Title (Re)membering England: A Disclosure Analysis of the Governance of Diversity

Name William G. Feighery

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(RE)MEMBERING ENGLAND: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

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(RE)MEMBERING ENGLAND: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

by

WILLIAM G. FEIGHERY

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Luton

June 2004

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my parents,

Thomas Feighery and Annie O'Toole

(RE)MEMBERING ENGLAND: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE GOVERNANCE OF DIVERSITY

ABSTRACT

Studies on the representation of 'local' populations, in and through tourism, have tended to focus on 'traditional' peoples in 'developing' countries. In this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of Official Tourism Organisations (OTOs), by contrast, I focus on a 'developed' West European country: England. This study was carried out in order critically to inspect the representation/signification of 'minority' ethnic populations in the text and talk of OTOs in England within the period 2000-2003. The study is framed within an anti foundational dialogue of social constructionism. In analysing OTO discursive practices I use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to explore the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in a number of 'interview', 'operational' and 'promotional' texts. The CDA framework employed is designed to reveal patterns of discourse in the text as well as to provide a basis for understanding the micro context (for 'operational' and 'promotional' texts) of text production and distribution. Also, the framework facilitates a consideration of the macro institutional context within which OTOs in England operate. From the analysis of OTO texts carried out in this study I propose a number of interpretative findings, including 'discourses' of *denial, equality* and *otherness*. Overall, the 'interpretative findings' suggest that OTO texts are produced and circulated within a *discourse of silence* on matters of ethno-cultural diversity in England. I conclude this study by suggesting a number of transformative actions for the development by OTOs in England of an ethical 'politics of articulation'. In addition I identify a number of problematic arenas within which tourism studies scholars might pursue future research agendas and to that end I propose some potentially useful points of entry into the broader social science literature.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

BTA	British Tourist Authority
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CE	Chief Executive
ETC	English Tourism Council
OTO	Official Tourism Organisation
RTB	Regional Tourism Board

GLOSSARY OF KEY TERMS

A glossary of key terms used in this thesis is provided at the end of the thesis (from page 318). These key terms are capitalised in the body of the text and presented in the following manner: e.g. agents of display [~AGENTS OF DISPLAY].

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION:

(RE)MEMBERING ENGLAND IN TEXT AND CONTEXT

1.0 INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

> Imagine that you enter a parlour. You come late. When you arrive, others have long preceded you, and they are engaged in a heated discussion, a discussion too heated for them to pause and tell you exactly what it is about. In fact, the discussion had already begun long before any of them got there, so that no one present is qualified to retrace for you all the steps that had gone before. You listen for a while, until you decide that you have caught the tenor of the argument; then you put in your oar. Someone answers; you answer him [sic]; another comes to your defence; another aligns himself against you, to either the embarrassment or gratification of your opponent, depending upon the quality of your ally's assistance. However, the discussion is interminable. The hour grows late, [and] you must depart. And you do depart, with the discussion still vigorously in progress.
>
> (Burke, 1957:94-96, quoted in Jasinski, 2001:xi)

Burke's conceptualisation of human existence as an 'unending conversation', into which you enter late and leave early, can also serve as a metaphor for this current study (indeed for any research study). The researcher always arrives when the conversation has already begun. In one way or another others have always proceeded you, and no one can adequately retrace the conversation to its commencement. You always enter the conversation with only a partial understanding of the topic, and your 'findings' will be moulded both by support for, and opposition to, your arguments. Inevitably, you will have to withdraw (temporarily or permanently) from the conversation as the debate

evolves. You leave others to continue the debate and when you return (if you return) you will find yourself entering a new conversation.

Burke invokes the metaphor of 'a parlour' as the space within which the conversation of human existence takes place – a parlour – a comfortable and safe place at the centre of the 'Western' home. Drawing on another metaphor, Foucault has been charged (Simons, 1995) with 'rattling the cage' without any plans for its transformation into a human home. Perhaps his lack of prescription is precisely because for a majority of human subjects proceeding 'from domination to domination' (Foucault, 1977:151) a cage – an uncomfortable and restrictive place – is *our* home.

I commence this research 'conversation' with the realisation that the study of tourism is not an end in itself, but a prism within which to ruminate on broader questions of cultural, economic, environmental, political and social concern (Selwyn, 2001; Hollinshead, 2002). Thus, this current study of the representation [~REPRESENTATION] of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse [~ DISCOURSE] of Official Tourism Organisations (hereafter OTOs) in England can be regarded as a contribution to the longstanding and ongoing discussion on matters of ethnic and cultural diversity in England. It is not possible to trace the origins of this 'conversation' to any moment in the past, or to any individual or group of individuals, nor indeed is such an endeavour necessary in the context of this study. Suffice to say that the discussion of ethno-cultural diversity in England is complex, multi-faceted and a source of heated debate in arenas of local and 'national' governance, as well as in the academy. Hence, this study represents a

momentary engagement in what has been, and will continue to be, a protracted debate as England evolves within a dynamic and diverse United Kingdom.

The purpose of this chapter is to reveal the thesis and offer brief comment on the key issues addressed in subsequent chapters. In this chapter I introduce the reader to the background, focus, aims and objectives of the study. From these broad statements the concepts of discourse and representation are introduced as the key themes within the thesis. The chapter continues by identifying other key terms and concepts employed in the thesis. The chapter concludes by identifying a number of factors which highlight the need for the study.

'National' populations comprise versions of public memory which are contested and whose past and future visions are open to struggle. The development of dominant public memory usually excludes certain 'groups' both from the articulation of the 'nations' [~NATION] historic memory as well as from the articulation of its (their) desired futures. Yet as Carrol and Carrol, (2000:138) argue, "Symbolic recognition of the right of an ethnic community to play a full role in social and political life can be just as important as power sharing". National and regional tourism boards across the globe are implicated in these processes of articulation, through the projection of the symbolic resources of their assigned territory in and through tourism. Representation in and through tourism has been criticised for perpetuation imperialist structures and colonialist fantasies (Mellinger, 1994) which still resonate in the architecture of tourism development and consumption practices around the globe. Therefore, official tourism board projections of 'nation' or

region can be regarded as one of many discursive spaces where struggles over imagined pasts and envisioned futures take place. Thus, OTOs, as agents of display [~AGENTS OF DISPLAY], have a significant responsibility within plural democratic nation-states to articulate the 'nation' or region in ways which take account of their diverse ethnic and cultural composition. As Livingstone (1998:16-17) has it:

> The projecting of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress, to the extent that it is internalised. Not only contemporary feminism but also race [sic] relations and discussions of multiculturalism are undergirded by the premiss that denied recognition can be a form of oppression.

In this study, I examine the discursive practices of official publicly funded tourism organisations in England in order to explore the representation of ethno-cultural diversity within such institutional contexts. Specifically, this study analysis a number of written texts in the from of promotional brochures, as well as texts published in connection with the management of the tourism organisations in question. In addition, in this study I analyse transcriptions of a number of interviews with officials within various 'national' and regional tourism organisations in England. The aim of the study is to probe for ideological constructions of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs. The study seeks to illuminate ways in which OTO discursive events are embedded with broader structural forces within which discourse (language in use) is the primary instrument through which ideology [~IDEOLOGY] is transmitted, enacted and maintained.

This study was conducted within the broader context of increasing public awareness of and concern for the role of public institutions in perpetuating discriminatory practices through institutional racism. The latter part of the 1990s witnessed increasing awareness

of the unsatisfactory track record of public institutions in reflecting the diverse nature of society (Arts Council of England, 2000). Throughout the 1990s and into the early years of the 21st century the issue of cultural diversity has attracted a great deal of attention within the public sphere in England. However, it is questionable whether those official publicly funded tourism boards in England have yet begun to engage with such concerns. Hence, this study can be regarded as an exploratory inspection of the role of institutional discourse, in and through tourism, in perpetuating extant power relations. This study, which through critical discourse analysis [~ CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS] (CDA) takes an engaged political stance, seeks to highlight the discursive strategies used by human agents within OTOs which act to reproduce ethnocentric [~ ETHNOCENTRISM] and discriminatory practices vis-à-vis 'minority' ethnic populations in England. However, it is recognised that there are myriad social and psychological factors which influence the ways such agents and their audiences construct and interpret such practices which this study could not hope to inspect.

1.0.1 Language *in* Use:

In relation to the role of language in privileging or subjugating representations of cultural identity the following quotation from Foucault (1978:194) is instructive:

> As if in order to gain mastery over it in reality, it had first been necessary to subjugate it at the level of language, control its free circulation in speech, expunge it from the things that were said, and extinguish the words that rendered it too visibly present. And even those prohibitions, it seems, were afraid to name it.

Foucault's (1978) work *The History of Sexuality* which referred to 'the age of repression' highlights the capability of language to produce or constrain 'rituals of truth' (Foucault,

1979:194) within any given institutional setting. During the present historic conjuncture which has been defined as the era of 'globalisation', tourism is increasingly seen as a vast system of social control (Bruner, 1994; Buck, 1993; Dann, 2002b; Fjellman, 1992; Hollinshead, 1993; Urry, 1990, 1995). Different audiences employ to varying degrees their 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984) in order to decipher the range of narratives presented to them through an increasing range of media. Such strategies of interpretation are conditioned by a range of structural forces such as age, education, ethnicity [~ETHNICITY], gender, nationality and lifestyle. In tourism "tangible physical heritage [~HERITAGE] can [be interpreted and packaged to] wield enormous power, and can be harnessed to social, cultural and political forces of enormous constructive or destructive potential" (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996:32). In Foucauldian terms, such constructive and destructive potential need not take on an active engaged form, they can equally be deployed through absence or by "instances of muteness which, by dint of saying nothing, imposed silence" (Foucault, 1999:514). Thus, the 'age of repression' which Foucault alludes to, is, as Foucault (1999:514) suggests, one "which perhaps we still have not completely left behind".

Language 'in use' is central to our construction of the past – its potency in the present, and its generative influence on our futures, which are fashioned from mundane exchanges within families, social groups and institutions. Kress (1989) arguing from a social/ideological standpoint, suggests that we should examine language use *in* rather that *of* (for example, 'language *in* tourism', rather than 'language *of* tourism'), since, in his view, there are no discrete areas of the social world with their own corresponding forms

of language. In a rapidly globalising world where peoples increasingly collide, value conflicts (ethnic, identity, religious) are ubiquitous. Today, discourses of tourism can be regarded as constituting one of the fields which, through its enunciative modalities [~ ENUNCIATIVE MODALITIES], acts to generate meaning and values for peoples around the globe. In a world of competing value conflicts, how do we recognise the legitimacy of these competing investments without diminishing alternative meanings and values? As Gergen (1999:233) argues:

> strong commitments lend themselves to eradicating the other, to eliminating any voice antithetical to one's own. The end of this process of elimination is the single voice – the one and only word. The existence of the single voice is simultaneously the end of conversation, dialogue, negotiation – or in effect the end of meaning itself.

Perhaps a partial answer lies within social constructionist perspectives which recognise multiple and competing realities. Social constructionist perspectives do not regard meaning as fixed, but as continuously negotiable. Just as all bodies of thought are fundamentally porous, vocabulary is also porous and subject to multiple 'readings' depending on the context. In effect, the profound malleability of words works to destroy firm boundaries, and lends itself towards broadening the range of participants in the conversation (Gergen, 1999:236).

This study, informed by social constructionist 'dialogue', is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the projection of England as a site of consumption in and through tourism. This examination is, in a very general sense, concerned with questions regarding how England is represented to the world in and through tourism discourse and within the context of multi-ethnic England, with whose

identities are privileged and whose are subjugated or silenced. While it is recognised that a focus on 'ethno-cultural diversity' can include a wide range of human and cultural resources, in this study it is concerned with forms of diversity associated with (a), those 'minority' ethnic populations of England associated with post World War Two migration and (b) those "*in situ* forms of cultural difference that have resisted assimilation within dominant cultures over extended periods" (Bennett, 2001:24).

Representation always operates within discursive fields and are usually focused around what might be broadly termed institutions (Duncan, 1993:233). Representations of England as a site of consumption for tourists (DCMS 1999:39) are constructed by 'agents of normalcy' (Morris and Patton, 1979:52, after Foucault), who may be unknowingly implicated in a web of circumstances – economic, social, cultural, environmental and political – which conceivably impose, to varying degrees, the dominant ideas and prevailing practices associated with any given milieu. In addressing these questions the study takes a critical approach to the analysis of OTO discourse within a framework of interpretative research which seeks to engage in an ongoing dialogue with the multiplicity of realities within the research setting.

Representation in and through tourism may be regarded as a neutral process which depicts the 'reality' of people, places and culture [~ CULTURE] for the gaze of leisure consumers. Indeed, in relation to travel guidebooks Eade (2000:45) has argued that they encourage tourists to engage with local social and cultural diversity. When viewed critically however, representation in tourism can be seen as perpetuating ideologies of production and consumption and reinforcing dominant ideas though discourses of the

'market'. Few in tourism studies have focused directly and critically on the cultural terrain of representation in tourism (recent exceptions include, Guneratne, 2001; Doorne et al., 2003; Henderson, 2003). Thus, critical analysis needs to situate tourism representations politically in terms of inclusion and exclusion, individual and institutional interests, as well as in relation to the political linkages between tourism discourse and ideology.

This study focuses on the representation, in and through tourism, of ethno-cultural diversity within a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic West European 'nation', in this case England. Therefore, the study moves away from research which focuses on the representation of 'remote' and 'authentic' Others (predominantly conducted by European and North American scholars), and redirects the focus to envision representation across the shifting terrain of interstitial/intervallic spaces (Bhabha, 1994:2-4; Hollinshead, 1998b:67) between 'self' and 'other', thereby suggesting that tourism studies scholars and 'industry practitioners' might fruitfully re-examine those 'natural' everyday projections of who *we* are.

Recent work by Bennett and Koudelova (2001) has drawn attention to exclusionary representations of cultural diversity in contemporary projection of major cities such as London and New York, and, drawing on Plant (1978), these authors have suggested that such enunciative practices are incapable of detachment form "normative and ideological engagement" (Plant, 1978:6) in that someone in authority makes judgements about what constitutes the "good life" and which social groups should experience it (Bennett and Koudelova, 2001:210). Fieldwork conducted by the aforementioned scholars points to the

reticence of those in 'authority' to explain "the omission of local residents and cultures from the images they project" (Bennett and Koudelova, 2001:218). Official national and regional tourism organisations can be regarded as holding positions of authority in relation to the enunciation of national and sub-national identities and cultures, through their projective practices. OTO discursive events are, ideologically imbued and are within the domain of 'political' communication. Thus, the current study contributes to wider debates within the academy on representation, power and the politics of change (Bond and Gilliam, 1994; Hall, 1997a; Simpson, 2001) and seeks to stimulate further critical work on the social and institutional relationships within which such systems of representation are embedded.

Representation of England, in and through tourism, constitutes, and is constituted by, latent and explicit notions of 'national', ethnic, and cultural origin/belonging. Tourism is implicated in wider debates which struggle to confront the increasingly ephemeral nature of contemporary 'English' identities and affinities which are progressively premised on the recognition of difference and transition. This study enters these debates by examining the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the projection England and Englishness by OTOs in England.

This study is concerned with questions regarding the various ways in which England is conceivably represented to the world in and through the discourse of tourism and (within the context of multi-cultural, multi-ethnic England) with examining whose identities are privileged and/or subjugated or silenced by those agents of OTO discourse and praxis. Through the analysis of various OTO communicative events (for example, promotional

brochures, interviews, research reports, travel features,) the current study engages with classical questions of "who says [and does] what, to whom, how, why and with what effect?" (Babbie, 1995:306-307). In addressing these questions with reference to the projection of England and Englishness in tourism, the current study takes a critical approach to the analysis of OTO discourse within a framework of interpretative research.

This study is developed through, and directed by, the following key perspectives/positions. The study:

- takes an *interpretative* approach which focuses on the meanings people confer upon their own and others actions in social and cultural life. Through an interpretative approach the researcher makes informed interpretations based on the research context;

- adopts an *iterative* stance towards data collection, analysis and interpretation, moving to and fro across the data from text to context as new insights and interpretations emerge over time;

- is *immersed in discourse* through the text and talk of institutions and organisations, which are reinforced by the praxis (deeds) of those institutions and which discipline both the targets of such talk and the talkers themselves;

- can be considered *emergent* because of the absence of an authoritative model to follow. The data is unitised/categorised/confirmed via an unfolding (purposive sampling, iteration), rather than a pre-established research design;

- is conducted through the *human instrument*. The researcher serves as the instrument by which data is identified, collected, analysed and interpreted;

- is informed by *Foucauldian 'theory'* concerning the systems of thought which have formed and framed the pursuit of knowledge within the human and social sciences. Such thoughtlines focus on the relationship between discourse and power-knowledge and the discursive construction of social subjects; and,

- is operationalised through a *Faircloughian* methodology which brings together text analysis, processes of text production, and the social analysis of discourse events.

Today human societies all over the world are witnessing important changes in relation to the expression and recognition of ethnic diversity (Beheshti, 1998). Recognition of ethnic diversity comprises a wide variety of attitudes and beliefs, from extreme hostility towards 'different' ethnic 'groups' on the one hand, to viewing ethnic diversity as a natural consequence of human social development, on the other. Some ethnic 'groups' embrace diversity in order to assert their right to equal respect for their ethnic identity, while others view diversity as a means of asserting the dominance [~ DOMINANCE] of their own culture over 'minority' 'groups'. The affirmation of cultural difference, the resurgence of nationalism and religious fundamentalism, and new emphases on ethnicity, together with the emergence of economic and political globalisation, have created sharp problems for older conceptions of citizenship and universal rights within democratic societies (Gould and Pasquino, 2002:vii).

In the academy, issues of ethnic diversity have received attention within various disciplines, as well as among inter, and trans-disciplinary scholars (May and Modood, 2001: Stevenson, 2001, Henderson, 2003). The existence of ethnic diversity is not, however, a new phenomenon. Examples of ethnic diversity can be distinguished as a result of individual and group immigration, territorial specific concerns and religious affiliations. In contemporary societies, cultures proliferate, fragment and diversify at an ever increasing rate, and governments, 'public' institutions, and individuals charged with representing such diversity must increasingly confront issues of discrimination and exclusion, as dominant 'groups' unsuspectingly assert their identity while conceivably denying the legitimacy of others to do so.

The immediate context of this research study is the representation of ethnic diversity in and through the discourse of publicly funded tourism organizations in England. In England the projection of local, regional and 'national' culture, is communicated through OTOs via promotional film, literature and the internet, to ever wider audiences (both nationally and internationally), therefore, inclusion in or exclusion from such discourse can be regarded as part of the wider debate on the future of multi-ethnic England (Parekh, 2000).

This research study proceeds from a presumed link between representation and meaning, whereby the former influences (even makes) the latter (Hall, 1997a:15). Tourism is a subject fundamentally concerned with perceptions of image and identity (Richter, 1995:81), yet research focusing on the role of representation in tourism has to a large extent examined these projective practices in terms of their contribution to the development and marketing of destinations (Crompton, 1979: Gunn, 1988: Kotler, 1994), and to a lesser extent, in terms of the host-guest encounter (Albers and James, 1983, 1988: Selwyn, 1994: Dann, 1996a). Within tourism studies, researchers have drawn on insights from anthropology (Selwyn 1996; Crick 1989); marketing (Morgan and Pritchard, 1999a); sociology (Cohen 1972, 1979) linguistics (Dann 1996a) and cultural studies/Public Culture (Hollinshead 1993, 1996b). Representation in and through tourism has been examined by a number of authors and through a variety of media including: *photographs*, Albers and James (1983, 1988); *tourist art*, Cohen (1993); *brochures*, Uzzell (1984); Weightman (1987); Quinn (1994); Selwyn, (1994); Pritchard and Morgan, (1995, 1996); Dann (1996b); Echtner, (2000); Pritchard, (2000); Henderson, (2001);

postcards, Edwards (1996); Markwick (2001); and *travelogues*, Dann (1992, 1996b); Wilson (1994); Zepple (1999). Scholars working 'across the borders' of tourism studies have begun to provide a more critical inspection of tourism in terms of its inscriptive and enunciative potentials (Fjellman, 1992; Buck, 1993; Lidchi, 1997; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). Much of this research has focused on aspects of representation within/of 'developing nations' or 'traditional peoples'. In relation to ethnicity and tourism, the tourism studies literature has focused upon the interaction between the 'industry' and the re-creation of ethnic symbols and material culture (van den Berghe and Keynes, 1984), local identity and authenticity, and cultural change as an outcome of contact with tourists (Graburn, 1976; MacCannell, 1984; van den Berghe, 1992; Jameson, 1999; Henderson, 2003). There is a paucity of research on the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in 'developed' West European nations with multi-ethnic populations.

Conventional approaches to ethno-cultural diversity in tourism studies have focused on the 'host-guest' encounter, or on the representation of ethnic Others in 'exotic' locations. The current study, in contrast, examines the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of institutions responsible for the projection of an ethno-culturally diverse 'developed' society, in this case England. It is not a study of 'ethnic' or 'racial' [~RACIAL] 'groups', or 'minorities', *per se*. It is an investigation of the role of publicly funded tourism organisations in projecting ethno-cultural identity and focuses on the power relations underpinning the production and distribution of explicit discursive events. The study raises questions relating to the ways OTOs may conceivably highlight, appropriate, institutionalise, or deny ethno-cultural diversity when projecting England

and English heritage and identity in and through tourism. Such institutional power not only resides in the ability to privilege and deny, but also in the ability to construct and institutionalise differences within the confines of its projects. These 'truths of convention' (Gergen, 1999:26) can act to privilege dominant cultural 'groups', while thrusting 'others' to the unnoticed margins of the discourse.

This research study is carried out in an environment of increasing individual and institutional awareness of, and concern for, the future of multi-ethnic England (Perekh, 2000; Denman, 2001; Phillips, 2003). According to Solomos (2001:198) "almost everybody is talking about the role of racial and ethnic categorization in the construction of social and political identities". Hall (1988:266) has argued that:

> Ethnic minority [sic] 'groups' with, in fact, very different histories, traditions and identities have been marginalised in British culture as a consequence of a set of quite specific political and cultural practices which regulate, govern and 'normalize' the representations and discursive spaces of English society.

The ideological work of representation is often to translate social and cultural heterogeneity into homogeneous unity and emphasize boundaries which map zones of inclusion and exclusion (Hallam and Street, 2000:1). Ethnic representation may support an authorized version of an national past that promotes dominant 'groups' and marginalizes "Others". Within the current epoch the tourism industry plays a key role in communicating symbolic representations both within cultures, as well as to opposing or 'Other' cultures. According to Duffy, tourism is one of the most influential forces now shaping representations of identity, landscape and culture (Duffy, 1997:81).

Meanings in tourism, like meanings everywhere, are grounded in relations of power, who represents what, whom and how are critical and often contested issues (Morgan and Pritchard, 1999a:36). Thus, the mediation of local, regional or national identity and culture is inexorably implicated in political and ideological structures and processes within the nation state. Hence, state interest in tourism can be regarded as much political and ideological as it is economic. As Long (1997) argues, a natural affinity exists between the nation state and tourism in terms of a shared interest in representing a place as unique and attractive. Furthermore, touristic rhetoric is often utilized as a strategy for ethnic acceptance and inclusion (Wood, 1998:234) on the one hand, and the exclusion of 'minority cultures' through absence or silence, on the other. The projection of sub-national and 'national' identity and culture is increasingly communicated, within and across national frontiers, through tourism related discourse. Yet, as Morgan and Pritchard (1999a:96) remind us, "one-dimensional representations of national identities are increasingly unrepresentative of most contemporary societies, particularly as previously powerless ethnic minorities grow in economic, cultural and political influence".

This study seeks to provide cogent interpretations of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England through an analysis of the discursive practices of the 'agents of normalisation' (Foucault, 1979) in tourism. The study will analyse how OTOs concerned with the representation of England through tourism think and talk about differently perceived 'ethnic' 'groups', and how they pervasively and persuasively communicate those powerfully held 'cultural warrants' (Hollinshead, 1998a:130) about such supposed alterity. Thus, the study seeks to inform the ongoing debate on the representation of

ethnic diversity in multi-ethnic England (Kidd, 1999; Roach and Morrison, 1999), and potentially, will contribute to emerging tourism policy, as well as to the ethnically diverse communities whom such policy nominally seeks to serve. The study seeks to provide insights into how representations are produced, who may be dominant in their production, what ideological or political discourse underpins their production, and how such representations act within relations of dominance and subjugation [~SUBJUGATION] to airbrush out other visions of people and place. Such investigations would constitute an examination of the mobilisation of power through the critique of text and persuasive meaning in the tourism and travel marketplace. Through an analysis of the technologies of power in the administrative apparatus of tourism, in this research study I seek to enhance current understandings of ideological, political, and other 'disciplinary ideas' (Danaher, et al., 2000:66) communicated through the normalising discourse of representation in and through tourism.

The current study is located within debates about the politics of representation, especially in relation to the production and display of written text and visual images in tourism. The theoretical concerns of the study engage with the work of Foucault, Hall, Bhabha and other theorists concerned with culture, power and representation. Although the study addresses issues of nationalism and national identity, it is not intended primarily as a contribution to the study *of* nationalism and/or national identity. The study is framed as a contribution to trans-disciplinary inquiry into the politics of representation through the examination of the representation of ethnic diversity in the promotional discourse of tourism. In this context the study cannot be regarded as neutral, in the sense of being free

from pre-suppositions. All individuals are products of a particular set of social practices, therefore any claims to neutrality must be regarded as illusionary.

1.0.2 Re-Cap on Introductory Remarks

Contemporary English society is witnessing important changes with regard to the recognition of ethnic diversity, partially as a result of population movements from former British colonies, and partly as a result of the historical reality of ethnic diversity within England. The importance of ethnicity within English society is apparent from the proliferation of commentary both within and outside the academy. Over recent decades, the rhetoric of senior members of the United Kingdom government regarding cultural and 'racial' integration has highlighted the polarisation of views on this aspect of 'national life'.

The projection of 'national' identity and culture through OTOs has the potential to inform the debate regarding the role of 'public' institutions in articulating an authorised version of the 'nation'. Therefore, OTOs play a key role in communicating representations of England and 'Englishness' to the world. These representations are also reflected back to the ethnically diverse populace of England. Thus, while the current study is set against a background of intense debate regarding 'race' identity and ethnicity, the focus of this study revolves around aspects of representation, the power dynamics which structure such mediation, and the likely implications for those disparate 'minority ethnic populations, both represented and absent. Specifically the study is focused on the representation of ethnic diversity in the projection of England, in and through the

discourse of OTOs in order to explore such structures pertaining to the 'public' mediation of England through tourism.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY: EVOLVING ENGLISHNESS

The construction of English national identity has in recent decades received the attention of numerous scholars (Seaton-Watson 1977, 1979; Collis and Dodd 1986; Collins 1998; Davey 1999; Hickman 2000), an attention which Gervais (1993) refers to as the 'autopsy' of England. These probing investigations of the mythical body of England have extended to encompass most sections of the public and private sphere. In a variety of ways these debates contest, explore, address and are informed by the notion of Englishness. Much of the current debate on Englishness and English national identity stems from, on the one hand, England's perceived role in a Europe of the regions, and perhaps more importantly its role within a devolved United Kingdom. For example Hall (1995) suggests that 'England' is an all embracing word which can represent *England and Wales*, *Great Britain*, the *United Kingdom*, or even the '*British Empire*' and that the survival of England and Englishness "may depend on restoring this image before it is too late" (Hall, 1995: no page number). One the other hand, the debate is concerned with the multi-cultural, multi-ethnic nature of contemporary England versus the mythology of a 'nation'. The debate here may be summarised as one which must confront the tensions between those who choose to construct their identity by inventing the past, and those who look forward in search of the present. In the opening remarks to their 1986 volume *Englishness – Politics and Culture*, Colls and Dodd (1986:*Preface*) emphasise the point that:

> Englishness has had to be made and re-made in and through history, within available practices and relationships and existing symbols and ideas. That symbols and ideas recur does not ensure that their meaning is the same. Meaning is not solely a property of genealogy, but a matter of present context and practical life.

Moore (1995:5) makes the point that:

> those whose quest is for a common culture... have almost no way of conceptualising a common culture except nostalgically, as something that we used to have rather than something we may shape for the future.

Nowhere is this nostalgia more prevalent than in the representation of 'nation' through the discourse of OTOs. Representation, in and through tourism, can be regarded as a practice which is deployed in an effort to mediate symbols and ideas which carry meaning, not only for tourists, but also for those 'groups' represented in and absent from such texts. With regard to Englishness, Collis and Dodd (1986:2) assert that "a great deal of the power of the dominant version of Englishness during the last years of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century lay in its ability to represent both itself to others and those others to themselves". At the unfolding of the 21st century representation through tourism continues in a similar vein.

England at the dawn of the 21st century is a multicultural society (Roach and Morrison, 1999) and such diversity is officially recognised through numerous laws, public policy statements and by political leaders. It is estimated that by 2015 40% of the youth population of London and Birmingham will comprise of people whose ethnic background is 'Afro-Caribbean', or 'Asian' (Dyke, 2000). Aspinall estimates that by 2011 28% of London's population or just under two million persons will belong to ethnic minority

[sic] 'groups', compared with 20% or 1.4 million in 1991, an increase of 40% or around 570,000 persons. Also, by 2011 two London boroughs will have ethnic minority [sic] communities comprising over 50% of their population – Newham (61%) and Brent (52%) (Aspinall, 2000:110). Other metropolitan areas are likely to witness similar population changes over the coming decade. Despite the apparent 'reality' of ethnic diversity, debates about ethnicity, 'racial' and cultural diversity often provoke strong reactions from those concerned with such issues. This study commenced in 2001, a year in which highly contested debates regarding 'race', asylum and national identity were ubiquitous in all forms of public culture in England. The 1991 census was the first in the United Kingdom to collect information on 'ethnic groups' [~ETHNIC COMMUINTY]. In the new millennium the principle in classifications of self-identification through self-ascription will become paramount and is likely to result in demands for inclusion form a wide range of social 'groups' (see Table 1.0 for details of the regional distribution of ethnic 'minorities' in the United Kingdom).

In contrast to the so called 'absent state' (Carter, 1987) of the 1940s and 1950s, recently issues of ethnic identity, racism and the social exclusion of minority 'groups' has come to the fore, with the publication of a number of important reports and the extension of legislation in this area (Macpherson, 1999; Perekh, 2000; Denman, 2001). The Perekh Report argues that 'the cultural identity of some 'groups' ('minorities') should not have to be confined to the private sphere while the language, culture and religion of others ('the majority') enjoy a public monopoly and are treated as the norm (Perekh, 2000:48).

TABLE 1.0

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 'MINORITY' ETHNIC POPULATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

	North East	North West	Yorkshire and Humber	East Midlands	West Midlands	East	London	South East	South West	Wales	Scotland	Northern Ireland
All minority ethnic groups	1.29	8.07	6.98	5.86	12.79	5.68	44.63	8.45	2.44	1.33	2.19	0.27

Source: Census, April 2001, Office for National Statistics.

Subsequently, English Heritage has commissioned research relating to the importance of introducing the 'historic environment in the context of a multi-cultural society' (English Heritage, 2000:23). Also in 2000 the BBC appointed the first 'Head of Diversity', with the remit of promoting employment opportunities for ethnic 'minorities' within the corporation.

