to others' feelings and simply want to consume the moment, consumes, it is exhausted.

Indeed, increasing practices on live food, which is presented as a touristic attraction in Asian cuisine or promoted in contents and festivals, call for the consideration of touristic products in terms of ethics and animal rights. Hence, with enhanced awareness

towards practices on live food, the suffering of animals in consumption structure is criticized in terms of ethics. Despite its consumption culture, Taiwan is the first Asian country to adopt a draft law that prohibits the consumption and sale of cat and dog meat, which is a significant indicator for changing attitudes in consumption and increased focus on animal rights. Because, tourists are no longer interested in simply consuming products and services; they are also interested in understanding how these products and services are provided. For that reason, when the consumption of a product or service revokes the right of another creature to life or harms the world, tourists consider that as a reasonable reason to distance themselves from destinations and the presentation of alive or half alive animals as food might make it worse. Thus, it seems that even the idea of consuming live food conflicts with the existing ethical codes in Turkey. That said, further studies may focus on such developments in eating and drinking habits individually in terms of producers and consumers. Such studies may scrutinize eating and drinking enterprises, the outcomes of preparing menus for a raw food diet on the existing customer portfolio, the establishment of a potential market. Another proposed area of research is the perspective of consumers towards a raw food diet and purchase intention as well as opinions about practices on live foods as a touristic product.

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**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

# Prospects and Potentials of Halal Tourism Development in Bangladesh

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**Abstract**

Bangladesh, a host of natural beauties is emphasizing to develop sustainable tourism strategies for its economic development. As the fourth largest Muslim populated country and becoming the host of second largest annual Muslim gathering "Biswa Ijtema", this country holds a bright prospect for a halal tourism destination. Halal tourism promotes the needs of Muslim tourists through facilities, infrastructure, and tourism products and services. The present study is an attempt to investigate the prospect of developing halal tourism in Bangladesh. A brief discussion on halal tourism attractions has been elaborated and their opportunity scope is critically discussed. The result shows that the tourism industry is expanding in recent years and its contribution to the total economy is growing. The government of Bangladesh should take a strategic plan for using this high opportunity to boost up the contribution of halal tourism to its growing economy. A public-private partnership in a stable political condition and sustainable communal harmony is essential for further development of halal tourism in Bangladesh.

**Keywords**
Bangladesh • Halal tourism • Halal attractions • Strategic plan

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## Introduction

Halal tourism is a fast growing tourism segment in the world today. Many Muslim countries, even some non-Muslim countries like Australia, Taiwan, Korea, Japan, and New Zealand are also specifically catering this tourism segment due to dynamic and emerging market of halal tourism products and services (Law, 2013). Giving emphasize on the multidisciplinary approaches, some scholars (Din, 1989; Bywater, 1994; Russell, 1999; Jubayr, 2002; Henderson, 2003) have explained this tourism segment as 'Islamic tourism'. Both the 'Islamic tourism' and 'halal tourism' concepts are giving priority on the practicing of Shariah compliance in all aspects of tourism activities. Halal tourism is offering facilities to cater for Muslim religious considerations and address Muslim needs. This tourism includes the Shariah based components in accommodations, transportation, food premises, finance, tour packages and other activities (Chandra, 2014).

Halal tourism is one of the new tourism segments to capture Muslim tourists in Muslim and non-Muslim countries. This tourism segment caters to fulfill the needs of Muslim tourists through facilities, infrastructure, and tourism products and services. The development of halal tourism is possible both in Muslim and non-Muslim countries with proper utilization of opportunities and potentials (Samori et al., 2016). Carbomi and Janati (2016) addressed halal tourism as the visit to a place with Islamic instructions. The tour operators are selling their products with halal components in this tourism. El-Gohary (2016) mentioned halal tourism rooted within the Shari'ah based. The travelers should follow Islamic Shariah while they travel for any purposes such as education, medical treatment, sightseeing and recreation. Mohsin et al. (2016) emphasized increasing awareness regarding halal tourism market and identified the basic needs of tourists from this tourism segment. Yousaf and Xiucheng (2018) identified the potentials of halal culinary tourism in the non-Muslim countries through on-line promotional activities. Their study addressed that non-Muslim countries in Asia like China, Japan, South Korea and Thailand attempted to utilize their potentials to highlight as halal tourism destinations for Muslim tourists. In this case the non-Muslim countries are promoting halal food culture, halal cuisines, halal restaurants and halal services for the Muslim tourists. The study emphasized an essential framework for halal culinary and services development with accompanies the stakeholders.

Studies reveal that the global market size of halal food products is approximately USD 547 billion a year while for non-food products such as hotel and catering services, cosmetics and pharmaceuticals are estimated to be worth approximately USD 2.1 trillion annually. The outbound tourism expenditure by Muslims around the globe has reached USD 151 billion (excluding Hajj and Umrah) in 2014. This vast amount represents 11.6% of the global expenditure and implies a potential universe of 'Halal' lifestyle sensitive tourism market needs (Dinar Standard, 2016). Dinar

Standard study also reveals that among the Muslim traveler journey in OIC member countries, 62% of tourists are travel for the purpose of leisure activities and 32% travel for religious purposes. Within leisure activities, 86% of tourists are travelling for sight-seeing. Most of the tourists got information from travel websites for the destination (72%) and accommodation (55%). The Muslim travel market is expected to reach USD 200 billion by 2020 and account for 13% of global tourism which will create 1.8 million jobs (Chandra, 2014). According to Crescent Rating (2015) prediction, Muslim tourist arrivals and expenditure will reach 180 million and USD 212 billion respectively in 2020. Among the tourist arrivals, OIC countries will get 98 million in 2020.

Several activities and services of halal tourism are becoming famous and popular in the tourism industry due to tourists demand and satisfaction. Some Muslim countries highlight their tourism destinations as 'Muslim friendly destinations' to attract Muslim tourists (Battour and Ismail, 2015). These countries are offering Shariah compliant' hotels to the tourists with Qibla direction, halal food and beverages (Carboni et al., 2014). The food suppliers are using halal chicken and halal meat for Muslim tourists to fulfill their needs. Muslim friendly applications such as accommodations, products, services, packages and restaurants are providing in a smart phone to help the tourists (Stephenson, 2014). Muslim friendly airports and halal holidays (Battour and Ismail, 2015) are the best practices to satisfy Muslim tourists. Separate recreation facilities for women such as swimming polls, beach activities, bathing suits, prayer rooms, spa with halal cosmetics are attracting the Muslim women tourists. Malaysia and Turkey have launched another halal tourism activity namely Muslims friendly cruise is to attract the tourists (Salama, 2016).

Bangladesh is the fourth largest Muslim populated country in the world (World Atlas, 2018). About 89% of the total population of this country is Muslim. Dhaka, the capital of this country is known as the 'city of the mosque'. There are mentionable numbers of mosques, monuments, Islamic archeological sites and shrines scattered across the whole country. About 5 million Muslims from around the globe gathered each year in this country during the 'Ijtema' period. Therefore, halal tourism is the potential segments for Bangladesh to attract tourists from Muslim countries and as well as non-Muslim countries (Bhuiyan, 2016).

Bangladesh has a host of natural treasures such as beaches, lakes, rivers, hills, forests, wildlife, tribal life, archaeological remains, historical monuments, religious and cultural heritages, handicrafts that offer great value for tourist attractions. Tourism at Sundarbans, hill forests (Sylhet, Chittagong, CHTs and Cox's Bazar), wildlife sanctuaries, national parks, game reserves, safari parks, eco-parks, water bodies (different haors, baors, lakes and rivers), islands (e.g. Saint Martin's, Kutubdia, Sonadia, Nijum Deep etc.) are

the potential tourism destinations in Bangladesh. These facts and features can make Bangladesh a popular tourists' destination in the world (Bhuiyan, 2015). The country can become a lucrative tourism destination to the Muslim tourists of the world.

The tourism industry in Bangladesh is promising but still in a glooming condition. With proper nurturing and sustainable strategic plan for this industry can create a large contribution to the country's economy and ensure a sustainable development. The socio-economic, cultural and ethnic activities of Bangladeshi peoples are much influenced by the practice of Muslim culture (Roy and Mallika, 2015). This land is the host of the second largest Muslim gathering each year. Peoples from Almost all countries of the world visit Bangladesh to join "Biswa Ijtema" that usually held during January each year (World Bulletin, 2015). Prominent Muslim leaders in the contemporary world participate in the gathering and give their valuable speeches'. Three days intensive discussion carries on regarding the activities already done in the interim periods and consider a list of task for the upcoming year. The ceremony ends with "Akheri Munajah" where millions of Muslims together beg and pray to Allah, The Almighty for His blessings through peace and prosperity of the Muslim nation, peoples and humanity. "Biswa Ijtema" brings millions of Muslims under a shed for enhancing their spiritual and moral relationships.

From the view of tourism perspectives, this could be a great opportunity for halal tourism development in this country that urges a long term sustainable strategic plan and development. Unfortunately, as far as the knowledge goes there is not a single literature available that studied and discussed the huge prospects and potentials of halal tourism development in Bangladesh. The purpose of this study is to explore the Halal tourism opportunities in Bangladesh, critically discuss the strategic policy for the development of Halal tourism and its future prospect. Some recommendations for a sustainable Halal tourism development aspect is also given at the end.

## Halal Tourism and Islamic Tourism

Several researchers (Din, 1989; Bywater, 1994; Russell, 1999; Sahib, 2001; Jubayr, 2002; Henderson, 2003; Bhuiyan et al., 2011) have attained to explain Islamic tourism and Halal tourism from their scholarly research findings and understandings. Din (1989) highlights the influences of religion policies for tourist movements in Islamic countries. Henderson (2003) revealed that some Islamic countries are seeking more acceptable for tourists in their destinations through meet their demands. Religious buildings, rituals, festivals and religious events are important tourist attractions for the followers of the particular belief represented. Scholars (Bywater, 1994; Russell, 1999) have been describing Islamic tourism as religious tourism. This tourism fulfills two needs- performed religious duty through tourism activities and recorded and quoted wider dissemination of knowledge. Jubayr (2002) mentioned that Islam has encouraged tourism for the faithful

in the practice of life's affairs and obtained experiences and maturity. According to Bhuiyan et al. (2011), the tourists are visiting a place for the satisfaction of Allah and their recreation in light of Islam. In this way tourism is meaningful with the fundamental theme of Islam. COMCEC (2016) describes halal tourism as Muslim friendly tourism. Because, Muslims do not compromise with their basic faith during travel. It is also claimed that Islamic Tourism, Halal Tourism and Shariah compliant tourism and services have same meanings considering their values and principles.

The aims of Islamic tourism are to achieve social, physical and spiritual satisfaction along with Allah's blessings. Sahib (2001) revealed that tourism has main three blocks in terms of Islamic perspectives. Firstly, the spread of Islamic values and the revival of Islamic culture; secondly, economic benefits for the communities; thirdly, strengthening of Islamic identity and beliefs in comparison to other cultures and lifestyles. Jafari and Scott (2014) emphasized Shariah requirements to meet tourist needs in Islamic tourism. Carboni et al. (2014) mentioned that Islamic tourism involves with the Muslim faith, Islamic principles and habits in their travelling. Zamani-Farahani and Henderson (2010) considered that Islamic tourism and halal tourism are same in concept and principles. Battour and Ismail (2015) explained halal tourism as tourism object which involves Muslims in tourism activities according to the teaching of Islam. Sriprasert et al. (2014) addressed that halal tourism combined religious motivations, Islamic life-styles in tourism practices to dominate in modern tourism activities. Cetin and Dincer (2016) addressed Muslim friendly tourism (MFT) consists of three types of tourism namely Islamic tourism, Shariah compliant' tourism and halal tourism. In fact, Halal tourism and Islamic tourism have a synonymous meaning, they are not complementary or contradictory.

