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## **TOURISM**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

According to the UNWTO's (United Nations World Tourism Organization) World Tourism Barometer (UNWTO, 2019), international tourist arrivals worldwide numbered 1.4 billion in 2018, an increase of 6% on 2017. These increases were distributed across all continents and regions of the world, with the Middle East (up 10%) and Africa (up 7%) experiencing the largest growth in incoming tourists, followed by Asia, the Pacific and Europe (all up 6%). The UNWTO Barometer also found that for 2018, the greatest rises in expenditure on international tourism came from the Russian Federation (up 16% from 2017), France (up 10%), Australia (9%), USA (7%) and the Republic of Korea (6%). Generating US\$1.6 trillion in export earnings in 2017, and accounting for 1 in 10 of all jobs (ibid), international tourism is a seemingly unstoppable global economic concern. The importance of these numbers for the study of languages and intercultural communication is, simply put, that global tourism presents increasing opportunities for intercultural and multilingual encounters between tourists/guests and locals/hosts, amongst tourists, and amongst employees working in the multinational/multicultural global tourism industry.

The precise nature of the language and intercultural communication issues at hand, however, and the consequences for tourists and hosts at individual, group and institutional levels, depend in large part on the kind of tourism and tourist under study, and the particular context. There are, of course, many kinds of tourists with different motivations and modes for travelling, and thus different degrees of interest in interacting with locals. These variations in type and perspective on tourism influence the nature and extent of tourist engagement in intercultural communication.

For some tourists, the opportunity to practice a foreign language while on holiday and to learn about new cultures and ways of life might be key to travel and the particular choice of destination. But how many of us actually take time to learn a second language - or at least much beyond a few key phrases or cultural curiosities from our guidebooks - before travelling? For others, perceived cultural and linguistic differences between themselves and their hosts might be viewed as potentially discomfiting, even alienating or threatening, and can form the basis of prejudice. These emotional or affective elements of attitudes towards

cultural and linguistic diversity can influence tourists' choice of holiday destination (e.g., by avoiding certain countries or regions seen to be 'too different') or type of accommodation (e.g., by choosing a large hotel complex with hosts who speak their language and offer a taste of the local culture that does not necessarily involve venturing far outside the confines of a resort).

Divergent attitudes might also be discerned in the perspective of the locals. For some, tourism can be threatening and viewed as corrosive of local cultural traditions and languages. For others, contact provides an opportunity not only for earning money by meeting tourist demands, but also for the preservation of minority languages/ethnolinguistic communities and for intercultural and language learning. Indeed, in this latter regard, it is most typically locals who are expected to learn tourist languages and thus to engage in linguistic accommodation. In these respects, tourism is a 'sociocultural event' (Murphy 1985) for both the host/locals and the guest/tourism with implications for the values, behaviours, lifestyles and worldviews of those who live and work in a particular tourist destination, as much as for those who visit it for shorter or longer periods of time.

This chapter provides an overview and critical discussion of three principal approaches to the study of these sorts of questions: the language of tourism approach; the intercultural encounters approach. These approaches are each characterised by a shared set of conceptual concerns, and commonly encountered, methodological and analytical strategies. That said, we wish to acknowledge the potential existence of theoretical diversity within each, and potential overlap between them, as regards areas topic choice or data source. The final section points to some future directions for scholars in this area of intercultural research.

## **TOURISM IMPACTS APPROACH**

Tourism has effects in multiple domains - economic, social, ecological, cultural. The multifaceted tourism impacts approach explores the positive and negative faces of these varied impacts, and has been re-energised through recent debates about 'overtourism' and resulting 'tourismphobia' (Milano, Novelli & Cheer, 2019). Referring to the increasing social and ecological stress placed on destinations (e.g., Venice, Barcelona) overwhelmed by tourists, Milano et al. draw attention to crucial consequences of overtourism for locals/hosts such as the dismantling of connectivity, diminishment of sense of place/belonging, and reduced quality of life and well-being. It is these kinds of effects that come under the

umbrella of social and cultural impacts of tourism, defined by Brunt and Courtney (1999: 496) as:

those which lead to a longer-term, gradual change in a society's values, beliefs, and cultural practices. To an extent, this is caused by the demand of tourists for instant culture and authentic souvenirs, and at the extreme may result in the situation whereby the host society becomes culturally dependent on the tourism generating country (...). In other situations, however, local communities can be quite ambivalent towards its development.

Below we provide a taster of different theoretical and methodological approaches to studying language(s) and intercultural communication aspects of (sociocultural) tourism impacts.

### **Contact theory and intercultural outcomes**

The 'contact hypothesis', a theory initially developed in the social psychology literature by Allport (1954), is frequently used by researchers in this field. According to Allport, intercultural or intergroup contact "changes the attitudes and behaviours of groups and individuals towards one another and, in turn, will influence any further contact (Dörnyei and Csizér 2005: 328). Contact theorists are primarily interested in identifying the positive and negative attitudinal and behavioural changes associated with tourism. Allport (1954) suggested that a number of 'intergroup conditions' are needed to make it more likely that individuals and groups will develop positive attitudes to intergroup and intercultural communication. These conditions include equal status between groups, shared pursuit of common goals, perception of common interests and institutional support for contact.