The political reality of England as an ethnically diverse society has been fraught with numerous difficulties in terms of the public articulation of such 'reality'. There have, for example, been numerous instances of discrimination and/or prejudicial treatment of so called 'minority groups'. Nowhere have these entrenched paradigms been more apparent than in the petty, everyday operations of public institutions. One of the key findings of the Perekh Report (2000) on the future of multi-ethnic Britain was the 'private-public' dichotomy between 'majority' and 'minority' ethnic group identity. For the current study, the ability of public institutions such as OTOs, not only to privilege and deny, but also to construct and institutionalise difference, are key issues which underlie the ongoing discussion.

1.2 FOCUS OF THE STUDY: THE CONSTRUCTION OF MEANING

The focus of the study revolves around the construction of meaning. Such practices can be associated with two distinct aspects of OTO discourse. Ethnic 'groups' can be excluded from the 'public memory' of the 'nation', on the one hand, as well as by the denial of access to narratives of shared meanings articulated by dominant 'groups', on the other. In this regard, representation, the construction of meaning through language,

becomes the primary means of exploring the exclusionary nature of meaning. Representation in and through the discourse of OTOs not only articulates authorised versions of the nation, but actively constructs aspects of the national imaginary. Thus, representation through tourism is a politically active process working in collaboration with the dominant social and political order. Therefore, the representation of England, in and through tourism, is implicated in, and subject to, the dyad of power/knowledge. Hence, the current study seeks to inspect the institutional gaze of OTOs in order to expose the ways such bodies construct and project preferred versions of England and Englishness.

Meaning is embedded in a history of other meanings and associated practices, therefore access, more specifically the degree of access, to systems of communication (representation) can be regarded as highly significant in the annunciation of group identity. As Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:19) points out, the potentials on the process of representation – how cultural 'groups' and their individual members can and do represent themselves, what kinds of representation they receive – are likely to be crucial in the inculcation of representational 'table manners', and are crucial in moulding bodies. Within the context of the present study, the degree of 'access' which ethnic 'groups' are accorded (through inclusive articulations of ethnic diversity) in order to enunciate their culture (shared meaning) is of central concern. National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about 'the nation' with which individuals and groups can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it (Solomos, 2001:203). This

research study is concerned with the exclusionary nature of such meaning in relation to the representation, in and through the discourse of OTOs, of the ethnically diversity characteristics of contemporary English society. The study also seeks to explore how tourism promotion might be harnessed to provide a more inclusive approach which foregrounds the cultural diversity of people, places and pasts hitherto seen and unseen.

What has come to be called the 'cultural turn' in the social and human sciences, especially in cultural studies, has tended to emphasise the importance of meaning to the definition of culture (Hall, 1997a:2). Social constructionist dialogues recognise the fragility of meaning. Social constructionists take meaning as continuously negotiable; no arrangement of words is self-sustaining in the sense of possessing a single meaning (Gergen, 1999:236). Rather than a set of things, culture as it is discussed here can be regarded as a set of practices. Cultural meanings are not only 'in the head'. According to Hall (1997a:3), cultures:

> organise and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects. Culture permeates all of society. It is what distinguishes the 'human' element in social life from what is simply biologically driven.

Social constructionist theory [~THEORY] asserts that we are not born with some innate understanding of the particular meanings which permeates our social group, but such meanings are formed and transformed as we are emerced in our social worlds. Culture and meaning arise and develop through access to systems of communication (language) common to social groups, therefore it is the common access to shared communication that is key to the construction of culture and meaning. As Hall (1997a:1) suggests:

> Language operates as a representational system – signs and symbols [sounds, written words, electronically produced images, medical notes, even objects] to stand for or represent to others our concepts, ideas and feelings. Representation through language is therefore crucial to the process by which meaning is produced.

Tourism, in its many forms, is encouraged and promoted by national governments, regional development organisations, public and private sector tourism organisations and local community groups, through a variety of strategies and tactics. National and international advertising campaigns, exhibitions, conferences, brochures, travel programs and other methods of promotion are utilised in order to influence and motivate potential consumers. All of these 'promotional' activities utilise the articulation of particular discourses in order to communicate the promotional message of a given 'producer'. The content of such messages regularly include descriptions and images which, according to OTOs, are said to represent the cultural characteristics of the people, places or pasts which are being 'promoted'. As well as engaging in critical analysis of such discourse, it is also necessary, in the context of the present study, to expose those absences/silences in the discourse which act to privilege and exclude.

In the projection of national, regional, or local identities and culture, discourses work as systems of representation. Rather than simply articulating representations of culture, representation is 'one of the central practices which produce culture' (Hall, 1997a:1). Thus, representational systems may not be neutral, they may be the result of an endless struggle for power and domination by one group over another. Representation in and through tourism routinely privilege and promote certain people, places and pasts while subjugating and silencing others. Viewed from this perspective such promotion in and

through tourism is primarily a political act which seeks to support the dominant social and political order. Before examining how such structures of support are brought to bear on the unsuspecting tourist and in many instances on the unsuspecting 'local', it is necessary to explore the work of representation itself, and this is taken up in Chapter Two of the study.

1.3 THE STUDY PROBLEM

This study is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity within the discourse of OTOs who act to represent England and Englishness to the world. Thus, the study will endeavour to uncover the privileges and denials of ethnicity which considerably exist in the projection of England as a tourist destination. Specifically, the research investigation aims to critically examine the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the construction and projection of England in and through tourism. Representation through the discourse of OTOs routinely act as the fabric which binds insignificant everyday communications into reference points which anchor meaning about any given destination. These shared meanings may also be unknowingly influenced by numerous everyday nuances in the discourse of OTOs. Hence, it is imperative that this study examines those discursive formations [~ DISCURSIVE FORMATION], which constitute official representations of England through tourism. Therefore, the objectives of this study are to:

- *examine representations of England within the contemporary articulations of selected official 'national' and regional tourism organisations,*

in order to

- *reveal possible structures of dominance and suppression in the projection of England and Englishness in and through tourism,* and to
- *critique the degree to which 'England' is [or is not] being genuinely depicted as a diverse ethno-cultural place,* in order to
- *enhance current knowledge regarding the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse and praxis of OTOs in England.*

In addressing these issues the research investigation will critically examine discourses of 'national' and regional OTOs in England. The study aims to contribute to extant research on institutional discourse and praxis in the field of tourism studies in particular, as well as to the overall body of work on institutional systems of governance.

1.4 ASSUMPTIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is predicated on a number of assumptions regarding the theoretical, methodological and operational aspects of the research, as well as some more general assumptions regarding the institutional contexts of both the study and its foci.

1.4.1 Operational Assumptions

In this study it is assumed that:

- an examination of the discourse constructed by those 'official' tourism bodies to project England as a 'tourist destination' is sufficient to explore/expose the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through tourism in England.

1.4.2 Theoretical Assumptions

In this study it is assumed that:

- ethnic identities vary across space and change across time. It is assumed that societal conditions and social change – the circumstances groups encounter – drive much of the dynamic.

- populations are actively involved in the construction and reconstruction of identities, negotiating boundaries, asserting meanings, interpreting their own pasts, resisting the impositions of the present, and claiming the future.

- England is and historically has been, an ethnically diverse society.

- official tourism organisations are concerned with projecting positive representations of the region or nation they seek to represent.

1.4.3 Methodological Assumptions

In this study it is assumed that:

- the research design and its operationalisation is sufficient to provide relevant and sufficient data to inform the research question/problem.

- those published texts selected for inclusion in the data sample are sufficient to gain relevant insight into the representation of England in and through tourism and into the underlying power relations which sustain such projective practices.

- those individuals within OTOs in England interviewed as part of the data collection process have relevant knowledge of and roles within such institution sufficient to inform the investigation at a level which could not be gained from the analysis of published texts alone.

1.5 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE STUDY

Up until quite recently the question of how we represent the world has, for the most part, been taken for granted. Through language and imagery scholars strove to produce a neutral, transparent representation of the world. More recently representation of people, places and cultures has come to be regarded as a form of power exercised by one 'group' over another. Jackson (1992: 115,116,117) suggests that:

> recent years have witnessed some significant challenges to this virtual hegemony in the power of representation, with the development of history-from-below, feminist critiques of masculinist forms of knowledge, and the growing realisation of a 'crisis of representation' throughout the human sciences.

These 'challenges' have emerged primarily from postmodernism [~POSTMODERNISM] on the one hand and from interpretative methodologies on the other. Under post-modernity, representation becomes a new area of commodification [~COMMODIFICATION], where images, styles and representations are no longer just promotional accessories but the products themselves (Connor 1999:46). Baudrillard (1975:122) calls these processes 'the general operationalisation of the signifier'. At this millennium moment, representation has assumed an increasingly important space in the social and cultural sphere. Theoretical perspectives on representation emanate in particular from the reflective, the intentional, and social constructionist approaches. These approaches to representation are outlined in Table 2.1 (below), but for present purposes I will focus attention primarily on social constructionist approaches to representation.

Social constructionism is a general term that is used to describe a thread of commonality between disparate developments in social sciences (Burr, 1995). One manifestation of social constructionist thought, and the one informing this study, is discourse analysis. Debates about social constructionism have been most thoroughly developed within the field of the sociology of scientific knowledge. Before continuing the discussion it is useful to comment on what is meant by the term 'social construction'. According to Sismondo (1993:515), the terms 'social construction' and 'construction' do not generally mean the same thing from one author to another, and even within the same work the terms are meant to draw our attention to several quite different types of phenomenon. In a similar vein, Velody (1994:82) suggests that although "social constructionism has become a key term in sociological analysis, just what it signifies remains an open

question, and a clear formulation of its general usage, and indeed of its lineage, has yet to be written". An additional factor is the confusion generated by the use of the terms 'social constructionism', 'social constructivism', or indeed 'constructionism' or 'constructivism'. Recent debates (Construction the Social, University of Durham, April 1994) concerned with the usage of the various terms revealed no clear rationale for selecting one term over another.

According to Potter (1998:12) Berger and Luckman's (1966) classic text, *The Social Construction of Reality* was highly significant in establishing processes of social construction as a central topic of study. In their introduction to their Berger and Luckman cite Marx, Durkheim, Scheler, Dilthey, Mannheim, and Mead's symbolic interactionist school of American sociology as their theoretical precursors. Social constructionist approaches have been described by Parker (1998:19) who suggests that "even if there were some ultimate or fixed reality behind discourse, we could never describe it, since to do so would inevitably mean to offer an account of it, thus transforming it into a discursive event". The term 'social constructionism' has grown in popularity over recent years and from the growing volume of literature referring to the term, this trend seems set to continue. While many self-describing social constructionists studies cite the work of Berger and Luckman (1966) as seminal, the phenomenological character of their particular perspective is rarely sustained, and there are many more such studies in which the work of Kuhn (1962), Foucault (e.g. 1977) or Garfinkel (1967) are declared to be of greater genealogical significance (Velody and Williams, 1998:2). For Berger and Luckman (1966), people externalise when they act upon the world, for example (as Burr

(1995) has pointed out) when a person writes a story in a book. In this way an idea (the book) in the form of written text then becomes an object of consciousness for other people and assumes a character of 'out-there-ness' and can be spoken about in the same terms as a 'physical' object. Thus, the ideas, descriptions, emotions etcetera, can be labelled and spoken about as an objectified unity. In this way, social practices constitutes social reality. The social constructionist ontological position changed the terms of the social scientific debate from an engagement with the conceptual coherence of scientific claims, to a consideration of their sociological coherence (Potter, 1998:23). Social constructionist perspectives also established the preconditions for the emerging turn to language and discourse.

Social constructionist approaches to social scientific research can be encountered in a wide variety of study fields. Velody (1994:81) talks of the "ever growing spread of the theme of social construction". The social constructionist orientation to social research recognises the legitimacy of competing value investments. There is nothing in constructionism that argues against 'values', and in asserting such positions human 'communities' tend to seek the eradication of 'Otherness' in order to eliminate any voice antithetical to ones own. Thus, constructionists have a strong interest in multiple and competing realities (Gergen, 1999). One central focus of constructionism is on meaning solidified within a group, and the dangers involved in fixing a particular version of the real and the good (Gergen, 1999:235). In a word they are incredulous toward master narratives (Lyotard, 1984). Gergen (1995:20) provides the following inclusive definition of social constructionism:

> Drawing importantly from emerging developments most prominently in the history of science, the sociology of knowledge, ethnomethodology, rhetorical studies of science, symbolic anthropology, feminist theory and post-structuralist literary theory, social constructionism is not so much a foundational theory of knowledge as an anti-foundational dialogue. Primary emphases of this dialogue are based on: the social-discursive matrix from which knowledge claims emerge and from which their justification is derived; the values/ideology implicit within knowledge posits; the modes of informal and institutional life sustained and replenished by ontological and epistemological commitments; and the distribution of power and privilege favoured by disciplinary beliefs. Much attention is also given to the creation and transformation of cultural constructions: the adjustment of competing belief/value systems: and the generation of new modes of pedagogy, scholarly expression and disciplinary relations.

Constructionists openly espouse multivocality and anti-foundationalism; they defend subjugated knowledges [~SUBJUGATED KNOWLEDGE] against unitary notions of progress (Lyotard, 1984; quoted in Lynch, 1998:13).

Several authors have been critical of social constructionist perspectives. For example, Bhaskar (1993), criticises what he sees as the conceptual reductionism of constructionism. He points to the tendency among social constructionists to equate 'existence' with 'human knowledge'. Also, the blindness or ambivalence of constructionism to extra-cognitive features of the social have been made by others (Velody and Williams, 1998:3). Constructionists have also been criticised for the relativist pretensions of their approach (for example, see Roth, 1998; Turner, 1998). Potter (1998) has criticised Berger and Luckman (1966) on the grounds that their brand of social constructionism does not go far enough in that it remains essentially a phenomenological perspective which regards meaning-making to be a private, cognitive activity. Notwithstanding these criticisms, Burger and Luckman's work did establish a

theme in social research which has developed in many different trajectories in social research.

In his important work on representation Hall (1997a) places the concept of 'difference', particularly 'racial' and cultural difference, at the centre of his discussions. One of the key questions for Hall is whether the repertoires of representation have changed, or do they remain unchanged in contemporary society. His analysis focuses on the variety of images which are on display in popular culture and media. Hall argues that 'difference' matters because 'it is essential to meaning, without it meaning would not exist' (Hall, 1997a). Hall argues that meaning depends on the difference between opposites – while warning that binary oppositions are open to the charge of being reductionist and over simplified. Culture depends on giving things meaning by assigning them different positions within a classificatory system. In this way, the 'Other' is fundamental to the construction of the self. Hall's work on representation is directed at 'racialised regimes of representation', and he analyses these through a number of concepts, such as, 'stereotyping', 'fantasy', 'fetishism', and 'disavowal'.

Lidchi (1997) focuses her analysis on the poetics and the politics of representation. In an insightful discussion on the role of classification and display in the creation of meaning, Lidchi draws on the work of both Barthes and Foucault in order to analyse the 'poetics' and the 'politics' of exhibiting other cultures. Lidchi argues that like language, exhibition too is a "system" or "practice of representation" which is implicated in relations of power between the exhibitor and the exhibited. Using a case study of the 1993 exhibition at the

Museum of Mankind (British Museum) entitled, *Paradise: Change and Continuity in the New Guinea Highlands*, Lidchi firstly considers how meanings are constructed and produced by examining the *semiotics* of exhibiting. This analysis is taken further by exploring questions of discourse and power in order to examine representation in light of the *politics* of exhibiting.

The literature on representation in the field of tourism studies has, for the most part, been restricted to aspects of destination marketing. There is however a growing recognition among some tourism researchers of the importance of representation in the analysis of tourism as a reformative element of evolving cultural. For example, Morgan and Pritchard (1999a:18) argue that:

> Tourism representation is a key moment in the circuit of tourism discourse. The tourism image therefore emerges as one sphere into which we can look in order to understand the dialogues between, and amongst, the creators, the consumers and the consumed.

It is this 'dialogue' or discourse between those powerful groups who have the authority to represent, and those other groups who are 'represented' or 'unrepresented' which is of concern in this study. Representation in tourism defines what should be experienced and with whom one should interact. Thus, it is crucial to recognise that just as knowledge is never neutral, so to representation in and through tourism are the products of individuals and groups who themselves are products of particular societies and social groups. As Hall points out, 'we all come from and speak from somewhere, we all have different routes into modernity, we are all 'located' – and, in that sense, even the most modern bears the traces of a cultural identity and cannot be without it (Hall, 2001:15). Thus, those 'agents

of normalcy' (Foucault, 1961 [1965]) charged with the promotion of England through tourism are inexorably subject to those relations of power/knowledge which as Foucault reminds us are defused throughout the social body. In portraying England as the location of 'cool Britannia', (read England), or as the ordered 'plane of Chess' (kings, queens and knights), OTOs are engaged in the meditation of power/knowledge which inscribes particular meanings which do not reflect 'reality' but are products of particular historical, social and political relationships. Morgan and Pritchard (1999a:38) highlight the ideological nature of representation in tourism thus:

> the representations of peoples and places in tourism can no longer be seen as an innocent or somewhat value-neutral activity, removed from the political mainstream of society. In tourism, as in other spheres, the representation of others is all about possessing and knowing other cultures – such actions are purposeful and motivated.

In the context of the present study, the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through the discourse of OTOs, such discourse will be analysed in order to conceivably expose connections with broader structures of governance, and their role in defining representations of England.

1.6 DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs responsibly for promoting England as a tourist destination. Ethno-cultural diversity is here regarded as comprising the wide range of ethnic 'populations', some of which may be conceived of as 'minorities' while others may be regarded as part of the 'majority' ethnic population. The study is not concerned with 'racially' defined 'minorities' or minority 'groups' defined by physical characteristics, such as skin colour,

although such contingent attributes are drawn into the discussion where it is felt they inform the study. The study is not necessarily concerned with the many aspects of representation projected by the commercial tourism 'industry' or with other peripheral forms of representation, which may be relevant to the overall representational praxis of tourism. The study is primarily concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by those selected OTO in England. The research is limited to the analysis of institutional discourses produced in English. This can be regarded as a research limitation (because it excludes those forms of institutional discourse communicated to potential tourists and others in their own language) and a study limitation (because it excludes possible representations of ethno-cultural diversity from the study).

However, the research design has the potential to provide relevant 'findings' in relation to the aims and objectives of the study. The selection of OTOs can be regarded as appropriate and relevant to the investigation of the discursive formations apparent within tourism discourse in England, as they constitute some of the most dominant institutions charged with representing the territory to the world.

In carrying out this study I recognises the constraints on iteration and reflexivity [~REFLEXIVITY] which are inherent in the structural constraints/limitations placed upon doctoral students, and indeed upon all researchers confronted by forms of 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1977) within the academy.

1.7 KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

In this section a number of key terms and concepts which facilitate analysis of the study problem will be introduced. These terms and concepts provide a bases on which the analysis of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England will be advanced in this study. For example, in order to provide critical analysis of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England it is essential to provide clear theoretical considerations regarding the concept of ethnicity. The key terms and concepts introduced in this section of Chapter One emanate from both theoretical and methodological perspectives within the study. In addition to the brief introduction given here, those cardinal concepts (*Discourse, Diversity, Ethnicity, Identity, 'Race', Representation, Nationalism*, and *Reflexivity*) which provide substantive insight to the conduct the study are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two. This section is provided as an initial introduction to the following key terms and concepts: *Culture, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse, Discursive Formation Identity, Diversity, Ethnicity, Nationalism, 'Race' Representation* and *Social Constructionism.*

1.7.1 Discourse

In this study the concept of discourse, in particular institutional discourse, forms one of the central cores of inspection in the endeavour to ascertain how ethnic diversity is/has been conceivably represented in and through tourism. Hall (1997a) suggests that a discourse both makes it possible to understand a topic in a given way, as well as limiting and defining that understanding. Discourse is defined by Barnard (2000:197-198) as:

> 'a complex concept involving the way people talk or write about something, the body of knowledge implied, or the use of that knowledge, such as in structures of power (e.g., in the work of Foucault). The Term can also have the meaning (as in linguistics) of units of speech longer than a sentence.

In the context of the current study, the term 'discourse' is used to refer to the whole process of social interaction between a *discursive event* and the situation(s), institution(s), social structure(s) which frame it (Titscher et al., 2000:147). In the current study it is the dialectical relationship(s) between such discursive events and ethnic 'groups' that is of primary concern. In speaking of a discourse on promoting England, discourse is viewed here as a particular type or pattern of language use associated with tourism promotion discursive practices that are constitutive of knowledge about England and simultaneously maintain unequal relations of power. Through discursive communication, the dominant majority sustain intra-group information networks essential to the ligitimation and reproduction of its dominant position (van Dijk, (1988:222). Thus, the term *Discursive Formations* is often used by discourse analysts to describe a group of related statements or representations which share a similar strategy of constructing knowledge about a topic.

1.7.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Depending on the discipline, orientation, school or paradigm involved, critical perspectives on the study of language, discourse and communication can be traced back, if not – as usual – to Aristotle, then at least to the philosophers of the enlightenment or, of course, to Marx, and more recently to members of the Frankfurt School (Adorno, Benjamin and others) and its direct or indirect heirs in and after the 1960s, among whom Jurgen Habermas plays a primary role (Geuss, 1981; Jay, 1973; Slater, 1977, quoted in

Van Dijk, 1993:251). Another line of influence and development comes through social theorists such as Gramsci, Althusser, Foucault and others. The theoretical approach of CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) has its roots in critical linguistics (Fowler, et al., 1979; Hodge and Kress, 1993) a branch of DA (Discourse Analysis) developed in the 1970s at the University of East Anglia. For the most part, linguistically orientated discourse analysis fails to provide adequate analysis of the social and political context and relations of power which shape and are shaped by discourse. CDA by contrast, focuses on antagonisms between groups, as well as on the effects of ideology (Dant, 1991:48; Torfing, 1999:211). By focusing on ideology and hegemonic politics, critical discourse analysis challenges the value-free assumptions and cause-effect relationships underlying positivist social science (Agger, 1991:109).

CDA sees language as discourse and as a form of social practice. Therefore CDA focuses on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of social reality. CDA proceeds to a systematic textual analysis, since texts constitute the medium through which discourse is enacted. This analysis is completed by the examination of the processes of text production and consumption, as well as by the study of how such processes are dictated by social, political and institutional conditions (Stamou, 2001:657). CDA focuses on the role of discourse in the (re) production and challenge of dominance. Unlike other discourse analysts, critical discourse analysts (should) take an explicit socio-political stance, both within their discipline and within society at large (van Dijk, 1993:252). This perspective on CDA has been challenged by Widdowson (1995) who asserts that 'discourse is something everybody is talking about, but without knowing with

any certainty just what it is: in vogue and vague (Widdowson, 1995:158). CDA has also been criticised by Schegloff (1997) for being an ideological interpretation and therefore not an analysis. In reply to this criticism, Fairclough (1996), draws attention to the open-endedness of results required in the principles of CDA and points out that CDA, unlike most other approaches, is always explicit about its own position and commitment (Titscher, et al., 2000:164). In this respect Fairclough (1989:5) acknowledges that:

> people researching and writing about social matters are inevitably influenced in the way they perceive them, as well as their choice of topics and the way they approach them, by their own social experiences and values and political commitments.... I think it is important not only to acknowledge these influences rather than affecting a spurious neutrality about social issues, but also to be open with one's readers about where one stands.

1.7.3 Representation

It is relatively recently that representations have become a focus for interdisciplinary research, involving literary critics, social anthropologists, art historians and intellectual historians (Bullock and Trombley, 1999:749). Representation has also assumed an important role in the development of cultural studies (Hall, 1997a), and in emerging fields such as tourism studies (Hollinshead, 1993). The relation between 'things', concepts and signs lies at the heart of the production of meaning in language. Representation is the process which links these elements. The cultural codes which underlie representations were an abiding concern of Foucault (1926-84), who suggested that these deep structures were a proper subject for 'intellectual archeology' rather than history (Bullock and Trombley, 1999:749).

1.7.4 Ethnicity

In recent decades 'Ethnicity' has come to be regarded as one of the most important features of social and personal identity, transitional diasporic networks and political activism, across the world. Rather than conceptualising ethnicity as the static 'Other' to globalisation (Calhoun, 2001), it is better conceived of as 'living culture' produced and reproduced in innumerable different ways. An ethnic group is not one because of the degree of measurable or observable difference from other groups; it is an ethnic group, on the contrary, because the people in it and the people out of it know that it is one.... If it is easy to resign from the group, it is not truly an ethnic group (Morgan and Pritchard, 2000). Thus, ethnicity exists not as a 'relic' of some earlier uncontaminated and geographically centred 'sameness', but as part of the process of managing the interrelationships between any given number of socially constructed identities.

1.7.5 Nationalism

The ideology of nationalism is central to contemporary political and social life (Finlayson, 1996:1). We are all familiar with the iconography of the nation-states, through a variety of everyday routine and social interactions. For 'civic' nationalism the nation is primarily a 'political' unit usually marked by the presents of formal structures which seek to connect the populace to one another and by implication to some kind of national 'leadership'. 'Ethno-cultural' nationalism is conceptualised in terms of the 'nation' comprising of a people who have a claim to a 'blood line' or a 'historic consciousness'. It has been argued (Delanty, 1996:3) that nationalism no longer appeals to ideology but to identity.

1.7.6 Official Tourism Organisations (OTOs)

In this study OTOs comprise those institutions/organizations whose primary role is the promotion and/or projection of a territory for the purposes of attracting tourists and who receive all or part of their funding from the 'public finances' of the state or region in question.

1.7.7 Culture

The word 'culture' has come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines, as well as in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought (Williams, 1983:87). According to Wheeler (1991) "Culture", especially in what some wishfully call "late capitalism", hides a diversity of incompatible groups (Wheeler, 1991:208). Said (1984:11) employs a palpably Foucauldian definition of culture as:

> a system of exclusions legislated from above but enacted throughout its polity, by which such things as anarchy, disorder, irrationality, inferiority, bad taste and immortality are identified, then deposited outside the culture and kept there by the power of the state and its institutions.

Thus, as Williams (1983:92) points out, the complexity of the term [culture] is not finally in the word but in the problems which its variations of use significantly indicate. In the context of this study the word culture is taken to refer to those identifiably distinctive ways of being in the world that may conceivably distinguish a people, community, nation, social group or individual.

1.7.8 'Race'

In contemporary discourse, ideas about 'race', racism and ethnicity have become the subject of intense debate and controversy (Solomos, 2001:198). For example, there has been heated debate and much confusion regarding the concept of 'race' (Goldberg, 1993; Miles, 1993; Solomos and Back, 1996). The majority of scientific researchers do not regard 'race' as a scientific category, although in some instances it can be a potent political and social marker around which individuals and 'groups' construct their identity and organise political action. Solomos and Back (1995) argue that:

> race [sic] is socially constructed; and blackness and whiteness are not categories of essence but defined by historical and political struggles over their meaning. Race and ethnicity are essentially political resources, that can be used by both dominant and subordinate 'groups' for the purposes of legitimising and furthering their own social identities and interests
>
> (Solomos and Back, 1995, quoted in Solomos, 2001:198).

One of the weaknesses in the many discussions of 'race' and ethnicity in the academic literature is the regularity with which 'race' and, indeed, ethnicity is associated with the contingent attribute of skin colour.

1.7.9 Social Constructionism

Social constructionism can be regarded as an 'anti-foundational dialogue' (Gergen, 1995:20) rather than a 'foundational theory' of knowledge. Social constructionism denies that our knowledge is a direct perception of reality. Since we have to accept the historical and cultural relativism of all forms of knowledge, it follows that the notion of 'truth' [~TRUTH] becomes problematic. Within social constructionism there can be no such thing as an objective 'fact'. All knowledge is derived from looking at the world

from some perspective or other, and is in the service of some interests rather than others (Burr, 1995:6). Social constructionism is influenced by a variety of intellectual traditions and has drawn on the work of French intellectuals such as Foucault and Derrida, but has its roots in earlier sociological writing. The major contribution from sociology, and the point of entry for many, is usually taken to be Berger and Luckmann's (1966) *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge.* In this study, the 'dialogue' of social constructionism is invoked in supporting the praxis of 'poetic activism' which Gergen (1999:49) argues enable us, as we speak and write, to participate in creating the future. Chapter Two provides a more detailed account of the genealogy of social constructionist thought.

1.8 THE NEED FOR THE STUDY

Inbound tourism contributes over sixty four billion pounds to the UK economy annually, and this, the economic aspects of the tourist trade, has been the primary focus of tourism research in the UK. While there have been studies concerned with socio-cultural aspects of tourism in the UK (Winter, 1987; Morgan and Pritchard, 1999b; Shaw and Macleod, 2000), none of these studies have examined tourism in relation to the ethno-cultural diversity of contemporary English society, nor indeed UK society in general. Tourism is to a large extent founded on the representation of peoples, places and pasts (Hollinshead, 1993). Therefore, in tourism, the representations projected to potential tourists can be regarded as being a key communicator of 'local' identity and culture. Such representations carry resonance not only for potential tourists, but also for local residence who constitute one of the audiences for such discourse. Because of the communicative

power of tourism, representations of tourist destinations have direct and potentially significant influences on those peoples/communities who are being represented, re-represented, and misrepresented, as well as for those who are absent from such representation. In multi-ethnic England issues of social inclusion/exclusion are regarded by national and local government and other public institutions as being highly relevant to the continued social and economic development of the 'nation'. Therefore, the current study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England is required in order to explore potential discursive reproductions of dominance by OTOs, through the articulation of institutionalised 'public' discourse of tourism.

This study seeks to inform the ongoing debate on the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in multi-ethnic England (Kidd, 1999; Roach and Morrison, 1999), and potentially, will contribute to institutional and public policy formation in relation to tourism, as well as to the diverse communities whom such policy normally seeks to serve. The current study is particularly significant in the context of recent UK government legislation concerning the duty of public servants to "connect with all the people they serve - consulting and working in partnership with all communities, all races [sic], nationalities and socio-economic groups" (Race Relations Act 1976 [*Statutory Duties Order*] 2001). This research study seeks to provide insights into the representation of England and Englishness in and through tourism, who may have a dominant influence, what ideological or political discourse underpins such 'production', and how such representational discourse is implicated in individual and collective praxis of remembering and forgetting. Such investigations would constitute an examination of the

mobilisation of power through the critique of discursive events within broader discursive formations of tourism.

Through critical discourse analysis the current study provides an exploration of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the projection of England as a site of consumption by tourists. Consequently, the current study is an attempt to contribute to the critique of multi-ethnic representations of identity in England in a number of important ways. It addresses the representation of ethno-cultural diversity through an examination of publicly funded institutions who, it could be argued, have a duty to represent the ethno-cultural diversity of contemporary English society. Hence, the current study is required in order to:

- (a) *provide a critical review of the representation of ethnic diversity in and through the promotional discourse of OTOs in England, during a period which has witnessed a substantial increase in the ethnic diversity of the English populace,*
- (b) *highlight many of the ways in which representation in and through tourism can have implications for social and cultural identity among 'local' residence of destination areas, and*
- (c) *provide a basis for the future development of research agendas and policies concerned with the representation of ethnic diversity in tourism and beyond.*

The study can be regarded as an attempt to move research in tourism studies away from the dualistic focus on 'host-guest' interaction on the one hand, and the economic implications of tourism on the other, to a more critical examination of tourism as a *performative site* of cultural invention.

1.9 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into six chapters. In Chapter One, I have set out the general background and context, in socio-cultural terms as well as with regard to the tourism studies literature, within which the study takes place. I also outline the 'study problem', 'assumptions', 'theoretical foundations' and the 'limitations' of the study. Following these opening remarks I introduce a number of key terms and concepts relevant to, and utilised within, the study (further elaboration of the key concepts informing the study forms the bases of the literature review to follow in Chapter Two). I conclude Chapter One by outlining the need for the study.