**Tourists' Arrival and Halal Tourism in Bangladesh**

Travelers come to visit Bangladesh for multiple purposes. This includes diplomats, consultants, doctors, researchers, teachers, students and various professional categories. Some visitors come to Bangladesh for celebrating their holidays in close to nature, sea and hilly places. Some also like to visit remote areas to observe closely the lifestyle of tribal/remote area peoples. There are some other visitors who visit only for religious purposes. This category includes a huge number of Muslims for Biswa Ijtema, some Budhists for the annual gathering at Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT), some traditional Hindues during Durga Puja, etc. But the number of Muslim tourists is larger in the group. Even as a member of OIC state, this country also visited by the tourists from OIC member states frequently (BBS, 2015). Other religious travelers are not that much mentionable in number.

Since the country specific or religion specific tourist arrivals data not yet available for Bangladesh, in this study, data has been extracted from the Bangladesh Bureau of

Statistics (BBS) to visualize the arrivals from the OIC states. Obviously, the extracted figures do not relate to all the foreign Muslims travelled Bangladesh from other regions of the world. Therefore, Muslim tourists other than OIC states who came to visit during 'Biswa Ijtema' cannot perfectly be identified.

Table 1 represents the distribution of annual foreign tourists' arrival in Bangladesh from 2006 to 2014. Results indicate that Muslim visitors from the OIC states are not negligible in proportion. Almost 13% of total arrivals are observed from OIC states during the period. Maximum arrivals from OIC states (33%) observed during 2013 when there was a stable political environment. A smaller proportion of arrivals from OIC states observed from 2008 to 2010 (4%, 7% and 7% respectively) when the non-democratic caretaker government was in power. A mentionable foreign arrival observed form other than OIC states during this period. But the proportion of Muslim tourists may not be neglected. If a complete data available, it would not be surprising to see a larger proportion of Muslims among them. Therefore, it can be concluded that Bangladesh is getting traveled by Muslim tourists in a greater proportion with an upward trend that is significant in developing Halal tourism and its prospects.

**Table 1**
*Total Tourists and Arrival from OIC Countries in Bangladesh*

| Year | Tourists Arrival | Arrivals from OIC Countries | Percentage |
|------|------------------|------------------------------|------------|
| 2006 | 200,311 | 46024 | 23% |
| 2007 | 289,110 | 50291 | 17% |
| 2008 | 467,332 | 19713 | 4% |
| 2009 | 267,107 | 18618 | 7% |
| 2010 | 303,000 | 19915 | 7% |
| 2011 | 155,000 | 22220 | 14% |
| 2012 | 125,000 | 26518 | 21% |
| 2013 | 148,000 | 49238 | 33% |
| 2014 | 125,000 | 17720 | 14% |
| Total | 2,079,860 | 270257 | 13% |

Source: Adapted from BBS, 2015

Till now, no data is available for the local tourists and their tourism behavior in Bangladesh. Local tourists, especially Muslims, are traveling a lot within the territory of Bangladesh for religious purpose. A significant number of Muslim peoples move around during 'Biswa Ijtema'. Some others also travel in the congregation to different holy places like different shrines, mosques and Waaj Mahfeel. Although those visits are only for spiritual development purpose a well-organized tourism mechanism can be set behind that will encourage peoples to move more and/ or encourage for staying more days in the respective tourist attraction.
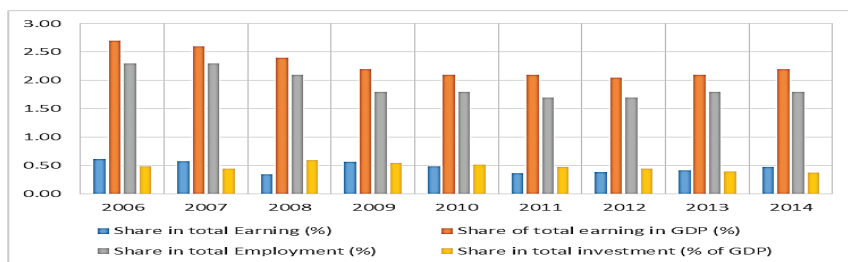
***Figure 1.*** Contribution of tourism industry in the national economy of Bangladesh at different years (Data Source: BBS, 2015).

The tourism industry of Bangladesh is rising but still there is a lack of a strategic plan for developing a sustainable tourism mechanism. Figure 1 represents a comparative study of the contribution of tourism to the national economy of Bangladesh. Results indicate a cyclic change in tourism earnings share, share in GDP, total employment and share in total investment. An overall good situation is observed in 2006. If we compare both Table 1 and Figure 1, it is revealed that the largest proportion (23%) of tourist arrival from OIC countries occurred in 2006. A maximum number of tourist arrival occurred in 2008 and consecutively, the maximum of investment share has been observed for that year. It is interesting to note that the employment share in the tourism industry is in the increasing trend from 2011 with an increasing trend in earnings share. Although, the investment share of GDP is not increasing for the same period. Thus the tourism industry is expanding in recent years and its contribution to the total economy is growing. Therefore, this is the high time to develop a strategic plan for the future development of tourism. At the same time, Halal tourism aspects would be observed in an increasing way due to the existing Islamic culture and heritage available in this land as well as in the peoples' behavior.

There are hundreds of tourist attractions in Bangladesh that are representing the culture and heritage related to the Muslim religion. Even there exist some places that have an alias named with Muslim saints or religious motives. Dhaka, the capital known as 'the city of mosques'; Chittagong, the second largest city known as 'the city of twelve Awlias (saints)'; Sylhet, the northern divisional city named as 'the city of Shahjalal' etc. Those names are not only significant for Muslim peoples but also uttered with great respect from other religious peoples for their historic contribution.

Table 2 represents the mentionable tourism attractions in Bangladesh. It is revealed that there are more than a thousand nice tourist attractions and one-fifth (20%) of them are related to Islamic heritage and can be considered as Halal attractions. Some of these attractions are owned and operated by the government and others by local peoples/trusty boards. Being a country populated by more than 80% Muslims, almost all attractions are restricted to follow the local Muslim culture. For example, few places

(only government registered and licentiate places) are permitted for selling alcohol or foods/ beverages and activities that are beyond the Shariah bindings. Majority of tourism attractions belong to Dhaka division, where the maximum number of Halal tourism attractions are also observed. Even the other divisional cities- Rajshahi, Khulna, Chittagong or Sylhet are not much lagging behind. Tourism attractions are scattered around the country and respective Halal attractions as well. Since all halal attractions are also possessed the opportunities for being visited by all sort of tourists from home and abroad, a sustainable and well planned tourism development and encouragements for halal tourism is essential to increase the tourism trend among the local tourists as well as attract foreign tourists.

**Table 2**
*Number of Mentionable and Halal attractions in Bangladesh*

| Division | Mentionable tourist attractions | Halal attractions | Percentage |
|---|---|---|---|
| Dhaka | 300 | 54 | 18% |
| Chittagong | 133 | 24 | 18% |
| Rajshahi | 128 | 34 | 27% |
| Khulna | 160 | 38 | 24% |
| Barisal | 74 | 16 | 22% |
| Sylhet | 64 | 7 | 11% |
| Rangpur | 106 | 20 | 19% |
| Mymensing | 50 | 12 | 24% |
| Total | 1015 | 205 | 20% |

(Source: Calculated by authors)

Table 3 represents the potential Halal tourism attractions in different divisions of Bangladesh. The list is not limited to the mentioned names but important only for the symbolic presentation of potential places around the country. A number of mosques and shrines are included in the list. Those are important not only the attached name of the saints but also a regardful acknowledgement of their contribution for raising spiritual development of local peoples. The buildings and monuments in the attraction places have architectural importance for their structural designs and representing the symbols of the heritage of the rulers of contemporary periods. Most of the attractions are being visited by local and international visitors. Unfortunately some of them are still known by the local peoples only and not able to attract the foreign tourists'.

**Table 3**

*Potential Halal Tourism Attractions in Bangladesh*

| Division | Halal Attractions |
|---|---|
| Dhaka | Baitul Mukaram Mosque, Shrine of Shah Ali, Shahi Mosque, Binot Bibir Mosque, Ijtema field, Chak Mosque, Seven Dome Mosque, Tara Mosque, Garda Mosque, Patrail Mosque, Sator Mosque, Badshahi Mosque, Shrine of Isha Khah, Boholtali Mosque, Gaibi Mosque, Thana Para Mosque, Shrine of Shah Madar, Kazibari Mosque, Shrine of Batoimuri, Tajpur Mosque, Phatargata Mosque, Kazishah Mosque, Shrine of Five Peer, Shrine of Shalah Baba, One Dome Mosque, Bandar Shahi Mosque, Shrine of Bibi Marium, Ashrafpur Mosque, Dewan Sharif Mosque, Shrine of Shah Polowan, Budir Hat Mosque, Atia Mosque, Shrine of Shah Adam, Khamarpada Mosque, Pakula Mosque, Thabadia Mosque, Donbari Mosque, Kadimhamzani Mosque. |
| Chittagong | Ulchapada Mosque, Shrine of Mahmud Shah, Madda Khah Mosque, Shrine of Shahrasti, Three Dom Mosque, Shrine of Amanat Shah, Shrine of Dadar Awlia, Oli Khah Mosque, Andarkilla Shahi Mosque, Hamzar Mosque, Shah Suja Mosque, Shrine of Pagla Miah, Mohammad Ali Mosque, Chatgazi Mosque, Tita Khah Mosque, Motka Mosque, Bozra Shahi Mosque |
| Rajshahi | Shrine of Shah Sultan, Khadua Mosque, Small Sona Mosque, Shrine of Mohiuddin Jahangir, Darsbari Mosque, Khonjon Digir Mosque, Donai Chak Mosque, Chamcika Mosque, Three Dome Mosque, Shrine of Shah Naimotullah, Chapai Mosque, Shrine of Bulun Shah, Maharajpur Mosque, Majpara Mosque, Shahi Mosque, Shrine of Nimai Pir, Vathara Mosque, Chatmohor Mosque, Somaj Shahi Mosque, Bridhoo Moris Mosque, Shah Farid Mosque, Azim Chowdhury Jomidar Bari, Shrine of Shah Mahtab Uddin, Kushumba Mosque, Shrine of Shah Mukhdum, Baga Mosque, Two Dome Kismot Mosque, Shrine of Shah Sultan, One Dome Ruipara Mosque, Bagdani Mosque, Three Dome Vagna Mosque, Shahjadpur Mosque, Two Dome Choiani Para Mosque, Shrine of Mokdum Shah |
| Khulna | Sixty Dome Mosque, Shrine of Khan Zahan Ali, Singair Mosque, Bibi Begni Mosque, Chunkhola Mosque, One Dome Mosque, Nine Dome Mosque, Shrine of Pir Ali, Ronbijoypur Mosque, Zindapir Mosque, Reza Khoda Mosque, Shrine of Shah Aulia, Goldhari Mosque, Badshahi Mosque, Shrine of Khaza Malik, Dopa khali Shahi Mosque, Imam Bari of Hazi Muhammad Mohsin, Khoda Mosque, Phatagar Mosque, Monohor Mosque, Shekhpura Mosque Shuvrada Mosque, Mirzanogor Mosque, Gopar Mosque, Maliker Mosque, Nungola Mosque, Kayemkola Mosque, Godar Mosque, Golakhata Mosque, Godbangla Mosque, Satgachia Mosque, Shahi Mosque, Zawdia Mosque, Shrine of Mokaram Ali, Chadagat Mosque, Thatulia Mosque, Probajpur Mosque, Shrine of Gunachorkati |
| Barisal | Bibichini Shahi Mosque, Sujabad Port, Sangram Port, Abadula Mosque, Koshi Mosque, Vatikhana Mosque, One Dome Mosque, Nasarabad Complex, Kulkhati Mosque, Surichoda Mosque, Nadorar Mosque, Miabadi Mosque, Shahi Mosque, Shrine of Sultan Fakir, Pirojpur Old Mosque, Momin Mosque |
| Sylhet | Baniachong Puranbag Mosque, Shrine of Nasir Uddin, Shrine of Shah Mustofa, Shelboros Mosque, Shrine of Shah Zalal, Shrine of Shah Paran, Shahi Eid Field |
| Rangpur | Chahelgazi Mosque, Sura Mosque, Nayabad Mosque, Chandamari Mosque, Shahi Mosque, Nidadia Mosque, Lost Mosque, Kalibari Mosque, Syedpur Chini Mosque, Mirzapur Shahi Mosque, Shrine of Baro Awolia, Karamotia Mosque, Jamalpur Jomidarbari Mosque, Shrine of Shah Nekmord, Mohalbari Mosque, Salbari Mosque, Sangao Shahi Mosque, Fatahpur Mosque, Modiney Sagor Mosque, Gadhuda Mosque, |
| Mymensing | Shrine of Shah Jamal, Shrine of Shah Kamal, Five Dome Rospal Mosque, Shrine of Seven Shahid, Shrine of Shah Komor Uddin, Shrine of Dorbesh Shah, Shrine of Shah Kamal, Shrine of Shar Ali, Baro Duari Mosque, Kosba Mugal Mosque, Gagra Mosque, Mai Sahaba Mosque, |