The typical nature of the tourist experience (i.e., brief duration of tourist stays, economic disparity between tourists and locals) mitigates against the existence of many of these conditions for favourable attitudes to intercultural contact (Dörnyei and Csizér 2005). Dörnyei and Csizér propose that such structural features of tourism increase the likelihood of a one-sided and exploitative relationship between tourists and locals characterised by "an orientation toward immediate gratification on the part of both hosts and tourists, with salient commercial, contrived, and even exploitative overtones" (2005: 330). This scenario may be one negative manifestation of the so-called 'demonstration effect' through which locals, over time, adopt/mimic certain values and behaviours exhibited by the tourists.

Several studies using a variety of theory and method to illustrate these ambivalent contact effects of tourism in different contexts. With regard to hosts/tourist institutions, Zhuhai-Jignyi and Chung-Shing (2018) combined use of a quantitative survey tool with Bourdieu's work on cultural vicissitudes to study regional tourism development in three districts of Zhuhai, China. The authors found that local people, government authorities and tourism practitioners reported changes in their original cultural perceptions and behaviours (regarding tourism) through the process of tourism development. As these groups acquired greater economic and social capital, which in turn positively influenced local spiritual culture, they were more accepting of tourism. By contrast, Sood, Lynch and Anastasiadou (2017) examined the reasons for rural communities' low participation in homestay tourism opportunities in Himachal Pradesh, India. Sociocultural factors (e.g., gender roles and home models, lack of sanitary infrastructure, fears and prejudices relating to foreign tourists) presented tensions within communities and challenges to local customs that negatively influenced this new economic opportunity.

Scholars have followed phenomenological and existential traditions to explore the intra- and interpersonal impacts of tourism for tourists/guests through themes of authenticity, liberation and alienation. Aquino and Andereck's (2018) phenomenological study of volunteer tourists' perceptions of their effects on marginalized communities in Brazilian favelas exemplifies some of the barriers to positive intergroup contact. They found that volunteer tourists who completed shorter stays and did not speak the language maintained stereotypes of favelas in general, and that inconsistencies and lack of commitment displayed by those volunteers may (negatively) affect local children's emotional well-being. When volunteers did learn the language, they demonstrated a greater commitment to the community thus lowering barriers between them and local residents.

Wassler and Kirilova (2019) existential-phenomenological analysis of the tourism 'gaze', however, suggests that it is inherently disconnecting and promotes inauthentic relations between tourists and locals. While locals come to 'consume' the tourist in categorical terms such as 'the Westerner', the 'Asian woman', 'the blonde', tourists are positioned as inauthentic experiencers of positivity, discrimination, alienation and self-consciousness. Everingham's (2015) study of a creative arts exchange scheme in Ecuador showed that participating tourists can, in contrast to Wassler and Kirilova's proposition, subvert the neo-colonial binaries at potential play in such contexts and promote intercultural learning.

Canavan's (2018) netnography-based study of backpackers highlight how such tourists both flee and find themselves through interacting with host peoples and landscape, catalysing existential authenticity.

### **Language attitudes and motivations for intercultural learning**

Linguistic dimensions of tourism's cultural impact (e.g., locals' attitudes to tourist/second language acquisition) have been studied using questionnaire surveys, notably in the context of minority/threatened languages.

Brougham and Butler's (1981) study of the attitudes and beliefs of residents of Sleat — the Gaelic-speaking southern part of the Isle of Skye, Scotland — explored the impact of tourism on their Gaelic language and cultural life. Their study demonstrated variation among respondents' attitudes towards tourism's impact on local language and culture, attributable to a number of different variables including 'degree of exposure' (to tourists) and certain demographic characteristics of the locals (notably length of residence, age and language). For example, although the majority of respondents held the view that tourism did not affect the status of Gaelic, variation in responses to this questionnaire item was associated with respondents' self-assessed 'degree of contact with second home users' (Brougham and Butler 1981: 580). Second home users will tend to stay for longer periods than other types of tourist in a particular place, with the result that 'a certain decline in the amount of Gaelic spoken' (ibid.) was perceived to ensue. Respondents who had zero contact with second home users and resided in so-called zones of higher tourist pressure expressed the view that tourism had no impact on the local language. In contrast, most respondents in 'areas of lower tourist pressure but with frequent contact with tourists' (ibid.) perceived tourism to have an impact.

Prentice and Hudson (1993) also deployed a survey tool to investigate the language dimensions of tourism impact among Welsh- and non-Welsh-speaking residents of Porthmadog, Gwynedd, Wales. They framed their research in terms of broader debates that conceive of tourism either as a mechanism for linguistic and cultural conservation or as a threat to an ethnolinguistic community (Welsh speakers in Wales), especially from the adjacent English-speaking/Anglo culture in Wales. The results indicated that, although most respondents agreed that tourism did not impact Welsh lifestyle, a substantial minority (notably falling in the age groups 31-40 and 41-50 years) did; however, the language issue

was a secondary one in their assessments. The authors thus caution against ascribing too much influence to linguistic competence in Welsh to perceptions of tourism.