In Chapter Two I provide a review of literature relating to eight key concepts (*discourse, diversity, ethnicity, identity, nationalism, 'race', reflexivity,* and *representation*) which inform the study and provide the conceptual framework within which this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England takes place. The key task of Chapter Two is to demonstrate the contested and constructed nature of these key concepts and thus highlight the importance of applying a relativist view of social scientific knowledge.

In Chapter Three I set out the methodological approach taken in the conduct of data identification, selection, collection and analysis. I begin Chapter Three by providing brief comment on the ontological and epistemological foundations of social scientific knowledge and I argue that in relation to the knowledge claims of OTOs in England, what is needed is a recognition of its historic, social and cultural origins, as well as an

acknowledgment of its plural and fluctuating nature. I then set out the rational of selecting the analytic approach taken (CDA) in this study, prior to providing a review of the various approaches (or schools) within CDA. This is followed by an outline of the specific approach (Fairclough's three dimensional model) which I have adapted for use in the current study. I conclude Chapter Three with a critique of CDA and the steps taken in this study to minimise identified weaknesses in the approach.

In Chapter Four I provide details of the conduct of the study. My task in Chapter Four is to detail how the methodological approach set out in Chapter Three was operationalised in 'practice'. I provide details of the data selection procedures relating to 'published' texts as well as those procedures followed in selecting potential interviewees within OTOs. I set out details of the target organisations, the target personnel, the interview process, the interview protocol and the interview agenda. Further, in Chapter Four I detail the 'operational' and analytic modifications made to the proposed methodology set out in Chapter Three. Finally, Chapter Four comments of the ethical issues encountered in the conduct of the study.

In Chapter Five I present a number of 'interpretative findings' of the study together with a discussion of these vis-à-vis the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs. In attempting to provide a critical inspection of ethno-cultural representation in the text and talk of OTOs I argue that a number of 'discourses' are, consciously or unconsciously, invoked by the producers/principals of OTO 'texts' in relation to 'minority' ethnic populations. These 'discourses' are elaborated upon and this

provides the bases for a number of management and research actions which I consider pertinent in relation to advancing: (a) the future development of England's OTOs within the context of a dynamic and ethnically diverse social and cultural system, and (b) critical research agendas geared to supporting and monitoring such transformative actions.

As alluded to above, in Chapter Six I provide an overview of my 'interpretative findings' and their implications for future OTO management and research actions. I then set out twelve specific recommendations, which on the bases of my 'interpretative findings' I consider OTOs in England might usefully take up in order to transform their projective discourse and operational praxis to more inclusively reflect the ethno-cultural diversity of England. I then outline six social constructionist themes, which OTO could potentially utilise as guiding principles in developing recommended actions.

The closing section of Chapter Six focuses on twelve 'problematic arenas' in which tourism scholars could initiate future research agendas. I propose the inspection of those identified 'problematic arenas' through the exploration of critical perspectives emerging from a range of disciplinary and trans-disciplinary perspectives. Finally, I suggest four themes through which tourism scholars might critically examine a broad range of hitherto neglected topics in tourism research, and suggest some points of intersection with the extant literature.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON EIGHT KEY CONCEPTS

2.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE REVIEW

This review of literature is centred around eight key concepts which have cardinal importance in any discussion concerning the representation/signification through tourism. The eight key concepts discussed in this review of literature are; *discourse, representation, identity, diversity, ethnicity, 'race', nationalism* and *reflexivity.* These concepts were selected for inclusion in the literature review because individually, each of the identified concepts provides theoretical insight which informs the study. Therefore, the study could not adequately proceed while omitting consideration of any one of the eight concepts in question. Also, there are strong inter-relationships between the concepts alluded to above. For example, it would be difficult to envisage a critical consideration of identity which omitted the importance of ethnicity from the discussion and visa versa. This study is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through tourism in England, therefore nationalism provides the theoretical context within which the study is framed. The concepts of representation, identity, diversity, ethnicity, 'race' and nationalism are all mediated through the 'speech positions' (the discourse) of numerous public/private institutions, including those of tourism. Therefore, the concept of discourse is of overarching concern in this study. In addition to the review of the concepts of *discourse, representation, identity, diversity, ethnicity, 'race', nationalism* a review of the literature on reflexivity is provided in order to contextualise the reflexive position taken throughout the study.

Firstly, the overarching concept of discourse is discussed here in terms of language 'in use' (spoken and written) within the context of OTOs. The concept of discourse also informs all other concepts discussed in this review of literature, through the constructive and performative role of language. In this study I draw on two different traditions of discourse analysis, the mainly Anglo-Saxon approach to critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1989, 1992) and that of the French litero-philosopher Foucault (1961, 1963, 1966). Therefore, in this inspection of the text and talk of OTOs in England, the focus is on those 'speech positions' which constitutes the held knowledge of OTOs about what England and Englishness is, or what it ought to be. Thus, this study engages with those discourses of public authority in tourism which through their 'governmentality' [~GOVERNMENTALITY] act to select, project and offer for consumption through tourism those material and symbolic resources which invoke particular visions of England and Englishness.

Secondly, the concept of representation is examined in so far as it accounts for one the key aspects of the mediation of England in and through tourism. Representation, the construction of meaning of and about England through discourses of tourism, constitutes a rich terrain upon which to explore those questions of meaning in tourism , or in which to explore the ethno-culturally diverse nature of contemporary England.

Thirdly, the concept of identity can be regarded as a key element in the construction and maintenance of individual and social relations. The most casual observer of today's social

world cannot but be aware that new identities are constantly forming, and being expressed in ways which reflect the accelerating complexity and instability of modern societies. Thus, identity becomes one of the cornerstones of any critical social commentary.

Fourthly, in this study the concept of diversity acts as a platform around which the discussion of ethnic and cultural identity and representation are placed.

Fifthly, the concept of ethnicity is examined in order to provide clear and unambiguous insight into the ways in which individuals and social groups come to define their ethno-cultural identity and how these can be regarded as transient both spatially and temporally in contemporary England.

Closely linked to discussions of ethnicity the concept of 'race' is introduced into the study in so far as it informs aspects of cultural and national identity.

Seventhly, the symbolic and discursive dimensions of the concept of nationalism and national identity are discussed in order to provide a contextual backcloth on which the research problem may be viewed.

Finally, the concept of reflexivity is discussed as one of a number of 'turns' to emerge within the social sciences in recent decades.

In much of the literature (inside and outside tourism studies) these concepts are elided (Kaufmann, 2000) and thus, their inter-relationship within systemic patterns of production and consumption remains unaccounted for. In this study, the concepts introduced above are of crucial importance, as they can be regarded as the terrain through which 'cultures' struggle to survive and evolve in relationships with competing cultural forces. In contemporary England, national and regional tourism boards continually draw upon, and through their speech positions mediate, preferred notions of regional and 'national' identity and culture. Thus, the purpose of this literature review is to provide insight into the inter-relationship between these often competing aspects of the constructed individual and social subject and the way they are invoked in and through the discourse of England's tourism boards. The literature relating to these concepts is examined in order to develop critical perspectives on the representation of ethnic diversity in and through tourism, with specific reference to England. In placing the current study within the context of England at the commencement of the new millennium, it is important to note that the 'discourses' of OTOs do not exist in isolation from the dominant ideological, political, economic and social discourses of a given period.

2.1 THE CONCEPT OF DISCOURSE

The term 'discourse' has become common currency in a variety of disciplines: critical theory [~ CRITICAL THEORY], sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology and many other fields, so much so that it is frequently left undefined, as if its usage were simply common knowledge (Mills, 1997:1). The concept of discourse is a slippery one because of the number of ways in which it has been defined and used in a variety of

social science disciplines. In everyday language, a discourse traditionally has been understood as a statement or an utterance longer than a sentence (Fiske, 1987:14). But in the humanities and social sciences in recent years, the term has come to have a more elusive meaning that usually takes the work of Foucault as a starting point (Riggins, 1997:2). Foucault (1972:80) provides the following comment on the meaning of discourse to him:

> Lastly, instead of gradually reducing the rather fluctuating meaning of the word 'discourse', I believe that I have in fact added to its meanings: treating it sometimes as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualisable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a certain number of statements; and have I not allowed this same word 'discourse', which should have served as a boundary around the term 'statement', to vary as I shifted my analysis or its point of application, as the statement itself faded from view.

The notion of discourse, in both the popular and the philosophical use of the term, integrates a whole array of different meanings that often seem to be contradictory or mutually exclusive (Titscher et al., 2000:25). The term 'discourse' can be used to describe, for example, verbal communication (talk, conversation); formal treatment of a subject in speech or writing; a unit of text used by linguists for the analysis of linguistic phenomena that range over more than one sentence; the ability to reason; to speak or write formally; to hold a discussion (see Mills, 1997). 'Discourse' may be derived etymologically form Medieval Latin, *discursus* running to and fro. Different modes of discourse encode different representations of experience; and the source of these representations is the communicative context within which the discourse is embedded

(Fowler, in Hawthorn, 1992:48). Table 2.0 summarises eight different perspectives on 'discourse'.

Table 2.0

The term 'discourse' has also been referred to as 'samples of spoken dialogue', spoken or written language', or the 'situational context [~CONTEXT OF STATEMENTS] of language use', (Fairclough, 1992). While the term 'discourse' tends to be used differently in various disciplines, it is broadly understood to be those forms of belief, of value, and of the classification of things which are embodied within speech or written communication (Hollinshead and Jamal, 2001b:64). Fairclough (1995:7) takes the view that, "discourse is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice".

The theory of interpretation elaborated by Ricoeur is closely connected to the concept of text. The principle features of Ricoeur's theory of interpretation can be derived from the characteristics of written discourse (Thompson, 1981:14) Ricoeur postulated that the event of 'saying' is eclipsed by the 'meaning' of what is said, in conjunction with the severance of such meaning from those of the speaker. Therefore, according to Ricoeur's theory, the objective meanings of a text is often removed from the subjective intentions of the speaker. The key point for Ricoeur is that "the problem of the right understanding can no longer be solved by a simple return to the alleged intention of the author" (Ricoeur, 1981:211).

Within postmodern themes of contemporary social theory, poststructuralism emphases the role of language and discourse in shaping subjectivity and, social institutions and politics (Seidman, 1994). 'Discourse' according to Fairclough (1992:28) is more than *just* language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice. Discourse is implicated in expressing people's points of view and value systems, many of which are 'pre-structured' in terms of what is 'normal' or

'appropriate' in particular social and institutional settings. As Jaworski and Coupland (1999:3) argue, "the rise in importance of discourse has coincided with a falling off of intellectual security in what we know and what it means to know – that is, a shift in epistemology [~EPISTEMOLOGY], in the theorizing of knowledge". Coward and Ellis (1977) regard discourse as an active force in social relations, as a 'practice'. They, see language as having a material existence, "in that it is constituted in several institutions (speech, gesture, writing) whose importance and forms differ from society to society; and that its role is determining, playing a part, [...] in the social process" (Coward and Ellis, 1977:80). 'Discourse', is used in this study to denote written, spoken, or enacted practices organized so as to supply a coherent claim to a position or perspective. Language encompasses not merely the use of a vocabulary, but a system through which meaning is constructed and cultural practices organised. The assumption that discourse and language are merely a means of expressing thoughts and ideas has now given way to the notion that meanings are constructed rather than conveyed by these processes. In the current study 'discourse' can be described as language that is produced in a particular institutional context, whether these take the form of personal interactions of speech, or of texts, including visual representations. Foucault regards discourse as statements which are organized into groups; what he refers to as 'discursive formations'. These formations consist of "a limited number of statements for which a group of conditions of existence can be defined (Foucault, 1974:117). Such conditions of existence are described as 'discursive practices' which order the adhesion of specific bodies of statements. Foucault's prime concern is with 'institutional' discourse and the possibilities for discourse during any given epoch. As Gergen (1998:44) has it:

> For Foucault, there is a close relationship between language, (including all forms of text) and social processes (conceived in terms of power relations). In particular, as various professions (e.g. the sciences, government, religion, the courts) develop languages that both justify their existence and articulate the social world, and as these languages are used in practice, so individuals come under the sway of such professions. Most pertinently, Foucault's writings single out individual subjectivity as the site where many contemporary institutions – including the academic profession – insinuate themselves into ongoing social life and expand their dominion.

The relationship between power and discourse is of particular salience to Foucault, who takes the view that power can not be regarded as a one dimensional concept. As Foucault (1975:142) remarked:

> One should not assume a massive and primal condition of domination, with 'dominators' on the one side and 'dominated' on the other, but rather a multiform production of relations of dominance.

Many social commentators on Western democracies assert that power 'belongs to the people', and that public figures and institutions emerge in response to such dynamics. For Foucault however, not only are the people, as an organic group, 'invented' by politicians and others, people are themselves produced by, and subjected to, what he calls the force of bio-power (Schirato and Yell, 2000:49).

For Foucault (1972:32) "the unity of a discourse is based not so much on the permanence and uniqueness that an object has, but the space in which various objects emerge and are continually transformed". For tourism discourse, one such space may comprise the relationships between officially sanctioned tourism institutions (OTOs), government departments, for example the department of 'culture', and other bodies which constitute the rules of 'formation' for the projection of the 'nation' through tourism. From a critical linguistic perspective such 'spaces' can be conceptualised in

terms of a 'discourse community' (Swales, 1990) within which the conventions of OTO discourse are defined. In the context of this study OTO 'discourse communities' continuously constructs and projects a version of 'England' through the productive, transformative and reproductive filters of 'heritage', 'modernity', and popular culture. However, with regard to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England, the space which allows continuous transformation of its objects does not seem to invite the settlement of 'other' meaning. 'Discourse communities' impose ideological and discoursal constraints on text producers and receivers, reflecting what Fairclough (1989:77) terms 'common sense' in discourse. Thus, in the current study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England, the motivated and systematic linguistic choices of OTO 'discourse communities' represent a key focus of analysis.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION

Representation is historically and culturally specific and can be regarded as a *product* of a particular culture and history which is socially constructed. Representation is 'negotiated' through social processes and therefore offers numerous possible interpretations which both sustain and exclude. Representation can be defined as the production of meaning through language, discourse and image (Hall, 1997a back cover), and is a 'key moment' in what has been called the 'circuit of culture' (de Gay, et al., 1997). Through the language (signs, symbols) of representation, tourism promoters represent concepts, ideas and feelings to an audience who share a common access to language. Indeed it is difficult to know what being English, or indeed French, German, South African or Japanese means outside of all the ways in which our ideas and images of national identity or national cultures have been represented

(Hall, 1997a:5). Gunew (1994:31) points out that we use the term 'representation' "in at least two senses: as the depiction of a subject and as delegation (when someone speaks for a group or individual)". In 'social constructionist' approaches representation is conceived as entering into the very constitution of things; and thus culture is conceptualised as a primary or 'constitutive' process, as important as the economic material 'phase' in shaping social subjects and historical events - not merely a reflection of the world after the event (Hall, 1997a:5-6). In his influential text *Orientalism*, Said (1978) provides cogent observations regarding representation. For Said 'Western' imperial violence in the 'Orient' extended beyond its physical manifestation, into representation itself, and was inherent in Eurocentric processes of selection, exclusion, translation, and interpretation (Said, 1978:121, 203, 207-209). According to Said (1990:95) "what we must eliminate are systems of representation that carry with them the kind of authority which ...has been repressive because it doesn't permit or make room for interventions on the part of those being represented". In the appropriate circumstances, the use of words accomplishes a special type of social act ranging from innocuous assertions, questions and promises, to less harmful acts of deceit, perjury, threatening, menacing, intimidation, harassment, derogation, humiliation, and a host of other ways to attack, hurt, demean, cheat or destroy others (Van Dijk, 1995:307c).

In tourism, representations of peoples, places and pasts are predominantly market driven, they represent the perceived fantasies of tourism generating areas which are evoked in order to direct potential tourists to the projected tourist product. In projections of 'developing' destinations representations are often concerned with projecting images of 'unspoiled', 'authentic', 'primitive' or 'exotic' locations "in

order to cater to certain images in Western consciousness about how the 'Other' is imagined to be" (Silver, 1993:303). In destinations such as England the representation of the Western 'self' in tourism rely on fantasies of continuity and myths of ethnic origin. These ancestry and foundational myths, which were widespread in Africa and Asia from early times, were forged in Europe during the eighteenth century when "most of Western Europe was caught in a romantic quest for origins" (Smith, 1999:60). When discussing tourism in the 'third world', Silver makes the point that "most natives are positionally unable to affect how images of authenticity [sic] are constructed and marketed... it is the operators and their agents who continuously redefine and reconstruct notions of 'authentic' culture" (Silver, 1993:316). Similarly, it can be argued that in England individual subjects [citizens] may have little influence on the representations projected to portray Englishness or English identity, despite the fact that those agents of normalcy charged with such representation operate within the prevailing system of governance. This is because representation "is always *of* something or someone, *by* something or someone, *to* someone" (Mitchell, 1990:12) and as such are "implicated in relations of power - especially between those who are doing the exhibiting and those who are being exhibited" (Hall, 1997a:8) or subdued.

In seeking to gain insight which may inform the research problem, this study will analyse the networks of text and talk which articulate the link between representation and power in tourism discourse. Knowledge linked to power, not only assumes the authority of 'the truth', but also has the power to make itself true (Hall, 1997a:49). The representation used to portray and promote national, regional or community culture in and through tourism are not disinterested or politically neutral, but are an inexorable part of the social processes of domination and control which privilege

some and subjugate or silence others. Several authors address questions of power in the context of representation in and through tourism. Owens (1992) argues that representation is the founding act of power in our culture (Owens, 1992:91). Bond and Gilliam (1994) remind us that 'representing the past and the way of life of populations is an expression and a source of power' (Bond and Gilliam, 1994:1). Hollinshead (1998b:51) draws our attention to the historical specificity of representation and suggests that:

> all representations of culture – that is, each and every projection and delineation of race [sic]/ethnicity/nationhood in tourism – is saturated with power, and that such representations of culture should increasingly be seen as historically constituted depiction's rather than ontologically given accounts.

Contemporary discussions of power in the context of tourism are informed by Foucauldian thought (Hollinshead, 1999; Cheong and Miller, 2000). As Hollinshead (1999:9) points out:

> when Foucault explores a set profession or a certain institution, he inspects its "gaze", that is the way its members learn to see and to project preferred versions of reality, and historically, the way that such seeing and projecting privileges certain persons and their inheritances, and subjugates certain others and their inheritances.

The current study which is concerned with the representation of ethnic diversity in the discourse of OTOs strives to uncover the conscious and unconscious formation of such projected reality, even if such representations may, conceivably, be seen by subjugated groups as 'natural' and 'legitimate'.

Foucault challenged mainstream conceptualisations of power as 'a certain kind of strength' (1978:93). According to Foucault, power is not a commodity; rather, we know power only in its social relational effects on ourselves and on others (Foucault,

1983:221). In this respect, much of the current work within tourism studies has insufficient explanatory power when confronted with Foucauldian questions *of bio-power*, *bio-politics*, the *ethical subject*, and *technologies of the self* [~TECHNOLOGIES OF THE SELF]. In the current research study I strive to infuse the emergent tourism studies literature with insights derived from Foucauldian thought, as well as from the already vibrant literature in post-colonial and cultural studies, including the work of Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1997a). These authors constitute some of the key commentators which are encountered in any investigation of representation. In the current study I focus on the representation of an ethnically diverse West European country in and through its officially designated tourism organisations. Therefore, in this study I address an aspect of tourism which has been, to date, virtually ignored in the tourism studies literature (see Table 2.1 for a summary of theoretical approaches to representation).

TABLE 2.1

THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO REPRESENTATION

APPROACH TO REPRESENTATION	KEY FEATURES	RELEVANCE TO THE CURRENT STUDY
Reflective or Mimetic approach	Meaning thought to lie in the object, person, idea, or event. Language is said to function like a mirror, reflecting the 'true' meaning as it exists in the world.	The representation of objects through visual signs in the discourse of OTOs to bare some relationship to the actual objects they represent.
Intentional approach	From this perspective it is the speaker or author who imposes meaning through language.	Communication is a shared process, therefore meaning can not be created or communicated in isolation.
Constructionist approach	In this approach it is recognized that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning. Things don't mean, we construct meaning using representational systems – concepts and signs.	The constructionist approach to representation is highly relevant in this study because it recognizes the social nature of meaning and that there is never a final 'true' meaning, only interpretation.

Source: Hall (1997).

2.3 THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY

> *An identity is an unstable, aspirational point of identification, an attempt to position oneself, or construct a group – in relation to others – through ever-changing representations of a shared or distinguished culture, history or set of utopic longings* (Davey, 1999:7).

Because of the mass of literature and theoretical perspectives on the concept of identity, in this review I simply wish to provide sufficient comment necessary to articulate a heuristic understanding of identity in the context of the current study. Questions of identity and a sense of belonging appear to have superseded questions of material entitlement in much social and cultural theory as well as in cultural politics (McGuigan, 2001:124). Identity has been the topic of a wide variety of logical, philosophical, psychological (in both social and developmental senses), sociological, political, and other discussions for quite some time (Wodak et al., 1999:10). According to Hall (1992:274) identity is "too complex, too underdeveloped, and too little understood in contemporary social science to be definitively tested". Hall distinguishes three concepts of identity: the Enlightenment subject; the sociological subject; and the post-modern subject. Hall argues that, the Enlightenment subject was based on a conception of the human person as a fully centred, unified individual, endowed with the capacity of reason, consciousness and action, whose 'centre' consisted of an inner core which first emerged when the subject was born, and unfolded with it, while remaining essentially the same – continuos or 'identical' with itself – throughout the individuals existence (Hall, 1992:275). The concept of identity never signifies anything static, unchanging, or substantial, but rather always an element situated in the flow of time, ever changing, something involved in a process (Wodak et al., 1999:11). The sociological concept of identity (the self) takes into account the growing complexity and diversity of the modern world. This approach to

identity takes a more relational perspective on identity and embraces the social 'meanings' as determinants of identity. The sociological approach to identity may be viewed as straddling the space between the personal conception of identity, on the one hand, and the public or social relational perspective on identity, on the other. Post-modern perspectives see identity as open-ended, variable and problematic. As Hall has it, "identity under post-modernity has become a movable feast: formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us" (Hall, 1992:277).

Questions regarding individual, local, regional, national and supra-national identities have been the subject of heated debate at all levels within Europe (Macdonald (1993), Goddard (1994). Across Europe people from a diverse range of cultures are asserting their right to express regional or local identity, within the overall context of Europe. Discussing independence movements within Europe, Berger (1990) makes the claim that:

> such movements have little in common culturally or historically, but all of them want to be free of distant foreign centres which, through long bitter experience, they have come to know as soulless. This is why they insist on their continuity - their links with the dead and the unborn.

The assertion of strong local, regional, national and indeed supra-national identities may be welcomed within the context of a federalised Europe, particularly by those involved in the promotion of cultural tourism. However, there are serious questions to be raised regarding the rise of identity politics within Europe. The rise of right wing activity across Europe represents the cocoon of the self, whose purpose is the exclusion of 'Otherness'. Such fear of the stranger leads to withdrawal into the self and limits interaction to expressions of aggression. The extreme expressions of nationalism, or regionalism, which can be witnessed within contemporary Europe

serve as a reminder that the search for a pure 'home' is neither an innocent utopia, nor a desirable aspiration. Whether individuals are part of the 'Home', 'Fortress', 'State', 'Region', or 'Locality', collective expression seems to include the 'Self' and exclude the 'Other'. At the heart of these processes of inclusion and exclusion are questions concerned with identity.

2.3.1 Defining Identity

Anthropological and sociological studies within a diverse range of European 'communities' (see for example Bowie 1993, MacClancy 1993, O'Brien 1994) have demonstrated the dynamic nature of, as well as responses to, identity formation and re-formation. The concern with questions of identity over recent years may at first sight seem surprising, for the consistent logic of modern social and cultural thought has been to undermine the notion of individual identity (Carter, 1993:viii). Contemporary society exhibits many characteristics of the 'identity-health' model of popular psychological discourse. Whether viewed individually (regions, nation states and their subjects or citizens) or as component parts of a collective whole, identities are variously strong, weak, disordered, or in crisis. The wave of social change which swept across Europe and the USA during the 1960s, increased awareness of 'minority' populations and facilitated the expression of a diverse range of cultures and identities. As Macdonald (1993:7) reminds us:

> The concept of 'identity' not simply as a neutral synonym for sameness or equivalence, as it is used in mathematics and logic for example, but as a positively valued socio-psychological construct became widespread during the 1960s, though it was by no means a wholly new development.

Although there has been a burgeoning of literature concerned with questions of identity, definitions which fully embrace the concept have been less forthcoming. According to Lanfant, trying to define identity 'risks halting the progress of our thought' (Lanfant et al., 1995:7), however she offers the following conceptualisation.

> Identity is the test to which all human beings living in society are constantly subjected. This test is enhanced when the individual is attacked, weakened, marginalized, placed in awkward situations or torn between conflicting interests. So fragile is identity, continually being called into question in an ever more mobile universe, and always under threat of alienating itself in processes of identification using models of reference as guarantees.

Identity in this conceptualisation is dependant on interaction with other identities for its survival. Cohen (1994:11), argues that people become aware of their culture when they stand at its boundaries. For example, people may become more acutely aware of their accents, dress, or religious practices when outside their own cultural space (and when they return). Awareness can also be imposed from outside, through both positive and negative interactions.

2.3.2 National Identity

Any discourse regardless of its claims, cannot create mimesis (reveal the naked truth); rather, through its ideological distortions, it operates in the service of power (Duncan, 1993:39). Power, culture, identities and nationhood have become central political and theoretical issues in recent decades. Policy initiatives relating to aspects of national identity may oscillate between asserting a single national culture and identity on the one hand, and playing the 'cultural diversity card' on the other. To describe or represent is at the same time to demarcate, to include and exclude, in a word - to contain (Schwarz, 1996:21). States everywhere attempt to resolve these tensions through discourses and practices that seek to reconcile nationhood and ethnic diversity (Kipp, 1993). The central role of the state in both eliciting and constraining processes of ethnic identification and modes of ethnic organization has been particularly

stressed by, for example, Yinger, (1985), Williams (1989), Toland (1993), and Brown (1994).

Peoples felt sense of belonging to place or country has been theorised as the 'constructs of historical capitalism' (Hobsbawm, 1990), 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1996) and the 'imagined community' (in Anderson's anthropological definition, Anderson, 1983). More recent work has taken up the idea of an envisioned community as providing a means of self-identification and has offered further theories about the ways in which this envisioning might take place (Howard and Gill, 2001:88). Baker (1999:64-65) sees national identity as, 'a form of imaginative identification with the nation-state as expressed through symbols and discourses... a construction assembled through symbols and rituals in relation to territorial and administrative categories. Hall (1994) conceptualises nations as 'systems of representation'. Thus, national cultures construct identities by creating meanings of 'the nation', with which we can identify: these are contained in stories that are told about the nation, in stories which link its present to its past and in the perceptions of it that are constructed. Viewed in this way, nationality becomes a narrative, a story people tell about themselves in order to lend meaning to their social world, a story which transforms perceptions of the past and of the present (Howard and Gill, 2001:89). Table 2.2 (below) provides an outline of five guiding assumptions about 'national' identity.

TABLE 2.2

FIVE GUIDING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT NATIONAL IDENTITY

Assumption 1.	*- AS GUIDING IDEAS* *Nations* are represented in the minds and memories of the nationalised subjects as sovereign and limited political units. *Nations* are very influential guiding ideas with sometimes destructive consequences.
Assumption 2.	*- AS DISCOURSE* *National* identities are discursively produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed.
Assumption 3.	*- AS HABITUS* *National* identity can be regarded as a 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1977) or complex of common ideas, perceptions and emotional attitudes.
Assumption 4.	*- AS CONSTRUCTED THROUGH DIFFERENCE* The discursive construction of *national* identity always runs hand in hand with the construction of 'difference'.
Assumption 5.	*- AS CONTEXT DEPENDANT* There is no such thing as a singular *national* identity. Different *national* identities are constructed according to context. *National* identities are dynamic, fragile, 'vulnerable' and often incoherent.

Adapted from: De Cilla, et al. (1999).

The inevitable normalisation and standardisation required by the tourism 'market' also entails injustice and the erasure of difference and diversity. Questions of description or representations are fundamental to the production and consumption of tourism 'products' and can also provide the terrain on which to survey the relations of meaning and power within such discursive formations. The projection of the nation-state and national identity are closely entwined within the discourse of publicly funded tourism organisations. In multi-ethnic societies such as England, the representation of 'national identity' provides the terrain on which questions of ethnic diversity are most often voiced and debated.

2.3.3 Identity Formation and Expression

There are a standard set of cultural symbols which are associated with identity, such as language, religion, dance, music, heritage, and so on. Other forms of identity also exist such as occupational, political and generational identities. All of these are, to a greater or lesser degree, dependant on social relations for their formation, expression and interpretation. Put simply, identity is constructed through a learning process at different structural levels of society which is particular to, and continues from, individuals earliest days within the society into which they are born (Douglas, 1997:152-3). Such relationships are not straightforward, indeed they are becoming increasingly complex. However, the analysis of such relations provides insights into both the formation and expression of identity.

The social sciences have been engaged in an ongoing debate regarding the nature of social relations. This process of analysis has moved from the dualist perspective put forward by Tonnies (1955) and is currently negotiating the brand-names, catch-words and sound-bites of what Maffesoli (1996) terms *tribus*. Macdonald (1993:4) summarises the approach of early social scientists to questions of social relations as follows:

> As the nature of social relations in Western Europe shifted from predominantly rural based lifestyle (*Gemeinschaft*: Tonnies, 1955), to an urban industrialised lifestyle based on various forms of association (*Gesellschaft*), social scientists sought to understand the nature of social relations within these industrialised regions. Social theorists concerned themselves with questions of what kind of allegiances to social groups, and what kinds of sense of belonging or alienation, would develop as people moved out of networks of kinship and community and into larger, apparently less personalised, organisations.

The dualism of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* which was evident in early social analysis was dismantled by Schmalenbach (1961) who noted that social worlds also existed through networks of acquaintances and friendship which formed transversal structures outside the boundaries of labour based social interaction. The *'bund'* (often translated into English as 'league' or 'federation' to cover the conceptually intermediate form of human association) of Schmalenbach's analysis was further developed by Maffesoli (1996) who suggests that there is a resurgence of personalised relations in what he refers to as *Le Temps des tribus* - the Time of the Tribes. As we embark on a new millennium, Maffesoli (1996) argues that conventional approaches to understanding society and solidarity are deeply flawed. According to Shields (1996:xi):

> The 'little masses' of Maffesoli's analysis are heterogeneous fragments, the remainders of mass consumption society, groups distinguished by their members' shared lifestyles and tastes. *Tribus* are thus not 'tribes' in the traditional anthropological sense, for they do not have the fixed longevity of tribes. Nor are they neo-tribes; they are better understood as 'postmodern tribes' or even pseudo-tribes. The 'Time of the Tribes' is a time when the mass is tribalised.

In Maffesoli's assessment, mass culture has disintegrated and social existence is conducted through fragmented tribal groupings. In addition to sharing lifestyles and tastes, these postmodern tribes are also influenced by spatial dimensions. Identity may also be expressed in spatial behaviour, as in choice of residential and recreational locations or place of work, such behaviour reflecting the external application of

internalised beliefs, values and aspirations (Douglas, 1997:152). Graham (1997:xi) argues that:

> Societies and localities are interdependent in that social power cannot be conceived without a geographical context; its exercise shapes space which in turn shapes social power. Any social reality must be referred to the space, place or region within which it exists.