Being the fourth largest Muslim populated country, Bangladesh has great potential for developing Halal tourism destination. The largest sea beach- Cox's Bazar, coral island – Saint Martin, eco parks at different locations, safari parks, religious places and monuments, Mosques and Shrines of great Muslim saints could be very good Halal destinations for the tourists. The Crecent rating (2015) have grouped the OIC countries according to their potentialities for halal tourism development. Bangladesh has positioned

in the group-4 which indicated that Bangladesh needs special attention for halal tourism development. The rating identified that some potentials are remaining in Bangladesh for halal tourism such as, high cultural heritage and experiences, create an eagerness to explore the destinations, ease access to prayer facilities, high Muslim travel market. Moreover, the country is showing rich Islamic artifacts around the country including mosques and shrines. Access of wide variety of halal food around the country is potentials for halal tourism development. The Islamic religious, cultural, historical and heritage sites of the country can be attracted by the Muslims as well as non-Muslim tourists.

## Challenges for Halal Tourism Development in Bangladesh

Muslim friendly and Shariah compliance application is necessary for halal tourism development in any country. These applications can fulfill halal tourism requirements in tourist attraction arrangements, accommodations, airlines, foods and travel agents. Although Bangladesh is a Muslim populated country, it hasn't developed Shariah compliant' application in all tourism related services. The tour operators in the country have failed to create Muslim-friendly packages and services, halal travel opportunities, Muslim market segment and Muslim cultural souvenirs. Their travel packages not properly combine the halal tourism requirements such as halal food, stay in halal accommodations, arrange prayer timing, and recruit Muslim tour guides and visit the Muslim monuments to attract the tourists from the Muslim countries. The maximum accommodations in the country are not following Shariah based operation system in their business. This is one of the challenging matters for Bangladesh to maintain the halal components in the accommodation for the tourists. The professionals and employees in the tourism industry are not well educated and trained regarding the halal issues for efficient halal tourism operation. Besides, Bangladesh is branding religious tourism specially Buddhist tourism. So, it is crucial and a big challenge to present the halal tourism in the country without hampering the other religious tourism.

Most of the people of the country do not have adequate knowledge and consciousness about halal tourism practices. The basic tourism facilities like accommodation, transportation, infrastructure and services have not yet strongly developed in the country. Visa issuing system is another obstacle for the tourism sector. The country is losing huge foreign tourists every year due to visa complexity. The natural beauties and positive image of Bangladesh rarely come to the light due to lack of proper media highlights, advertisements and attention. Bangladesh still has no special strategies within the tourism policies to give emphasize and prioritize the halal tourism development. The country has insufficient attention and ineffective publicity to engage Bangladesh as a halal tourism hub and popular this segment in the home and abroad.

There are some potentialities as well as barriers that are remaining for halal tourism development in Bangladesh. These potentialities and barriers are shown as in Figure

2 highlights a SWOT (strengths, weakness, opportunities and threats) analysis.



*Figure 2.* SWOT analysis for halal tourism development in Bangladesh.

### Necessary Steps for Halal Tourism Development in Bangladesh

Bangladesh can foster halal tourism market in the country with a strong and positive role. The country can promote halal tourism through improving products, services and facilities with Shariah compliant'. Based on a survey on global Muslim tourists, Dinar Standard (2016) showed that 67% of tourists were giving emphasize on the halal food during their travel period.

Bangladesh can promote its halal food to attract Muslim tourists to create its image as a halal tourism destination. Halal hotel is the most choosing options to Muslim tourists. These hotels provide halal food and beverages, prayer facilities with separate ablution facility for women, kiblah direction and women prayer clothes. The tourism attractions and public premises i.e. hospitals, shopping complexes and offices should be arranged with prayer facilities for the tourists. Food and beverage products supply in the restaurants should be organized in the halal process. Chicken and animals must be slaughtered according to Shariah principles. Halal tour packages can attract Muslim tourists through their Islamic requirements. These tour packages may combine a visit to the historic mosques and Islamic monuments; arrange events during the Ramadhan month, Eid-ul Fitr and Qurban; arrange exhibition with halal products and services, promote halal food, buffets and accommodations. Bangladesh Biman, the national airline of Bangladesh can provide halal services to the Muslim travelers who are choosing this service to travel. This airline should provide halal friendly services such as halal foods and beverages, prayer facilities and cleaning operation.

It is necessary to create awareness both in the public and private sector regarding halal tourism development to cater country's tourism potentials. The tourism spots

should be arranged with prayer facilities for the tourists, facilitate halal foods and recreations compliant with Shariah. The government can inspire private entrepreneurs for making investments in the tourism sector to facilitate halal tourism activities. The foreign missions of Bangladesh should campaign and develop a positive image of the country as a halal tourism destination to attract tourists from the abroad. Bangladesh should arrange simple and easy visa processing system for the foreign tourists. The country may increase visa on arrival (VOA) facilities for foreigners from tourist attracting countries. The government should include specific strategies in the tourism policies for halal tourism development in the country. The tourism and hospitality educational institutions are needed to include halal issues in their education and training programs. Finally, the success of halal tourism activities depends on the active participation of the local people. The local people can participate and contribute to halal tourism related activities such as employment, business, tour guides, accommodation, decision making, planning, benefit sharing and promotion.

## Conclusion

Halal tourism has already gained popularity around the globe and may be considered as new and potential tourism segment in Bangladesh. The country has huge opportunities to develop the fast growing halal tourism concept due to the increasing number of Muslim local visitors and foreign travelers. The country is facing challenges to maintain halal facilities to attract the tourists.

This study is descriptive in nature and a pioneering approach to investigate the potentials of halal tourism in Bangladesh on the basis of existing infrastructure and benefits. Since no concrete data is available till now, cross-validation of observed strengths and weaknesses cannot be evaluated quantitatively.

It is revealed that Bangladesh requires branding and positioning the country as a lucrative halal tourism destination in the world through developing new Islamic tourism product. The country can develop and highlight Islamic attractions and increase the publicity about these attractions through media and travel agents. Finally, strong co-operation between government and private sector is essential to create and develop a sustainable halal tourism. Existing harmonious relationship among the Muslim and non-Muslim communities is encouraging and should be further sustained in this regard.

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# Journal of Tourismology

**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

# Guiding the Dark and Secondary Trauma Syndrome: Tour Guides' Coping Mechanisms for Guiding in Dark Tourism Sites

Asaf Leshem[1]

**Abstract**

This research is a part of PhD research exploring how tour guides interpret the dark chapters of Berlin's history. The theoretical framework brings together the strands of dark tourism, tour guide, and interpretation literature. In guiding tourists through topics and sites of death, atrocity and genocide, tour guides are subjected to a form of Secondary Trauma. The article examines the part of the research which looks at what kinds of coping mechanisms guides adopt in order to deal with regularly interpreting acts of violence, cruelty and human tragedy. The article reviews the context of this examination and the literature written on Secondary Trauma. It goes on to present early findings and to discuss the ad-hoc ways in which guides deal with the psychological effects of guiding the dark, with various levels of awareness to the symptoms of secondary trauma. Finally, the article coins this phenomenon as Guiding the Dark Accumulative Psychological Stress, allowing room for more research in the future to fill this gap in the literature.

**Keywords**
Tour guides • Dark tourism • Secondary trauma • Ethnography

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## Introduction

**The context of this paper**

This research paper was born out of ethnographic - and autoethnographic - exploration of how tour guides in Berlin interpret the dark chapters of Berlin's history. Thus, the title of this PhD research is "Tour Guides as Interpreters of Dark Tourism: A Case Study of Berlin Germany". Prior to researching for the PhD my observations were spontaneous and without any particular aim. Nevertheless, as I have been guiding in Berlin since 2010 I have had countless opportunities to observe the way guides interpret history in memorial sites and in the streets, and of course to notice my own interpretation. Furthermore, as a representative of a tour operating company in the late 1990s I observed more than 30 youth groups to Poland, in their visitation to 'regular' tourism sites, and to the infamous dark tourism sites of Auschwitz, Treblinka, Majdanek and several others. Over the years I observed the power that tour guides have on how they tell stories, and how they interpret particularly sensitive points in history.

The social and cultural impact of tour guiding is a topic that became interesting to scholars in the early decades of the new millennium. Hu and Wall (2012) and Wynn (2011) argued that through teaching local history, tour guides can contribute to social sustainability. And Weiler and Kim (2015) also argued that tour guides have the power to show new angles of a story or historical event. My PhD research builds upon the assumption that what tour guides say has a meaning; it is important as it can have a significant impact on the tourists (App & Wong, 2001; Hu & Wall, 2011; Pond, 1993; Weiler & Kim, 2015; Wynn, 2011).

Based on these assumptions, the main aim of this PhD research is to critically appraise the interpretive role of the tour guide in the dark tourism experience. More explicitly, (1) the research seeks to analyse critically the nuances of tour guides' interpretation, (2) to identify where tour guides' interpretation plays a mediating role in the dark tourism experience, (3) to identify factors involved in tour guide's interpretation and how they might influence tourists' experience, and (4) to identify and explore parameters causing tour guides to interpret events in one way or another.

In terms of methodological framework, from the outset of the research I decided to treat the tour guiding community as a 'tribe' with their own customs and some socio-cultural attributes that are unique to this group. As a member of this 'tribe' I participate in some social activities, and engage in many informal conversations with my friends and colleagues. In doing so, I have noticed that the stress I feel after guiding a tour in Sachsenhausen is not unique to me, and is in fact takes the scale of a phenomenon. As a result, during formal interviews and informal conversations I

started asking guides about how they cope with guiding dark tourism generally (e.g. guiding about the victims of the Berlin Wall, or tour of the Third Reich) and more specifically the tour to the Memorial and Museum Sachsenhausen.

Consequently, this research paper focuses on the Secondary Trauma Stress of guiding in dark tourism sites. It is also hypothesised that such stress has an impact on how tour guides interpret sites/events, and therefore, on the type of information/interpretation conveyed to the tourists. It is important to note that the impact is not inconsequential. To illustrate the magnitude of the impact tour guides may have in dark tourism sites, the museum in Auschwitz receives some 2 Million visitors per year, the memorial museum in Dachau over 1.2 Million, and the memorial museum in Sachsenhausen exceeded 700,000 visitor numbers last year (Gubernator, 2017).