Dörnyei and Csizér's (2005) survey of 8,593 13- and 14-year-old Hungarian school pupils explored attitudes to the contact effects of tourism, promoted by the development of tourism in post-revolutionary Hungary. For the most part, intercultural contact was found to encourage positive intergroup and language attitudes, and a motivation for language learning. School pupils who reported greater levels of self-confidence towards communicating in a foreign language exhibited the most positive attitudes to intercultural contact. McGladdery and Lubbe's (2017) study of South African high school students similarly found that individual factors (traits such as curiosity, altruism, open-mindedness to new experiences) were predictors of global learning in the context of international educational tourism.

Dörnyei and Csizér found some variation within the attitudinal results connected to the case of German tourists in the most frequented tourist localities in Hungary. In these areas, local school pupils had the least positive attitudes and motivation to learn a language. They explain this findings as the influence of intergroup and interpersonal 'salience' where "superficial contact experiences that are personally unimportant (i.e., that have no value in themselves and are not instrumental in reaching a valued goal) will not bring about a significant improvement of intergroup relations" (Dörnyei and Csizér 2005: 353). The respondents who had the highest contact (more frequent, less personally important) were in Budapest and, here, attitudes and second language learning motivations were comparatively lower vis-à-vis respondents from rural Hungary (less frequent tourist contact but more salient).

### **Commodifying languages and managing tourist behaviour**

Languages and cultures are key commodities – objects exchanged for money – that tourists buy and marketers sell (Jack, 2010). Scholars of minority and Indigenous languages and cultures have addressed the opportunities (e.g., a new source of income) and tensions (e.g., who decides what constitutes the key elements of linguistic and cultural capital for sale) for communities/peoples (Heller, Pujolar and Duchene 2014). This theme takes on particular hues in contexts where Indigenous languages and cultures, historically marginalised, continue to experience colonisation in relation to a majority group's values and norms reproduced through tourism.

Kelly-Holmes and Pietkainen (2014) present a fascinating case study of a Reindeer farm as an instance of the commodification of Sami culture, Finland. In this context, Sami hosts are positioned/position themselves as both an expert and an embodiment of the culture the tourist has paid to experience. While the authors consider this example as a case of how for-profit intercultural encounters allow small languages to move into prestigious, global domains, it also demonstrates certain host-tourist tensions. For example, as Sami hosts use generic scripts (routinized ways of interacting with tourists) to produce Sami culture, they encounter (as do their guests) tensions as questions of access and legitimacy arise in spaces where there is ongoing contestation of cultural, linguist and material rights. Furthermore, these identity-related scripts were also intended to 'contain' tensions latent in the local interplay between English as a tourist lingua franca/Finnish as a national language/and the local Inari Sami and Northern Sami languages.

Molinero, Carlisle and Pastor-Alfonso's (2016) study of 'top-down' tourism commodification strategies in Mexico also warns of the dangers and dilemmas of working with stereotyped ideas of Indigenous peoples when designing tourism products. Moving from questions of representation to questions of the political economy of cultural tourism in Australia, Scherrer and Doohan (2014) conceptualise tourism access to the Kimberley coast region of north-western Australia as a 'wicked problem'. Not only does such tourism often occur without appropriate permission from the traditional owners (TOs), but strategies adopted by TOs to address the issue (e.g., visitor permit system, pursue land rights' claims through Native Title legislation) are mired by ongoing forms of colonisation and lack of governmental support. These authors advocate a decolonial approach to cultural tourism that implements a more culturally sustainable and culturally appropriate mode of tourism access and activity.

Beyond the cultural and linguistic politics surfaced by the case above, it highlights more broadly the role of cross-cultural differences (between hosts and guests) in tourism settings. In this research domain, scholars have studied the impact of divergent (national) 'cultural value systems' on tourist behaviour, and the perceived need for tourism providers to be sensitive to and to 'manage' these differences to avoid cross-cultural conflict. Scholars often turn to Hofstede's (1980) cognitive model of national culture as a mental programme identifiable in so-called 'dimensions' of national culture (e.g., uncertainty avoidance, power distance), as well as Hall's (1959, 1976) writings on time, space and high/low-context cultures to study tourist behaviour. Reisinger and Turner (1997 1999 2002) deploy some of



these notions in the specific context of Asian tourists in Australia. In order to help Australian tourism providers enhance the quality of the interpersonal elements of service delivery, Reisinger and Turner (1999) identified the following cultural issues and practical recommendations to enhance the ‘psychological comfort’ of Japanese tourists:

- As members of a high-uncertainty avoidance culture, Japanese tourists require adequate and reliable information and other risk reduction strategies.
- Prompt service is vital as punctuality is taken as a sign of good manners and a measure of professionalism.
- As members of a high-power distance culture that values authority and hierarchy, displays of respect for the particular social position and age of tourists are vital. Tourist providers might, for instance, use these variables to determine the order to serve individual tourists, to allocate hotel rooms or appropriate seating on tour buses, and to provide special care and display respect for older tourists
- As a high-context culture in which indirect communication styles, silence and nonverbal cues are especially important, tourist providers should display humility (rather than directness and overconfidence) and an apologetic attitude.

Within this framework, cultural differences are viewed as aspects of host-tourist interactions that can, first, be isolated and identified using Hofstede’s national culture framework and, second, be ‘managed’ by providing employees with pertinent knowledge and skills (e.g., learning some tourist language/phrases, understanding culture-specific non-verbal behaviours), or developing their ‘communication competence’ (Leclerc and Martin 2004).