The most casual observer of the today's social world cannot but be aware that new identities are constantly forming, and being expressed in ways which reflect the accelerating complexity and instability of modern societies. Individuals within this complex social world express not one, but several identities, moving from one to another as they travel both spatially and contextually.

2.3.4 Identity Interaction

Although often viewed as static, identity is constantly changing and re-creating itself, not in spite of, but as a result of, interaction with 'Others'. This interaction may take place at many levels, both consciously and subconsciously. Because identity can be exhibited at individual level, as well as collectively, it can be encountered outside the boundaries of its formation. Though the 'homes' which ground and house identities can be denied to people physically by enforced exile or lost through chosen migration, they still continue to resonate throughout the imaginations of displaced communities (Carter, 1993:vii). As structural boundaries within Europe dissolve, identities are abutted against each other with increased regularity. Morley and Robins, (1993:5) argue that proliferating information and communication flows, together with mass human migration, have progressively eroded territorial frontiers and boundaries. With the development of the World Wide Web, even the visual 'blindness' of previous systems has been overcome. Social relations are on longer primarily face-to-face relationships (Wickham, 1998:36). Today they are just as likely to be mediated

through monitoring screens, or electronic mail, which may result in even more immediate confrontations of culture and identity.

The phenomenon of tourism, particularly cultural tourism, is one which maintains face-to-face interaction, even if such interaction is 'staged'. As Boissevain tells us 'hundreds of millions of outsiders are annually entering, lodging in and exploring European countries (Boissevain, 1994:48). Much of this tourism will not be the old style beach or coastal tourism, but cultural tourism which may be more intrusive into peoples everyday lives. For those who routinely interact with tourists, and for tourists themselves there is an ever present trap of designating all tourists, or all locals as just that - tourists, or locals. When this is allowed to happen, both sides become 'objects' for the other, Tourists may be objects of economic gain or resentment, locals may be objects of curiosity or wonder. This 'objectifying' is a kind of battlefield between tourists and locals. As Nash argues, people who treat others as objects are less likely to be controlled by the constraints of personal involvement and will feel freer to act in terms of their own self-interest (Nash, 1989:45). Lanfant (1995) argues that tourism, particularly 'cultural tourism', is often considered by international organisations as a pedagogic instrument allowing new identities to emerge - identities corresponding to the new plural-ethnic or plural-state configurations which are forming (Lanfant et al, 1995:4).

Some of the most prominent symbols of identities can be seen in the iconography of nation states, and regional independence movements. Less obvious, but equally important, is the psychological state which enables people to define themselves as European, or French, or Basque, or all of these simultaneously. Strong claims to identity have had significant implications for West European politics. Political developments in Spain, Germany, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and more recently in the former Yugoslavia, bare witness to the importance of identity. One of the major

problems which such developments must overcome is that in facilitating the aspirations of a particular identity, this, according to some analysts, automatically enhances those identities which are in opposition. In a Europe of expanding horizons and dissolving boundaries, the growth of communications, technology and tourism, together with continued migration, have been major factors in facilitating the development of such highly complex social phenomenon. Thus, the conceptualisation of identity (particularly 'national identity) as a 'narrative' places the role of OTOs as selective mediators of 'national' symbolic and cultural resources in a privileged role vis-à-vis the enunciation of those myths and memories of the 'nation', as well as of those social formations through which the 'nation' is imagined.

2.4 THE CONCEPT OF DIVERSITY

Many contemporary Western societies are struggling to redefine themselves as 'multicultural'. This has important, if often unclear, implications for current and future concepts and popular experiences of culture, citizenship and identity in such societies (Roche, 2001:74-5). The recognition of diverse cultures and ways of life as equally worthy of respect - where they accord that right to others – is not only seen as compatible with universal rights but as necessary to their fulfilment (Rawls, 1971:442; Bloomfield and Bianchini, 2001:105). The concept of diversity means that people are valued precisely because of their differences (Kandola, et al., 1995; Kandola and Fullerton, 1998; Thomas, 1991). Within the West European context, ideas about 'citizenship', 'membership' and 'belonging' in terms of rights and duties have come under increased scrutiny at this millennium moment. Citizenship refers here to the political logic at work in the management of diversity – that is, to the modes of recognition or non-recognition of distinct identities within the broader fabric

of a national mode of cohesion, when indeed such cohesion holds true (Cohen, 2002:109). Stevenson (2001:4-5) argues that:

> social movements in respect of race [sic] and ethnicity, gender and sexuality, disability and others have all sought to interrupt the construction of dominant cultures... and that... the development of a sophisticated array of visual codes and repertories that interrupt the agendas of more hegemonic institutions and cultures is an essential armament within the semiotic society.

This study of the representation of ethnic diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England may provide some measure of the extent to which such movements have been successful in 'disrupting' the representation of the dominant ethnic identity and asserting a broader inclusive conception of society.

Ethnic diversity, as encountered in England, has two distinct connotations. On the one hand, it has a specifically individual focus. The individual as part of an 'identifiable' (often based on contingent characteristics such as skin colour) ethnic group. This is the dominant conceptualisation of ethnic diversity in England. On the other hand, the term diversity may also have distinctly collective resonance (Dandeker and Mason 2001:228-229). For example, the identification of ethnic 'groups' within the context of other ethnic groups which comprise the broader population appeals to the notion of collective identity.

Contemporary British sociological representations of racism and ethnicity have grown out of post-war construction of fixed racialised identities based on skin colour as the central marker of difference within the liberal secular framework. This construction of the 'collective black subject' has resulted in the marginalisation of many white and 'non-white' 'minorities', as well as a failure to recognise the importance of religious and cultural diversity among all 'groups'. For many the construction of anti-racist

theories based on Black-White dualism, on the one hand, and the myth of cultural homogeneity prior to the 1950s on the other, has resulted in cultural invisibility for many segments of the populace. In many respects, the discussion of 'diversity' in the context of England is premised upon a form of historical amnesia and an assumption that England evolved without any large scale inward migration of people (see Hickman and Walter (1995) for an analysis of the myth of cultural homogeneity).

The value of diversity involves not only the recognition of, and respect for, cultural 'difference', and everyday cultural 'practice', but also a pluralistic approach within public institutions and organisations. There is however a danger of 'in-group essentialism' within such pluralistic approaches to diversity. Baumann (1997) shows how South Asians in Britain move between ethnic discourses of the self as 'Asian other' (dominant discourse) and discourses of various political and culturally constructed selves in relation to 'non-ethnic' others, (demotic discourse). In tourism, for example, there may be a danger of projecting a singular representation of a given population, which may not be homogenous, and thus excluding many of the less powerful voices within the population. Table 2.3 summarises a number of key perspectives on diversity and their implication for the current study.

TABLE 2.3

PERSPECTIVES ON 'DIVERSITY' AND THEIR IMPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OFFICIAL PROJECTIONS OF ENGLAND THROUGH TOURISM

PERSPECTIVES ON DIVERSITY	IMPLICATION FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Diversity and Dominant Cultures:	
Notions of diversity can be regarded as a means by which to interrupt constructions of dominant culture in and given locale.	Through my overt and engaged political position, in this study I seek to draw attention to the ways in which dominant conceptualisations of England and Englishness are constructed and mediated through the discourse of OTOs.
Individual Diversity vs. Group Diversity:	
Ethnic diversity in England has two distinct connotations: > the dominant perspective on ethnic diversity in England often considers individuals to be part of an identifiable ethnic 'group' (often based on contingent attributes such as skin colour). > another connotation of diversity concerns the ways ethnic 'groups' are identified and regarded in contrast to other ethnic 'groups'.	In this study the problematic nature of attempting to generate an identifiable and discreet list or range of ethnic 'groups' which may comprise ethnic diversity in England is recognised. Therefore, in this study I make no attempt to define the diversity of 'minority' sub-national populations in England, nor indeed to define who may, or may not, be considered to contribute to such diversity.

table cont'd

TABLE 2.3 (CONTINUED)

PERSPECTIVES ON 'DIVERSITY' AND THEIR IMPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OFFICIAL PROJECTIONS OF ENGLAND THROUGH TOURISM

PERSPECTIVES ON DIVERSITY	IMPLICATION FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Diversity in Contemporary 'nations':	
Many 'nation-states' around the globe are struggling to redefine themselves in the context of increasing ethno-cultural diversity as people and cultures collide in an ever more mobile and globalised world, whether such mobility is the result of voluntary relocation or cohesion or force.	This study is conducted within a 'nation' (England) where, and at a time when, issues of ethno- cultural diversity are at the forefront of public debate in relation to the future development of England within a devolving United Kingdom. Therefore, this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of official tourism organisations can be regarded as part of that wider debate.

2.5 THE CONCEPT OF ETHNICITY

The term 'ethnic' is derived from the Greek terms *ethnikos* (heathen or pagan) and *ethnos* (nation). The entry for 'Ethnick' in the *Glossographia* (1656) compiled by Thomas Blount (1618-79) ran as follows: "heathenish, ungodly, irreligious: And may be used substantively for a heathen or gentile" (Kidd, 1999:34). While some remain skeptical about the very existence of ethnicity, it can be regarded as "a world-wide social fact" (Lonsdale, 1994:131) demonstrated through cultural practices, communication, and modes of social organization. According to Williams (1983119-20):

> Ethnic has been in English since mC14.... It was widely used in the sense of heathen, pagan or Gentile, until C19, when this sense was generally superseded by the sense of RACIAL (q.v.), characteristics. Ethnics came to be used in the United States as what was described in 1961 as 'a polite term for Jews, Italians, and other lesser breeds'....The scientific uses are now specialized areas within anthropology.... Meanwhile in mC20 ethnic reappeared, with effect from the earlier American use of Ethnics, in a sense close to FOLK (q.v.), as an available contemporary style, most commonly in dress, music, and food (emphases original).

Although there is no single, universally accepted, definition of ethnicity, not least because of the range of theoretical traditions from which the issue can be approached (Jenkins, 1986; 1997; Smith, 1986; Wallman, 1986; Yinger, 1985), cultural distinctiveness can be regarded as a key marker of ethnic grouping. Ethnicity alludes to a sense of belonging to certain groups, the sharing of similar behaviour, distinctive patterns of interaction within such social formations, and the articulation of some common socio-cultural characteristics. Thus, we can view ethnicity as a socially constructed relational concept that acts to generate and regulate cultural identity. Smith (1986) defines an ethnic unit as "a population whose members believe that in some sense they share common descent and a common cultural heritage or tradition,

and who are so regarded by others" (Smith, 1986:192). However, there are numerous perspectives regarding the concept of ethnicity and the extent of its negotiability (see for example, Geertz, 1973; Mason, 1986; van den Berghe, 1981; and Yinger, 1985). Historians and social scientists have become increasingly aware that ethnicity is not a straightforward reflection of common biological descent; rather, ethnic identities are now recognized as cultural fabrications, which can be imagined, appropriated or chosen, as well as transmitted directly to descendants (Kidd, 1999:4). Mason (2000) approaches these questions by considering how ethnic boundaries are drawn, and places the emphases on how social actors define themselves and their relationship to others. As Mason points out, "the same person might identify as Gujerati, Indian, Hindu, East African, Asian, or British depending on the situation, immediate objective, and the responses and behaviour of others" (Mason, 2000:13). Thus, according to Mason (2000) ethnicity is situational (see also Wallman, 1979; 1986). Barth (1969) is generally regarded as the prime proponent of the situational perspective and is distinguished from early ethnicity theorists by his rejection of the notion that culture is a monolithic entity. However, Modood et al. (1997) stress the influence of out-group pressure on individual and group self-identifications. For example, subtle messages about what constitutes Englishness may act to foster feelings of exclusion among individuals and 'groups' who position themselves outside the ethnicities being represented. As Goulbourne (2001:80) suggests, "outsiders conceptions of *us* may be a major influence leading to our own self-consciousness as an ethnic population" (emphases added).

Today there is widespread public concern about the capacity of state institutions to reflect the diversity of multi-ethnic Britain. High profile cases such as that of Stephen

Lawrence may be regarded as merely the tip of a more deep rooted problem which has become institutionalised (Macpherson, 1999). It is not difficult to see that equitable representation in a key national institution is likely to be an important goal for any government committed to delivering full substantive citizenship for all members of the population (Dandeker and Mason, 2001:223). The process of creating and maintaining ethnic boundaries, which are in fact transient, and the situational nature of ethnicity, represents a significant challenge to public institutions wishing to pursue ethnically inclusive policies. Many such organisations in England (and in the United Kingdom generally) are currently (2004) engaged in policy review processes relating to the representation of ethnic diversity (see section 6.2 Chapter Six), and the current study is a contribution to such work in the increasingly important field of tourism.

2.5.1 Ethnic 'Group'

The task of boundary maintenance is central to ethnicity. Without the entry barriers and assimilation pressures which boundary-maintenance entails, members of an ethnic group would not possess markers by which to identify one another (Kaufmann, 2000:1092). Many political and social thinkers recognise the need to acknowledge differences between varieties of cultural communities. While embracing such thinking, many commentators end up relegating ethnicity as a 'minority(s)' issue (van Dyke, 1995:32). Others associate ethnic group with uprooted, territorially divergent immigrant groups. It is common in the literature for 'ethnicity' to be associated with skin 'colour'. For example Dandeker and Mason (2001:230) argued that, Britain's minority ethnic citizens continue to be routinely represented as different from their white peers – whether for reasons of biology, culture or history. Such representations

demonstrate a lack of awareness regarding ethnicity itself, as well as 'Othering' members of 'White' minority ethnic populations.

According to Kaufmann (2000:1087), 'too much empirical and theoretical writing tends to equate 'nation' with majority and 'ethnic' with minority, all the while subsuming both under the umbrella term 'culture'. In recent times the work of Kymlicka (1995), on 'minority nations', as well as the work of contemporary theorists such as Margalit and Raz, (1990); Tamir, (1993); Miller, (1995); and Ifekwunigwe, (2002) has begun to have considerable influence on such thinking. Some contemporary theorists recognise that within any given state, 'minorities' can constitute 'nations' (Raz and Margalit, 1990; Tamir, 1993). Despite this, many social scientists, including those working within tourism studies, continue to engage in research which implicitly or explicitly equates 'ethnic' group with 'minority'. Thus, there is a need to sustain the challenge to the perceived link between certain ethnically constituted social formations and 'minorities'. As Kaufmann points out, "if we are to take ethnicity seriously, we must ask *how majority ethnic groups enter our moral universe*" (Kaufmann, 2000:1087-1088, emphases original).

According to Wallman (1986:229) in Britain it [ethnicity] signifies allegiance to the country of origin and implies a degree of choice and the possibility for change. Those conceived of as 'ethnic' are assumed to come from outside some assumed indigenous norm. Stronger mainstream or national identification is assumed to go together with weaker ethnic group identification (Verkuyten and de Wolf, 2002:372). *They* are 'ethnic', *we* are English, seems to sum up many of the attitudes which can be routinely encountered throughout institutional discourse in the public realm. Thus

English people are apt to conceptualise themselves as individuals, while outsiders are seen as members of groups (Mason, 2000). As Saggar (1993:35) points out:

> popular and political discourse often uses the term 'ethnicity' in ways that suggest an interchangeability with distinctions based primarily upon physical markers such as skin colour and, not infrequently and erroneously, as a surrogate for biological race.

In many instances of media communications in England, (for example, recruitment drives by public institutions such as the Police) 'minorities' such as the Irish, the Scots and the Welsh, or others of European origin such as Italians, Greeks, or Polish are unlikely to be regarded as 'ethnic'. For such institutions 'ethnic' seems to refer to those outside the assumed indigenous 'norm', and is likely to refer to those individuals and communities who can be 'grouped' together by means of contingent attributes such as skin colour. Recent work by Ifewunigwe (2002) suggests that dominant constructions of Englishness as 'White' denies access to an English identity for many 'mixed parentage' children. Aspinall (2003) points to the paucity of research relating to plural or 'hyphenate' identities in the United Kingdom.

2.5.2 Ethnicity and Tourism

The study of ethnicity and tourism in so called 'developed' countries remains theoretically and empirically under-researched. According to Stephenson (1997:7) the limited enquiries of tourism and ethnic 'minorities' which have been undertaken have been predominantly market orientated. Wood (1998) provides an overview of tourism and ethnic relations, and concludes that 'the boundaries between tourism and other social and cultural activities has been increasingly eroded as part of a broader process of differentiation, and one consequence of this has been the linking of ethnicity with touristic modes of discourse and experience' (Wood, 1998:234). Elsewhere, the

relationship between tourism and ethnicity has been explored by focusing on: inter-ethnic relations in tourism, (Hitchcock, 1999), tourism as a catalyst for the re-interpretation of identities among members of local communities (Jamison, 1999), and the sustainable development of Ethnic tourism (Li, 2000). The focus on ethnicity in the tourism studies literature has typically emphasised; (a) the interaction between the tourism 'industry' and the re-creation of ethnic symbols and material culture (van den Berghe and Keynes, 1984); (b) the crises of identity of the local people relative to their identity as the objects of touristic pursuits, (MacCannell, 1984), and (c) the issue of authenticity and cultural change as a result of contact with tourists (van den Berghe, 1992). Wood (1998) argues that "it is no longer possible in many places to see tourism as something outside of ethnic culture: its importance is such that it has to be seen as an integral part of the process by which ethnicity is represented and constructed" (Wood, 1998:234). Recent work by Henderson (2003), as well as forthcoming work by Jamil (on Pakistani populations in the United Kingdom) will further contribute to the critical analysis of tourism and ethnic identity.

The current study seeks to extend the links between tourism and ethnicity, by drawing into focus the ways in which representations of ethno-cultural diversity, in and through the discourse of OTOs, are linked to issues of access to discourse and communicative events, which in turn connect with questions of power and dominance. The representation of ethno-cultural diversity in tourism can not be regarded as simply a matter of projecting a given territory to the world. It is also a matter of who has the power to speak to whom, about what, who participates in such communicative events, and in what context.

2.6 THE CONCEPT OF 'RACE'

There is no biological bases to the concept of 'race'. There are no genetic characteristics possessed by all the members of any group (Lewontin, Rose, and Kamin, 1984). Indeed, even the Enlightenment science demonstrates that there are more intragroup differences than intergroup ones. Prior to the 1950s academic studies of 'race' and racism were rarely undertaken. Following the 'mass' migration of 'non-white' immigrants to the United Kingdom from the late 1940s onward ideas about 'race' entered mainstream social and political agendas. Subsequently, a new area of academic study on 'race relations' emerged. The literature on 'race' and racism over the past half century or so in the United Kingdom has articulated two distinct schools of thought. The first approach is associated with concept of 'race relations' and can be connected to the work of Rex (1970; 1986) and Banton (1967). Later Neo-Marxist perspectives (for example, Miles, 1982; 1989; 1993) were critical of the 'race relations' approach and instead proposed a theory of 'racism' or 'racialisation'. Critical theorisations of 'race', have asserted what Mac an Ghaill (1999) refers to as 'materialist' perspectives which foreground the historical and geographical specificity of 'race'. This perspective argues that the concept of 'race' is a function of the unequal power relations which pertain at any particular historic moment. What emerged from these more critical inspections of 'race' was a focus not on 'race', but on 'racialisation' (Miles, 1989, 1993; Morgan, 1997; Mac an Ghaill 1999). According to Miles theories of 'race relations' constituted "a phoney and misleading field or focus of study" (1982:2) which "should be explicitly and consistently confined to the dustbin of analytically useless terms" (1989:72). 'Race' relations theories were criticised for relying on classifications of phenotypical differences and thus embracing common-sense understandings of 'race'. As Miles (1982:32) put it, "if we analyse

social phenomena using concepts derived solely and exclusively from the world of appearances" we would be "open to the danger of reifying the phenomenal forms, that is, analysing them as if they were real, active subjects".

Recent developments in theories of racialisation have cast doubt on both 'race relations' and 'Neo-Marxist' theories. Solomos and Back (1996:17) have argued that such approaches "have not been able to cope with the complexities of theorising racism in the 1990s". Such complexities have come about partly as a result of the blurring of boundaries which has occurred as 'race' becomes ethnicised (Cohen, 1999:2) and the terms are used interchangeably. As Cornell and Hartmann (1998:23) have argued:

> Despite the lack of a biological bases for the conception of distinct human races, race [sic] still wields monumental power as a social category. Races, like ethnic groups, are not established by some set of natural forces but are products of human perception and classification. They are social constructs.

In contemporary perspectives the literature unambiguous argues that 'race' and 'racial difference' are culturally determined. Notions of 'race' as natural, biological divisions between people have long been discredited. 'Races' only exist in so far as people think, and believe as if, they exist (Miles and Phizacklea, 1984:14).

This blurring of boundaries has given rise to the emergence of 'new racism' (Baker, 1981; van Dijk, 1998a). The defining features of 'new racism' according to Silverman (1999:44) is "its abandonment of the old discourse of racial purity and racial hierarchy in favour of one based on cultural difference and cultural essentialism". In the context of contemporary England 'new racism' can, for example, be regarded as those claims for the defence of the English 'way of life' in the face of perceived 'contaminating'

and 'corrupting' influences of 'minority' populations. Such claims are not only the preserve of the private sphere, but can be witnessed in the media and in the rhetoric of democratically elected public representatives in England (see van Dijk, 1988).

Conventional theories of 'race relations' or 'racialisation' do not provide sufficient explanatory sophistication to address emerging forms of 'new racism'. Through the influence of postmodern thought, there has been a focus on perceiving racism in more decentred and multiple terms, by considering its pluralities ('racisms') Small, 1994; Nagel, 2001). In explaining the dynamics of racism, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) noted that it is important to transcend a homogenised view and to recognise that racism can also be directed to and have an effect on various 'White minorities', such as the Irish and Jewish communities (Stephenson, 1997:45).

Current thinking about 'race' argues that it is a social construction, and the process by which racial meanings arise is termed racial formation (Haney Lopez, 1995, quoted in Ladson-Billings, 2000:259). Thus, through critical commentary on the subordination of 'visible minorities' (Alibhai-Brown, 2000) in public policy in the United Kingdom 'race' became a 'political category, the meanings of which was determined by struggle' (Gilroy, 1987:31). While such resistance sought to bring 'visible minorities' in the United Kingdom 'into history outside the category of "problem" or "victim" ' (Gilroy, 1987:26), it has recently come under attack for it almost exclusive focus on 'Blackness'. For example, Miles (1993) rejects the political unity of 'Blackness' because he argues 'Black politics' collapse multiple racisms into a single category and fails to critique the ideological system which created and sustain racialised boundaries. Modood (1994) views 'Blackness' as a political category as being

problematic because it attempts to 'manufacture Black commonality' in a narrow conceptualisation of racism which excludes cultural and religious identities. Hall (1992:254) summarises this line of critique thus:

> There has to be the 'end of innocence' regarding notions of the essential black subject and a demand to recognise the extraordinary diversity of subjective positions, social experiences, and cultural identities which compose 'black'.

The problem of 'manufactured commonality' is not restricted to conceptions of 'Blackness'. Recent commentary by Hickman (1998) and Mac an Ghaill (1999) highlights the ways in which a diverse range of so-called 'new white minorities' (Greeks, Irish, Italians, Maltese, Poles, Turks, et cetera) are often collapsed into the single category 'white'. According to Hickman (1998) white 'minorities' tend to be analysed within a discourse of assimilation, thus, they are elided from contemporary accounts of 'race' and racism. As Nagel (2001:385) argues "this supposed distinction between assimilable white ethnics and non-assimilable racial minorities reifies 'race' and rigidifies our ideas of racial politics". Table 2.4 provides contrasting conceptions of 'ethnic group' and 'race'.

TABLE 2.4

CONTRASTING CONCEPTIONS OF ETHNIC 'GROUP' AND 'RACE'

Ethnic Group	**'Race'**
Identity is based on putative common decent, claims of shared history, and symbols of peoplehood	Identity is based on perceived physical differences
Identity may originate in either assignment by others or assertion by selves	Identity typically originates in assignment by others
Identity may or may not reflect power relations	Identity typically reflects power relations
Identity may or may not imply inherent differences in worth	Identity implies inherent differences in worth
Identity usually constructed by both selves and others	Identity is constructed by others (at point of self-construction, group becomes ethnic group as well as 'race')

Source: Goulbourne (1998:94).

2.7 THE CONCEPT OF NATIONALISM

The nation-state is a political concept that refers to an administrative apparatus deemed to have sovereignty over a specific space or territory within the nation-state system (Baker and Galasinski, 2001:123-124). Nationalism is commonly based on ethnic ties, but nationalism can be clearly distinguished from ethnicity by its overt political agenda. The word 'nationalism' was not coined until the last decade of the eighteenth century, and thereafter enjoyed a most precarious and marginal existence, appearing in lexicographies only from the late nineteenth century (Kidd, 1999:5). Commentators on nationalism comprise two contrasting but identifiable groups. On the one hand there is those who can be classified as 'nationalists' themselves – who regard their shared collective identity as a natural expression of some deep rooted ethnic, religious or historical legacy. On the other hand, there are those who regard themselves as critics or victims of nationalist aspirations – among them George Mosse, Eric Habsbawm, Ernest Gellner and Benedict Anderson – all of whom, according to Sheehan (2002), have "felt the lash of national hatred and discrimination".

'Organic' or *primordial* (there are in fact several varieties of primordialism, for example, socio-biological, and cultural) perspectives on nationalism view kinship, ethnicity, and the genetic base of human existence as the key to the existence of nations and nationalism. For primordialists, nations are 'natural organisms, subject to the laws of nature, and are the ultimate source of power, will, and law (Smith, 1999:4). Another significant perspective on nationalism is *perennialism.* Perennial perspectives regard nations as existing throughout history, but they are not regarded as part of the natural order. One of the dangers of the perennial perspective , according to

Smith (1999:5) is the possibility of "imposing a *retrospective nationalism* onto communities and cultures whose identities and loyalties were local, regional, and religious, but barely national" (emphases original). Modernism, the dominant contemporary paradigm on nationalism, regard both primordialist and perennialist perspectives on nationalism as flawed because they are seen as expressions of nationalism itself. Smith (1999:6) contends that:

> For modernists like Eric Hobsbawm and Ernest Gellner, the nation is not only recent, it is also novel, and a product of the processes of modernisation They regard the era of the French Revolution as marking the moment when nationalism was introduced into the movement of world history. It was then that the idea of the sovereignty of the people was fused with the drive to cultural homogeneity, to forge self-determining nations of co-cultural citizens. Hence, nations as well as nationalism are purely modern phenomena, without roots in the past.

Gellner (1993) and others have approached the analysis of nationalism in terms of the vast social and economic upheavals which have occurred over the last two hundred years. For example, Hobsbawm (1990) and Hroch (1985, 1993) have put forward Marxist perspectives on the development of nationalist movements. While others, for example, Deutsch (1966), Anderson (1983), Weber (1979), stress the role of modern communications (fiscal-military states, print media) in the rise of nationalism. According to Delanty (2001:472-473):

> One of the central debates in the study of nationalism is a reflection of one of the main philosophical-methodological problems in the social sciences, namely are social entities such as nations and other social identities real or constructed? A constructivist view of nationalism suggests less a notion of narrative than of discourse: nations are discourses which are always open to new formulations and inventions.

The work of Smith (1986a&b, 1988, 1989, 1999) represents a "third approach challenging both primordialist and modernisation frameworks" (Langlands, 1999:54).

Smith (1999:9) argues that the central problem with all forms of modernist analysis of nationalism is

> their systematic failure to accord any weight to the pre-existing cultures and ethnicities of the nations that emerged in the modern epoch, thereby precluding any understanding of the popular roots and widespread appeal of nationalism.

Arguing from an ethno-symbolist perspective on nationalism, Smith (1999) focus is on the power of myth and memory in mobilising, defining, and shaping peoples and their futures. Smith (1999:9) suggests that for ethno-symbolists:

> what gives nationalism its power are the myths, memories, traditions, and symbols of ethnic heritage and the ways in which a popular *living past* has been, and can be, rediscovered and reinterpreted by modern nationalist intelligentsias (emphasis original).

From the fifteenth century one can speak of a relatively culturally homogeneous 'aristocratic' English *ethnie*, whose myths of origin and descent formed the core of the English kingdom (Smith, quoted in Langlands, 1999:55) and by the Tudor period these "myths of ethnic decent were primarily supplied by Geoffrey of Monmouth's late-twelfth-century chronicle of the 'Ancient Kings of Britain'" (Langlands, 1999:55). As the English dynastic state became more centralised and bureaucratic, it attempted to incorporate the middle classes and outlying ethnic groups through military, fiscal and administrative processes (Smith, 1986b:245-47). Though these processes of 'bureaucratic incorporation' typically involved accommodations between dominant and peripheral ethnic cultures, it was the myths and culture of the dominant aristocratic core that set its mark on the state (Smith, 1991:55). The English nation, therefore, emerged largely as an 'unintended consequence' of processes of bureaucratic incorporation of an aristocratic *ethnie*, whose ruling classes could by no stretch of the imagination be called 'nationalist' (Smith 1991:100). One of the difficulties encountered with the literature is the paucity of analysis of English

ethnicity. Scholers have been "more comfortable with explaining the ethnicity of the so-called 'Celtic' peripheries" (Langlands, 1999:57) while rendering English ethnicity as an invisible 'core'.

Many treatments of nationalism show that homogeneity is one of its central aims. Thus, ideas revolving around the promise (or threat) of sameness, or difference, surround all discussions of nationalism. Hall (1992:299) has discussed these issues in terms of the desire of nations to "stitch up" difference into homogeneity. Parker (1992:5) on the other hand speaks of "the nation's insatiable need to administer difference through violent acts of segregation, censorship, economic coercion". Difference is something against which the dominant nationalist ideology seeks to erode through a variety of mechanisms. Williams (1980) identifies one of these mechanisms as the making of 'selective tradition' by which dominant groups privilege, normalise and naturalise aspects of their 'history', while marginalizing others. Bhabha (1994) explores a basic ambiguity in nationalist discourse. That is that on the one hand the nation is often regarded as a homogeneous whole which has emerged from an ancient past and moving towards a modern future. On the other hand, nations are often viewed in a performative sense, constituted by the variety of people who 'make it up'. For Bhabha, this contradiction is carried within nationalist narratives as they "slide ambivalently from one enunciatory position to another" (Bhabha, 1994:147). From this perspective, diversity is part of the homogeneous image of the nation which is constructed through hierarchies of class, culture, religion and 'race'. This ambivalence of one of the central paradoxes of nationalism in which dominant groups need to create and reproduce (symbolically and materially) the diversity they also seek to deny. As Williams (1996:14) argues, "any culturally

constructed sameness was continually threatened by the reality of heterogeneity wrought by *intra*nationally produced class, religious, and other philosophical differences as well as from equally diversifying forms of *inter*national movements of persons and cultural properties".

Nationalism has implications for the projection of nation and national identity in and through tourism. Tourism, and heritage tourism in particular, is directly implicated in the construction of the national past through the selection and representation of particular people, places and events in particular historical contexts. Much of this is based on a reaching back, (re-appropriation), into the past to obtain authentic material through and on which to display the myths of national origin. Thus, as Edensor (1996:166) has argued:

> national histories often exclude the heritage of subaltern groups who may construct alternative histories. Such narratives may contest their exclusion or posit a distinct heritage within a particular space, which may be within the nation or stretch beyond its borders.