The three existing pieces of research on tour guide interpretation of the dark approached this subject from three theoretical directions. Namely, these included Sharon Macdonald's media theory approach to tour interpretation in the Nazi Rally grounds in Nuremberg (2006), Alon Gelbman and Darya Maoz border tourism approach to their research on tour guide interpretation in the Island of Peace (2012), and Bernadette Quinn and Theresa Ryan's memory theory approach to tour guide mediation of difficult memories in the Dublin Castle (2015). For my research, I have chosen to fuse together dark tourism, tour guide, and interpretation theory. Moreover, and as an essential addition to the main focus of this article, a small review of Secondary Trauma Syndrome is given.

## Literature Review

### Dark tourism

Although the phenomenon of dark tourism existed already both in pre- and modern forms of tourism (Seaton, 1996; Stone, 2005), it was Malcolm Foley and John Lennon, who in 1996 coined the term, originally defining it as "*the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites*" (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). Likewise, in the same year Tony Seaton (1996) defined Thanatourism as "*travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects*" (Seaton, 1996, p. 240).

Other scholars continued to refine the definitions of dark tourism. Tarlow (2005, p. 48), for example, suggested that dark tourism can be defined as "*visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continue to impact our lives*". Later, Stone's definition states that dark tourism is "*the act of travel*

*to sites associated with death, suffering and the seemingly macabre*" (Stone, 2006, p. 146). The variations on the purpose of the visitation, and the nature of the attraction itself was further elaborated by Ashworth who stated that "*Dark tourism…is where the tourist's experience is essentially composed of 'dark' emotions such as pain, death, horror or sadness, many of which result from the infliction of violence that are not usually associated with a voluntary entertainment experience*" (Ashworth, 2008, p. 234).

The above definitions were chosen out of more than 15 known definitions (Light, 2017) for including the keywords 'suffering', 'death', 'tragedy', 'sadness', 'violence', and 'not usually considered as voluntary entertainment'. The reasoning behind the choice was the need to focus the research on the particular strand of dark tourism, out of the light to dark spectrum (Stone, 2006). Lastly, and arguably the most relevant to the sites visited in Berlin, I have chosen Preece and Price's (2005, p. 200) who suggested that dark tourism is "*travel to sites associated with death, disaster, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity*". From their definition I have omitted the word 'disaster' as it may imply that the events covered in dark tourism sites in Berlin may have been incidental. Therefore, the working definition of dark tourism for this research is: *travel and visitation to sites associated with death, acts of violence, tragedy, scenes of death and crimes against humanity*.

Finally, while this paper debates the topic of guiding in dark tourism sites, its main aim is not to discuss other aspects of dark tourism research, such as the demand and supply, the ethics of visitation to dark sites, visitor motivations, visitor expected outcomes, sites management, and the ethics of marketing of such sites. The following section, then, will review the main points in the research on tour guides, as the second pillar of the theoretical framework of this research.

## Tour guides – terms, roles and the particular 'breed' working in Berlin

At the opening of this section it is important to clarify some of the terms, so that when reading this paper one will be able to understand precisely what type of tour guide the research refers to. The confusion between different terms of the tour guiding profession is not new (Holloway, 1981; Pond, 1993; Weiler & Black, 2015), and therefore requires some focusing. A variety of terms have been used (most are still in use), including 'tour leader', 'tour manager', 'tour escort', 'city guide', 'local guide', and museum docents. While 'tour leader' and 'tour manager' have operation roles, with greater or less degree of guiding, 'city guide' and 'local guide' are arguably more closely related to the definition of a tour guide as adopted by the World Federation of Tour Guide Associations (World Federation of Tour Guide Associations [WFTGA], 2003). The WFTGA defined a tour guide as: "*A person who guides visitors in the language of their choice and interprets the cultural and natural heritage of an area*".

Historically as well, there is a variety of job titles closely related to the modern tour guide. Perhaps the oldest is the 'pathfinder', whose title indicates his role as finder of geographical path (Cohen, 1985; Pond, 1993). It can be argued that even in today's reality of online and offline smartphone maps, the tour guide role of geographical pathfinding is more about saving the modern tourist's time in knowing where interesting sites are, rather than the safety of not getting lost; although, that function, too, is not completely gone (Meged, 2010).

Erik Cohen's paper from 1985 was pioneering in that it established the role of the mentor, in addition to that of the pathfinder as part of the definition of the tour guide. Today, many guides would contest to defining themselves as pathfinders or mentors. The argument being that tourists in major urban destinations such as London, Paris or Berlin have no need for a person, nor are they looking for a spiritual mentor. What, then are the modern roles of the average present-day guide? Adapted from Weiler and Kim (2015) and Meged (2010), tour guides today are versatile in their roles, being interpreters (of language *and* information), information givers, social catalysts, at times conversation motivators, tour managers, the name and face of the company they work for on that tour, navigating between interesting sites, and in some cases facilitating access to museums and sites.

Tour guides may also assume different roles according to the particular 'gig' they have accepted. The guide which is the focus of the exploration is this research is no exception. This may seem confusing, and indeed there may be some confusion as to the different types of tour guides working in different countries and work settings. That is to say, a tour guide in Budapest, guiding 20 guests who have never met each other prior to the tour is a different guide to leading a group of Australians for a week on a bus tour through Austria and Italy. The focus of this research is an urban guide. Most of their work is a day tour of 3 to 6 hours, private or open to the public, walking in a combination with public transport or taking people around with a driver in a car/bus. Effectively, this means that the guide is not responsible for the guests' flights or accommodation, and is only responsible for the guests' safety during the several hours they spend together exploring mostly safe and familiar urban environments. In other words, the guide in the focus of this research does not normally assume the role of the tour leader or tour manager. They are however required to assume (arguably) a bigger role of historical interpretation than in other destinations. The next section will discuss several crucial theoretical points with regards to interpretation, and specifically, tour guide interpretation.

**Interpretation**

Interpretation may be thought of in relation to the profession of language in the court of law, interpretation of dreams in ancient cultures, or referring perhaps

to television news interpretation to the hard of hearing. What is often colloquially referred to as translation, in the context of documents is also a form of interpretation (Tilden, 1957). This section looks at interpretation in the context of tourism, describing tourism situations in which interpretation takes place, with a focus on tour guide interpretation.

Interpretation in the context of tourism may be thought of in two ways. The first is John Urry's concept of the Tourist Gaze (1985). Urry not only described the physical way in which tourists are looking at buildings, streets or people and their culture, but also at how they interpret what they see according to the cognitive 'set of tools' tourists bring with them to examine and explore the culture of the destination. A similar concept was earlier described by anthropologist Franz Boas who coined the term "Kulturbrille" to explain the set of 'cultural glasses' each person wears to interpret the world around them. The function of Boas' metaphorical glasses changes drastically when looked at from the outsider gaze of the tourist visiting a place far away from home, often in a different country with a different language and different cultural customs.

The second way of looking at interpretation in the context of tourism, and one more widely researched, is the one of how destinations, museums and guides interpret the heritage and culture of the destination. Freeman Tilden defined interpretation as "*an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand* [sic.] *experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.*" (Tilden, 1957, p. 8). Tilden continues to remind us that interpreters – historians, archaeologists, tour guides, and other specialists - will most likely use their own definitions of interpretation, and that those will be equally valid. To that end, these specialists, according to Tilden, engage in revealing to their visitors the beauty, known or hidden meanings, and analyses which may lie behind that the visitor can initially perceive with their sense.

The connection between historical facts and the meaning of historical events or processes is a crucial point in interpretation. In his book The Adventures of a Nature Guide, Enos Mills (1920) famously put it: "*A nature guide (interpreter) is a naturalist who can guide others to the secrets of nature. It is not necessary for them to be a walking encyclopedia* [sic.]. *They arouse interest by dealing in big principles, not with detached and colorless information.*" Many scholars since have argued that the professionalism of the interpreter is closely linked to using facts to establish authority in order to provide quality interpretation (Cohen, 1985; Holloway, 1981; Pond, 1993; Weiler & Black, 2015). However, the point Mills is trying to make remains: the interpreter's role is not to simply display facts, but to show the importance and meaning of facts.

In interpretation of destinations, museums have a long-established role as premiere attractions (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues further that museums are central to the process of establishing the heritage of a location, effectively turning it in to a tourist destination. Interpretation made in museums and heritage attractions also serves as a vital tool for countries to create, reinvent and maintain heritage (*ibid.*). Moreover, newly established countries or countries that have gone through major regime changes may seek to use museums as a facility of education to tell their historical narrative in a different way; in most cases, editing it to suit the new governmental voice, rather completely deleting it (Frank, 2015; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Lowenthal, 1985).

As stated in the definitions above, interpretation is an art of language which goes beyond mere facts and figures. The choice of words, anecdotes and narrative, then, becomes a decisive tool in interpreting a theme or a place in one way or another. One such interpretation instrument is the concept of hot interpretation as defined by Uzzell (1998, p. 154). The author described this as interpretation injected with a new component added to its subject matter. This could be, for example, a dramatic voice or facial expression added to the information giving, thus creating an impression of greater importance or seriousness in a more theatrical way.

Contrary to that, it is also implied that if interpretation is performed (as opposed to statically presented in a museum exhibition) with less voice alteration, body language and other dramaturgical devices, interpretation may take a 'colder', more factual tone (Goffmann,1959), arguably allowing more emotional control to be had by the listener.

Interestingly, Uzzell argued that on a society level we may advocate a rational Vulcan-like approach, but that realistically, this approach may prove difficult, and in many cases undesirable (Uzzell, 1998). In other words, the author argues that although we – as a global society – would rather describe ourselves as scientific and analytical, in practice we often find ourselves demanding more drama to be added to the facts to make them more interesting and attractive to listen to. It can be argued that as a result, interpretation often brings a bias agenda which may touch upon a projection of personal experiences, political agenda, gender agenda, and a diverse array of biases.

As the years went by and the process of tourism evolution made social and technological progress, interpretation grew to play a larger role in the day to day work of the tour guide (Meged, 2010). On different levels, guides are now intrusted by their guests to teach them history, disseminate information on the destination (e.g. culinary, historical, safety, political, etc.) and even to represent the destination. (Dahles, 2012; Meged, 2010; Weiler & Black, 2015). Contrary to that statement, guiding dark themes and sites may prove to be, at the very least, difficult in the representation of

a destination; and in the case of sites presenting genocide, practically impossible. Considering the growing demand for and supply of dark tourism sites, the theory on the role of the guide is still lacking, and may prove to be challenging in different ways in different countries, mostly depending on the political sensitivity and the current political atmosphere.

Pearce (1984) and Hu and Wall (2012) present a contradictory perspective on the potential power of tour guide interpretation. Whereas Pearce points out the danger of depicting local culture in a false way, Hu and Wall argue that this power can potentially be harnessed to create a positive effect on tourists and destination. Gelbman and Maoz (2012) go further, stating that tour guides direct the tourist gaze, as Urry (1985) described, effectively pointing out to their guests what to look at, how to interpret what they see, and what to ignore. Indeed, it is argued that the significance that lies in any research on tour guide interpretation, and in particular interpretation of sites of death and tragedy, is that by interpreting a site or a story, tour guides plant ideas into the minds of their guests. It can, however, be argued that planting ideas or manipulation of information through interpretation may have either positive or adverse effects.

This point is illustrated Quinn and Ryan (2015) who in their observations of guided tours in the Dublin Castle found that interpretation is a form of mediation of difficult memories, and that guides face the challenge of treading between what the tourists know prior to the tour (i.e. factual information and *Kulturbrille*) and the guides' expertise of the place.

Tour guides, then, inhabit a position of influence, playing a big part in the tourists' dark tourism experience, arguably to the extent of making substantial changes in the visitors' world views. It can be concluded that the guides' own mental state in relation to the guided subject material holds great significance.

## Secondary trauma syndrome

Although secondary trauma is not included in the objectives of the PhD research, it is indirectly related to how tour guides choose – consciously or subconsciously – to interpret the dark chapters of Berlin's history to their guests. For that reason, it is imperative to first define secondary trauma syndrome and the related vicarious trauma.