Sharma (2018) explored an intercultural communication training course for tourism workers in Nepal. Recognising that guides and tourists negotiate meaning, identities and relationships, tourist guides come to develop their competence through an interplay of language, literacy and communication skills, as well as the ideologies in which stereotypes of tourists’ tastes and expectations come to play a role. Sharma critiques the training course as reproducing market-oriented communication practices that commodify the linguistic and cultural diversity (see also Dahlén, 1997; Jack, 2009) of Nepal through the way guides learn to manage rapport and impressions to please tourists. Sharma argues that the ensuing relationship was often hierarchical, with discourses and subjectifying practices of servitude observed. However, Sharma also noted that the course did teach rapport management strategies to adjust

inequalities between the Western self and Nepalese Other, and to retain a degree of autonomy and agency, even if only for a short amount of time.

### **Limitations and future opportunities**

There are a number of limitations associated with survey-based approaches to tourism and intercultural communication research. The first set is primarily methodological and associated with the use of survey instruments that provide self-reported data at one point in time of locals'/tourists' attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of tourism. What actually happens in everyday communicative practice is left unexplored, thus posing the question of whether what respondents purport their attitudes and behaviours to be is truly reflective of what would actually occur in practice. Surveys thus provide decontextualised data that do not capture the dynamics and complexities of local contexts for interaction. Attitudes may also change over time, and respondents may 'impression manage' their responses to survey items in order to present what they might perceive to be the best or the right answer rather than the one that more accurately reflects their views. Turning to the culture management issues, Hofstede's (1980) framework has now been extensively criticised for: its use of the nation-state as a 'container' of a national culture; the reduction and homogenisation of intra-national diversity in portrayals of culture; its essentialist characterisations of culture; methodological flaws with the sampling frame, initial questionnaire design and statistics (McSweeney 2002).

The emergence of critical tourism studies relating to Indigenous Peoples offers scholars several important opportunities for to contribute to a decolonising agenda in the study and practice of (cultural and linguistic) tourism. Espeso-Molinero, Carlisle and Pastor-Alfonso (2016) for example devised a mechanism called the ITPD (Indigenous Tourism Product Development Model) (tested in three Lacandon Maya Indian communities in southern Mexico) to introduce cultural and heritage-related products through a collaborative dialogue between scientific and traditional wisdoms. This model gave Indigenous entrepreneurs and communities tools to make self-determined tourism-related decisions, enriching visitors' experiences, whilst generating self-confidence and provide among Indigenous participants. Peters and Higgins-Desbiolles (2012) talk about 'demarginalising tourism research' in two ways: first, by recognising and rendering visible Indigenous peoples (and Indigenous Australians) as tourists themselves, not just the (subject/object) of tourism by non-Indigenous others; second, by using more Indigenous paradigms and perspectives in tourism research.

## **THE LANGUAGE OF TOURISM APPROACH**

The multifaceted language of tourism approach places a primary focus on the content and effects of the textual and visual representations of tourist destinations and local populations. These representations may be found in the promotional materials manufactured and touristic practices deployed by the so-called ‘actors’ of the ‘tourist establishment’ (i.e., marketers, hoteliers, tour guides and so on), or in visual images/records (e.g., selfies, social media content) produced and circulated by tourists themselves. The language of tourism is sometimes studied under the rubric of ‘tourism discourse’ (for instance Frisch, 2012) and as a mode of social control. For example, so-called ‘induced images’ of destinations produced by tourism marketers through a variety of promotional media in a way that ‘directs expectations, influences perceptions, and thereby provides a preconceived landscape for the tourist to “discover”’ (Weightman 1987: 230). This second and burgeoning approach to exploring tourism and intercultural communication is one, then, that asks questions about language, representation and power, and does so with recourse to sociolinguistic, critical discourse/critical language awareness and postcolonial theory and method.

### **Sociolinguistic approaches**

Graham Dann’s (1996) *The Language of Tourism* presents a sociolinguistic framework for conceptualising tourism and its links to language(s) and culture. Just as is the case with dance, music or architecture, Dann argues that tourism works like a language since they each:

have ways of communicating to us. They are structured. They follow certain grammatical rules and have specialized vocabularies. They are in many senses language-like in their properties. Analogically too, these languages convey messages, they have a heuristic or semantic content, they operate through a conventional system of symbols and codes. Many also include the equivalent of dialects and registers. (Dann 1996: 2)

Dann’s analogous use of (tourism as) language is informed (at least in the opening section of his book) by a structuralist semiotic tradition notably associated with Roland Barthes. The goal of this form of linguistic inquiry is to excavate and identify the underlying ‘grammar’ or ‘langue’ (to use de Saussure’s phrase) of a particular cultural system (such as clothing, fashion, photography, celebrity culture, etc.).

Accordingly, Dann makes the case 'that tourism, in the act of promotion, as well as in the accounts of its practitioners and clients, has a discourse of its own' (ibid.), the grammar-like properties of which can be identified using sociolinguistic concepts and practices. The corpus of texts used by Dann to this end includes tourism promotional material (brochures, destination signage, language used in organised tours) and practitioner/client accounts. Some of the properties he identifies in his analysis are common to all languages, but others mark tourism as distinctive. The reason for this distinctiveness, and thus the reason why he impels us to think beyond tourism as 'just' being language-like, is that tourism is a language of social control. These distinctive properties are manifest in particular verbal and visual techniques of tourism production, and in the existence of multiple linguistic registers addressed to different types of tourist. These registers include: Ol'Talk (nostalgia tourism); Spasprech (health tourism); Gastrolingo (food and drink); and Greenspeak (ecotourism).