If the nation can be viewed as a community with a certain culture, as we usually tend to think, national identity can be viewed as a particular cultural identity. As Hall (1992:291-292) puts it:

> in the modern world, the national cultures into which we are born are one of the principal sources of cultural identity'. It is more accurate, however, to say that, 'national identities are not things we are born with, but are formed and transformed within and in relation to representation.

Nationalism is akin to an invented tradition (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). As Smith (1991:39) notes [Even] "though most nation states today are polyethnic, many have been formed in the first place around a dominant *ethnie*, which annexed or attracted

other ethnic groups into the state to which it gave a name and a cultural character". Thus for Smith nation-states are largely built on pre-existing ethnic cultures.

Projections of national or 'collective' culture and identity are one of the primary means by which those institutions charged with the projection of 'the nation' for the purposes of attracting tourism revenues represent populations of a given locale. Representation of national culture/identity in the discourse of national[1] tourism organisations and related institutions can be regarded as a prime site for the articulation of ethnocentric racism and for its contestation. Representations of the national life of a people in and through tourism is primarily aimed at those individuals of other nations who constitute the target market. Such representations can also, conceivably, be regarded as constituting part of the symbolic identity needs of the [majority] population. As Cohen (2000:581) remarks:

> There is no 'essential Englishness' All identities are more situational and negotiated than 'essential'. A method for analysing an identity cannot start from the crease and move to the boundary or migrate from the core to the periphery, as there is no kernel and no core. Instead, the fussy edges of an identity are where the action is and where the answers lie. We know who we are by agreeing who we are not. Others judge us as we judge others. The other cannot be separated from the self.

Identities are made and remade, invented and inherited. They are contingent and situational (one can be Muslim in the mosque, English in the street, and British when travelling abroad, all in a single day). The following citation from Gardner and Shukur (1994:161) attests to the multi-faceted and fussy nature of identity for many individuals in contemporary England:

> I rap in Bengali and English. I rap on everything from love to politics. I've always been into rapping ... it was rebellious, the lyrics were sensational. I could relate to that, I could identity with it. Like living in the ghetto and that...It's from the heart. It's: 'I'm Asian, I'm a woman, and I'm living here'.

Bhabha (1992) poses the question, 'if the ambivalent figure of the nation is a problem of its transitional history, its conceptual indeterminacy, its wavering between vocabularies, then what effect does this have on narratives and discourses that signify a sense of nationness'. Baker (1981) was one of the earliest writers to observe that there is an apparently new form of racism, one which celebrates not only biological supremacy, but also cultural difference. The "new racism", reflecting a form of right wing nationalism, has been argued to have evolved over the past two decades through the practices of the former Conservative Government, sustained through various forms of media (Mitchell and Russell, 1990, quoted in Stephenson, 1997:54). Gilroy (1987, 1993) asserts that racism is associated with racist ideals which manifest a belief that black and English/British identities are incompatible and mutually exclusive from one another. Therefore, culturalist forms of racism are believed to reflect the position of minority groups as "outsiders" to the "nation" (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992; Gabriel, 1994; quoted in Stephenson, 1998:54). Much of the current debate revolves around concerns over the extent to which national culture has been maintained through racialised boundaries. It is argued that these boundaries have the potential to exclude those who are perceived to be a threat to the political and the cultural values of the nation (Solomos, 1989, quoted in Stephenson, 1997:55). Allen and Macey (1994) contend that English nationalism is the most dominant force, given that it operates through the political and ideological role of the state ('Britain'), having a defining role over ethnic 'minority' citizens (and those of Wales, Scotland and through the construct of the UK those of Northern Ireland). Gilroy (1993:75) also maintains that the British state can exist without the need for a unique British culture, especially as English nationalism has the capacity to define the "cultural content" of

"authentic" national life (Stephenson, 1997:55). However, Samuel (1989xix) argues that in Britain:

> lines of national belonging, so far from being instinctual, were constantly being redrawn. Against the alleged continuities of national life we wanted to set the record of ruptures, reversals, and negations. Against the supposed unities of national life we aimed to counterpose the evidence of diversity. The idea of nation has always been a contested one; at any given moment it had to compete with more immediate and ultimately more meaningful social bonds.

The general debate on issues of nationalism suggest that 'minorities' are ideologically perceived to be incompatible with authentic forms of "Englishness" and "Britishenss". Stephenson (1997:61) suggests that, "in addition to ethnocentric racism and national discourse, studies which are concerned with issues of race [sic] should recognise that racism can also be considered to be ethnocentric in nature and emphasis". In a similar vein to Anderson's imagined community, Hall conceptualises 'nations' as 'systems of cultural representations' (Hall, 1996a:612). For Hall one of the most important aspects of national culture is what he terms the *narrative of the nation*. This narrative is also important for the current study as it is concerned with the connection between storylines, landscapes, historical events, national symbols and national rituals, which are presented in OTO narratives.

2.7.1 Nationalism and Tourism

There are numerous exemplifiers of the link between tourism and nationalism. "Representation of a modern nation invokes the past to justify the present state of the nation as a legitimate boundary of existence", (Osuri, 2000:276) and the projection of 'national' history and heritage through tourism is one of the powerful ways in which such legitimation is achieved. For example, "the overlapping nature of promotional and nationalist rhetoric" (Selwyn, 2001:38). Tourism sights, like censuses, maps, and

museums, may contain a discourse of nationalism, allowing hegemonic cultural producers to project their values of national identity and national inclusivity (Pretes, 2003:139). There are issues of co-operation between different nationalist traditions. Horne (1992:10) suggests that "nationality can be one of the principal colourings of the tourist vision – whether we recognise it or not we pay our respects to nationality". In this sense, representation in the discourse of OTOs may serves to support the national construct by reinforcing notions of Englishness derived from earlier constructions of the 'nation'. In England, for instance, sites of special 'national' and political importance such as Buckingham Palace, the Houses of Parliament, Westminster Abbey, Trafalgar Square, or the Village Green, which also constitute a significant part of the tourist landscape as projected by OTOs, are fused by themes of heroism, majesty, righteousness and glory, to form idealised versions of 'national' heritage and belonging. The viewing of heritage sights by domestic tourists is a key aspect in the formation and maintenance of a national identity, especially when nationalism is understood as an "imagined community" (Pretes, 2003:125). These ideological laden sights and sites which are interpreted and mediated by OTOs to both 'national' and international audiences, are constructed in ways which exclude 'minority' populations who may be regarded as having 'entered' a pre existing 'national' space and who may not share the dominant cultural heritage and thus are suspect – a threat to the 'national' myth. Such constructs may conceivably assert to stem from some unchanging sameness, while concealing a wide diversity of ethnic groups. As Mackey (1995:407) has pointed out, "of central importance in national imaginings is how the relationship between the nation and its cultural and racial others, whether geographically within or outside the national borders, is imagined". Thus, in the current study imaginings of England in and through the discourse of

OTOs provide a rich source of data for the analysis of inclusive/exclusive representation of ethno-cultural diversity within such 'national' discourse. Table 2.5 in now provided in order to summarise key perspectives in the literature on nationalism and comment on their implication for this current study.

TABLE 2.5

PERSPECTIVES ON 'NATIONALISM' AND THEIR IMPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OFFICIAL PROJECTIONS OF ENGLAND THROUGH TOURISM

PERSPECTIVE	IMPLICATION FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Overt Political Agenda: Although commonly based on ethnic ties, Nationalism has an overt political agenda which produces both in-groups and victims in its construction of a 'sovereign people'.	This study cannot adequately address issues of ethno-cultural representation within the parameters of OTO discourse in isolation from the macro political and institutional structures of governance which impinge upon and authorise such forms of signification. Therefore, from the outset the study is conducted with the conscious acknowledgement of its political implications and is therefore framed within an analytic paradigm (critical discourse analysis) which makes no claims to neutrality, but which instead seeks to bring systems of excessive inequalities into crisis.
Inclusion and Exclusion: Nationalism is premised on notions that certain individuals and groups within any given population can, through a number of markers, be included or excluded from that imagined community which claims to comprise a 'nation'.	This study inspects the discourse of official tourism boards in England in order to illuminate the ways human agents within such institutional settings draw upon a range of discursive strategies which tend to designate certain groups as belonging inside the symbolic core of the nation, while relegating others to its margins.

Table cont'd

TABLE 2.5 (CONTINUED)

PERSPECTIVES ON 'NATIONALISM' AND THEIR IMPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OFFICIAL PROJECTIONS OF ENGLAND THROUGH TOURISM

PERSPECTIVE	IMPLICATION FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Nations as Discourses: Nations can be conceived of as discourse which are brought into collective consciousness through forms of intertextuality which call up historic truth claims in the construction and reconstruction of a national past. These discourses of the nation are not closed or fixed, but are open to reformulation which enable new conceptualisations of the 'nation' in attempts to absorber or resist internal or external forces for change.	This study critically examines the discourse of official tourism organisations in England in order to bring to attention the ways in which the promotional rhetoric of tourism boards in England overlaps and supports the rhetoric of the English 'nation' mediated through other public institutions. Much of the significatory practices undertaken in and through official tourism promotion of England acts to reinforce imagined notions of a homogeneous 'nation' through systems of cultural representations. This study acknowledges that people are not simply citizens of the 'nation', but participate in the idea of the 'nation'. Therefore the 'nation' can be regarded as a discourse "which influences and organises our actions and our conceptions of ourselves" (Hall, 1996:613). Thus, of particular concern to this study is how such discourses of the 'nation' may be regarded and incorporated or rejected by those 'minority ' populations of England who, in large part, are omitted from such representation and what may be the likely outcome of such actions.
Myths and Memories: Nations are in large part constructed through the myths and memories which are routinely called upon to bolster preferred, dominant conceptualisations of what the 'nation' is or ought to be and who are, or ought to be, its rightful heirs	This study critically inspects the ways official tourism organisations in England draw upon the myths and memories of an imagined England which are in circulation in many forms of public discourse and which are drawn into the rhetoric of tourism boards in England as they move to produce and make available to the global market of tourism, visions of England which privilege certain populations, while subjugating or silencing others.

Table cont'd

TABLE 2.5 (CONTINUED)

PERSPECTIVES ON 'NATIONALISM' AND THEIR IMPLICATION FOR REPRESENTATIONS OF ETHNO-CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN OFFICIAL PROJECTIONS OF ENGLAND THROUGH TOURISM

PERSPECTIVE	IMPLICATION FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Nations as a Source of Cultural Identity: The national cultures into which we are born are one of our richest sources of cultural identity and are therefore strongly implicated in the construction of individuals within any given 'nation'. This has important implications for the ways 'minority' sub-national populations construct their identity(s).	This study explores the ways in which official tourism organisations in England represent the diversity of ethno-cultural identities which comprise the English 'nation'. Dominant cultural conceptualisations of the English 'nation' within those official boards, may, through conscious or unconscious acts of representation, deprive 'minority' ethnic populations the opportunity to enunciate their cultural identity through tourism, therefore denying their right to a voice in the public sphere of national life.

2.8 THE CONCEPT OF REFLEXIVITY

In the rush of interest in qualitative research [~QUALITATIVE RESEARCH] in the past fifteen years, few topics have developed as broad a consensus as the relevance of analytic 'reflexivity' (Macbeth, 2001:35). Much of the burgeoning interest in matters of reflexivity and voice has grown out of a critique of the detached and distant writings which were the result of a 'disembodied intellect' (Friedrichs, 1981:217) within what Geertz (1988:141) referred to as 'author-evacuated' texts. Reflexivity can be regarded as the act of making oneself the object of one's own observation in an attempt to bring to the fore the assumptions embedded in our perspectives and descriptions of the world. In recent years, scholars within a wide variety of 'disciplines' have increasingly embraced the notion of critical reflexivity (see for example, Clifford, 1988; Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Collins, 1986; Fine, 1994; Richardson, 1998). The 'reflexive thesis' (Ashmore, 1989) has cast into doubt those docile fields of inquiry associated with modernist foundational claims to knowledge. The reflexive turn in social research recognises and embraces the fact that we as researchers are all very different people 'coloured' by our own ontologies of being in the world and thus, as directors of research, we cannot leave behind what Schutz (1932 [1969]) referred to as our 'stocks of knowledge'.

Macbeth (2001:35) outlines two "general inflections in the literature" – *positional reflexivity* and *textual reflexivity*". Positional reflexivity according to Macbeth (2001) "leads the analyst to examine place, biography, self, and other to understand how they shape the analytic exercise". Textual reflexivity on the other hand leads the analyst to examine and then disrupt (through a variety of strategies, see Table 2.7) the very exercise of textual representation (Macbeth, 2001:35). While the boundaries between

these two 'forms' of reflexivity may be discernible to the 'onlooker', they rapidly dissolve as you move into the hyphenated spaces between self-other-text. In recent years scholars have developed varied and inventive approaches to reflexivity in reporting research 'findings'.

In her recent reflective article on the conduct of a government-sponsored study of 'race' relations in New Zealand schools, Schick (2002:632) argues that:

> What goes on "behind the scenes" is a significant aspect of knowledge production. Factors such as professional, situational, cultural, and interpersonal relationships between researchers are rarely addressed in methods sections of research reports or in methods texts. Researcher's attempts to situate themselves in relation to their work signal an awareness of the centrality of research identities in the process of knowledge production but often do not address the ways research relationships and settings shape research findings, analysis, and reporting.

Similarly, Hollinshead and Jamal, (2001b:67), draws our attention to the ways in which investigators in the social sciences:

> have to make a host of decisions about who can and cannot be heard within the particular report. In the light of the aforementioned reflexive turn / rhetorical turn of social science, researchers have to be careful about whose view(s), they accommodate, and whose languages, they use to convey there findings. Such is the general contemporary problem in qualitative research about matters of proper representation and due legitimacy, and such is the particular dilemma of how to reasonably / fairly / meaningfully delineate the relationship between the study author and the study respondents.

Such perspectives, dealing with aspects of the 'reflective turn' in qualitative inquiry, reinforce the importance of revealing and giving voice to the 'selves' and the 'others' of scholarly investigation. The concern with matters of reflexivity, voice and audiencing, which has thrown into doubt the old trust orthodoxies of validity, reliability and generalisability, cannot easily be side-stepped in studies which seeks understandings on matters of representation, in and through institutional discourse and

praxis. Therefore this section of Chapter Two focuses on these matters in preparation (of the author/audience) for disruptive and more 'self-aware' tellings in the forthcoming chapters.

The term 'reflexivity' is used to refer to the capacity of researchers to reflect upon their actions and values during research, whether in producing data or writing accounts. Reflexivity insists upon *modest claims* (Parker, 1997:37). The baseline form of reflectivity is associated with the self-critique and personal quest, playing on the subjective, the experiential, and the idea of empathy (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:395). In her edited volume 'Reflexivity and Voice' Hertz (1997) draws on the work of Callaway (1992) to provide what she considers to be "the best definition of reflexivity I have ever found" (Hertz, 1997:viii). Callaway (1992:33) comments on reflexivity as follows:

> Often condemned as apolitical, reflexivity, on the contrary can be seen as opening the way to a more radical consciousness of self in facing the political dimensions of fieldwork and constructing knowledge. Other factors interesting with gender – such as nationality, race [sic], ethnicity, class and age – also affect the anthropologist's field interactions and textual strategies. Reflexivity becomes a continuing mode of self-analysis and political awareness.

Hertz (1997) comments that, "by bringing subject and object back into the same space (indeed, even the same sentence), authors give their audiences the opportunity to evaluate them as "situated actors" (i.e., active participants in the process of meaning creation)" (Hertz, 1997:viii). Sparkes (1995:165) argues that "an author needs to be written into, and not out of, the text". Reflective practitioners acknowledge that the researcher is an active participant in the research process, therefore it is essential to 'locate' the researcher within a constellation of influential factors internal and external to the 'self'. These include, gender, ethnicity, age, nationality and class. Additionally,

as Reinharz, (1997:5) suggests, we bring many 'selves' into our research. In the current study I have endeavoured to provide reflexive comment through the text and to that end I now provide Table 2.6 in consideration of forms of 'self' in the study.

TABLE 2.6

CATEGORIES OF 'SELF' IN THIS STUDY

CATEGORY	FORM OF SELF	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CURRENT STUDY
Researcher-based Self	Being sponsored (removing myself from the sponsor)	> Potentially there are tensions between the conduct of this 'critical' inspection of OTO discourse, which is funded by the institution within which it is carried out (the University of Luton), and the interests of that institution (or research clusters within it) as a provider of consultancy services to the tourism 'industry' including OTOs.
Brought Self	Being a member of a 'minority' population	> My position as a member of a 'minority' population undoubtedly influences my interpretations of ethno-cultural representation by OTOs. In this respect I cannot adequately claim that my interpretations are not 'coloured' by my 'other' status, or by my personal experiences of being a member of a 'minority' population in England over several decades.
	Being a member of an 'invisible minority'	> While there is an increasing recognition among theorists and commentators on matters of ethnic and cultural diversity that simplistic binary notions of identity in terms of 'Black – White' are insufficient in analysis of 'difference' in contemporary England, there remain strong allegiances to such 'common-sense' notions of human categorisation throughout the public sphere. Therefore, in many respects my 'white minority' status *was* frequently overlooked (by informants) in the conduct of this research study and *is* too frequently overlooked in scholarly work on 'minority' ethnic populations in England and beyond.
Situationally Created Self	Being a.....	> This study is/was carried out over several years in which I cannot claim to have remained unaffected by happenings in the social world. Can the director of any research study claim continuity of 'self' throughout the conduct of their investigations? – I for one cannot.

Source: Adapted from Reinharz (1997:5).

The problem of reflectivity has been a contentious matter for the last three or more decades for social scientists, and even longer for philosophers (Altheide and Johnson, 1994:497). Nevertheless, reflexivity in writing is part of methodology itself. Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b) outline five aspects of the debate on reflexivity which might be usefully considered in the conduct of the current study as follows:

- *Firstly*, the fundamental difficulty for relativists and relationists of late qualitative styles of inquiry is that the old trust orthodoxies of operational validity now have to be replaced by a host of new forms of 'interpretative validity' which depend on the particular preferences of interpreting communities of gender, culture, ideology, text, et cetera, thereby frustrating the possibility of distinct communication about a singular sort of 'reflexivity' (Altheide and Johnson, 1994).

- *Secondly*, reflexivity is fundamentally a reworking of the classic canons of ethnography and an accommodation of them towards the new and unfolding literary, political, historical, and career imperatives of the age (Vidich and Lyman, 1994:41). According to Marcus (1994:568) the effort to be reflexive is as much an *ideological* as it is a *methodological* endeavour.

- *Thirdly*, it is not easy for interpretative cum ethnographic researchers in the social sciences to find such commonalties among each other. Hollinshead particularly stresses the notion that differences of power/culture/belief/ethnicity/class et cetera cannot readily be transcended (Wasserfall, 1997:150).

- *Fourthly*, Hollinshead and Jamal identify the difficulties which all sorts of investigators have in discovering/recognising/identifying their own deep-seated structures of argumentation, and thereby how such preferences and bias may alter or re-accommodate during the inquiry journey (see Altheide and Johnson 1994).

- *Fifthly*, the debate on the problem of reflectivity in the research process is concerned with the question of context. Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b) alerts us to questions of what researchers in a nominated setting are being reflective with? and what are researchers or respondents inter-subjectively interacting with?

Dupuis's (1999) work on the development of reflexive methodologies in leisure research seeks to move the discussion on reflexivity into the everyday world of the researcher self, thus connecting with similar 'dilemmas' to those raised by Hollinshead above. Dupuis (1999:60) summarises what it means to do reflexive research, as follows: According to Dupuis (1999) a reflexive methodology demands the conscious and deliberate inclusion of the full self (i.e., the researcher self and the human self) throughout the research process". Such processes, according to Dupuis, require continuous, intentional, and systematic self-introspection beginning even before the researcher enters the field and throughout the writing of research stories. For Dupuis, reflexive methodologies recognise the connectivity between the researcher and the world around them and involves questioning the self at different stages in the research process, reflecting on the emotional issues raised throughout the research process and weaving those emotions and personal experiences into our writing. Dupuis suggests that a reflexive research methodology recognises the active, collaborative role that both the participants and researchers play in the meaning-making process, involving the participants in interpreting the data. Dupuis argues that developing a reflexive approach means learning to report our research and to write our stories in different ways. As well as questioning and describing our decision making processes and the factors affecting those processes, Dupuis calls on us to describe how our human selves and our personal experiences influenced the decisions we made

and our interpretations of the data. For Dupuis a reflexive research approach means writing in a way that allows us to take ownership of our "second order stories" (Dupuis, 1999:60).

In the context of the present study the consideration of reflexivity flows from the fact that the analyst's discourse is no less constructive, action oriented and rhetorical than the study problem discourse being analysed in the first place (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000:362). Critics of discourse analysis have pointed out that if all language is constructive then discourse analysts language can also be regarded as constructive. Rather than undermine the work of discourse analysts, Gill (2000:188) suggests that these arguments merely serves to highlight the inescapable fact that language is constructed and is constructive. By making explicit the reflexive bases of the judgements in 'personal interpretative systems' we establish that 'the basis of the account is *not* simply factual (and thus indisputable) nor a universal law derived from an agreed body of knowledge (and thus necessarily true)' (Winter, 1989:44, quoted in Parker, 1997:37). Thus, in the context of this research study I attempt to situate myself in relation to the study in order to signal an awareness of the centrality of the embodied self to the processes of knowledge production.

As well as analysing socio-cultural concepts which enable interpretation on the part of the researcher in this study, I must recognise the importance of reflexivity. According to Tindall (1999:149), reflexivity is "an attempt to make explicit the processes by which the material and the analysis is produced". Here reflexivity may be understood as "turning back one's experience and understanding upon oneself" (Steier, 1991). Those who question the knowledge systems of public institutions (such as OTOs)

must also reflect upon the political dimension of their own use of language and discourse, as they, as researchers, draw upon and contribute to particular systems of knowledge. In seeking to cast more light upon the intricate linkages between discourse, praxis and power relationships within and between OTOs and related structures of governance, I must be aware, not simply as an observer, but as a participant in such processes. In conducting this study and seeking to portray how epistemological and social relationships shape the discourse and praxis of OTOs in England I must also be aware of my position as a producer and reproducer of certain discourses and practices and the personal values inherent within their use and generation.

Two significant social processes are conceivably at work here. This study is a product of language and social processes embedded within them; (a) the study is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through the discourse of OTOs in England; and (b) the study involves the use of a system of knowledge to describe and define the nature of socio-cultural life and the production of knowledge therein. Therefore, these discourses of knowledge, which can be regarded as historically, socially, and institutionally specific statements and beliefs, organise the ways in which meaning is constructed and determine how people represent their world. From social constructionist perspectives language and discourse are not assumed to be representational of underlying ideologies which determine relations or from which relations follow (Seidman, 1994). Rather, they are critical to how institutions are constructed and how they work. The text and talk of OTOs in England produce not merely a representation of particular thoughts and perceptions but become how such institutions are constituted.

2.8.1 The Myth of Voiceless Writing

Scholarly writers have long been admonished to work silently on the sidelines, to keep their voices out of the reports they produce, to emulate Victorian children: be seen (in the credits) but not heard (in the text) (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997:193). Such subject positions continue to be maintained and regulated by the intellectual marketplace through the 'oversight' of the peer review (rebuttal) system, by editorial control, and by being "systematically assessed into more orthodoxy" (Marshall, 2001:9). For the most part, social science researchers are not expected to speak, and if they do, we need not listen (Charmaz and Mitchell, 1997:194). What researchers (and research 'user groups') are confronted with as a result of such 'scrubbing-up' is 'hygienic research' (Stanley and Wise, [1983] 1993) outcomes in which ignorance, uncertainty, confusion and doubt are skilfully removed in the sterile space of the methodological operating theatre. Perhaps what is required is a 'rapid-reaction force' of researchers keen to develop a methodological virus which will infect and contaminate the purity of such 'realist tales'. For budding researchers however, institutional structures, increasingly geared toward producing 'relevant' and 'applicable' research outcomes, may be quick to develop and administer a viral antidote, if indeed such procedures have not already been undertaken.

Reflexivity encompasses voice, but voice focuses more upon the process of representation and writing than upon the processes of problem formation and data gathering (Hertz, 1997:xii). Social scientists learn to present their 'findings' through disciplinary guidelines, which, in fact, also establish the presentation of the author's voice (Hertz, 1997:xiv). In 'realist' research reports the author's voice may be masked by those 'camouflaged voices' in third person accounts. Overwhelmingly in social

research, respondent's voices are mediated through the researchers chosen voice 'position'. Even in research reports which provide space for respondents to 'speak' the utterances of respondents are usually carefully selected to enable the construction of a 'text' which contributes to the advancement of some predetermined research agenda (for example, in the current study, CDA "allies itself with those who suffer political and social injustice" (Wodak, et al., 1999:8). In carrying out such 'authoritative' practices some voices will be privileged and foregrounded, while other voices will be subjugated or silenced. As Charmaz and Mitchell (1997) point out, voice is not a technical feature of writing but an interactive and emergent part of theory and practice in social research. Rather than 'deny the hyphen' (Fine, 1998:135) of the self-other relationship in social research, or 'painting the other from nowhere' (Haraway, 1988, cited in Fine 1998:138), personal writing, through reflexivity, potentially enables us to place ourselves in closer proximity to those whom we inscribe in our texts and to recognise the multiple relationships which oscillate through the hyphen.

2.8.2 Addressivity/Audiencing

Matters of audiencing are increasingly been regarded as important (and problematic) at all phases of research. As Voloshinov (1929) noted:

> Orientation of the word towards the addressee has an extremely high significance. In point of fact, word is a two-sided act. It is determend equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant ... I give myself verbal space from another's point of view of the community to which I belong. A word is a bridge thrown between myself and another. If one end of the bridge depends on me, then the other depends on my addressee. A word is a territory shared by both addresser and addressee, by the speaker and his [sic] interlocutor.

Bathkin's work has pointed to the importance of the addressee in determining both the content of what is communicated through text and talk and the construction of the

speaking subject. Audiencing has become an important consideration in qualitative inquiry as the old "all–audiences–as–one" perspective of studies aiming at generalizability is brought into doubt by emerging reflexive approaches to social research. Each and every unit of discourse or praxis inherently contains many a plenitude of alternative appreciations and some of these interpretations may complement the voice of the envisaged audience, some may conflict with it" (Manning and Cullum-Swan, 1994:469). Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b) draw on Fiske (1994) in their discussion of first and second order deliberations in research which Fisk (1994) equates with audiencing. Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b) point out that for Fisk (1994):

> audiencing is the effort to poignantly illuminate what is typically masked within the micro-level articulations and projections of capitalist corporations – in their everyday discourse, and in the everyday practices. What he thinks audiencing is about is not *the first order* talking of 'how to' decisions on reaching preferred or available audiences, but it is about *the second order* questioning of the social power and political relationships that are indeed being occasioned through those first order deliberations.

Thus, according to Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b), level one examinations position the individual as an encoding / decoding agent of statements, whereas level two analysis position the individual as a constructive agent of cultural change and social power.

2.8.3 Margins on (and off) the Page

The issue of 'self-reflexivity' in research raises some very important questions for emerging researchers across a variety of disciplines. It has been acknowledged that "revealing oneself is not easy" (Hertz, 1997:xvi) and that "the different styles of interpretative / ethnographic / textual insight that course through qualitative techniques are not soft options" (Hollinshead and Jamal, 2001b), and that qualitative

researchers must make personal decisions as to how much of their 'self' to inscribe in their 'texts'. Many individuals developing academic careers are likely to encounter issues of self-reflexive enquiry while working alongside 'established' academics who may acknowledge the importance of such reflexivity, but who themselves rarely remove the 'cloak of authority' from their academic writing. DeVault, (1997:226) makes the point that "the autobiographical impulse seems common among working-class academics, women, and those from other groups underrepresented in the professions". She goes on to suggest that "the observation that "outsiders" may be more likely than the powerful to tell compelling personal stories could also be cause for concern if this asymmetry marks personal writing as a technique for "others" and therefore a site that reproduces "otherness". Fiske (1998:374) points out that "systems are often more susceptible to change or modification at their margins than at their centres; social change typically originates in marginalised or subordinated minorities". In this very important sense personal writing strategies are indeed implicated with issues of inequality and power. Thus, personal writing is perhaps even more politically grounded that 'author evacuated' third person accounts.

2.8.4 Just Telling Stories: Emerging Strategies for Reflexive Research Writing

In the United Kingdom, the recent Tooley Report (Tooley and Darby, 1998) attempted to discredit research which did not simply report the 'facts' in a clearly scientific and unproblematic form. Tooley and Darby were dismissive of reflexive first person accounts, save for defending methodological approach and selection. According to Jones (1998:2), such perspectives regard the researcher as someone who accepts that:

> the world is made up of hard, concrete facts that can be observed, measured, understood and communicated unproblematically to the reader. The process by

> which this takes place necessarily defines the role of the researcher as detached, independent, clinical and an almost invisible individual who is able to identify, isolate and disengage their particular values, biases and emotions in order to record a more objective account of an independent reality.

Such perspectives towards the conduct of research and the tendency in business schools to relinquishing academic criteria for research in favour of the dead hands of 'relevance' and 'applicability', coupled with the tendency of funding councils to ally their 'thematic' funding priorities with 'public' policy agendas has resulted in the marginalisation of research which adopts a critical self-reflexive approach. In a vigorous rebuttal of the Ofsted report Hughes (1999) argues that the report is symptomatic of the current period in which we are back to the vicious battleground where warrantable knowledge is fought over. Perriton (2001:38) argues that:

> The firm anchoring of research to a judgement about 'validity' in order to decide what is trustworthy in the public domain has meant that we have hidden the distinctive voice and role of the researcher in research texts.

Scheurich (1997:85) succinctly sums up the situation as follows:

> A valid tale is one where the researcher goes out to study the world (the Other), organizes the Other through theory (reshapes the Other in terms of the Same) and than produces a text which celebrates the victory of the Same over the Other.

In the ongoing battle over 'warrantable knowledge' (Hughes, 1999) scholars allied to the reflexive camp have developed a variety of tactics to disrupt realist tales of victory over the other. Perriton (2001) identifies five broad reflexive research strategies which she characterises as; 'seemingly accidental', 'the methodology chapter', 'benign', 'textual guerrilla warfare', and 'socio-political' (see Table 2.7 below). Within such strategic writing scholars have sought to create 'self-exemplifying texts which deliberately display their own constructedness – for instance, by a variety of 'New Literary Forms', such as irony, recursive footnotes, and other devices wherein 'the

form of the text *is* the argument' (Ashmore, 1989:219, quoted in Garroutte, 1999:946, emphases original). Taking a critical stance towards such matters of reflexivity, Garroutte (1999:946) suggests that:

> ultimately such strategies founder', and that the implication remains that such scholars are clinging futilely to 'the possibility of writing truer texts' (Latour, 1988:168), the very goal they have supposedly abandoned.

Radical accounts (Latour and Woolgar, 1986; Latour, 1988; Ashmore, 1989) do not recognise any divergence between factual and fictive accounts. Indeed, Latour (1988:154) has called on scholars to "abolish the distinction between science and fiction".