Zimering and Gulliver (2003) defined Secondary Trauma as "*indirect exposure to trauma through first-hand account or narrative of a traumatic event. The vivid recounting of trauma by the survivor and the clinician's subsequent cognitive or emotional representation of that event may result in a set of symptoms and reaction*

*that paralleled PTSD*". For tour guides in Berlin, particularly for those guiding tours in Sachsenhausen, there is normally no first-account of trauma. This is for the reason that many guides today are too young or have not had the opportunity to meet a survivor of the former concentration camps they guide in. The second important point related to this definition is that tour guides by the nature of the work will often repeat the narrative many times during their work life; effectively, repeatedly reliving a secondary version of the story.

Similarly, Figley (1995) describes secondary trauma stress (STS) or vicarious trauma (VT) as behaviours and symptoms arising from secondary knowledge of traumatising events experienced by others. It comes as a result of wanting to help a suffering or traumatised person.

Figley (1995), like Zimering and Guiliver (2003) deals with direct contact with the victim/s, addressing the symptoms arousing from trying to help or treat the victims. His description is one of secondary trauma which results from indirect exposure to trauma. Here, too, the explanation is not suitable for the circumstances of the tour guides, as in most cases they do not come in direct contact with the victim (even guides who have met a Holocaust survivor, are not employed to treat survivors, rather to tell their story and the story of the camp).

Moving on from the focus on medical staff, Pearlman and McKay (2008: 4) define vicarious trauma as "*the negative changes that happen to humanitarian workers over time as they witness and engage with other people's suffering and need.*". In common with STS, the authors specify similar symptoms that can be identified with the researched humanitarian workers. Those include feeling numb, disconnected, isolated, overwhelmed by the work, depression, and even having their deepest beliefs challenged by the work (*ibid*.). The authors provide more details, clarifying that "*vicarious trauma is the process of change that happens because you care about other people who have been hurt, and feel committed or responsible to help them. Over time this process can lead to changes in your psychological, physical, and spiritual well-being*" (*ibid*.: 7). The main point correlating to the work of tour guides guiding the dark is the feeling of feeling compassion for someone who has been hurt. Crucially, guides at the moment of conducting this research (2014-2020) are commonly three generations away from the event (WWII and the Holocaust) the narrative of which they repeatedly interpret to tourists.

The projection of events that happened to others is the key component of secondary trauma. Bernhard *et al*. (1998) described the vicarious feelings that fans of sporting teams have after winning or losing sporting events. Fans, generally have a feeling of 'we'. In winning, they feel stronger, more optimistic, and prouder. Whilst when losing, fans feel defeated, depressed and angry.

Pearlman and McKay (2008) went a long way in detailing the possible symptoms, which can be self-identified by workers, or guides. Awareness to these symptoms is key. These following points outline some of the signs and symptoms of vicarious trauma. In broad terms, some common difficulties associated with vicarious trauma include:

• Difficulty managing your emotions;

• Difficulty accepting or feeling okay about yourself;

• Difficulty making good decisions;

• Problems managing the boundaries between yourself and others (e.g., taking on too much responsibility, having difficulty leaving work at the end of the day, trying to step in and control other's lives);

• Problems in relationships;

• Physical problems such as aches & pains, illnesses, accidents;

• Difficulty feeling connected to what's going on around and within you; and

• Loss of meaning and hope.

These symptoms may be divided into short-term and long-term damages. Undeniably, depression, loss of meaning and hope, cynicism and numbness, can be more clearly described as the accumulative stresses, potentially causing bigger psychological stress than the commonly known job burnout. In the next section which will deal with the methodology of the PhD research, I will explain how during the process of ethnographic and autoethnographic research, I came to identify the above symptoms, particularly with guides working at the museum and memorial site of Sachsenhausen.

## Methodology

### Introduction

The aim of this section is to discuss the reasons for choosing ethnography as the research strategy, to explain the logic behind employing autoethnography as part of the analysis and exploration of this research, to describe the methods of data collection, and finally, to explain the nature of collecting informal data within the setting of ethnographic research.

### Ethnography

The entire premise of this PhD research is based on nuances. That is to say that in examining the role of tour guides as interpreters of the dark, it is argued that one must make an in-depth exploration of words, voices, feelings, customs and commonalities.

In addition to that, as a member of that more or less defined group of full-time tour guides working in Berlin, I had an opportunity to conduct a type of qualitative research that requires the researcher to be constantly 'in the field'. Ethnography was then deemed the most suitable strategy for this research.

The main aim of ethnography, as argued by Lévi-Strauss (1963), is to learn about a specific group, accurately describing it and its customs to others. Or as Kottak suggests that ethnography "*provides an account of a particular community, society, or culture*" (Kottak, 2005, p. 3). In my research, as I will explain in the following sections, I engage fully in this cultural group I belong to, gathering and interpreting data, which is gathered from both formal and informal situations. Few scholarly efforts have been made in the past within the discipline of tour guide research, employing similar ethnographic strategy. These include Jonathan Wynn's research on tour guides in New York (2011) and Susan Mackenzie's (2013) research on guides' experiences, their emotions and stress. In the case of Wynn, after a long period of conducting complete silent observations of guides, and spending time with the guides, the author eventually constructed his own tours and started guiding himself. Whereas in the case of Suzan Mackenzie, the researcher made an insider accurate exploration of the experiences of the guides. The latter bears a greater resemblance to my own circumstances. At the time of starting the PhD research, I was already an experienced full-time guide of four years (in 2014).

Arguing further in favour of choosing ethnography as a research strategy is that unlike tangible products, the value of which measured mathematically by economists, understanding nuances of tourism cultures requires tourism anthropologists to show research elasticity (Greenwood, 1989). In other words, using a research strategy that allows interlinking diverse theoretical issues with adaptable ethnographic methods.

**Autoethnography**

It was and still is imperative that I reflect and analyse my own interpretation in the same way I analyse my peers'. It follows, then, that I also had to look into how I cope with guiding in Sachsenhausen. Although not identified by name, my coping mechanism is presented here along with those of my colleagues.

In Ellis and Bochner's (2000) seminal work on autoethnography, the authors open by arguing that there aren't enough scholars who put their own voice as the central focus of the research; a valid justification to conduct and write in the autoethnographic voice. Somewhat in contrast to that, I decided from the beginning of my research in 2014 that my own perspective is not and should not be the central focus. However, it provides a validity and reliability to my analysis of tour guide interpretation if I write in the first person – because I am there, and, analyse myself as I analyse my peers –

because we do the same work. In using the first-person singular, I avoid disguising myself as neutral (Cole, 2005).

Nevertheless, it is the job of the autoethnographer to continue employing accepted analytical tools in order to not succumb to becoming a guest on a talk show telling a funny story (Ellis *et al.*, 2011). In other words, my identities of me being a researcher and a guide must merge to write a reliable analysis. In doing so I have to continue to ask myself what is the significance of my work? Am I still writing in an honest way about myself and about my peers? Is the story I am telling helping to progress the aims of the research with the appropriate academic rigour? (Cremin, 2018; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

This section of the article and the preceding section presented the rationale behind the general qualitative research, and the nature of the data analysis. The following, then, will discuss the specific methods of collecting data, detailing the practical reasons behind each one.

**Methods of data collection**

To date, in order to collect data for this research I have employed a number of methods. Direct observations and interviews have been the two prime methods. Direct observation of tours was and still is the focal point of the PhD research. It is done by receiving permission from guides prior to a public tour they are conducting. The three tours I observe are the tour of the Cold War or as it is sometimes called The Berlin Wall (and other variations on that theme), the tour of the Third Reich (also with different variations between different tour companies), and the tour of the former concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. These are all tours of companies holding public tours, where individuals can join simply by coming to a pre-determined meeting point and paying for a ticket. I then observe and record the guide. It is important to note that in most cases although I refrained from actively joining in the tour, my presence with a small recording device is obvious to the guests on the tour. For that reason, most guides chose to reveal my identity to the guests, explaining that I am conducting a research on tour guides. In this way they made sure guests would not think that I may be observing the guides to learn from them as a new guide, to observe them because they are new guides, or to record the tourists without their permission (i.e. the tourists are not the object of the research).

At home, I would then analyse guides' selection of words, anecdotes and their general choice of narrative (I let the guides tell me how they define the narrative of the particular tour). In addition to that, when listening to the recording I analyse voice fluctuations and changes in rhythm and volume, as part of the dramaturgical tools used by the guides in their interpretation.

From the beginning of the research I was very open with the guiding community as to who I am (for those who didn't know me before) and to the nature of the research. In most cases, guides of various ages, genders, nationalities and professional backgrounds are happy to cooperate. Guides talk to me in a variety of social situations, allowing me to present their perspective and professional and private experiences in the research. In the four years of the research thus far, I have observed nearly 40 tours, and collected countless stories, as well as telling my own experiences. The goal of collecting such a large sample is to increase the validity of the research in order to make sure it stays within the realms of evidence-based research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011; Freshwater et al., 2010).

Interviews, the secondary data collection method, are used for the following two-part rationale. The first is the limitation of language. I am able to understand tour interpretations in Hebrew, English and German. Tour guides in Berlin work in dozens of other languages. Spanish, for example, – a language I am not proficient in – being the second biggest tourist market after English. The second limitation partly resolved by interviewing guides, is the limitation of open to the public versus private tours. In Berlin there are four or five big tour guiding companies, conducting the above-mentioned tours, and are they open for tourists to come to a meeting point and join a public tour. All other tours are private, usually given to a small family/friends group or to a big group in a bus. In such cases observing a tour is not possible due to the intimate dynamics and nature of the interaction between the guides and their guests.

Consequently, interviews are advantageous not only for providing a solution for the limitations previously presented, but also for allowing guides a free and safe environment to discuss their experiences and opinions. For example, among the topics that came up in these interviews was the topic of how us tour guides cope with the (sometimes) inexplicable feelings of sadness and anger which follow guiding a tour in Sachsenhausen.

In addition to a known but 'backstage' form of direct observation, I also spoke candidly and in a transparent manner to guides in a variety of social situations. The next section will elaborate on the nature of this ethnographic social interaction.

**Informal conversations with guides**

Informal conversations or chance exchanges may occur in many situations during ethnographic research. Several scholars have argued that for the ethnographer, unexpected data may prove equally valuable than that of which is collected during formal observations or interviews (see for example, Emerson et al., 1995; Monaghan & Just, 2000). Here, too, the concept of a tour guiding community as a virtual urban tribe proves to be significant for a research based on nuances of words, opinions

and emotions. Wynn brings evidence from ethnographic research of tour guides in New York, telling us that although working autonomously is a major motivation to choose a career as a tour guide, guides also rely heavily on maintaining various other relationships outside their immediate work (Wynn, 2011). For that reason, and in those circumstances, living within my tribe was a conscientious decision, which time and again proved crucial for the success of the research. This article is exactly such an example. Guides started telling me about what they do after a guiding day in Sachsenhausen, and how they cope with the sadness which often comes as a result of interpreting the story of the camp. After hearing this from two or three guides, I started asking the others as well. It is important to note that attending less or more social events of tour guides was never something I did against my wish or with the intention of going to an event with the sole purpose of contributing to the research. I am part of the tribe and was therefore in the perfect position to explore it from both the ethnographer perspective, and one who is a member, thus familiar with vocabulary, habits, personal and professional interests, cultural attributes, common joys, and of course, common personal and professional problems.

The next section presents such common problems. At the end of observation tours, or in meeting with friends over coffee, or at parties and gatherings, the following data I had been gathering started to shed light on what guides decide to do when they finish a tour in Sachsenhausen in the afternoon.

**Emerging findings**

In this section I will present information given to me by the guides who told me of their ways to try to deal with their feelings after guiding a tour in Sachsenhausen, and how they try to avoid the potentially accumulative damage they intuitively feel may occur.