Dann's book also draws together a sociolinguistic analysis of tourism, with existing perspectives from sociology and anthropology on the multifaceted nature and diverse motivations for tourism. He identifies four dominant perspectives on tourism from these two disciplines and proposes that each has important sociolinguistic correlates. He summarises these perspectives and correlates as follows:

- The 'authenticity' perspective. Here, the search for 'authentic' social relations with the other is the primary driver of tourism. The language characteristic of this perspective involves enhancing the impression that the tourist will experience such authentic relations. As MacCannell (1976) famously argues, the tourist establishment is actually producing a 'staged' form of authenticity, specifically manufactured for tourists, and based on the reduction, manipulation and commodification of other cultures. Drawing upon Marxist terminology, Dann (1996: 8) critiques such staged authenticity, arguing that it 'imbue[s] tourist with a false consciousness', with the result that 'far from becoming new persons as promised by advertising, tourists instead become victims of fantasy, prisoners of their own impulses, and mere imitators of those who supposedly represent the better life'.
- The 'strangeness' perspective. Here, the search for something strange, different and for new experiences is the primary driver of tourism. The language characteristic of this perspective is one of differentiation, and typically involves the use of binary oppositions (of contrasting nouns and verbs), similes, metaphors and other lexical

means to produce representations of other places and people as ‘strange’ or ‘different’. Dann notes that, although some tourism operators will play out the radical strangeness of a destination, others provide tourists with a more ‘domesticated’ view, promising a ‘home away from home’ and a familiar locale amidst a ‘strange’ culture.

- The ‘play’ perspective. Associated with postmodern theory, tourism from this perspective is a spectacle or a game in which ‘knowing’ tourists are aware of, yet still enjoy, the consumption of artificially created cultural and linguistic experiences. Dann presents examples of research conducted in Barbados, where its slavery plantation heritage has been turned into a spectacle for tourists to enjoy (‘The Plantation Spectacular’). Dann critiques the manner in which such spectacles distort, sometimes even erase, historical and contemporary manifestations of colonial racism.
- The ‘conflict’ perspective takes an ideological lens and views tourism as a site of power struggle between different social groups with respect to: i) the economic benefits derived from tourist activity; ii) ethical questions regarding which groups are responsible for representing and thus speaking on behalf of others. He illustrates with reference to representations of Aboriginal and Native American cultures in tourism genres, and the manner in which the tourist establishment imposes the cultural order and representations (e.g., through ethnocentric stereotyping, vocabularies and symbols) of mainstream society on minority groups. Dann labels tourism a language of appropriation that reproduces symbolic inequalities between cultural/ethnic groups.

### **CDA, CLA and postcolonial approaches**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) and critical language awareness (CLA) are used as tools by communications scholars in ways that illustrate and advance (Dann’s) sociolinguistic approach to tourism as a form of social control. Cardiff University’s Centre for Language and Communication Research’s project on Language and Global Communication explored, amongst other things, the uses and representations of local languages and the social roles and negotiation of status in host-tourist interactions, in British TV holiday programmes. Using CDA and CLA as theoretical frames, this group’s analyses illustrate the presence of all four perspectives on tourism within these TV programmes. Jaworski et al. (2003a), for example, discuss the discursive and performative deployment of the few languages other than English used in interactions between the TV presenters (proxies for tourists) and locals/hosts. The dataset comprised 106 episodes of two TV programmes and the detailed analysis of 246

examples of interaction. Although English is positioned in these programmes as a global language, the authors note how other languages are reduced to a few key phrases easily found in guidebooks and tourist brochures. Local languages are used for four key functions to authenticate the tourist experience of the presenter: expert talk (guided tours or explanations of local life); service encounters (such as buying food); phatic communion (to exchange greetings); naming and translating.

Jaworski et al. (ibid.) critique the portrayal of local languages, and their speakers, in these programmes. They argue that they disempower the role of locals in interactions, and give the impression that communicating in the host language is effortless and requires little more than a few guidebook phrases. Jaworski et al. develop a conflict perspective analysis in another piece published in the same year (Jaworski et al. 2003b), in which they conceptualise televised encounters as a site of power struggle where ‘presenter-tourists (...) construct for themselves parochial identities by adhering to stereotyped interpretations of local people and seeking “safe” interpretations of the host culture’ (ibid.: 135).