The 'reflexive turn' in qualitative inquiry has, in recent years, increasingly cast doubt upon logical 'positivist' foundational claims to knowledge (I do acknowledge the epistemological posturing which has crudely homogenized a variety of scientific understandings into the enemy 'positivism'). The reflexive thesis has endeavoured to find space in which to reveal the multiple voices of the self in research writing. The reflexive thesis has sought to 'write-in' and 'locate' the author of our research tellings, and to bring them close to those whom we inscribe in our texts. Such challenges have not gone unopposed. Ideological influences have sought to restrain 'personal writing' through, for example, the camouflaged voices of third person accounts. Many emerging researches across the social sciences have been confronted with 'knowledge systems' which seek to produce 'sanitised', 'hygienic' research 'findings' untouched by the contaminating influence of 'messy texts'. Recent policy developments in the United Kingdom have sought to encourage research which has 'relevance' and 'applicability', and through the adoption of 'thematic' funding which is closely related to government agendas, research councils engage in the continuing

inspection of individual/institutional research outputs. Such pressures have been vigorously resisted through the work of feminists and others working on the margins of 'authoritative' positions across a range of research fields. Such marginal 'personal writing' has the potential to bring about change and influence the established trust orthodoxies of realist perspectives. However, it has been argued that such personal 'exposure' may reinforce the marginality which many who act on their 'autobiographical impulse' may experience. Thus, many researchers are likely to struggle for position in their writing between 'naked' revelation and the 'cloak of authority'.

Those who regard reflexivity as an integral part of their research processes have develop a variety of strategies which straddle and fuse the hyphenated space between *positional reflexivity* and *textual reflexivity*. Some have chosen to step gingerly and confront issues of reflexivity in those safe spaces of, for example, 'the methodology chapter'. Others have launched intermittent attacks on the stability of their own research 'stories' by engaging in 'textual guerrilla warfare'. Others still (Ashmore, 1989:14-20), have called for scholars to re-envision the whole project of research as the production of an unending series of texts which can be read from a variety of positions, thus preventing any one text (or reading) from imposing itself. Whatever the strategy adopted, such reflexive accounts demonstrate to some degree the treacherous path which researchers must negotiate between those 'disembodied' and 'embodied' voices which, whether they acknowledge it or not, call out to all researchers along their research journey.

2.8.5 Embodied Reflexivity in this Study

In moving from theoretical considerations of reflexivity to embodied reflexivity in this current study I locate myself across three broad strategies (as identified by Perrington, 2001, see Table 2.7). Firstly, I am located (or do I locate myself) within 'benign' reflexivity, through my acknowledgement of the place (position) from which I speak. Secondly, I am located within a 'socio-political' reflexive strategy through overt support for particular policy developments in relation to representations of 'minority' ethnic populations by OTOs in England. Thirdly, through the tactic of textual disruption (at intervals in this thesis under the heading 'Other Voices'), I am located within the reflexive strategy of 'textual guerrilla warfare'.

TABLE 2.7

TEXTUAL STRATEGIES IN REFLEXIVE WRITING

STRATEGY	CHARACTERISTICS OF STRATEGY
Seemingly Accidental	The 'seemingly accidental' use of reflexivity is an identifiable tone and style of writing within which 'realist' validity tales are coughed. Because many subject areas do not have a tradition of reflexive writing 'seemingly accidental' reflexivity can be used as a way of seeking to establish elbow-room for more diverse writing.
The Methodology Chapter	Sees reflexivity as an accepted part of research writing as long as it does not stray outside of its designated special site within the text. In recent years research students have discovered that the methodology chapter within their dissertation is a relatively safe 'space' in which to blend a validity tale of triumph over the Other together with more personal disclosure of the author.
Benign	Benign reflexivity inches towards a more philosophically robust approach to research writing and is becoming associated with particular areas of research interest. This form of reflexivity has become almost mandatory in feminist writing in order to acknowledge the place from which you speak and this has spilt over to the general area of writing about 'difference'. Hence the rise of the phenomena of somewhat shamefaced confessions of being white, male and middle class.
Textual Guerrilla Warfare	'Textual guerrilla warfare', as the name suggests, is a more calculated and conscious development of reflexivity in and around research texts with the aim of disrupting the realist tale. This tradition of reflexive writing remains most visibly committed to the aim of disrupting the illusion of 'unauthorised knowledge'. Such writing may include established literary forms such as poems, dramatic dialogue, stage directions and imagined dialogue between author and reader, allowing different subject positions and viewpoints to be revealed and explored.
Socio-political	Socio-political reflexivity is the problematic category as far as successful co-existence with validity is concerned. With its overt support for a particular policy line or course of action within the text this writing threatens the integrity of validity tales by appearing not to tame the data, but to step into it and start campaigning on behalf of the 'Other'.

Source: Perriton (2001).

2.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In Chapter Two I have reviewed relevant literature in relation to a number of concepts which have significantly influenced the forms and content of contemporary social knowledge and thus are important elements in the architecture of OTO representations of England. I have attempted to pull together some of the complex fields of meaning emerging from scholarly work relating to those concepts outlined above (for example in the hyphenated discursive spaces between ethnic-identity-national-identity). While theoreticians have provided enormous insight into each of the eight concepts discussed above, in the context of the current study there are a number of insightful strands of scholarly thought which run across all of these and which provide some useful connections which enable a more integrated consideration of the literature as it relates to and informs this study (see table 2.8 below).

I commenced this literature review with a consideration of the slippery concept of discourse. Discourse has been shown to be an active force in social relations – a social practice. Based on extant theories of discourse I have argued that the discursive space of OTOs impose ideological constraints on both the producers/principals and receivers of OTO texts. I have inspected relevant literature on representation and outlined some of the ways representation is utilised in and through tourism to invoke fantasies of continuity and myths of ethnic origin and how such discursive practice is implicated with power. I have argued that the concepts of ethnicity, identity and nationalism are unpredictable and unstable social accomplishments which, through discourse, may be temporally stabilised within particular socio-cultural contexts. The importance of nationalism in terms of cohesion and exclusion and its relevance to broader spheres of economics, politics, social and cultural life, has been shown to be a

key consideration. Whether we are concerned with the influence of nationalism as a force for inclusion or exclusion it is clear that both myth and memory are powerful forces in the construction of 'nations'. A strong desire in the myths and memories of 'nations' is the dissolution of difference in favour of an imagined homogeneity which construct and maintain racialised boundaries. Such boundaries can be deployed to exclude those perceived as a political or cultural 'threat' to the dominant order. The 'nations' into which we are born act as one of our principal sources of identity. While claims to homogeneity are central to many conceptualisations of the 'nation'. Paradoxically 'nations' are discursive constructions which are open to new formulations. Thus, the work of OTOs is implicated in the construction and reconstruction of the 'nation' through their promotional rhetoric which often overlaps that of nationalism. In and through discourses of tourism OTOs are actively engaged in mediating narratives of the nation which act to maintain dominant conceptualisations of England and Englishness. Through an inspection of the literature on 'race' I have outlined the movement of theoretical conceptualisations of 'race' from theories of 'race relations' and 'racialisation' to theories of 'racialised discourse'. Finally, I have reviewed the literature on reflexivity and considered a number of 'positions' which have been proposed as part of the reflexive turn in social research. I have also commented on the emerging forms of discipline being imposed on researchers by institutional and government structures and the epistemological tensions between authoritative and autobiographical writing.

As I have noted above, a number of interconnected strands run across all of the concepts focused on in the review of literature and Table 2.8 is now provided in order to further illustrate these.

TABLE 2.8

TRANSVERSE CHARACTERISTICS IN RELATION TO FIVE KEY CONCEPTS: DIVERSITY, ETHNICITY, IDENTITY, NATIONALISM AND 'RACE'

The concepts of diversity, ethnicity, identity, nationalism and 'race' exhibit a number of characteristics which in a variety of ways traverse each of the other concepts. These characteristics are set out below.

CHARACTERISTIC	*The concepts are:*
• RELATIONAL	➢ dependent on social interaction and social relationships. Therefore, they can only come into meaning through collision and oscillation with/ between other meanings.
• EXCLUSIONARY	➢ constructed through processes of exclusion in which they gain strength and authority in and through articulations of what they are not.
• DIFFERENTATION	➢ premised on the notion that difference (for example, in ethnicity, identity, nationalism, 'Race') is a social 'fact'

table cont'd

TABLE 2.8 (CONTINUED)

TRANSVERSE CHARACTERISTICS IN RELATION TO THE KEY CONCEPTS OF DIVERSITY, ETHNICITY, IDENTITY, NATIONALISM AND 'RACE'

CHARACTERISTIC	*The concepts are:*
• MULTIFACATED	➢ not unchanging social phenomenon, but rather they 'flicker' in dialectical relationships with competing and evolving notions of their essence.
• SOCIALLY CONSTRUCTED	➢ externalised objects of consciousness.
• DIALECTICALLY RELATED	➢ represented through discourse as interconnected networks of social practice
• REFLEXIVE	➢ all social actors produce reflexive representations of their own practice.

Source: Author

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Institutions such as OTOs frequently draw upon practices which appear to be 'common-sense' and 'natural' (naturalised), but which often legitimise existing relations of dominance. For example, the implication of tourism development and management in England with existing capitalist notions of investment, profit and the exploitation of resources, (natural and human), and the integration of 'public-private' interests through partnership, can all be viewed as functioning ideologically within the capitalist commodity system. This study focuses on the discourse deployed, (consciously or unconsciously), by OTOs to represent 'England' as a site of consumption for tourists. In attempting to illuminate such discursive constructions the study takes a discourse analytic approach to the analysis 'texts' produced within such institutional settings.

Positivist approaches to 'accounting for the world' typically seek 'the one true answer' and to reduce such accounts to a neutral language of description. In their drive to discover casual relationships quantitative researchers have tended to play down the complexity of institutional settings. Social constructionist approaches on the other hand, seek to understand the different interpretations and understandings that may be at play in any given setting: As Gergen (1999:93) suggests:

> Whatever the nature of the world, there is no single array of words, graphs, or pictures that is uniquely suited to its portrayal. Further, each construction has both potentials and limits, both scientifically and in terms of societal values. Thus, in its efforts to abandon all the voices save one, there is an enormous suppression of potential. And when it is the

> investigator's voice that will finally reign supreme, the voices of all those under study are silenced.

Interpretative research is fundamentally concerned with meaning and it seeks to understand social members definition of a situation (Schwandt, 1994:118). The current research project falls clearly into the qualitative (interpretivist) category, in being an inspection of 'representation', a discursive social practice occurring in the text and talk of OTOs in England. Given the concern in the current study to gain insight into the discursive construction of England as a site of consumption for tourists, 'meaning' oriented methods, as opposed to 'measurement', are preferred.

Until recently, the concept of representation has not been subjected to critical scrutiny, and many within social science have taken as resolved those questions of how 'we' should represent the world. Contemporary scholars have begun to question the 'transparent' media of representation and it is now accepted, (by some at least), that "there is no vision without purpose... the innocent eye is blind' for the 'world is already clothed in our systems of representation" (Mitchell, 1986:38). Every regime of representation is a regime of power formed, as Foucault reminds us, by the fateful couplet, power/knowledge (Foucault, 1980; Stoler, 1995, quoted in Solomos, 2001:199). The current study of representation seeks to deconstruct the definitions of normalcy in the projection of 'England' which conceivably act to represent the social/cultural/economic and other interests of dominant 'groups'.

The theoretical perspective underpinning the study emanates from a 'social constructionist' perspective. Social constructionism, which can be regarded as an anti-foundational dialogue, rather than a foundational theory of knowledge (Velody and

Williams, 1998:2) advocate multivocality and defends subjugated knowledge against unitary notions of progress (Lynch, 1998:13).

Some have argued (Watzlawick, 1984; Hoffman 1992; Kaye 1995;) that under postmodern critiques no objective reality exists to be discovered by our observations or methods of inquiry. Certainly postmodern theorists suggest that if such realities exist they cannot be readily known or accessed by existing methods of objective inquiry. This anti-objectivist stance informs both social constructivism and social constructionism (Shotter, 1995). Constructivism focuses on individual cognitive processes, whereas social constructionism highlights language use and communicative practices that occur between as well as within people (Sawicki, 1991; Shotter, 1995). Within social constructionism "the primary emphases is on discourse as a vehicle through which self and world are articulated, and the way in which such discourse functions within social relationships" (Gergen, 1999:60). This perspective is well established in sociology through the work of Mannheim (1936); Schutz (1967); and Berger and Luckman (1966), among others. The thrust of social constructionist arguments is that social objects are not given 'in the world' but constructed, negotiated, reformed and fashioned by human subjects. Such discourse also results in processes of world-making. In tourism studies, social constructionism/constructivism has aroused interest among a number of scholars, most notably the work of Hollinshead (1993).

The social constructionist perspective has the potential to promote critical reflection on a number of important aspects of the current study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England. For example, a social

constructionist approach can facilitate a critical stance towards objective knowledge and assumptions regarding the world and how it appears to be. The relevance of Berger and Luckmann's work to the current study is complemented by social constructionist approaches which facilitate analysis of different 'modes' of discourse-power relations, for example, 'direct or overt support, legitimation, denial, mitigation or concealment of dominance' (van Dijk, 1993:250). Gergen (1999:231) argues that:

> Constructionist ideas have, from the 1960s, grown in significance precisely because they furnished intellectual ammunition for piercing the armour of scientific neutrality. The constructionist critique of the distinction between fact and value invites scientists – indeed, all of us – to speak out on issues of the good. That is not because we are trained experts, but because we participate in the cultural generation of meaning, and thus the creation of our ways of life – today and in the future. Constructionism furnishes a mandate for feminists, ethnic minorities, Marxists, gays and lesbians, the elderly, the poor, and indeed all of us to challenge the "truth" and "the facts" of the dominant order.

Social theorists, such as Habermas and Foucault, have had a major influence on linguists like Fowler, Kress and Hodge and, more recently, Wodak, Van Dijk, and Fairclough. While these authors share a common concern for the centrality of language in the construction of 'reality' and recognise that constructionism invites a posture of continuing reflection, Gergen (1999:231) cautions us to also recognise that "each moment of reflection will inevitably be value-saturated". The current study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the projection of England as a site of consumption for tourists takes up the challenge posed by Gergen (1999), and through a critical analysis of official tourism discourse, seeks to explore/expose the construction of 'truth' in the projection of England as a culturally unified entity.

Other Voices

Throughout this research programme I was continually encouraged by my director of studies to have critical regard to 'voice' and my position as a 'writer' of qualitative research who should empathise

with those 'audiences' who will 'yawn' (Richardson (1994:516) their way through my work. Throughout the conduct of this research study there were a number of tensions which inevitably impact on the evolving research 'story'. Some of these tensions have to do with my personal position as a researcher, others are concerned with the research process itself, others still, were concerned with the ways I could communicate my reflections on these matters. In my training as a researcher (MRes.) I, like many others in Business Schools and elsewhere, was strongly encouraged to retain an authoritative impartial voice: Though shalt not use the 'I' word when writing up your research had become a familiar mantra. Now, I can no longer maintain that mask of neutrality. Yet, like a long-term captive creature reluctant to leave the safety of its cage, the myth of neutrality and voiceless writing stubbornly clings on in the academy - "Avoid the use of the first person" (University of Luton Style Guide for the Presentation of Thesis, 2003:13). In this human-human interaction, (here in this reflective space, and in the 'research story' within which this space is embedded), "I" reject the position of research 'telling's' which are disembodied and voiceless.

This thesis does not explore, or pose questions or uncover, undress and argue the toss, I do (Perrington, 1999:295). Inevitably, such issues of voice, embodiment and audience cannot be regarded as separate aspects of the research process, but aspects of the research which collide and overlap at many points along the research journey.

I am a 'White', Male, researcher from one of England's 'minority' ethnic populations. I am also an economic migrant. I was born into a rural 'working class' family in a post-colonial 'state' and having spent the majority of my years in an 'adopted' homeland (England) I regard myself as part of those populations who exist ambivalently in displaced *third space* cultures (Bhabha, 1994). My research is concerned with the representation of Ethno-Cultural diversity within Official Tourism Organisations in England. Therefore there are several possible tensions which can be identified between myself 'the researcher', and my 'research topic'. Also, throughout this study I was/am engaged in human-human research, (researching both talk and text requires close immersion in human communications), which annihilates the kind of artificial distance between the researcher and their 'subject' often found in positivistic approaches to research.

Some would argue that my position as a 'White' researcher at best inhibits my ability to 'speak' on matters of 'ethno-cultural' representation. Throughout my doctoral research I have encountered 'individual' and 'institutional' positions which equate or conceive issues concerned with 'ethnicity' and 'diversity' predominantly in terms of the contingent attribute of skin colour.

Therefore, throughout the conduct of my research I experienced a tension relating to my 'colour' and how individuals and institutions positioned me in relation to my research topic. Only recently have institutions concerned with 'minority' populations in the United Kingdom come to acknowledge the multi ethnicities with the contingent marker of 'whiteness'.

3.1 ONTOLOGY

All ontology has to do with fundamental assertions about being as such. Ontology [~ONTOLOGY] can be regarded as a focus on being and essences and is often invoked in the consideration of forms of being and how meanings and being are created. Every theory of knowledge must logically presuppose a theory of what the world is like, (ontology), for knowledge, (epistemology), to be possible (Patomäki and Wight, 2000:223). Ontology has been defined as:

> a science or study of being: specifically a branch of metaphysics relating to the nature of relations of being; a particular system according to which problems of the nature of being are investigated".
>
> (Webster's Third New International Dictionary).

In more abstract terms ontology has been defined as:

> the science of something and of nothing, of being and not-being, of the thing and the mode of the thing, of substance and accident
>
> (Louis Couturat, Opuscules et fragments inedits de Leibniz, Paris 1903:512).

In recent decades of late modernity scholars have sought alternative explanations of the social world beyond foundationalism and nihilism. For some, social constructionism offers the possibility of accommodating the voices of both tradition and critique. Shotter (1993) argues that the atomistic individualism implicit in modernism – people as indistinguishable atoms of physics – has resulted in our continued treatment of what is probably a unity of *heterogeneity,* (a system of

difference) as if it is a unity of *homogeneity,* (a system of similarities). In doing so, Shotter argues, we commit 'the epistemic fallacy' (Bhaskar, 1989) of reformulating (ontological) questions of *being* in terms of our *knowledge* of being. Shotter (1993) concludes that "different ways of knowing can be seen as arising out of our different ways of being, that is, epistemology depends on ontology" (Shotter, 1993:221). Social Constructionism adopts a relativist ontology, a transactional epistemology, and a hermeneutic, dialectical methodology. As Hall (1997a) has argued, there is no way of experiencing the 'real relations' of a particular society outside of its cultural and ideological categories. Social constructionism is skeptical on matters of ontology and makes no claims for knowledge of a world 'out there'. One of the fundamental themes within social constructionist theories of being is that the human person is not a natural entity but a social and historical product. The person is made, not born. As Loewenberg (1965:210) reminds us:

> That man himself [sic] appears to resemble an artifact, as it were, a product of civilization trained to speak and to act in ways foreign to his nature, is culture's crowning achievement.

Hegel, unlike his philosophical predecessors (Kant, Locke, Descartes), makes no assumptions regarding the existence of the knowing self. From Hegel's perspective, and contrary to most of the history of modern philosophy:

> the individual self is in no sense an immediately given element of consciousness (as Descartes claims of his *cotigo*) but a socially created concept, and a most peculiar concept at that. The peculiarity is that, even as it is society and the social order that teach us to think of ourselves as individuals in the first place, they thereby teach us to ignore the fact that *we are wholly social products and social participants.* It [sic] teaches us to think of ourselves as ontological atoms for whom the formation of society is a puzzle and a mystery.
>
> (Solomon, 1983:514, emphasis added)

Another important theme is that such formation and transformation of the individual can only occur in the social context. For example, Foucault asserted that a 'discursive formation' forms a 'field' a 'totality', a 'background' against which facts and events stand out (Foucault, 1972:26), and as Berger and Luckmann (1966:61) remind us:

> man is capable of producing a world that he [sic] then experiences as something other than a human product...[T]he relationship between man, the producer, and the social world, his product, is and remains a dialectical one... The product acts back on the producer.

Contemporary human conditions are, like the period of the enlightenment, undergoing fundamental transitions in relation to the place and meaning of human life in and of the world. Emerging dialogues in the social sciences and in the broader social world have begun to unsettle the foundations upon which a large proportion of humankind have constructed the boundaries of all that they 'know'. For example, the 'transparent reality' of Eurocentric narratives of history have begun to shatter as those emergent voices (Fanon 1967; Said 1978; Gilroy 1993; Bhabha 1994) which remained until quite recently, silenced by the ontological violence of omission, begin to be heard.

Ontological considerations in the current study can be related to questions of how meanings and being are created through the significatory practices of OTOs in England. Questions of being are contingent on social and historic contexts. Representations or misrepresentations of peoples and cultures have consequences, they help create certain meanings for populations which those outside of that discrete population may regard as their essential features and it may be difficult to think of such populations without those associations. Thus, with regard to those 'minority' ethnic populations of England, dualistic representations of the 'self/not self' (Kant, 1973) in the discourse of OTOs can be associated with a privileged position in which

'the self' as subject claims knowledge of the 'not self', thus engaging in a form of ontological othering.

3.2 EPISTEMOLOGY

Two distinct traditions have emerged in the history of human endeavours relating to 'systems of knowledge'. Briefly, these 'worldviews' can be summarised as the 'individual' (individual mind as the source of knowledge) versus the 'relational' (knowledge contingent on relationships) as a source of knowledge. The two traditions are not merely matters of 'alternatives' or 'preferences', but rather represent a deliberate choice between hegemony [~HEGEMONY] (Gramsci, 1971) and liberation (Ladson-Billings, 2000:257). As Locher and Prugel (2001:118) have pointed out:

> In the middle of the twentieth century there was a profound shift in the epistemological premises that formed the base for the Western philosophical tradition. The "linguistic turn", associated with Wattgenstein's philosophical Investigations (1953/1958), launched a powerful and widely echoed critique not only of the subject-object split but also of the dominant correspondence theory of truth and language.

It is important to reinforce that the concept of epistemology is more than a 'way of knowing'. An epistemology is a 'system of knowledge' that has both an internal logic and external validity (Ladson-Billings, 2000:257). Epistemological 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1973) act as legitimating forces which construct/reconstruct the nature of such 'truth' and 'reality'. Venn (2000:5) comments on the evolution of Western systems of knowing as follows:

> Before the modern period, religion, or more generally, discourses with a claim to sacred foundation, was the privileged terrain in which people sought to still the anguish imminent in the human condition and to anchor ontological security. The discourse of modernity, in proposing the possibility of human beings taking charge of their own destiny on the bases of secular narratives of emancipation, owing nothing to the erstwhile fateful forces of nature or to the mysteries of a transcendent divine will and a vagrant destiny, ensured that ontology and epistemology took the place of theology and metaphysics. By the time of the

> Enlightenment, epistemology, however troubled by Kantian hesitations, had come to be the privileged terrain upon which were displaced all the questions concerning who 'we' are and what is to be done.

Some, (particularly Rorty 1980), see epistemology as primarily concerned with providing foundations for claims to knowledge. Thus, on Rorty's (1980:315) interpretation,

> overcoming epistemology simply means abandoning "a desire for constraint", a desire which, in the vocabulary of the epistemological project itself, is a "desire to find 'foundations' to which one might cling, frameworks beyond which one must not stray, objects which impose themselves, representations which cannot be gainsaid.

Shotter (1993:142) argues that:

> Heidegger (1967); Foucault (1970); and Charles Taylor (1984, 1987), have a different, and, ultimately, more radically important focus which sees the commitment to knowledge as representation, as always involving the inner, orderly 'depiction' or 'picturing' of an outer reality, as the central feature of the epistemological tradition.

Constructionist epistemologies are transactional and subjectivist. In constructionism, the conventional distinction between ontology and epistemology disappears, as is the case in critical theory (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998:207). Postmodern perspectives suspect all truth claims of masking and serving particular interests in local, cultural, and political struggles (Richardson, 2000:928). However rather than rejecting out of hand conventional methods of knowing, it exposes those methods to scrutiny, as well as introducing new ones which are themselves subject to such scrutiny. Developments and transformations within (and outside) social theory over recent decades have resulted in much uncertainty and challenges, through competing genres of discourse, to 'reality' itself. The idea that one cannot judge because we are all inscribed in discourse – or indeed because there is 'noting outside' the text, forgetting Derrida's

(1999) own strictures about the implications of relativism – is itself a legacy of the privilege of the epistemological instance in the philosophical discourse of modernity (Venn, 2000:5). Discourse cannot be isolated from the social action within which it is constituted and which it constitutes. Foucauldian perspectives depicts mankind as both the subjects and objects of knowledge. However, many subjugated 'groups' in contemporary 'Western' society continue to be excluded from the role of 'knower' (Hekman, 1990). The construction of forms of knowledge can be seen as part of a political process in which some knowledge is supposedly rooted in objectivity and impartiality, while other knowledge claims are subordinated. Put another way, knowledge of the self develops through the self/not self epistemology of difference which tends to essentialise being through dualistic ordering [~ORDERING].

In this study of OTO discourse which constructs England and Englishness in and through tourism, 'knowing' is of fundamental importance in informing those questions relating to the construction of meaning in OTO discourses of England. If one wishes to challenge, or even perhaps alter, the nature of OTO knowledge in relation to those diverse ethno-cultural identities mediated or silenced through the signifactory practices of OTOs in England, we need to recognise the epistemological foundations of that knowledge. Of course, in challenging the authenticity of forms of OTO knowledge, it is not implied that such knowledge is either unreal or spurious, or to suggest another, purer form of knowledge with which to replace it. What is called for is a recognition that OTO knowledge is historically, socially and culturally produced and that it exists within systems of dominant and subjugated knowledge which are constantly in flux. Instead of struggling to replace existing OTO systems of 'knowing' with new 'truths' of England and Englishness, this study calls for an

acceptance of the plurality of knowledges drawn from the multiplicity of ethno-cultural identities from which England is constituted. Thus, in this study I caution against claims of knowledge of the other's being which denies the other status as 'self'.

3.3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The cardinal issue confronting any researcher is which method to use to study a particular problem and how to justify the design, choice of data and analytic procedures (Gaskell and Bauer, 2000:337). In this study I take an 'anti-foundational' social constructionist approach to the study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by OTOs in England. To reiterate, a social constructionist approach takes a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge and is sceptical towards the view that our observations of the world unproblematically reveal its true nature. The social constructionist approach recognises that the ways we understand the world are historically and culturally specific and relative. Social constructionist approaches are also committed to exploring the ways knowledges are linked to actions/practices. Thus, for those who adopt a social constructionist perspective, language as a form of social practice is central to the construction of social 'reality'. Thus, in this current study, discourse analysis – one manifestation of social constructionist thought – is the preferred methodological approach.

3.3.1 Discourse Analysis

The analysis of discourse occurs in a range of disciplines and embraces many theoretical and methodological frameworks (Budlitz, 1990:262). Discourse analysis (DA) (Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter, 1998; Burman and Parker, 1993; Antaki, 1994; Harre and Stearns, 1995; Parker, (I) 1992, 1997; Banister et al., 1994) seeks to reveal something of the discursive constitution of power relations in everyday interaction. In particular, it draws on critical theory (especially on Foucault, 1971, 1972 and Habermas, 1970) to

inform its methodology. The basic premise for the discourse analyst is that the 'social' world does not exist independently of our constructions of it. Thus, discourse analysis rejects the possibility of producing a 'true' interpretation of any given discourse. An important feature of the Foucauldian discourse analytic tradition is its focus on the way power relations are reproduced discursively in many different contexts. Foucault has had a huge influence upon the social sciences and humanities, and the popularisation of the concept of 'discourse' and discourse analysis as a method can partly be attributed to that influence (Fairclough, 1992:37). DA covers a range of methods for studying human communication processes. The object of study can include written texts, interviews, fiction, art – any medium where meaning is being constructed (Kogan, 1998:230). In this study the discourse constructed to interpret and promote England as a tourist destination will constitute the 'object' of analysis. 'Discourse' is a category used by both social theorists and analysts (e.g. Foucault, 1972; Frazer, 1989) and linguists (e.g. Stubbs, 1983; Van Dijk, 1995a). Foucault sees discourse as a 'political commodity', and 'the articulation of discourse and power as a phenomenon of exclusion, limitation and prohibition' (Gordon, 1980:245). Discourse can be regarded as the meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and statements that together present something to the world. Constructionist scholars have been keen to explore the emancipatory potential of discourse analysis. Discourse analysts have examined the ways in which discourse is subtly used to maintain power relations, to derogate certain groups of people, and to silence those who might upset the status quo (Gergen, 1999:80). Discourse analytic approaches have also been utilised in examining "the ways unnoticed moves in language sustain particular ideologies, obscure shortcomings in various policies and programs, and

perpetuate structures of privilege" (Gergen, 1999:80). According to Hollinshead and Jamal (2001b:65):

> the literature on discourse analysis of the last couple of decades warns that no single epistemological logic governs the construction of meanings everywhere; and this literature upholds the view that no uniform ontological rationality ubiquitously guides the use of any received, translated, or borrowed 'meanings' everywhere. Under such Foucauldian thoughtlines on power-knowledge, then, meanings themselves may be said to act as social entities within the communication repertories of particular fields-of-study, within particular disciplines, and within particular paradigms *at a given point in time* rather than being 'universal', 'perfect' or 'necessarily truthful'' designations of reality.

One of the questions which is of relevance to those engaged in discourse analytic research is how to define a discourse unit? Titscher et al., (2000) point out that 'because of intertextuality [~INTERTEXTUALITY], there can in principle be no objective beginning and no clear end, since every discourse is bound up with many others and can only be understood on the bases of others (Titscher et al., 2000:26). The determination of the unit of investigation therefore depends on a subjective decision of the investigator and on the research questions that govern the investigation (Kess, 1993 quoted in Titscher, 2000:26).

Discourse is here understood in Foucauldian terms to mean a set of related texts that produce and structure a particular order of reality. In this investigation, texts including brochures and interview 'texts' will be the foci of 'Critical Discourse Analysis' – the approach to the study of text utilised in this research project. It would be possible to provide a purely descriptive analysis of the OTO 'texts' inspected in this study. However, such forms of analysis are in themselves unable to place the 'texts' and the discourse to which they belong, within the prevailing institutional and social context of their creation.

In this respect the relationship between language (text and talk) and the social context is crucial if we are to understand the power relations and interests which are at work in the communicative arena of OTOs in England.

Social theories which focus on questions of power and dominance can be regarded as 'critical'. It is from critical approaches to language that 'critical' discourse analysis has emerged. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) developed as a response to the traditional disciplinary divide between linguistics – with its expertise in the micro analysis of text and interactions – and other areas of social science such as sociology – with its expertise in exploring macro issues of social practice and social change (Fairclough, et al., 2003). CDA builds on the Hallidayian theory of language and assumes that text and talk should be studied in their social context. Like Critical theory, CDA focuses on relations of power which are embedded in ideologies which are constructed by language. In this sense those engaged in the production and distribution of OTO discursive events act as mediators of positions which already exist, rather than being the source of such positions.

3.3.2 Theoretical Approaches to CDA

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice (Janks, 1997:329). In CDA "the theoretical framework – even when it is not explicitly stated – is derived from Louis Althusser's theories of ideology, Mikhail Bakhtin's genre theory, and the philosophical traditions of Antonio Gramsci and the Frankkfurt School" (Titscher, 2000:144). The work of Foucault (1979, 1980, 1984a) has also had a major influence on contemporary scholars

such as Fairclough (1992, 1995). Another line of influence and development, is the one going back to Gramsci's followers in France and the UK, most notably Hall and the work of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham.