The word *Feierabend* in German – 'home time' or 'end of work time' - literally means festive or celebrate evening. Most tours to Sachsenhausen involve spending a nett of 2.5 hours inside the memorial site itself. In this context, as it shows, it is a relief to finish work, but is not considered by most guides as something they can associate with a literal or psychological form of celebration. The section will be divided into groups of similar guide reactions, followed by analytical commentary.

1. Guides 1, 8, 9, and 10 - The need for social isolation

Several guides told me about the growing feeling of misanthropy and the general need for isolation.

> Guide 1: *After a tour in SH I go home and don't talk to anyone for the rest of the  evening. The next day I'm fine.*

> Guide 8: *Once, back in the city after a tour, I realised that I reacted aggressively to a situation in the street, and that I probably wouldn't react like that if I didn't do SH that day.*
> Guide 9: *I go home, put my legs up and watch a lot of sports for the rest of the evening.*
> Guide 10: *I go home, put my legs up on the sofa. Shut myself completely and watch a lot of stand-up comedy on YouTube.*

In a manner of speaking, it can be argued that what Guide 8 experienced is an outcome which is similar to *hostile attribution bias* (HAB). In research on child psychology, Usha Goswami (2014) summarised this suggesting that young children whose behaviour is constantly interpreted as hostile and purposeful by their parents or caretakers, will grow up to interpret seemingly neutral behaviours of others as intentionally hostile. And Helfritz-Sinville and Stanford (2014, p. 45) paraphrased Milch and Dodge (1984) to define HAB as a "*tendency to interpret the intent of others as hostile, despite the fact that environmental cues fail to indicate clear intent*". By spending the day telling and interpreting the hostile, and in fact cruel actions of SS guards in a concentration camp, Guide 8 felt defensive and antagonised as a reaction to a benign situation.

The similarity between Guides 9 and 10 is two-part. They presented misanthropic inability to connect with others after a tour. Furthermore, they used similar methods of 'decompression' to create a short-term world of escapism. Guide 10's choice of comedy was also supported by another guide who testified during a tour that they use a light joke between difficult stories or anecdotes. The guide explained their logic stating that: "*a guide has to breakdown the dramatic serious interpretation* [of the tragic and the sad] *to allow the tourists a crucial psychological break*".

2. Guides 2,3 and 4 - Comfort over eating

> Guide 2: *I tend to overeat. I eat nothing all day during a tour, then at home I eat a lot.*
> Guide 3, 4: *I eat a huge cheeseburger and chips.*

The above statement of guides 3 and 4 has to be read in context: the two guides are normally vegetarian/vegan. In addition to that statement, they both (separately) stated that they try to avoid guiding in Sachsenhausen.

3. Guides 5, 6, and 7 – limiting guiding days in Sachsenhausen

> Guide 5: *I made a conscious decision not to guide there anymore. I may change that in the future, if there will be customer demand that I won't be able to refuse. At the moment I rather not deal with that.*

Guide 6: *I limit the times I guide there. Never more than once a week.*
Guide 7: *I try to sway my customers* [before they book a tour] *to only get an SH tour if they do the highlights tour first.*

There are several factors that need to be considered when interpreting the above three statements. Tour guides have limited control over what the customer wants. The customers themselves may not have such control, as they often have scheduling constraints. Weather and sporting events in Berlin are also factored in. For example, it may be smarter to do the Sachsenhausen tour on a marathon Sunday, when the entire city centre is closed. In addition to that, guides are ultimately freelancers and are constantly worried about the amount and quality of work they will receive. Refusing a tour may not always be an easy or even viable option. Lastly. The Memorial and Museum at Sachsenhausen charges guides 23 Euros for a guiding day pass and 90 Euros for an annual pass. This amount is subtracted from the guide's wages. Guides are then faced with the choice of buying a day pass and facing the loss of 10 to 20 per cent of their day's wages, or buying an annual pass and making sure they work enough so that the pass will pay off. Again, this means that refusing work may not be a viable option.

4. Guides 8 and 11 – doing sports/physical activity.

Guide 8: *I used to go home, close myself in and not do anything. Now I go home and do yoga on my own.*
Guide 11: *I go to the gym. Always after SH.*

5. Guides 12, 13, 14, and 15 – the need for hedonistic indulgence and sociability.

Guide 12: *I love eating good food after SH tours, especially Sushi.*
Guide 13: *I don't do SH often enough to feel the weight of it so strongly… However, when I get too deep into these subjects, I need to do something fun or spend some time with family/friends.*
Guide 14: *To be honest, I drink a lot… I'm a social drinker, I often meet with friends after a tour and we drink. Life don't stop because of a Sachsenhausen tour… there are   birthdays, events, gallery openings, etc.*

6. Guides 12 and 16 – the correlation between a good tour and the mood of the guide in the evening

Guide 12: *I'm in a different mood if the group was engaged and alert or if they 'weren't really there'/i.e. if there was no chemistry between us. In the latter case, I feel quite depressed.*
Guide 16: *I follow up on questions I was asked on the tour and didn't know the answers to; there are always new questions! If the students on the group*

*didn't ask any questions, or worse yet, if the teachers were not engaged or at all seem interested, then I feel quite bad after a tour. I ask myself, if they're not interested, why did they even come on the tour?? People like that end up voting for far-right parties.*

Guide 12's raises an interesting point, which seems significant on one level or another to most guides. During interviews and observations, about half of the guides agreed to the statement that they also function as a role of a teacher, especially due to the serious nature of dark tourism. Whereas the other half strongly opposed to being anything like teachers, or even assuming that role for a short time. Many went as far as disagreeing with the argument that guides function as cultural mediators (Hu & Wall, 2012; Rabotic, 2010; Yu et al., 2004). In rare cases, there are guides who even oppose assuming the role of an 'ambassador' of the destination, not feeling responsible for delivering positive memorable experiences to the tourists from the place itself; another role argued by Yu et al. (2004). With regards to guiding in Sachsenhausen that changed, with most guides admitting that guiding in the memorial site holds more responsibility. Whether they feel a bigger educational role or one who has an important social role to play, the dynamic with the group plays a strong part in the negative or positive impact it has on them, as Guide 12 and others pointed out.

7. Guide 15 and others – the need for total detachment from topics mentioned at work

Guide 15: *I have a rule: no Hitler talk about 20:00! Many of my friends are tour guides, Hitler and Sachsenhausen, that's work, and we don't talk work stuff when we go out in the evening.*

Guide 15's remark is very common in the guiding community. The guides' intuitive choice of coping is more clearly argued by Pearlman and McKay (2008), suggesting that people who may suffer from vicarious trauma (after self-identifying the symptoms) should escape – physically or mentally, rest and play – engage in fun activities that make you happy. It can be argued that finding the right channel/audience and time to vent off is crucial in the process of psychological escapism. However, this may not be efficient with guides who do Sachsenhausen tours often, and may feel that there is nothing new to tell.

## Conclusions

As an option for a possible preliminary conclusion, it can be argued that Work Fatigue, Burn-out or even Secondary Trauma Syndrome are not suitable titles for the type of psychological issue faced by the guide over long periods of time. The final section of this article will attempt to define and explain the issue at hand, potentially giving way for more research on this subject in the future.

Secondary Trauma Syndrome is often researched and talked about in the professional context of medical staff (especially nurses and field medical staff), aid workers, criminal lawyers and criminal procedures, and several other similar professionals. Faced with metaphorically touching extreme trauma, under different circumstances, the phenomenon revealed above may be defined as **Guiding the Dark Accumulative Psychological Stress** (GDAPS). This phenomenon differs from STS in several ways. The first, and most obvious, is that in most cases the accumulative psychological stress comes from telling/interpreting the stories, not from hearing them or treating patients with PTSD. As Pearlman and McKay (2008) explain that by assisting people who have been victimised, humanitarian workers often experience the lasting effects of psychological stress, and are spiritually changed. This is very different for tour guides, who are clearly not in direct contact with the victims of the told event/site. Guides spend anything between five tours per season to 3-4 tours per week (in extreme cases) telling stories of the prisoners of Concentration Camp Sachsenhausen and what they had to endure during their life in the camp. Therefore, in contrast to the direct contact endured by humanitarian workers and medical staff, the psychological stress accumulated is a result of repetitive mediation between the victims (and the event) to a listener (the tourist).

Secondly, although general burn-out is a relatively known risk to tour guides, other psychological impacts are not commonly something tour guides consider. These include depression, an increase in aggressive behaviour (specifically aggressive reactions to situations that would not otherwise aggregate severe reaction), change in perception of people and society (the inevitable expectation in social situations that other people are intentionally aggressive or rude), and radicalisation or pre-existing opinions.

These vicarious feelings that tour guides have can be compared to those of Bernhardt *et al.*'s sporting fans (1998). The authors argued that these changes are cognitive and behavioural. It can be argued that whereas sporting fans are likely to feel a fluctuation of positive and negative feelings, and therefore will not be tilted into just positive or negative, tour guides of the dark will in most cases endure the stress of the negative feelings. There are exceptions, as Guide 12 explained: "*if I have a group and they ask good questions, and it leads to a good debate, then at least I go home feeling good about myself, and not too depressed.*"

The issue of Accumulative Psychological Stress arises partly due to the ever-increasing visitor numbers to dark tourism sites. Considering Stone's (2008) spectrum of dark to light, the reference here is to the sites referred to as the darkest, as they present the most emotionally difficult historical events, and may therefore be argued to be the most sensitive places of tour guides interpretation. These sites include the

most infamous sites of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the Killing Fields in Cambodia, the museums in Kigali presenting the genocide in Rwanda, and the major concentration camps in Germany (Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen). The sheer numbers of visitors to these sites are now counted in the millions. Sachsenhausen alone is listed as the first item on the list of Day Trips & Excursions in the TripAdvisor page of Berlin (TripAdvisor, 2018).

From the emerging findings of this research it is already revealed that the vast majority of guides see guiding in Sachsenhausen as different to all other tours ("*it's not like any other job…*"). Bearing that in mind, along with the concept of the power that guides have on the tourist understanding of historical events, and with the large numbers of visitors to these sites, the accumulative impact on the guides is arguably of greater importance than simply arguing that guides may become numb to the material.

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# Journal of Tourismology

**RESEARCH ARTICLE**

# The Experience of the Tourist in a Technologically-Driven Age: A Continuum Between the Tourist Guide and Technology

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**Abstract**

The aim of this paper is to examine how new technologies shape the experience of the tourist. This is to further the understanding of tourism's place in a technologically-driven age. The methodology of the study includes an analysis, comparison and evaluation of elements and factors involved in contributing to a quality tourist experience. The experience of the tourist is a personal and individualistic occurrence and can be improved with the help of both new technologies and the tourist guide. The finding that is made is that both the personal touch of the tourist guide as well as the interactive features of technology have a place in the provision of quality tourism experiences. This in turn implies that both tourist guides and new technologies should be included in the tourism experience. Only then can a quality tourism experience be provided for the 21st century tourist. There are many papers examining the experience of the tourist. However, few have looked at the implications of the development of new technologies on the experience of the tourist. This article suggests a scale on which the tourist experience can be based on, in relation to both tourist guides and new technologies.

**Keywords**

Tourist guide • New technologies • Experience • Interactivity • Quality

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## Introduction

The experience of the tourist has not been addressed by a great number of scholars in the field. Yet, the experience of the tourist is becoming a prominent issue when tourism operators decide how to cater to tourist needs and wants. The role of both new technologies and tourist guides play a prominent part in examining how the experience of the tourist should be addressed.

The purpose of this article is to examine what the impact of new technologies and tourist guides have on the experience of the tourist. In order to achieve this, the definition of experience and how it relates to the tourism industry will have to be looked at. When it comes to defining experience, quality, and what constitutes a quality experience, should also be examined. One also has to look at the way in which knowledge is transferred in the process that tourism companies undergo to develop new technologies. The impact that tourist guides have on the experience of the tourist, and also the impact that new technologies can have on the experience of tourists, can then be fully examined.