Visual portrayals of languages and intercultural communication have also been a focus. Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) investigated tourists’ online photo-sharing as an instantiation of globalization. They reveal the interplay between posters/commenters who fashion their identities as good or ‘knowing’ tourists, and collective and cumulative ideologies of tourism, including histories of travel and conquests. Tourism discourses, they argue, reproduce neoliberal, neo-colonial interests veiled by what they call the ‘interculturality myth’; an ideology which ostensibly celebrates difference and respect, but downplays global inequalities. Thurlow and Jaworski (2014) conducted a multimodal discourse analysis of verbal (writing and speech), non-verbal (movement and gesture) and technological (photography and video) resources used by tourists in ‘tourist place-making’ (of the Leaning Tower of Pisa, Italy). In exploring tourist behaviour at the Tower, the authors drew attention to the layering of mediatised actions (e.g., climbing tower or posing in front of it), and remediated practices (e.g., posting a YouTube video of oneself climbing it) through which tourists are continuously shaping these places. The Leaning Tower of Pisa is thus as much an emergent production of the tourist’s imagination made meaningful through the generic, stylistic and discursive practices of tourism and of individual tourists as it is a pre-existing destination.

Scarles' (2011) study of 'the photographed other' in Cusco, Peru draws out further layers with respect to different interplays of agency in tourism contexts as locals are photographed by tourists. Scarles shows not only how photographic performances within dominant Western mythologies of the exotic other perpetuate spaces of exclusion (via dependency and disempowerment), but also how local communities mobilise spaces of empowerment, independence and self-determination. In-depth interviews with locals photographed by tourists gave insights into opportunities and consequences of being photographed, and how they harness dominant tourist narratives to facilitate social, economic and cultural gain. In this way, locals were active, knowing agents and co-performers, not 'victims' of the tourism game, a mutual gaze where photography stimulates new possibilities for intercultural exchange. This study's focus on self-other relations in tourism segues to postcolonialism.

The conflict perspective from Dann's framework can also be extended with reference to recent postcolonial analyses of tourism discourse, especially of so-called Third World tourism (usually tourism to formerly colonised societies in Africa, East Asia or Latin America) (see also the earlier one sub-section on the commodification of languages and cultures covered in the tourism impacts approach). Postcolonial analyses inspired by Edward Said's (1978) text *Orientalism* set out to identify and critique the processes of othering that lead to the production of ethically problematic representations of other cultures. Othering refers to the ways in which linguistic and visual representations serve to manufacture differences and inequalities between the self and the other. Said's work here is underpinned by a constructionist notion of discourse (based on early Foucault and Gramsci) in which language serves to both enable and constrain, and therefore regulate understandings of concepts ('the Orient'). As Said illustrates in his text, these differences are constructed through the deployment of binary oppositions in which one side of the opposition (used to signify the self) is valued more positively, and thus comes to dominate, the other.

Linking this postcolonial approach to tourism, Aitchison (2001: 137; see also Papen, 2005) notes how:

Tourist destinations as sites for tourists, and the people within them as sights for tourists, are frequently rendered Other by a tourist industry that has developed an unsigned colonialist and gendered hegemony in the form of a set of descriptors for constructing and representing 'Tropical Paradise'. These descriptors signify a colonial legacy where places are viewed as mystical or

treasured landscapes preserved by time to be explored, and often exploited, in their natural state.

Aitchison is pointing to the continued presence of colonial imagery and ideology in contemporary tourism discourse, according to which the ‘modern’ tourists of the First World can be contrasted with a pre- or non-modern, timeless and unchanging Third World. The textual manufacturing of this contrast between the First and the Third Worlds is particularly well illustrated in Echtner and Prasad’s (2003) analysis of the myths used in a corpus of tourism

*Table 34.1* Tourism myths

<i>Myths</i>	<i>Unchanged</i>	<i>Unrestrained</i>	<i>Uncivilized</i>
The place	Lands of legend	Lands of luxuriance	Lands at the limit
The time	Past	Present	Primordial
The natural	Significant silence	Soft	Savage
The built	Relics	Resorts	Significant silence
The host	Peasant (simple/stoic)	Pleasant (serving/smiling)	Primitive (savage/surprising)
The tourist	Explorer into the past	Explorer into paradise	Expedition into the primitive

*Source:* Echtner and Prasad (2003: 678). Reproduced with permission.

brochures to construct understandings of Third World destinations for First World tourists. They identified three principal ‘Un’-myths in tourism marketing: the myth of the unchanged; the myth of the unrestrained; the myth of the uncivilised (see Table 34.1, which expands on the nature of these myths with regard to a number of different categories). These myths are an outcome of a set of binary oppositions where the other is signified as deficient or lacking, compared with the superior (more civilised, more modern, etc.) Western tourist (the self in this discourse).

## **Limitations**

The language of tourism approach has conventionally placed an emphasis on the identification and /or deconstruction of the (colonising) discourses used by the tourist establishment. This representationalist perspective has limitations. First, the primary focus on textual and (to a lesser extent) visual analyses means that scholars are perhaps overly concerned with exploring the content and forms of tourism discourse, rather than the structural and ideological interests and actors involved in the production and subsequent consumption/use/appropriation of these texts. Second, such sociolinguistic and discourse-based perspective under-investigate how the constituent texts of a particular tourism



discourse are mobilised and appropriated in actual language use and intercultural communication, particularly in the form of resistance by tourists/guests and/or tourism providers/hosts to dominant cultural representations.

### **THE INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS APPROACH**

The intercultural encounters approach takes ‘interaction’, and ideally ‘naturally occurring’ interaction, between locals and tourists as its primary unit of analysis. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic research (characterised by the use of participant observation methods in a cultural setting) constitute typical theoretical and methodological resources in this approach. Compared with the previous two perspectives, there is significantly less research in/on tourism that falls within this approach, probably because of the methodological challenges (notably gaining access and permission to record everyday interaction) associated with it. We begin with a well-known conceptual essay.