In conceptualising CDA the word 'critical' is a key theoretical concept. The term 'critical' signals the need for analysts to unpack the ideological underpinnings of any given discourse. 'Critical' also signals a departure from the purely descriptive goals of DA. CDA moves from 'surface attentiveness' to a concern with deeper social forces which exist in dialectical relationships with the discourse. Unlike other domains or approaches to discourse analysis, CDA does not primarily aim to contribute to a specific discipline, paradigm, school or discourse theory (van Dijk, 1993:252). This does not mean that CDA ignores theoretical issues. At the centre of theoretical endeavours within CDA is the analysis of the complex relationship between dominance and discourse (van Dijk, 1993:252). CDA typically concentrates on data like news reports, political interviews, counselling and job interviews, and other manifestations which embody manipulative strategies that seem neutral or natural to most people. For example, in this study, those sites/sights selected to represent the 'essence' of England and Englishness in OTO discourse. In relation to the current study, *feature writing* can be regarded as a prime location for such elements. The goal of analysis is to provide a detailed description, explanation, and critique of the textual strategies writers use to 'naturalise' discourses, that is, to make discourses appear to be common-sense, apolitical statements (van Dijk, 1993, quoted in Riggins, 1997:2). In the context of the current study the apparent 'naturalised' apolitical statements of OTOs are the primary focus of analysis. Such

supposed neutrality does not represent "the absence of a position, but one position among others" (Flowerdew, 1999:1097).

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) outline a number of theoretical approaches to CDA including French discourse analysis; critical linguistic, social semiotics; sociocultural change and change in discourse; socio-cognative studies; discourse historical method; reading analysis; and the Duisburg School. Table 3.2 identifies the general perspectives of a number of 'schools' of CDA, as well as their key practioners. CDA perspectives share a common concern for critical examination of social and cultural practices. In particular CDA is concerned with discourse in relation to social structural variables such as 'race' and gender, and with the power relations which sustain and promote such structures. The work of van Dijk is of particular relevance to the current study. van Dijk's work can be located within the theoretical perspective of *Socio-cognative studies*. van Dijk has been particularly concerned with ethnic prejudice, racism, and other related topics. He has carried out an extensive program of work involving multiple levels and types of analysis. In developing his perspective on CDA, van Dijk (1993) proposes that rather than focusing on personal or individual power, analysts should, through the principles of multidisciplinarity, focus on social power, the abuse of power relationships, and the examination of privileged access to discourse.

As already outlined, in this study I draw upon the analytic tradition of 'Critical Discourse Analysis' (CDA). More specifically, in this study I draw substantively on the three-dimensional approach to discourse developed by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995) who was

heavily influenced by 'Critical Linguistics' (for example, Hodge and Kress, 1993), which focuses on the links between grammatical structure and the social contexts in which language is used and its implication with power. Fairclough (1992:12) notes that:

> Critical approaches differ from non-critical approaches in not just describing discursive practices, but also showing how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has on social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants.

Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to discourse is concerned with language (written and spoken) 'in use', and focuses on *text*, *discourse practice*, and *social practice*. CDA is interested in a very general way in dominance and power relationships between social entities and classes, between women and men, between national, ethnic, religious, sexual, political, cultural and sub-cultural groups. Its point of departure is always the assumption that inequality and injustice are repeatedly reproduced in language and legitimised by it (Titscher, et al., 2000:164). From their inception CDA approaches have a political project. The intention has been to bring a system of excessive inequalities of power into crisis by uncovering its workings and its effects through the analysis of potent cultural objects – texts – and thereby to help in achieving a more equitable social order (Kress, 1996:15). Jaworski and Coupland (1999:33) raise the question of why critical discourse analysis need to be distinguished as a separate tradition. A partial answer to this question lies in the perceived need of critical discourse analysts to distance themselves from the kind of descriptivism espoused by early approaches (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975).

TABLE 3.0

APROCHES TO CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

SCHOOL	KEY PRACTIONER	GENERAL PRESPECTIVE
British	Gunther Kress Robert Hodge Roger Fowler Norman Fairclough Theo Van Leeuwen	*Draws on Foucault's theory of discourse and in its linguistic dimension, is closely associated with the systemic linguistic theory of formulated by William Firth and M.A.K. Holliday.*
German	Utz Maas Siegfried Jager Jurgen Link	*More strongly influenced by Foucault's concept of discourse than the British school.*
Dutch	Teun van Dijk	*Cognitive Oriented approach. Uses a triadic model to show how personal and social cognition mediates between social structures and discourse structures.*
Vienna School	Ruth Wodak	*Has its roots in Bernstein's sociolinguistic approach, as well as within the philosophical and sociological tradition of Critical Theory.*

Source: Wodak, et al., (1999).

Critical discourse analysts are concerned with discourse as an instrument of social construction, therefore they are politically engaged. CDA should not be regarded as a homogeneous method or set of methods. CDA is a term that is most often used to identify a set of perspectives that emphasize the relations between language and power and the role of discourse analysis in social and cultural critique (Wood and Kroger, 2000:205). Wodak (1996:15) offers the following definition of CDA:

> Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse – language in use in speech and writing – as a form of 'social practice'. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

The socially consequential nature of discourse raises important questions of power, and the macro context within which discourse occurs (for example, the institutional setting). The CDA approach to discourse has been deployed by, among others, Fowler, et al., 1979; Van Dijk, 1993, 1996; and Fairclough, 1992, 1995). CDA can be defined in part by its focus on areas of social concern, such as gender inequalities, racism and other forms of social inequalities and injustice. CDA has its roots in *critical linguistics*, which is a branch of discourse analysis that goes beyond the description of discourse to an explanation of how and why particular discourses are produced (Teo, 2000:11). The theoretical foundations of CDA are based on perspectives that see the relation of words and truth as highly tenuous and problematic (Riggins1997:2). Table 3.3 outlines eight general principles of CDA. From a CDA 'standpoint', all claims to 'truth' are regarded as

suspect and all attempts at representation are in essence *polysemic*. According to Fairclough (1995:28) this critical approach:

> has its theoretical underpinnings in views of the relationship between 'micro' events (including verbal events) and 'macro' structures which see the latter as both the conditions for and the products of the former, and which therefore reject rigid barriers between the study of the 'micro' (of which the study of discourse is a part), and the study of the 'macro'.

Discourse analysis in the context of the present study, the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs, should be regarded as a subjective and interpretative approach to research, rather than a method or set of techniques. CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context (van Dijk, 1998a:1). To Fairclough and other critically minded discourse analysts, discourse is not only a product or reflection of social processes, but is itself seen to contribute towards the production (or reproduction) of these processes (Teo, 2000:11). Discourse, (and the realities and subjectivity's that they make available), can be taken apart in such a way as to reveal that they are not immanent truths, but rather are constructed that way from particular positions – i.e., to serve particular interests while subordinating others (Lazar, 2000:377). While the terms 'discourse' and 'discourse analysis' are highly contested (Gill, 2000:173), this research study takes up a position which can be associated with post-structuralism perspectives on discourse, focussing on the gaps, absences and silences in the 'text', in terms of inclusion and exclusion.

At this point, I feel it is important to provide some points of clarification regarding the precise orientation of the CDA approach taken in this study. In terms of applying a conceptual framework associated with CDA this study draws primarily on the work of Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995). In critically analysing the discourse of OTOs in this study the analysis is based on Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to discourse analysis. This approach sees any instance of discourse as simultaneously a piece of 'text' (written or spoken language), an instance of 'discursive practice', and an instance of 'social practice'. However, the methodology deployed in this study is also informed by Foucauldian insights on discourse, for example the relationship between discourse and power, the construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the implication of discourse in social change. Fairclough (1992:38) observes that much of Foucault's work was concerned with specific discourses (medicine, psychiatry, economics) and the 'conditions of possibility' (Foucault, 1969 [1972]:xix) of discourse. Whereas textually oriented discourse, such as that adhered to in this study, is principally concerned with any sort of discourse. Thus, as Hastings (1998:195) has argued, Foucault's theoretical claims about the relationship between power, knowledge and language is of limited explanatory potential at the micro-level, because he did not ground his theories in the analysis of real texts and talk. The thesis that language both shapes and is shaped by social practice is central to the approach taken in this study.

TABLE 3.1

EIGHT GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF CDA

> CDA is concerned with social problems. It is not concerned with language or language use per se, but with the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures. Accordingly CDA is essentially interdisciplinary.

> Power-relations have to do with discourse and CDA studies both power in discourse and power over discourse.

> Society and culture are dialectically related to discourse: society and culture are shaped by discourse, and at the same time constitute discourse. Every single instance of language produces or transforms society and culture, including power relations.

> Language use may be ideological. To determine this it is necessary to analyse texts to investigate their interpretation, reception and social effects.

> Discourses are historical and can only be understood in relation to their context. At the metatheoretical level this corresponds to the approach of Wittgenstein (1984:7), according to which the meaning of an utterance rests in its usage in a specific situation.

> The connection between text and society is not direct, but is manifest through some intermediary such as the socio-cognative one advanced in the socio-psychological model of text comprehension.

> Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory. Critical discourse implies a systematic methodology and a relationship between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations. Interpretations are always dynamic and open to new contexts and new information.

> Discourse is a form of social behaviour. CDA is understood as a social scientific discipline which makes its interests explicit and prefers to apply its discoveries to practical questions.

Source: Wodak, 1996.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION

In this study 'data' emanates from two distinct sources. OTO published 'texts' comprise one source of data for the study. Various Promotional Brochures, Travel Features, Annual Reports, Policy and Research documents published over the period 2000-2003 were collected and samples of these were selected for inclusion in the data set (see appendix 1 and 2 for a complete listing of published texts included in the corpus). The rationale for including a range of 'promotional' texts (texts directly relating to the projection of destinations to potential tourists), and 'operational' texts (internal texts, relating to the ongoing operations of the organisations themselves), suggests that the inclusion of both 'types' of texts in the corpus could, potentially, facilitate a more wide ranging analysis of OTO discourse than could be achieved by focusing solely on either one of these text.

The other source of data utilised in the current study was interviews with OTO personnel. There were a number of important reasons for carrying out interviews with representatives of the various OTOs included in the study. Firstly, the conduct of interviews with OTO personnel had the potential to facilitated a mapping of the processes of 'text' (including photographic image) commissioning, production, editorial and consumption, as well as providing insight into the organisational dynamics which surround those processes. Secondly, the conduct of interviews with OTO representatives could potentially facilitate the connection of individual and collective praxis within OTOs to the projected promotional discourse (for example, through discussions with text producers/principals). In addition, I regarded the conduct of interviews with OTO personnel as an essential element in the data collection process because interviewee

responses represented a rich source of contextual data vis-à-vis those 'operational' and 'promotional' text alluded to above. Overall, the conduct of interviews with OTO personnel enabled a level of insight into the representational practices of OTOs, which the analysis of published texts alone could not so readily have achieved.

Interviews with OTO representatives were approached from a 'topic oriented' perspective and focused on three broad areas:

- (a) the policies and procedures followed by the particular OTO in order to audit the material and symbolic (including cultural) resources of its assigned territory;

- (b) the policies and procedures followed by the particular OTO in the selection of material and symbolic resources for inclusion in the organisations promotional practices; and

- (c) the policies and procedures followed by the particular OTO in the commissioning, production, storage, retrieval and consumption of promotional 'texts' (including photographic images) utilised in the projection of their assigned territory as a tourist destination/site.

The conduct of the interviews did not focus directly on the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by the OTO in question. However, due to the unstructured nature of the interviews, respondents were at liberty to discuss the representation of ethno-cultural

diversity at any time during the conduct of the interviews, should they choose to do so (see section 4.3.1 to 4.3.9 for a in-depth discussion of the conduct of interviews in this study).

3.4.1 Purposive [Theoretical] Sampling

In this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England I utilise purposive (or theoretical) sampling procedures. Purposive sampling has been identified by Patton (1980) as an appropriate means of sampling *politically important or sensitive cases*, where the purpose is to attract attention to the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:102). The conduct of an emergent study requires that the investigator basis succeeding methodological steps on preceding steps taken thus far. Such actions require the investigator to adopt an ongoing interpretative, reflective approach to research methodology. Purposive sampling 'increases the scope or range of the data exposed, as well as the likelihood that the full array of multiple realities will be uncovered' (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:40).

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that purposive sampling has particular characteristics (these are set out in Table 3.4). Naturalistic sampling is based on 'informational, not statistical, considerations and its procedures depend on the ebb and flow of information as the study is carried out rather than on apriori considerations (Lincoln and Guba, 1985:202). In purposive sampling "the emergent design permits continuous adjustment of the sample to focus upon those units that are most relevant for developing or testing an interpretation until redundancy of information is achieved" (Belk, Sherry and Wallendorf,

1988:453-4). This approach is also consistent with Fairclough's view that corps samples should be selected on the bases of their potential contribution to insight into the social practice under scrutiny. Figure 3.0 graphically outlines the rationale for adopting a purposive [theoretical] sampling approach in the current study.

TABLE 3.2

CHARACTERISTICS OF PURPOSIVE [THEORETICAL] SAMPLING

Emergent sampling design	There can be no a priori specification of the sample; it cannot be 'drawn' in advance,
Serial selection of sample units	The purpose of maximum variation is best achieved by selecting each unit of the sample only after the previous unit has been tapped and analysed. Each successive unit can be chosen to extend information already obtained, to obtain other information that contrasts with it, or to fill in gaps in the information obtained so far,
Continuous adjustment or 'focusing' of the sample	Initially any sample unit will do as well as any other, but as insights and information accumulate and the investigator begins to develop working hypotheses bout the situation, the sample may be refined to focus more particularly on those units that seem most relevant,
Selection to the point of redundancy	In traditional sampling the size of the sample size is typically designated beforehand. In purposeful sampling the size of the sample is determined by informational considerations. If the purpose is to maximise information, then sampling is terminated when no new information is forthcoming from newly sampled units; thus redundancy is the primary criterion.

Source: Lincoln and Guba 1985.

FIGURE 3.0

RATIONALE FOR ADOPTING A THEORETICAL SAMPLING PROCEDURE

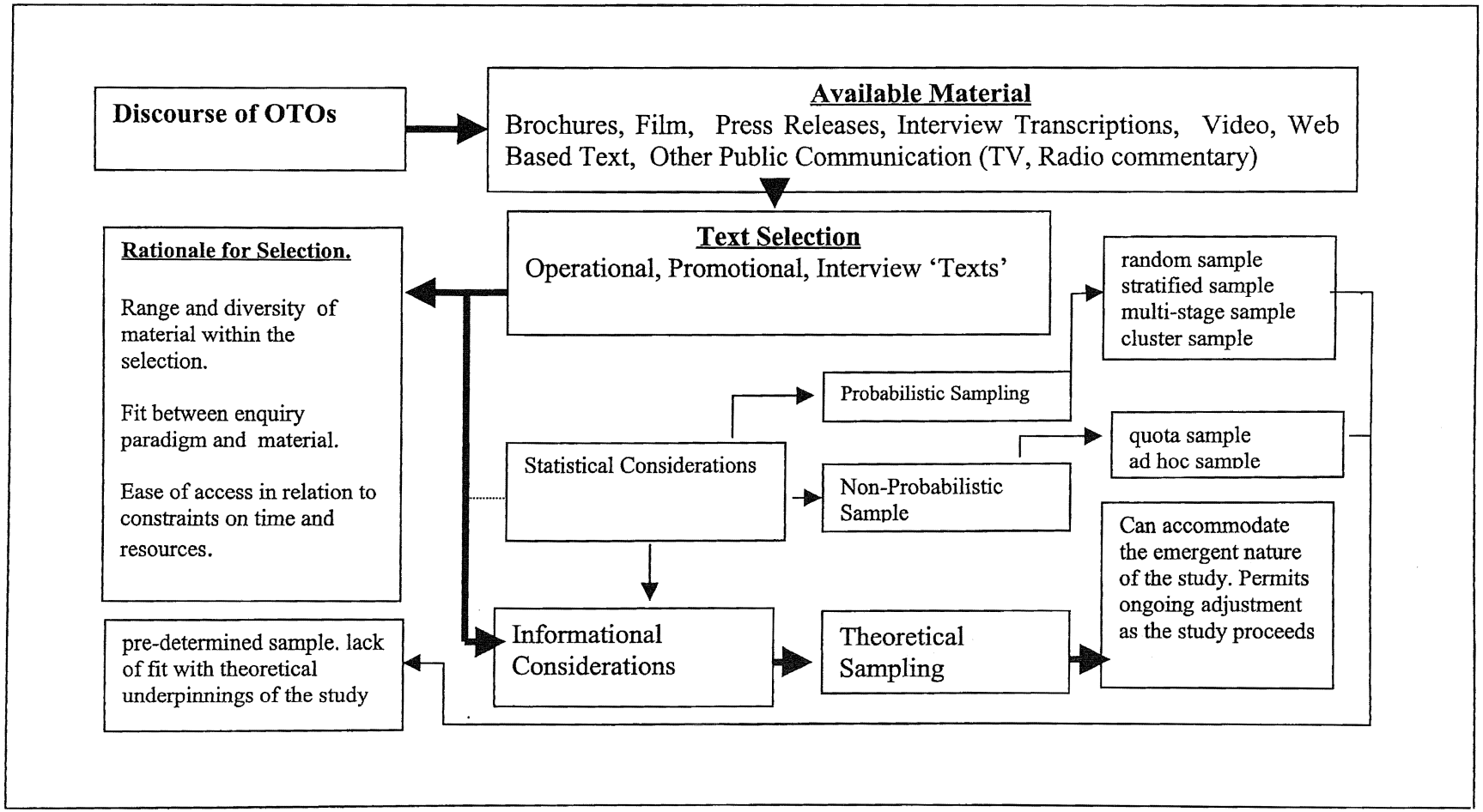


FIGURE 3.0 (CONTINUED)

RATIONALE FOR ADOPTING A THEORETICAL SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Source: Adapted from Titscher, et al., (2000:37).

In the current study the focus of interest are those official tourism institutions/organisations who act to represent England as a sight of consumption for tourists. Thus, of the methods of sampling available in the literature, purposive sampling in terms of deliberately chosen sites, persons, and documents appear to be most opportune for the current study of the representation of ethnic diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England. Therefore, selected OTOs published materials will be drawn upon as appropriate sources of data. Likewise, interviews with selected individuals within the OTOs responsible for, or implicated in, the production of such institutional discourse can be regarded as appropriate within a purposive sampling framework. Within the conduct of purposive sampling one of the key points is that the entire sample is not nominated in advance because it cannot be normally/often known in advance, rather, the sample selection is always open to adjustment as new sources of relevant material are identified in the ongoing process of the research. As the research unfolded additional sources of data believed to be relevant to the study of representation within the discourse of OTOs were identified and included in the corpus sample.

3.5 METHODS OF ANALYSIS

In the analysis of OTO 'texts' in this study I draw on Hallidayan Systemic-Functional Linguistics (SFL) within a broader framework of Faircloughian CDA in an attempt to uncover the representational processes in the presentation of England as a site for consumption by tourists, and how such signifactory practices encode a particular world view (Simpson, 1993:104), which has implications for social identities and social relations within multi-cultural, multi-ethnic England.

Halliday (1985:X1V) has described SFL as a "theory of meaning as choice, by which a language, or any other semiotic system, is interpreted as networks of interlocking options". In the systemic-functional view of language the term 'transitivity' [~TRANSITIVITY] as a powerful semantic concept refers generally to how meaning is represented in the clause (Oktar, 2001:323). The study of transitivity has recently emerged as a key factor in the critical analysis of discourse. Specifically, transitivity determines the nature of 'processes' and is employed as a descriptive tool for systematically interpreting the representational structure of the clause. Conducting a transitivity analysis requires the analyst to determine the types of process which are encoded in clauses and the types of participants involved in them. The term *participant* can cover any real world entity and can refer to animate or inanimate creatures including persons, objects and abstractions (El-Issa, 1998:226).

Following Halliday (1985), in this study language is regarded as a network of interlocking options which enables its user to produce texts which communicate meaning through the selection or omission of those available options. The analysis of transitivity in texts operates at the clause level, focusing on the relationship between grammatical structure and their social context, thus, as Oktar (2001:323) notes:

> providing the necessary grounds for critical discourse analysis to uncover and interpret systematically the underlying motivations, intentions and goals of language users along with the attitudes, perceptions and prejudices that manipulate them.

In Hallidayan linguistics, language is not an independent self-contained system, rather language users draw selectively on available linguistic resources in ideological significant ways. Through a focus of transitivity we can examine speakers (or writers)

perceptions of 'reality' and probe how the linguistic structure of 'texts' encode particular world-views. In this study the rationale for an analysis of transitivity are twofold: firstly, to establish whether the producers of OTO discursive events (spoken and written texts) draw on particular processes in preference to others; and secondly, to compare and contrast patterns of transitivity within and between discursive events.

Discourse practice represents the mediating variable between the micro text and macro socio-cultural practice. Fairclough refers to the situational context and the intertextual context as central to the process of interpretation (Janks, 1997:338). Central to this aspect of the analysis is the production and distribution of OTO texts and the intertextual potential of OTO discursive events. Thus, in Chapter Five I inspect the processes of text production and distribution, as well as the roles of OTO editorial personnel in the moulding of such discursive events.

In the conduct of CDA there is no necessary sequence of analytic activities. Wood and Kroger (2000:96) assert that:

> because analysis involves recycling and iteration, there is no necessity to begin analysis at the beginning of the data set, to consider any or all of the smaller segments before examining the larger sections or even the discourse as a whole, to carry out all the activities for units of any particular size, or to focus the analysis on any particular level.

Analysis moves over and across the data in examining the focus of the discourse in a recursive or iterative fashion and the analysis is always provisional. van Dijk (2000:5) reminds us that, decades of specialisation in the field have 'discovered' many hundreds, if not thousands, of relevant units, levels, dimensions, moves, strategies, types of acts,

devices and other structures of discourse. Hence, there is no such thing as a 'complete' discourse analysis: a 'full' analysis of a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages. Complete discourse analysis of a large corps of text or talk, as we often have in CDA research, is therefore out of the question (van Dijk, 2000:5). As has been outlined above, CDA utilises a combination of methods of analysis. In the current study there is no pre ordained 'definitive' unit of analysis. Wood and Kroger (2000:98) suggest that in any particular instance a unit of analysis can be regarded as the smallest workable 'chunk' that you can do something with, and that the analyst should be guided by the purpose of the research. Overall, the importance of working with 'manageable' segments of data is recognised. Therefore in some segments of this study analysis may be based on a particular *word* or small *group of words,* in others it may be drawn from large *sections of text* or *group of 'texts'*.

It is generally acknowledged that the conduct of CDA, indeed all forms of discourse analysis, requires a particular orientation to text, a frame of mind which allows us to contemplate what might be involved in the analysis prior to any engagement with the 'data' to be analysed. This has led some to conclude that such forms of analysis is loose and undisciplined. However, such processes of contemplation are necessary if the analyst is to approach the task with an open mind and to examine the discourse creatively and to entertain multiple possibilities. This study is informed by an approach to discourse analysis developed by Foucault (1984a:110) who asserted that:

> Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which and by which there is struggle; discourse ***is*** the power which is to be seized (my emphases).

For Foucault, and for critical discourse analysts generally, the line between discourse and practice is a blurred one. Thus, in this study, the critique of OTOs institutional discourse is also a critique of their practice. Drawing on the work of Foucault (1979) and Halliday and Hasan (1985), Fairclough (1992) suggests a three-dimensional structure in order to analyse linkages between discourse, ideology, and power. Fairclough's (1989) model for CDA is outlined graphically by three inter-linking boxes, which represent three inter-linking processes of analysis each of which focuses on a specific dimension of discourse. Figure 3.1 graphically outlines Fairclough's model, while Figure 3.2 illustrates its application in the current study. Figure 3.3 graphically outlines triangulation within the CDA approach adopted in relation to those 'national' and regional 'promotional', 'operational' and 'interview' texts analysed in the current investigation. The process of 'text' analysis *describes* the grammar and vocabulary of the text. The analysis of 'discourse practice' *interprets* the text within its socio-cultural context, while the analysis of 'socio-cultural practice' *explains* the text within its socio-cultural context. However, it is important to note that Fairclough (1989:110) himself has stressed that:

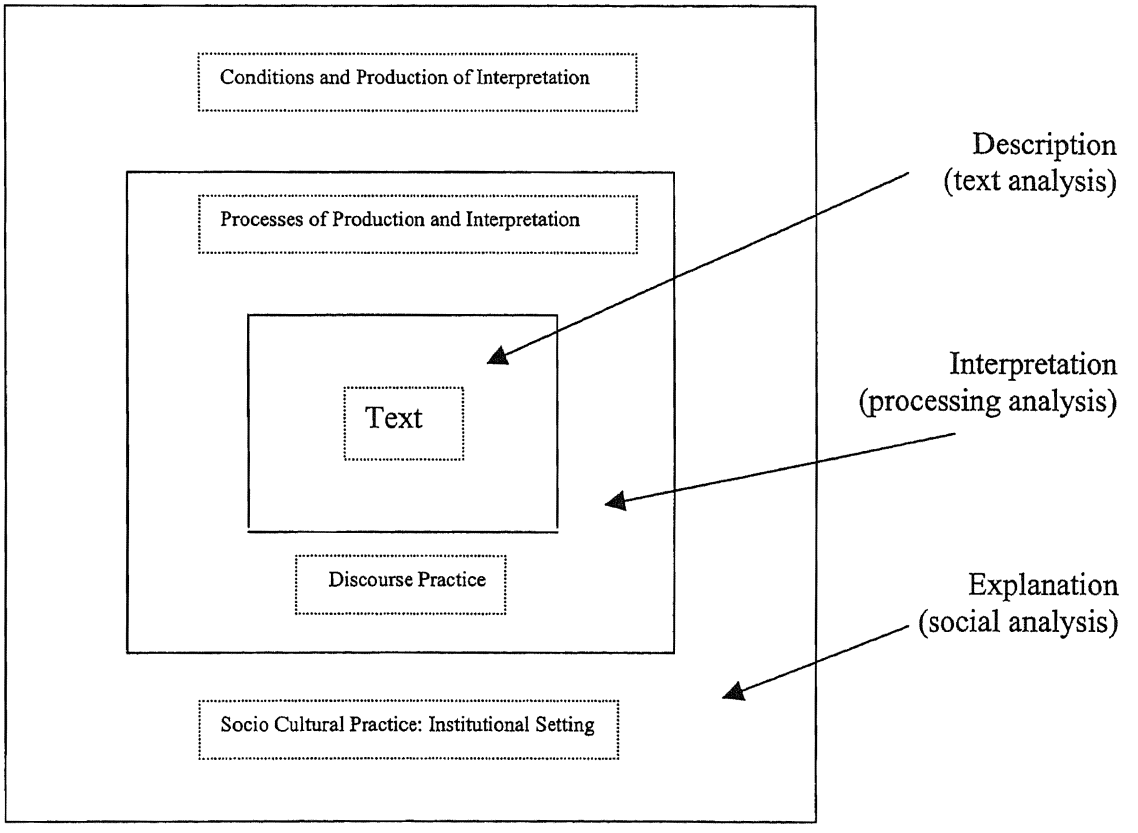
> The procedure should not be treated as a holy writ – it is a guide and not a blueprint. In some cases, readers using it may find that some parts are overly detailed or even irrelevant for their purposes. In other cases, they may find it insufficiently detailed.

Therefore, while enabling the analysis of 'texts' to follow a staged sequence, the framework should not be regarded as rigid or constraining. Indeed Fairclough does not insist on any particular sequence to be followed within the framework, or indeed that any stage should be completed before moving to the next. In practice it seems logical that as one proceeds with the analysis of any particular text, insight may emerge which can

contribute to the developing analysis within any of the three stages. Indeed Janks (1997) has outlined how she works within all three dimensions simultaneously.

FIGURE 3.1

FRAMEWORK FOR CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF A COMMUNICATIVE EVENT



Source: Adapted from Fairclough (1995:59).

FIGURE 3.2

THREE DIMENSIONS OF DISCOURSE ANALYSED IN THIS STUDY

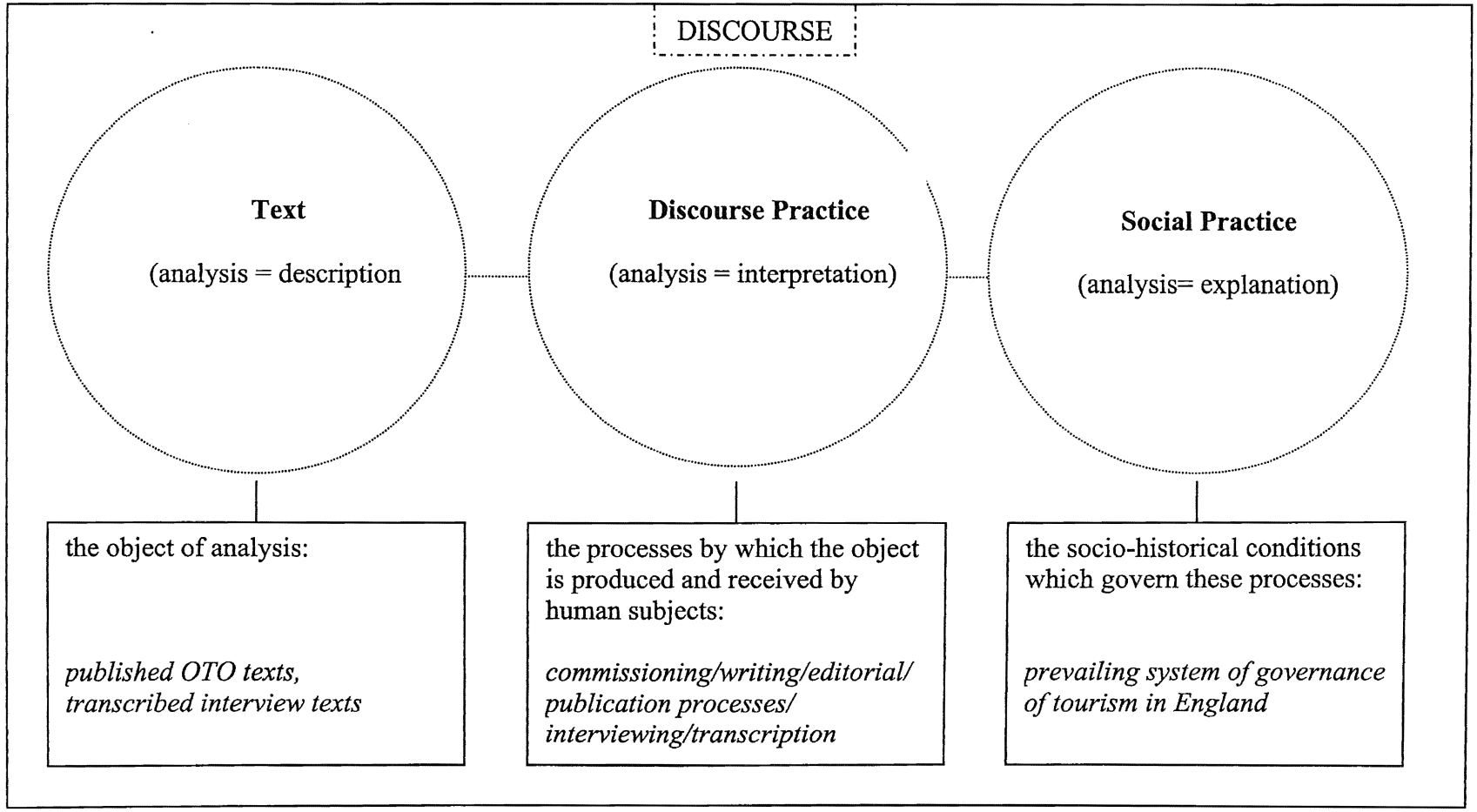
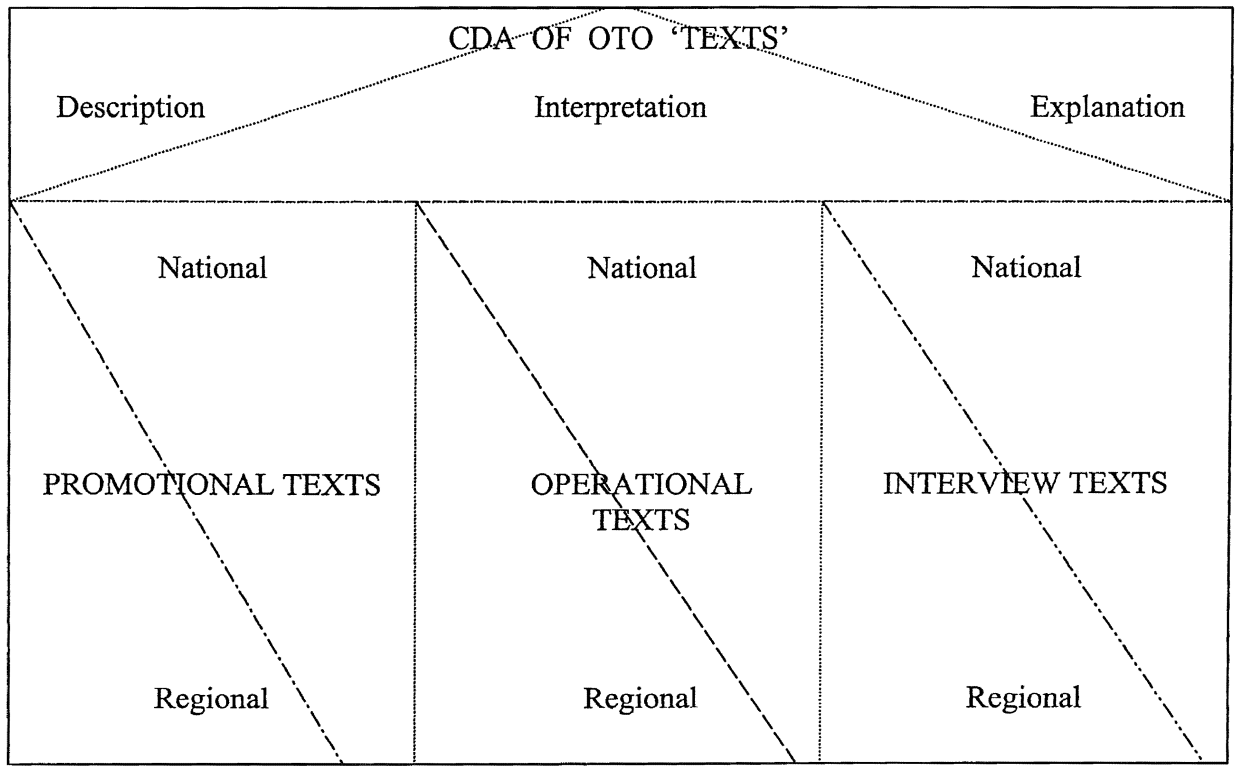


FIGURE 3.3

TRIANGULATION WITHIN METHOD OF ANALYSIS IN THIS STUDY



The three-dimensional approach to discourse in this study is concerned with language (written and spoken) 'in use', and focuses on discourse as *text*, *discourse practice*, and *social practice*. CDA is interested in a very general way in dominance and power relationships between social entities and classes, between women and men, between and amongst national, ethnic, religious, sexual, political, cultural and sub-cultural groups. Its point of departure is always the assumption that inequality and injustice are repeatedly reproduced in language and legitimised by it (Titscher, et al., 2000:164).