The argument of this article is that both tourist guides and new technologies can have an impact on the experience of the tourist. However, tourism experiences can be seen as personal and dependent on the specific tourist's needs. The use of tourist guides and new technologies to aid the experience of the tourist is therefore personal and individually-based.

There are a few concepts that are used throughout this article. These include *tourist guide*, *new technologies*, *experience, interactivity* and *quality*. These will need further clarification to understand the context the concepts are used in.

There have been many attempts at defining *tourist guide*. The Oxford dictionary (1933: 490), defines a tourist guide as: "One who leads or shows the way, especially to a traveller in a strange country; spec. one who is hired to conduct a traveller or tourist." The definition given by the World Federation of Tourist Guide Associations is as follows "[a] person who guides visitors in the language of their choice and interprets the cultural and natural heritage of an area of which each person normally possesses an area-specific qualification usually issued and/or recognised by the appropriate authority." (World Federation of Tourist Guide Associations, 2012).

*New Technologies* has to do with advances made in computer technology. New technology, for the purpose of this article, is used in connection with information technology and the use of technological devices specifically in the tourism industry.

*Experience* is defined by the Oxford dictionary as "practical contact with and observation of facts or events". In the context of this article, the concept will refer

to the practical contact the tourists have with tourist guides and new technologies on their trip. It also includes the observation of information provided to them and the observation of the event of tourism that they are engaged in. All these factors make up the experience of the tourist (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017).

*Interactivity* is comprised of two parts. The prefix *inter-* refers to a reciprocated action, and *activity* refers to that particular action. *Interactivity* in this article, therefore, refers to a mutual and reciprocated activity between tourists, between tourists and the tourist guide, as well as between tourists and new technologies (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017).

*Quality* in this article can be seen as "general excellence of standard or level" as per the dictionary definition. However, the term *quality* is also used in a much deeper sense, including individual perceptions of tourists of what constitutes a quality experience (Oxford English Dictionary, 2017).

## Expectations of tourists

### *The expectations of the visitor*

The question concerning the transfer of information to tourists in a museum is not only a question of which media to use to convey the information, but also a question of what different expectations and needs tourists visiting the museum may have. Offering a personalised experience for each tourist may not always be possible through conventional methods of conveying information, found in a traditional museum. Virtual museums can, however, provide visitors with personalised experiences. One such virtual museum program is the 'Actua' system, found at the Metropolis Science Centre in Amsterdam, in the Netherlands (Bandelli, 2010: 150-151).

The fact that each tourist experiences attractions and museums individually links with the perception of the 'tourist gaze'. Experiences are naturally personal and introspective. Tourists experience, or 'gaze', at tourist sites in their own personal and subjective way. The viewpoints that tourists have also depend on their motivations for travel. The touristic experience, therefore, is inseparable from the tourist's emotional and psychological state. The attitude that tourists have is also a great determining factor of whether or not their expectations will be met (Sheng & Chen, 2012: 54; Wang *et al*., 2014: 4).

Museums, as part of the tourism industry, became less museum-focused and more visitor-focused over the last few decades. It is therefore necessary to evaluate the needs of tourists, not just in the museum context, but in a larger tourism context as well. Museums and other tourism organisations can gain visitor information from demographic data, attitudinal information and developmental situations. It is also

suggested that tourist participation in a museum is not necessarily passive. The experience that the tourist has is indeed dynamic, and can include pre- and post-factors as well. Therefore, it is important to examine what the tourist expected before the trip (Sheng & Chen, 2012: 53).

### *The tourism experience*

The tourism experience is made up of various interconnected aspects. It is the interaction between these aspects that construct the tourism experience. These aspects include the interaction between tourists, the host community, the tourism provider, the governing body and the environment. The visitor experience can be made up out of their opinions of services such as food and transport; the stimulation of their senses, like the architectural attraction; and their emotions, which could include feelings of finding the tourism site boring or interesting (Rabotic, 2010: 7; Sheng & Chen, 2012: 53).

It is true that tourism is an 'event', a big happening, since it opposes the daily life of the tourist. However, tourism can also be seen as a personal and inward experience. This makes it impossible to describe it generally, and therefore will also make it difficult for interactive technological devices to have one general model that will suit all types of tourists (Rabotic, 2010: 7).

Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003: 38) have argued that 'experience' should be the new framework in tourism. Previously, tourism has been preoccupied with the tourist visiting and seeing a different way of life to their own way of life. The recent rise in tourists expecting an 'experience' have added a new dimension to tourism. Experience can be seen as everything, including the experience of mass tourism, but the way of looking at experience is changing. Experience is now calculated, planned for, and advertised to tourists (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003: 38).

This experience that tourists are seeking can be active or passive. Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003: 38) provided four quadrants according to which experience can be categorised, as originally found in Pine & Gilmore (1999). The first quadrant is entertainment, and involves a passive participation by the tourist.  The second is education and involves an active participation by the tourist. An escapist experience is also active, while an aesthetic experience involves a passive response from tourists. Entertainment experiences can include tourist attractions such as music festivals, while education experiences can include seminars, escapist experiences can be the travel for religious events, and aesthetic experiences can be sightseeing or hiking for example. With an experience, the tourist is involved in a multi-dimensional interaction, not only with various actors at the destination, but also with the destination itself (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003: 38).

Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003: 38) provide a table to better show the four quadrants. This can be seen in Figure 1:

|  | Passive | Participation | Active |
|---|---|---|---|
| Absorption | Entertainment (music festivals) | Sweet Spot | Educational (rafting, museums) |
| Immersion | Aesthetic (trekking) |  | Escapist (working holidays, Agio Oros) |

**Figure 1:** The four quadrants of the experience of the tourist.
From: Stamboulis & Skayannis, 'Innovation strategies and technology for experience-based tourism', *Tourism Management* 24, p. 28.

The question can then be asked whether technology alone can provide all of the above factors of the tourism experience, or even just a tourist guide for that matter.

Sheng and Chen (2012: 58) made a few comments on the topic of visitor experience, after examining their results from a questionnaire given to museum visitors. They concluded that visitor experience is a mix between emotional and spiritual aspects. They categorised their findings on what tourists expect when visiting a museum in five categories: Escapism, historical reminiscence, personal identification, cultural entertainment, easiness and fun. Education also plays a part in the expectations of the tourist. The researchers have also found there to be a difference between the expectations of visitors at different life stages (Sheng & Chen, 2012: 58).

The tourist experience are also not limited to what the tourists themselves make of it. Various stakeholders in the tourism industry impacts the way in which tourism is experienced. Karayilan and Cetin (2016) argues that stakeholders are one of the foremost groups that shape the experience of the tourist. It is therefore paramount that the decision makers in the tourism industry are made aware of what constitutes quality tourism experiences.

## *Providing quality tourism experiences*
Defining what exactly is meant by 'quality tourism experiences' can be just as complex and multi-dimensional as the phenomenon of tourism itself. Quality experiences for tourists can change over time. What was considered quality experiences in the past, does not necessarily pass as quality today. Therefore, quality in tourism should be considered in its context and according to the agents involved. This may be applied to the use of technological devices in tourism as well. To facilitate whether or not the devices are providing quality experience, one should examine it in its context, as well as the tourists that are involved (Jennings, 2006: 1).

Jennings (2006: 6) has conducted an online study to evaluate the perceptions of what quality tourism experiences are. There are a few aspects that have been highlighted as being associated with quality experiences. These aspects include the interaction between the tourists and the host based on the views of both the host community and the tourist; the type of tourism product involved; the different perspectives of tourists; and the idea of a system that is integrated. Further aspects associated with quality experiences include positive social impacts; economic benefits; the preservation of the environment; the policy formulation of the governing body; the differentiation between products developed for the tourism market; and issues relating to sustainability (Jennings, 2006: 6).

Quality tourism experiences have also been linked to authentic tourism experiences. However, much has been written on what exactly is 'authenticity', and whether or not tourism can indeed be authentic. This is a particular problematic term when it comes to cultural tourism and 'authentic' experiences of other cultures. It depends on what the tourist, host community and host government interpret 'authentic' to be. (Jennings, 2006: 1, 8)

There are certain issues that can impact the experience of tourists negatively at a destination, such as poor weather conditions, or traffic and road-related problems. It has been suggested that the use of mobile devices which are GPS-enabled can be used to solve these problems. The Internet can also greatly help since tourism companies can update the weather or traffic conditions on their website which tourists can access through mobile devices. (Andereck *et al.*, 2006: 95)

It can be argued that aspects such as host-tourist interactions can be best served by a local tourist guide, who serves as a mediator between the tourist and the host community. However, technology can assist with the planning of tours and traffic-related problems which tourist guides are not able to do. It is therefore already becoming clear that **both** tourist guides and the use of technologies can be used to deliver quality tourism experiences to tourists.

**Methods of knowledge transfer and management**

From the point of view of Information Technology (IT), IT can be very advantageous in compiling data, collected from the users (or tourists, in this case). The difference between data, information and knowledge, simply put, is the following: Data is the raw facts that systems collect and store in a database. This can for example be ratings that tourists have given to certain tourism sites. Information is an organised set of multiple integrated forms of data. Knowledge, on the other hand, is the *meaningful* information that can be derived from data and the organised information thereof. Knowledge, for example, is knowing that certain services at a tourism destination are

rated poorly, and therefore these services will need to be improved. However, when data is collected from databases, it is not necessarily converted into knowledge that tourism companies can use in improving their business. This is where social actors come in. Social actors can convert data that IT collected, and convert it into usable information and meaningful knowledge. In this conversion of data and information into meaningful knowledge where a social actor, such as a tourist guide, can have a great part to play. It can be said that tourist guides can play an active role in *transferring meaningful knowledge* to tourists so that they understand (brain) and empathise (emotion), while technological devices on their own may only provide tourists with information (Bhatt, 2001: 68-69).

Therefore, it is argued that the correct application of knowledge management can be useful in organisations, including tourism-oriented ones. This will, however, require a change in philosophy of the organisation so that the correct and most-effective methods of using both IT and social actors, such as tourist guides, can be implemented (Bhatt, 2001: 73).

Other scholars too have argued for the usefulness of knowledge management and how it can be used as a tool for learning and innovation of new techniques of transferring knowledge to tourists. The use of knowledge management can even provide the tourism organisation with a competitive advantage (Weidenfeld *et al.*, 2010: 605).

Four mechanisms of knowledge transfer can be identified. The first is learning by observation/demonstration or imitation. The second is labour mobility. The third mechanism is described as inter-firm exchanges and the final mechanism is knowledge brokers. Tourist attractions can improve the transfer of knowledge to tourists by observing how other successful attractions manage it. A second way of improving the attraction is by making use of the knowledge that employees may have from previous experience at other attractions. Different tourism companies may also cooperate to ensure a better understanding of knowledge transfer to tourists, while in the last instance, tourism attractions can improve their knowledge transfer by making use of individuals from the community who may possess the skill set of transferring knowledge to tourists (Weidenfeld *et al*., 2010: 609-610).

**The social-emotional factor of tourist guiding: The tourist guide and the experience of the tourist**

Here it is important to note the importance that the field of psychology has on the examination of the interaction between tourist guides and tourists. This can include insights into the meanings and emotions that people, and in this case tourists specifically, attach to their experiences or interactions with others. It can also provide

insights into their reasons or behaviour, and the mental changes that occur with the actions that people take (Holloway, 1981: 130) .

Weiler and Black (2014: 162) stated that there are in many cases a direct correlation between the use of tourist guiding services and the satisfaction of tourists. This satisfaction that tourists have can also relate to their satisfaction of the overall tourism services, such as transport. Tourist guides can also influence the return of tourists to the tourist attraction. Some studies suggest that satisfaction of the tourist with the tourist guide can also lead to economic benefits, such as the tourist being more willing to do shopping at the tourism site and its environs post-tour (Weiler & Black, 2014: 162).