#### **Tourist Talk (TT) in Institutionalised Tourist Settings**

In the tourism studies literature, Cohen and Cooper’s (1986) work on language and tourism — and in particular their notion of tourist talk (TT) — provides a detailed framework for conceiving of the contextual exigencies, linguistic differentiation and varieties of language spoken in intercultural communicative encounters between tourists and locals.

Their framework draws, first, upon traditional sociolinguistic concepts beginning with foreigner talk (FT). They define FT as ‘a simplified register which the members of a speech community consider appropriate for use with outsiders who have imperfect mastery of the community’s language’ (Cohen and Cooper 1986: 536). They call FT a ‘register’ as it comprises a language variety linked to a specific use, and simplified as ‘members of the community view it as a more basic version of the normal adult vernacular’ (ibid.) in terms of lexical variability and syntactic complexity. The authors supplement their sociolinguistic concepts by turning to the sociological literature. They do so to suggest that, although it is often the case that users of FT typically have higher status than those who receive it, the tourist context often involves a reversal of this situation. This reversal impacts the question of who speaks in which language to whom. That is to say, in the tourist context, it is typically the foreigner rather than the local who is of higher status (usually FT involves the opposite in the sociolinguistics literature, as in the case of migrant workers for example) with the result that linguistic acculturation of the tourist to the local is unusual. Cohen and Cooper (1986)

label this type of speech tourist talk (TT) to differentiate it from FT, although it can still be considered a simplified register depending on context.

Further inspired by sociology, Cohen and Cooper critique sociolinguistic scholarship for its lack of consideration of the impact of the high degree of *temporariness* of tourists on patterns of linguistic accommodation and intercultural communication between locals and foreigners. This issue was canvassed in the earlier tourism impacts approach. They speculate that the linguistic reversal enacted in TT will be compounded by the fact that tourists typically have neither the time nor the opportunity to learn a language during their stay and that locals do not usually expect it. Indeed, the economic benefits to be derived from communicating with foreign tourists tend to provide sufficient motivation for many tourism providers to engage in foreign language learning. Having said this, the diversity of tourists, contexts and locals' language proficiency means that the specifics of language accommodation and thus intercultural communication will vary considerably.

In order to capture and describe some of the hypothesised linguistic diversity of touristic contexts, they draw upon some of Cohen's earlier work — a typology of tourist types — to organise their discussion. Cohen's typology describes two principal forms of tourism according to the extent to which 'a tourist exposes himself [sic] to the strangeness of the host society or, contrariwise, encloses himself [sic] within the familiarity of the "environmental bubble" of his home society provided by the tourist establishment' (ibid.: 539-40). These two principal forms of tourism and conjectured linguistic practices can be summarised as follows:

- 'Institutionalised' tourism (where tourists stay in the 'bubble'). Here, local tourist personnel will be expected to speak the tourist's language, or a lingua franca, with a high degree of competence. To this end, language learning is typically formally studied by personnel and will involve the acquisition of polite speech and specialised vocabulary. Host-tourist encounters will be formal (with formal role definitions) and instrumental (rather than personal) in orientation. For those tourists who leave the tourist bubble and enter the fringes of the tourist establishment (labelled individual mass tourists), such as local bars or shops, some competence will be required of hosts. However competence would be expected to be generally lower than in the central establishment. Sometimes, a pseudo-personalised style of speech will be developed by members of some tourist-related service occupations, and there may well be an

element of playfulness, and metalinguistic awareness, between the host and the tourist as they interact with one another.

- ‘Non-institutionalised’ tourism (where tourists expose themselves to the local culture to a greater degree) involves individuals and groups that make limited or no use of the tourist establishment’s services. Cohen and Cooper (1986) suggest that, in these contexts, there will be a great variety of local competence in tourist language, and tourists may well be required to engage in linguistic accommodation of their own. Locals will probably use a highly simplified register of TT and, together, these characteristics of language in non-institutionalised tourism may well create numerous communication problems for tourists. Cohen and Cooper encourage researchers to study the kinds of communication that emerge in situations of total linguistic strangeness for tourists, especially the development by tourists of a private patois or a spontaneous pidgin for purposes of intercultural communication.

The utility of Cohen and Cooper’s framework lies, in part, in the fact that it is ripe for empirical application, testing and refinement. It provides researchers with a clear way of mapping out some potential sociolinguistic and sociological relationships between tourists, hosts and the intercultural communication that might ensue between them.

There are inevitably limitations with such a conceptual framework that is rather sparing in its use of detailed empirical evidence. Huisman and Moore (1998), for instance, argue that many of Cohen and Cooper’s suggestions depend on the specific national languages under consideration. Based on interviews and questionnaires with German tourists visiting New Zealand, they found that these particular tourists expressed little desire for their New Zealand hosts to accommodate their German language. In fact, they stated that it would reduce the enjoyment of the trip and the challenge of communicating in a foreign language, which they relished. For the tourists in this sample, they expected to adopt the host language, expressing a desire to escape the dominant language of tourism and linguistic accommodation.