On the other hand, poor experiences relating to the tourist guide can also lead to the dissatisfaction of tourists. Certain behaviour of tourist guides can lead to this dissatisfaction. These include the tourist guide being unable to deal effectively with emergencies; bad manners and language of the tourist guide; and unethical and dishonest practices by the tourist guide (Weiler & Black, 2014: 163).

**New technologies and the experience of the tourist**

*New type of tourism emerging*

It is very obvious that the tourism sector has changed significantly in the last twenty years. There exists now the possibility of a fast movement of resources, due to globalisation and advances in technology. There are scholars who argue for a new model, or 'mobilities paradigm', in tourism to show the new world that tourism finds itself in, with new types of travels. If technology does indeed have such a profound impact on the tourism industry, then it should be apparent that there is a need to rethink what exactly the tourism experience is, and how it has changed in the last decades (Gretzel & Jamal, 2009: 1-2).

Stamboulis and Skayannis (2003: 36-37) have also pointed out that the conventional form of tourism is decreasing in size and significance. This change can be found on the side of the tourist, who develops new tastes, as well as on the side of the service providers and attractions. Tourism is also changing due to an increase in 'alternative' types of tourism. These alternative types of tourism include individual travelling. Other smaller niche tourisms are also expanding. These are for example ecotourism, combined with some sort of physical activity — this can be seen in the example of the expanding bicycle tourism in New Zealand. The free and independent traveller's niche tourism sector is also expanding in tourism. Mass tourism is still in the majority, with most tourists still traveling for sun, sea and sand. However, the numbers in the other alternative types of tourism are growing (Stamboulis & Skayannis, 2003: 36-37).

There are three main philosophical viewpoints on the question of technology. The first is that it is a *tool* (or artefact) for the use by humans to achieve a desired outcome. The second view states that technology itself is an *outcome*, an outcome of complex social/technological activities. The third view states that technology and society co-constitute each other. The third view sees technology then not as just a tool, but that it is the *product of a technological outlook* on the world (Gretzel & Jamal, 2009: 5).

### *Interactivity*

To determine whether new technologies are effective in enhancing the experience of the tourist, one should evaluate the concepts that are used to argue for the effectiveness of the new technologies. Concepts such as 'interactivity' could be examined to place the concepts in context of the tourism industry. What exactly is interactivity and what is the objective of interactivity? Rossou (2010: 248) provides a definition for interactivity: "To interact is to act reciprocally, to act on each other, to act together or toward others or with others. Reciprocity can take place between people, people and machines, people and software, or even machines and machines."

An interactive experience will involve the tourist on different levels. These includes the social, physical, emotional and intellectual levels. An interactive medium can significantly widen the experience for the tourist. Interactivity can also be found in play and games around the topic. Especially for educational purposes, the use of interactive devices can have a significant impact. In one study, it has been found that people retain only twenty percent of what they hear. However, they can retain forty percent of things that they see and hear, and seventy-five percent of what they see, hear, as well as do. This links to the much-quoted statement of P.R Halmos: "I hear, I forget; I see, I remember; I do, I understand". (Rossou, 2010: 249) It has been found that, especially with the education of children, interactivity and learning through playing is a powerful educational tool. Museums would do well to modify their exhibits to be interactive spaces (Rossou, 2010: 249, 251).

### *The creative class tourist*

Global mobility and the use of new technologies have led to the emergence of a new type of tourist group — the creative-class tourist. The experiences these tourists differ significantly from other types, because of the way in which they creatively use new types of technologies, and because of their greater mobility. The way in which this class experiences tourism may be a significant factor in determining the problems that tourism is facing in the 21st century  (Gretzel & Jamal, 2010: 2).

The creative class tourists are also seen as neo-nomads, because they frequently change locations, and because of the general trend of traditional workplaces changing

into creative landscapes. The experiences of this new creative group strongly rely on aspects such as play, empathy and aesthetics. To entertain this 'creative class', one needs to provide various stimuli. This is an area were new technologies can have a profound impact in engaging creative minds. The creative class seeks out experiences that are multidimensional, meaningful and authentic. The term 'authentic' is here used to refer to objects and experiences that are not generic but 'special' and 'unique' (Gretzel & Jamal, 2010: 3-4).

These types of tourists are seeking experiences that are engaging, either physical or intellectual. They also want to modify their own experiences to suit their needs and are moving away from the 'Disneyfication' of mass tourism. Mediation between these types of tourists and the tourism environment is very much shaped by emerging new technologies. Virtual tourism is a recent tool for enhancing tourism. Although virtual tourism can have benefits including the protection of cultural and natural heritage sites, some would argue that it does lack a certain human touch when it comes to tourist engaging with the environment. Kulakoğlu-Dilek and other authors (2018) list the lack of cultural interaction as one of the threats of virtual tourism. Virtual realities are not replacing real-life experiences in any sense, but the creative class of tourists are looking for 'real' experiences. New technologies, in a sense, shape their meanings and shift the boundaries of their actions. It is therefore imperative to understand how this new class of tourist views and uses new technologies. The creative class sees technology as a tool, to achieve a certain outcome, as an instrument, as an increasingly accepted reality. The new technologies that are emerging nurture this creative way of life of the creative class (Gretzel and Jamal, 2010: 4, 6).

### The acceptance of technology in older tourists

If the traditional type of tourism is diminishing, one can then start to wonder how the traditional tourist, who still exists, will respond to the new tourism, especially older tourists. There are some studies that suggest that the information processes of older people have an impact on the way that they use new technologies that are introduced. Although these studies focus on general workplaces of organisations, it can be applied to the tourism industry as it links to the way in which tourists will engage with technology (Morris & Venkatesh, 2000: 375-376).

There is some evidence that suggest that older people have difficulty completing complex tasks, as well as adapting to changes. This can also be applied to the tourism industry. Older people will be more likely to select methods of information transference that may be familiar to them. This may include opting for tourist guides, whereas they will be less likely to choose new technological devices to receive information. This may be because of the results that some studies have found pertaining to the adoption of technology. These studies found that the likelihood of individuals adopting new

technology is linked to the individual's perception of the usefulness of technology (Morris & Venkatesh, 2000: 380).

One of the results of aging in people that further complicates the use of technology is the loss of determining power of the visual sense. Younger tourists may find it easier to distinguish between closely transpiring visual stimuli. However, computer systems can be designed in a specific manner to assist older tourists. By designing systems that will not put as much strain on the working memory of people, people of all ages can make easy use of the computer interfaces and other new technologies applied at museums and other tourist sites. This is something that should be kept in mind when designing computer interfaces for the use by tourists (Morris & Venkatesh, 2002: 382).

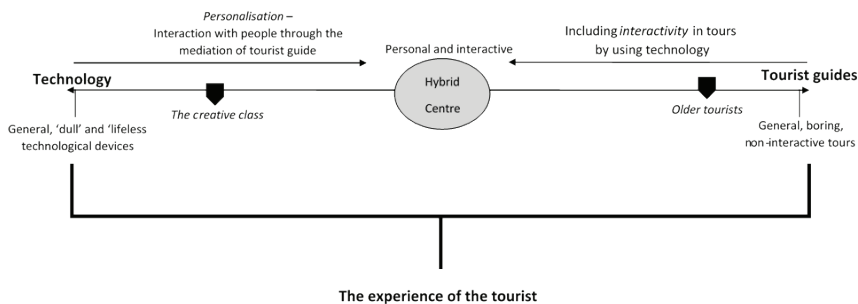**The experience of the tourist in relation to both technology and the tourist guide**



**Figure 2:** The Experience of the tourist. Designed by M. de la Harpe, 2017.

In Figure 2, the experience of the tourist is shown in relation to the use of technology and tourist guides. This diagram can be seen as a scale or continuum, with the experience of the tourist lying somewhere on the scale between the use of technology and tourist guides. The tourist may prefer tourist guides more than technology, or prefer the use of technology over that of the tourist guide. They can also be found somewhere in the hybrid centre, making use of both technology and tourist guides.

When tourist guides, and other tourism companies, make use of technology to improve the interactivity of their tours, then the experience of the tourist moves to the hybrid centre, away from the general, and sometimes boring, tours of conventional tourism. However, when technology is modified, and used in conjunction with tourist guides to connect with the local community, then the experience of the tourist moves away from sterile and lifeless technological devices, to the hybrid centre.

The creative class of tourists, who prefer the use of technology, will then lean towards technology on the scale, while making use of some personal connections

with the host community to deepen their experience. Older tourists, who have difficulty adapting to new technologies and prefer the conventional tours led by a tourist guide, will lean towards the tourist guide side of the scale. They may still make use of technology to enhance their experience, albeit to a lesser degree. Individuals, or groups of tourists, will have different places on the scale, depending on their expectations and the type of tourism. Wherever a tourist is placed on the scale, that position is then the experience of the tourist. This links to the fact that tourist experiences are individual and personal.

The categories that Sheng and Chen (2012: 58) use to arrange the different aspects of the tourist experience can be placed on the scale. The use of technology can provide the *easiness* and *fun* components of the tourist experience, while tourist guides can provide *personal identification* and *cultural entertainment*. There is also an overlap between categories, that can be placed somewhere between technology and tourist guides. Technology can also provide personalised experiences, while tourist guides can also contribute to the easiness and fun components of the experience. The fifth category that Sheng and Chen (2012: 58) mention, historical reminisce, can also be placed somewhere on the scale between technology and tourist guides. While technology can provide information to tourists regarding facts and locations of historical sites, tourist guides can transfer this information into knowledge that is personalised and meaningful. Tourist guides can provide emotional narratives and interesting stories to enhance factual information.

Technology may be useful in the planning of tours, as argued earlier in the article, while tourist guides can aid greatly to the overall satisfaction of the tourist. Therefore, it is argued that the ideal tourism experience will be in the hybrid centre, where the experience is personalised, connected to 'real' people, while also being interactive. The tourist can then enjoy the effectiveness of technology in the planning of his/her experience, while also having a satisfactory experience that is deepened and made meaningful through the mediation of the tourist guide.

## Conclusion

In this article, it has been established that in order to provide quality tourism services to tourists, one has to examine what constitutes as a quality tourism experience. This can be complicated due to changing perceptions of tourists, regarding both the 'quality' and 'experience' factor of their travels. It has been stated that tourism experiences can be personal, and differs for each individual. One has to examine what the tourist wants from his/her experience, to effectively transfer knowledge at tourist attractions, such as museums. The transfer of knowledge to tourists can be optimised by the use of new technologies, but a social actor is needed

to convert information to knowledge. Tourist guides can serve as these social actors, transferring information to tourists in a manner which they can understand and relate to emotionally. It is important for these tourist guides to remember that both good and bad service provided to tourists can have an impact on how tourists perceive their tourism experience. Advances in technology can have a positive impact on the tourism experience, by introducing aspects such as the interactive participation of the tourist. This is an important need for the emerging, and growing, creative tourist class, who is more mobile than their antecedents, and who requires various forms of stimuli. While catering for these new needs of tourists, tourism managers should keep in mind that more traditional tourists still exist, and will interact with these new technologies in a different manner. The suggestion made by the article is that by making use of both technology and tourist guides, to varying degrees, tourists will in all probability move closer to the elusive 'quality/real/special/authentic' tourism experience where information and emotion are in harmony. The future of tourist guiding will depend on its relation to technology. This article provided largely theoretical suggestions for understanding the experience of the tourist in relation to tourist guiding. Further studies into the practical implications of using technology in the field of tourist guiding will be needed to help guide tourist guides in the 21st century.

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# Notes for
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2. The articles submitted for publication are first examined by the Journal Manager and Chief Editor in regard to the suitability of their goals, subject, content, presentation style and compliance to the journal's writing rules. Articles that have passed the preliminary evaluation process are sent to two referees that are expert in the specific field of the study. If the views of the referees on the work are conflicting then a third referee is consulted. According to the reports of the referees the Editorial Management either accepts or rejects the article.

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