### **Ethnographic approaches**

Ethnographic approaches, broadly speaking, involve a researcher immersing herself in an everyday social and cultural setting in order to observe and document naturally-occurring meaning-making and behaviour. It can be used as a methodological perspective that brings to

life, and brings life to, conceptual frameworks such as Cooper and Cohen's in tourism contexts (Jack and Phipps 2005).

To illustrate, we turn to Snow's (2004) study of the impact of international tourism in the village of Old Bank, on the island of Bastimentos, Panama. It provides detailed empirical insights into the kinds of issues outlined by Cohen and Cooper (1986) within the specific historical national language context of Spanish and Panamanian Creole Englishes (PCEs). Until recently, and for geographical and historical reasons, Western Caribbean Creole English speakers in Panama have had to learn Spanish to participate fully in society, thereby creating a necessary bilingualism in communities such as Old Bank. Local concerns have pertained to the question of whether, over time, varieties of English Creole would diminish as Spanish took firmer hold in the everyday life of Old Bank.

Snow found that the development of international tourism in this part of Panama has fundamentally changed the conditions of contact between PCE speakers and those of other languages. Of the PCE spoken in Old Bank, Snow (2004: 116) remarks that it is:

proving to be an economically viable alternative to Spanish in interactions with tourists. Indeed, the variety of Panamanian Creole English spoken in Old Bank appears to be strengthening and may become even more vital as the region's economy shifts from bananas to tourism.

Snow draws upon data from his ethnographic study (60 hours of interviews; observations of interactions in homes and public spaces) to highlight fascinating language dimensions of international communication in a tourist context, notably the great utility of English in communicating with international tourists.

The transcripts of selected interactions between locals and tourists that Snow analyses, illustrate how tourists and locals negotiate in situ the choice of language in which to communicate across cultures. The data demonstrate speakers' metalinguistic awareness as they initially negotiate language choice. Snow uses the concept of 'language ideologies' to interpret these insights, a concept that can be defined as 'any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use' (Silverstein 1979: 193, in Snow 2004: 121). Snow takes the view that tourist encounters are sites in which language ideologies are produced and used to negotiate and articulate language choice. In his dataset, he shows how the deployment of language

ideologies came to have the following outcomes for intercultural communication: English rather than Spanish becomes the preferred language for tourist communication; distinctions, and tensions, between different types of English language/Creole speakers are erased as a clear boundary is constructed in interaction between English and Spanish speakers; aware that many English-speaking international tourists will not understand their Creole, PCE speakers frequently accommodate by altering their speech.

Moving to the USA, Evans-Pritchard's (1989) ethnographic study of Native American (from the Pueblo and Navajo tribes) silversmiths in New Mexico is another exemplary study of intercultural awareness at play in tourist settings. It is a study of the silversmiths' perceptions and interactions with tourists visiting their shops, revealing how they reverse the tourist gaze. The author presents ethnographic data that not only demonstrate the tribal members' awareness of the stereotypes that (US) tourists hold of them, but also how they subverted and used these to profit from tourists' expectations. Evans-Pritchard concludes that stereotypes can 'function to defend' (1989: 89) the privacy of the tribal members, a view of stereotypes different from the usually negative overtones they generate.

## **FUTURE DIRECTIONS**

The rise of global in tourism has multiplied opportunities for transcultural linguistic encounters in recent decades and thus represents a wonderful opportunity for scholars to take this multidisciplinary area of scholarship in exciting future directions.

First, future scholars might consider broadening and deepening the insights of extant research encapsulated by the three principal approaches. This task might involve adopting one of the theoretical and methodological approaches outlined above, be it that of social psychology and the survey questionnaire, critical discourse analysis/sociolinguistic analysis of the texts and visual materials of tourism discourse, or the careful linguistic analysis of transcripts of naturally occurring talk captured as part of an ethnographic study. Alternatively, scholars might consider combining and either integrating, or holding in productive tension, two or more of these theoretical and methodological approaches. Clarity will be required on the theoretical assumptions that researchers are making about tourism and intercultural communication, as well as some reflexivity about the impact of their presence and their own intercultural positions on that which they observe.

Second, we would highly recommend that more ethnographic research be conducted into tourism and intercultural communication, which can provide the lived and rich contextual insights that are currently missing from some of the tourism impacts and language of tourism approaches. Finally, we wholly subscribe to the need for the development of a decolonial agenda in language(s), tourism and intercultural.

### **RELATED TOPICS**

Critical pedagogy; English as a global language; ethnography; ideology; intercultural communicative competence; intergroup contact; intercultural training; othering, postcolonialism.

### **FURTHER READING**

Dahles, H. (2002) 'The politics of tour guiding: image management in Indonesia,' *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(3): 783-800 (an excellent, ethnographic insight into the political dimensions of tour guiding and its potential impact on intercultural communication).

Mietzner, A. and Storch, A. (eds.) (2019) *Language and tourism in postcolonial settings*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications (a brand new edited collection focused on perspectives from and on the global south that pushes the boundaries of postcolonial approaches to tourism).

Spencer-Rodgers, J. and McGovern, T. (2002) 'Attitudes toward the culturally different: the role of intercultural communication barriers, affective responses, consensual stereotypes, and perceived threat', *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 26: 609-31 (this is a good example of a social psychological, quantitative approach to intercultural communication research and especially its affective elements).

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