Sections 3.5.1, 3.5.2, and 3.5.3 below provide a more in-depth discussion of each dimension within Fairclough's approach to discourse analysis. Firstly however, it is necessary to comment on the implications of Foucauldian concepts of discourse, and the difference in emphases between Foucauldian analysis of discourse and textually orientated discourse analysis. Fairclough identifies a number of major insights into discourse in Foucault's archaeological and genealogical work. These are summarised as follows:

(i) the constitutive nature of discourse – discourse constitutes the social, including 'objects' and social subjects;

(ii) the primacy of interdiscursivity and intertextuality – any discursive practice is defined by its relations with others, and draws upon others in complex ways;

(iii) the discursive nature of power – the practices and techniques of modern 'biopower' are to a significant degree discursive;

(iv) the political nature of discourse – power struggle occurs both in and over discourse;

(v) the discursive nature of social change – changing discursive practices are an important element in social change.

Fairclough (1992) views Foucault's neglect of 'textual analysis' (real texts) as one of a number of difficulties of deploying Foucauldian thought *within 'textually' orientated discourse analysis*. Fairclough does not suggest a reduction of discourse analysis to 'textual' analysis alone, but "textual analysis in conjunction with other types of analysis" (Fairclough, 1992:56) in order to overcome the absence of concept of 'practice' in Foucault's work. The absence of a focus upon practice and struggle can help to explain why Foucault's analysis come across as 'terribly one-sided' (Taylor, 1986:81). Another weakness of Foucault's work according to Fairclough (1992) is to do with conceptions of *power and resistance*, and *struggle and change*. As Fairclough (1992:56) points out, Foucault has been criticised for exaggerating the extent to which the majority of people are manipulated by power and his (Foucault's) neglect of contestation and the possibilities for opposition and change through struggle. Simons (1995:83) suggests that despite "insufficient attention to the fragmentation and inconsistencies contemporary of modes of government and subjection", Foucault "remains confidant that resistance is possible because power relations do not solidify into states of complete domination". Fairclough (1992:56) acknowledges critical perspectives on Foucauldian thought but points to the "rich set of theoretical claims and hypotheses" in Foucault's work which discourse analysis might endeavour to incorporate and 'operationalise' in the 'textual' aspect of their work.

The three-dimensional framework adopted in this study (text, discourse practice, and social practice), forms an important principle for CDA that analysis of texts should not be artificially isolated from analysis of institutional and discursive practices within which text are embedded. In relation to the present study such awareness means that in analysing the discourse of OTOs one should also have regard to the

diverse ways texts may be interpreted. The current study will combine the analysis of text with an analysis of the processes of text production and distribution. This aspect of the CDA approach has been initiated by conducting textual analysis in conjunction with interviewing those individuals responsible for producing and distributing such texts within the institutional setting. In this way the study fulfils the need to "bring close textual analysis together with social analysis of organisational routines for producing and distributing texts" (Fairclough, 1995:9).

3.5.1 Textual Analysis: Dimension One

Textual analysis in this study focuses on the dimension of discourse as *text.* Specifically this dimension of discourse examines the *force* and *intertextuality* of selected texts. The force of a text relates to what the text is being used to do socially, what is being *promised*, *requested* or *demanded* in and through the text. This can also include analysis of ideological significant vocabulary. It is recognised that words can be regarded as floating signifiers in the sense that they capture multiple meanings depending on *who* is subject to any given discursive event, as well as *who* is performing the act of interpretation. Intertextuality refers to the ways texts borrow from other texts and in so doing transforms the past into the present. Tourism discourse may be seen as 'importing' prior texts from, for example, military science (strategic planning), industrial psychology (human resource management), consumer behaviour and communication (marketing strategies), literature (travel writing), all of which have been socially constructed through, or resulting from, the rational language of science. The texts constructed by OTOs to represent England to the world are not 'pure' reflections of single discourses, therefore the analysis of such tests require the analysts to take an intertextual approach, tracing the influence of one sort of text on

another, what Jaworski and Coupland (1999:9) term 'text-to-text comparison'. Within this dimension of discourse (discourse as *text*) the analysis will focus on direct and indirect *discourse representation*, how a particular text incorporates parts of other texts. In so doing the analysis seeks to trace the representation and transformation of ideological forms of knowledge embedded with the discourse of OTOs in England which act to normalise projected truths of English ethno-cultural foundations.

Analysis of texts in this study is mainly concerned about what is 'in' the text(s) being analysed. However, it is also important to examine the text in terms of what might be absent. With regard to absence or 'silence' in a text, the work of Huckin (2002) is of relevance to the current study. Huckin argues that writers and speakers commonly frame public issues by mentioning certain relevant topics and subtopics while ignoring others. Such social 'action' may not be personal or individual, but can be viewed as part of those tectonic inheritances [~TECTONIC INHERITANCES], which are defused throughout any given institution (see section 5.7 for an extended discussion of textual silence). It is within such routine, inherited, unsuspected procedures that strategies of legitimation (ideology) are expressed and put to use through discourse. The primary functions of ideologies in a society, such as concealment, manipulation and so fourth, are mostly discursive social practices (Oktar, 2001:314).

3.5.2 Textual Analysis: Dimension Two

As I have already noted, discourse practice can be regarded as mediating between the *textual* and the *social* and *cultural*. In this study discursive practices are concerned with the production and distribution of texts. These aspects of discourse practice are

not straightforward 'stand-alone' segments of some unified whole, but intersect with other elements, both within and between texts. Foucauldian insight enables us to take the analysis to a higher level of abstraction and reflect on the macro context within which discursive practices are deployed, controlled and constrained. In the context of OTO discourse deployed to represent England in and through tourism, such 'procedures' might be identified as institutional/ideological constraints on what is selected, who is 'authorised' to speak, what can be said about a particular selection and who/what is remembered, privileged, or forgotten. It is important to keep in mind the constitutive nature of such Foucauldian 'procedures' which act, in and through tourism, to produce, transformed and reproduce England by means of the enunciative modalities of OTOs. In this respect and taking a Foucauldian perspective, those social subjects who produce statements (and those whom such statements address), which construct England as a site of consumption for tourists do not exist independently of the discourse, its 'author' (Fairclough, 1992:43) but are a function of the statements themselves.

Within this dimension of discourse (discursive practice), the analysis has focused on the *production*, and *distribution* of texts. In the current study the production of OTO texts is conceptualised as emanating from a number of 'positions'. For example, a particular text may be written by an individual, or group of individuals, within a particular organisation. They may in turn draw on or incorporate the words of others in the production of any given text, therefore the authorship of any given text is likely to be multi-layered. In this sense texts are transformed across a chain of linked communicative events. Thus, the relationship between the source of the text and its author may be an ambiguous one. In the current study there may be instances of texts

being produced centrally by the BTA/*VisitBritain* for distribution locally by RTBs. Sophisticated organisations such as the BTA/*VisitBritain*/RTBs produce texts with specific distribution channels in mind. Such texts are produced and distributed in the knowledge that different audiences will want/desire/consume them differently. Hence, such organisations anticipate the multiple audiences of addressees, hearers, and overhearers. For example, specific promotional texts produced by the BTA/RTBs are distributed to targeted audiences in the tell-and-sell order of discourse commonplace in contemporary society.

Fairclough (1995:59-60) sees "discourse practice as mediating between the textual and the social and cultural, between text and sociocultural practice". Discursive practices are concerned with the production, distribution, consumption and interpretation of texts. For example, within OTOs a 'text' may be written by an individual who draws on discussions with others within and outside the institutional setting. For Fairclough (1995:61), "intertextual analysis focuses on the line between text and discourse practice in the analytical framework". Intertextual analysis can be regarded as more 'interpretative' than linguistic analysis which appears more 'objective', you can read the words, hear the voice. Intertextual analysis requires an understanding of the culture 'frame' within which the discursive event was produced. However, Fairclough (1995) argues that "linking the linguistic analysis of text to an intertextual analysis is crucial to bridging the gap between text and language on the one hand, and society and culture on the other" (Fairclough, 1995:61-62).

3.5.3 Textual Analysis: Dimention Three

Here Fairclough (1992) has in mind an analysis of the macro-structural context within which the text is embedded. Specifically Fairclough (1992:86) refers to discourse in relation to ideology and to power, and the place of discourse within a view of power as hegemony and power relations in terms of hegemonic struggle. In theorising his perspective regarding ideological influences on discourse Fairclough refers to three 'important claims about ideology' (Fairclough, 1992:87) as follows: (a) ideology has a material existence in the practices of institutions, therefore, for Fairclough, discursive practices can be investigated as material forms of ideology; (b) ideology 'interpellates subjects' therefore one of the more significant 'ideological effects' is the constitution of subjects; and (c) 'ideological state apparatuses' (institutions) are both sites of and stakes in [class] struggle, which points to struggle in and over discourse. Fairclough (1992:87) "understands ideologies to be significations/constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities), which are built into various dimensions of the forms/meanings of discursive practices, and which contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of dominance". According to Fairclough (1992:95) the concept of 'hegemony' provides for discourse:

> both a matrix – a way of analysing the social practice within which the discourse belongs in terms of power relations, in terms of whether they reproduce, restructure or challenge existing hegemonies – and a model – a way of analysing discourse practice itself as a mode of hegemonic struggle, reproducing, restructuring or challenging existing orders of discourse [~ORDERS OF DISCOURSE].

In relation to the macro-structural context within which discourse operates, *access* can be regarded as a key element in the operation of discourse as social practice. In relation to access and control over the means of public discourse and communications

van Dijk (1996:85) argues that dominant groups or institutions may influence the structures of text and talk in such a way that, as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are – more or less – indirectly – affected in the interests of the dominant group. As van Dijk (1996:102) has it:

> Among the resources that form the power base of dominant groups, the preferential access to public discourse in an increasingly important asset, because it allows access to the control mechanisms of the public mind. In modern societies, discourse access is a primary condition for the manufacture of consent and therefore the most effective way to exercise power and dominance.

Within this dimension of discourse (discourse as social practice) the analysis focuses on the macro-structural context within which the text is embedded and on ideological influences and power relations mediated through the text. Access to, and control of, the process of production and distribution of such discourse is of particular relevance in this study. In the context of the OTOs, it is their legitimisation by the dominant structures of governance and their active and controlled access to the means of communication which enables and sanctions such modes of discourse. Therefore, the differential patterns of access in the planning, setting, and controlling of communicative events within OTOs forms a key focus of analysis in the study. This element of the analysis is concerned with those naturalised 'common sense' constructions of reality which are built into the discursive practice of OTOs and which contribute to the production, reproduction and transformation of dominance. Hence, the analysis of OTO discourse seeks to probe the ideological investment "in so far as they incorporate significations which contribute to sustaining or restructuring power relations" (Fairclough, 1992:87). Although in principle all OTO discourse is open to ideological investment, not all such discourse will be ideologically invested to the same degree.

In this study of discursive formations emanating from OTOs, power can be linked to institutional and individual access to modes of discourse representation. Thus, CDA can be regarded as an important 'diagnostic tool' (van Dijk, 1996:90) in the analysis of the discourse of OTOs. Access to, and control of, the process of production and distribution of such discourse is of particular relevance in this study. In the context of the OTOs in England, it is their legitimisation by the dominant structures of governance and their active and controlled access to the means of communication which enables and sanctions such modes of discourse. Access may involve the way individuals or groups take the initiative for communicative events, or the particular way they participate. They may be active or passive in their participation in a particular communicative event. For example, following the conduct of interviews with OTO staff it is evident that particular individuals within these organisations have privileged and sustained access to the apparatus of communication/representation. Therefore, the analysis of differential patterns of access in the planning, setting, and controlling of communicative events within OTOs forms part of the analysis in this study. I recognise that there are difficulties here in relation to the openness of individuals in the context of possible criticism in the subsequent reporting of the research.

3.6 CRITIQUE OF CDA

Although CDA has contributed much to our theorising about language use and role in the social world, it has come under severe criticism in a number of respects. Here I will outline some of the more contentious of these criticisms of the approach. Further, I set out the steps I have taken in this study in order to refute or minimise the consequences of these in the study.

The following discussion focuses on aspects of CDA which have come under critical scrutiny in the literature. These are, the charge of *'concealment'* or *'mystification'* (Fowler, 1991:89), the alleged *'circularity'* of the approach (Fish, 1980; Stubbs, 1997), and the charge that analysts often express *'opinion rather than facts'* (Tyrwhitt-Drake, 1999).

A major criticism levelled at CDA concerns what critical linguistics term 'concealment' or 'mystification'. In essence the argument centres around the claim that language encodes ideological meanings which, (although hidden), mediate the social world through its signification systems, and that critical analysis can bring such ideological meanings to the surface. Thus, the argument goes, CDA claims to 'demystify' or reveal what is concealed in ideologically encoded discourse. The criticism stems from the claim that some 'real world' exists beyond ideologically encoded representations of the world. As has already been outlined in Chapter One, this study rejects the notion that there is some 'real', 'true', 'knowable' world beyond that which is socially constructed through discourse. Therefore, in the current study there are only what Simpson (1993) calls 'angels of telling' within which OTO discursive events can privilege or deny. Thus, in the current study I make no claim of 'demystification', rather there is an acknowledgement of multiple realities which are context dependant.

Another major criticism of CDA concerns the charge of circularity. For example, Fish (1981) argued that critical discourse analysts 'leap' from linguistic description to interpretations which are arbitrary and unverifiable. Many critical discourse analysts have acknowledged their politically engaged position and such engagement is cited as

the cardinal reason for the alleged circularity of CDA. Stubbs (1997:102) has argued that, "the textual interpretations of critical linguists are politically rather than linguistically motivated". Indeed, some of the key figures in the development of CDA have acknowledged such an engaged position. For example, Fairclough openly acknowledges such a position in his 1989 text *Language and Power*. In the current study I acknowledge that description and interpretation can never be entirely divorced and that all such praxis are politically engaged, even if such engagement is denied. Thus, the charge of circularity in CDA could also be levied at all research which claims a neutral position.

CDA has also been criticised (Tyrwhitt-Drake, 1999) for expressing 'opinion and values' rather than 'facts'. Yet, as Flowerdew (1999) has pointed out, CDA is concerned with 'implicature' not 'facts'. Such positivist critiques of CDA which suggest that its analytic praxis is based on preconceived ideas rather than on 'objective' analysis overlook the *reflexive*, *iterative* relationship between a discursive event and the *context* within which it was produced. Thus, in this study the importance of getting to know the 'situation' in which any given OTO text was produced is of cardinal importance. The research undertaken for the current study adopts an iterative approach to data analysis and interpretation. In this study I recognise that all methods of research have tendencies to liberate and constrain, and all forms of language are 'hand-me-downs' (Duranti, 1997:334) which are subject to constant evaluation and transformation. However, in-depth analysis of particular discursive events, such as that carried out here, is 'entirely appropriate' (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:37) in discourse analytic research.

Taking my lead from van Dijk (2000:5) that "there no such thing as a complete discourse analysis", the current study adapts and draws selectively on the three dimensional approach to CDA outlined by Fairclough (1989, 1992, 1995). Analysis within each dimension and sub-dimension commenced with a initial reading of a given text, followed by close reading, segment selection and further reading of selected segments in order to gain insight and potentilly reach crystallisation in an iterative sequence.

3.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this study, I focus on the discursive social practices occurring in and through the text and talk of OTOs in England. Thus, meaning oriented methods as opposed to methods of measurement are the preferred approach in this investigation of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in OTO 'texts'. The theoretical perspective underpinning this study emanates from a social constructionist standpoint which can be conceived of as an anti-foundational dialogue. The emphases is on discourse as a vehicle through which the self and the world are articulated and the way discourse functions within social relationships. Thus, I have argued that from a social constructionist perspective we all participate in the cultural generation of meaning and in making our world and the future. Questions of ontology and epistemology have been discussed and the scepticism of social constructionist approaches which make no claims of knowledge of the world 'out there' were noted.

I have outlined the adoption of CDA as a means of interpretation the discursive construction of power relations in everyday interaction. The approach adopted seeks to place the texts and the discourse to which they belong within the institutional and

social context of their creation. I have noted that CDA emerged as a response to the traditional disciplinary divide between micro linguistic analysis and more macro socially oriented approaches to research. CDA focuses on relations of power which are embedded in linguistically constructed ideologies. The approach adopted in this study is concerned with the ability of OTOs to annunciate or silence through privileged access to discourse. CDA is concerned with discourse as an instrument of social construction, thus it is a politically engaged standpoint.

In this chapter I have charted the three dimensional approach adopted in this study, as well as the approach to data collection (purposive sampling) undertaken. Purposive sampling was adopted as an appropriate means of identifying, selecting and including relevant 'texts' in the data sample. I have outlined the dimensions of analysis in relation to the description (text description) interpretation (discourse practice) and explanation (social practice) of OTO discursive events and how the approach adopted facilitates the analyst working within all three dimensions simultaneously. Therefore, I incorporate an important principle of CDA that textual analysis should not be isolated from the social processes within which the texts are embedded.

In drawing the chapter to a close I have sketched a number of critiques of CDA, (namely *concealment, mystification*, the alleged *circularity* of the approach, and the charge of *opinion* vs. *facts*), and commented on the relevance of these critical perspectives, and the steps I have taken to refute or minimise these in the conduct of the current study.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I explain in detail the steps taken in conducting the study. Having outlined (in Chapter Three) the proposed criteria for discourse selection, the sampling procedures and the approach to discourse analysis which I have adopted in this study, an effort is now made here in Chapter Four to show how data selection, sampling and data analysis were carried out, and how operational modifications were made to the proposed conduct of the study outlined in Chapter Three. The chapter commences with a brief discussion of the concept of 'warranting' (demonstration) which Wood and Kroger (2000:170) regard as "the core of the analytic work".

4.1 WARRANTING

Warranting can be regarded as a 'premise' consisting of the reasons, guarantees and rules deployed in argumentation to assert that the data are legitimately utilised to support claims (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000:367). Although discourse analytic researchers are, like many other researchers, concerned with generality, there are significant differences in the nature of claims and the way they are warranted. Discourse analytic approaches do not attempt to identify universal processes, indeed such claims to generalizability are regarded as suspect by discourse analysts. Discourse analytic approaches to the conventional criteria of reliability and validity use determinants that reflect alternative meta-theoretical and epistemological perspectives consistent with the notion of multiple realities.

As Wood and Kroger (2000:164-169) suggest:

> Different movements, (including the utterance of words), can have the same meaning in different context; the same movements can have different meanings in different contexts. This makes it much more difficult to assess whether or not there is repetition or reliability on the level of concepts... clear description of all facets of the research, including how the data were collected and how the researcher went about doing the analysis... is important as a minimum requirement, not so the research can be replicated, but to provide a context for understanding claims.

Therefore, in the conduct the present study, the processes followed in identifying, collecting and analysing data is elaborated in this study by drawing on the work of Wood and Kroger (2000) on the general concept of warranting, as well as upon Potter (1996). In the final analysis, a discourse analysis is an interpretation, warranted by detailed argument and attention to the material being studied (Gill, 2000:188). According to Wood and Kroger (2000:170:

> It is crucial to show the argument through presenting the steps involved in the analysis of an excerpt rather than simply telling the reader about the argument and pointing to an excerpt as an illustration. This process both ensures the soundness of claims made and displays their soundness.

Liakopoulos (2000:154) suggests that, "warrants are crucial in determining the validity of the argument because they explicitly justify the step from data to claim, and describe the process in terms of why this step can be made". In the current study the following strategies were implemented in order to support the warrants or 'claims' made in the analysis of OTO texts in Chapter Five.

Published documents from various OTOs in England (appendix 1 and 2), as well as the transcripts of a series of interviews with members of staff within selected OTOs comprise the 'texts' or 'narrative devices' upon which analytic interpretations in the following chapter are based. Subsequently, these 'texts' were analysed using the

methods outlined in Chapter Three. Firstly, the procedures followed in relation to 'published' texts are elaboration. The identification and selection process employed in relation to such published text are outlined. This is followed by an explanation of the procedures followed in selecting and conducting interviews with members of staff at various OTOs. This includes a detailed explanation of the process of identifying and recruiting potential respondents, as well as the conduct of the interviews themselves and the ethical issues encountered during the implementation of this phase of the study. This is followed by a discussion of the analytic procedures followed in implementing the three-dimensional approach outlined in Chapter Three.

4.2 THE RESEARCH SETTING: PUBLISHED TEXTS

This study is concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of official, publicly funded, tourism organisations in England. Therefore, published 'texts' are considered to represent one of the primary sources of 'data' for the study. However, taking into account the number of OTOs in England, (at the time the study commenced there were ten regional tourism boards, plus the BTA and the ETC, who had responsibilities for the governance and promotion of tourism in England), and the volume of published 'operational' and 'promotional' texts available it was decided to limit the temporal scope of published texts included in the analysis to a four year period between 2000 – 2003.

However, during maturation of the research approach to be adopted in the study, and in preparation for 'published' text selection, it was decided to compile an inventory of available OTO promotional texts, (brochures, leaflets, and travel features), which focused on England (as the former BTA had a remit to market the whole of the United

Kingdom some of their publications featured Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland). At this early stage in the conduct of the study it was felt that compiling such an inventory would provide valuable insight into the historic construction of England (and its regions) as tourist destinations.

Following initial contact with the BTA and the ETC regarding access to their brochure collections, I discovered that their archive did not contain a comprehensive list of brochure publications for preceding years. However, I was directed to the British Library, who, I was informed held an archive of such material. Following initial contact with archivists at the British Library and the subsequent granting of permission to inspect the archive of brochures, (some of which have 'conservation restrictions' placed upon them), I was able to commence the compilation of the inventory. The OTO 'promotional' publications in question are not recorded individually by the British library, but are held in 'batches'. Therefore each item had to be accessed and recorded individually. In all 1,357 individual promotional texts were recorded in the inventory, (publications produced in languages other than English were not included), which spans the period from 1950s to the 1990s. The title of each item was recorded, as was the content of its front cover image, number of pages, number of photographs, date of publication and publisher, (the items recorded were predominantly published by the BTA, or in association with other organisations).

Although only a limited number of these items were included in the final corpus of data selected for CDA, the inventory does provide some useful contextual and longitudinal data which informs the study. The compilation of this inventory was

particularly useful for informing the study in a number of ways. 'Scanning' these promotional texts allowed me to build up a 'picture' as to the kinds of cultural resources which have been invoked by OTOs to represent England over the previous five decades, as well as of the continuity of such projections. The inventory of OTO brochures also provided insight into the range and types of published texts likely to be encountered in the ongoing study. Perhaps more importantly in the context of the present study, it provided contextualisation of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs over a sustained period. The vast majority of promotional texts examined during the compilation of the inventory focused on historic castles, country estates, monarchy, and costal resorts as representations of English history, heritage and culture. Representations that alluded to the ethno-cultural diversity of England were very rare indeed, and were usually based on 'ethnic' festivals.

In terms of published texts selected for critical textual analysis, material from the former BTA and RTBs of England constitute the main focus of analysis in the study because these institutions represent the full range of 'national' and regional level OTOs implicated in the projection of England in and through tourism. The sampling procedure adopted enabled me, throughout the period of the ongoing research study, to continually incorporate relevant texts into the data set. Therefore, no definitive corpus of published texts could be identified in advance. However, from the outset, published promotional brochures comprised a significant focus of analysis (see appendix 1 and 2 for a complete list of all published texts analysed, [in whole or in part], for this study).

4.3 THE RESEARCH SETTING: INTERVIEWS

From the outset of the study, I had intended to conduct interviews with personnel in all 'national' and regional OTOs in England. However, I was unable to achieve this goal within the timeline of the study. There are a number of reasons for this. Of the two 'national' OTO contacted in connection with the study only the BTA (*VisitBritain*) granted permission for the conduct of interviews with personnel. Despite several attempts, the ETC, (since abolished), did not respond to my initial requests for permission to carry out interviews with their personnel. Of the ten regional boards, seven responded positively to my request to carry out interviews with representatives of the various boards, (on a number of occasions obtaining such permission requires several requests and some clarification of the research aims). Three boards declined to take part in the study.

Subsequent to the initial granting of permission to interview selected personnel within their organisations, two boards cancelled the interview appointments and despite attempts to reschedule these I was unable to achieve this goal. The reasons given by the boards in question for the cancellation of the interviews can be summed up as 'heavy workloads' of the individuals concerned. Thus, the profile of my interview respondents altered considerably from that which I had envisaged at the outset of the interview data collection. Out of the twelve OTOs in existence at the time the study commenced (two 'national' and ten regional) I only managed to gain access to six OTOs, (one 'national' and five regional).

TABLE 4.0

NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS WITH OTO PERSONNEL

OTOs	Number of OTOs participating	Interviews Conducted	Total Interviews
National	1	5	
Regional	5	7	12

4.3.1 The Interview Process

The focus of this project is to critically examine representations of England by OTOs in order to ascertain whether England is, (or is not), being depicted as a diverse ethno-cultural place. In this regard, a key source of data in this research study was a number of interviews conducted with members of staff within both national and regional tourism boards. Interviews have become the basic information gathering tool of the social sciences (Denzin, 2001:23). Therefore, before dealing directly with the operationalisation of the interviews, it is appropriate to comment on the use of interviews in social research.

4.3.2 Interviews as Negotiated Meaning

In this study, as in all social scientific enquiry, interviews are carried out within social contexts. Therefore, it is pertinent to comment on the social constructionist implication that all social life has a role playing character and that such rhetorical accomplishments are the very nature of reality. The social roles encountered in the interview process for this study are, like social roles generally, accomplished by mastery of discursive forms and practices and these may involve a mixture of both

conscious and unconscious strategies. Thus, for the current study, and from a social constructionist perspective, the maintenance of social roles within the interview setting is not regarded as trivial or superficial, but point to the achievements of the interviewer and the interviewees in institutions within which the manipulation of visual and linguistic symbols is paramount. Each interview context is one of interaction and relation; the result is as much a product of this social dynamic as it is a product of *accurate accounts and replies* (Fontana and Frey, 2000:647, emphasis added). Therefore, in this important sense, interview data can be regarded as a negotiated text.

Silverman (1993) points to the different ways interview data is analysed in the search for meaning and how this is related to the respective underlying paradigms of quantitative or qualitative enquiry. For example, interviews emanating from positive approaches to social research are understood to report 'facts' about a particular entity or phenomenon 'out there'. Interviewee responses are regarded as valid, reliable and independent of the interview setting. Qualitative approaches to interviews on the other hand, invoke an interpretative approach to meaning, placing emphases not on statements which can be regarded as 'true' or 'false', but on what they reveal about the 'social construction of reality' (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). One of the arguments upon which social constructionism 'turns' concerns the inevitable involvement of the researcher in her/his own subject matter. Researchers utilising the 'natural science model' examined subjects as if the researchers themselves were not human subjects, and as if the subjects were not deeply influenced by their social context (Gergen, 1973). Postmodern epistemologies on the other hand entail a fundamental rejection of the objectivity of the 'natural science' model of social

scientific investigation. Such perspectives offer a "full frontal attack on methodological unity" (Hassard, 1994:303). Social constructionist approaches to social research recognise that social research entails the construction of a text which positions the author, as well as the research itself. Silverman (1993) offers critique of both positive and interpretative approaches to interviews. While he criticises positive approaches to interviews for relying exclusively on the referential function of language (Silverman, 1993:93), he also criticises interpretative approaches to interviews for their tendency to assume that they offer authentic accounts of experience, often ignoring the fact that they are socially situated 'accounts'. Briggs (1986) has criticised researchers for not paying attention to interviews as communicative events. Mishler (1986) has cautioned researchers against approaching or conceptualising interviews as 'behavioural' events (information exchange), rather than as 'discursive' events. Approaching interviews as 'behavioural' events results, according to Mishler (1986), in the interview process being regarded as unproblematic, and one which ignores the social conditions influencing their 'talk'. For Mishler, interviews are primarily a form of discursive events, with the discourse constructed jointly by interviewer and interviewee. From this perspective, interviewer utterances are not regarded as disruptions or distortions, but are part of the data. Mishler (1986) urges researchers to view interview responses as narrative accounts by which people give meaning and relevance to their experience. This perspective on interviewing is closely related to social constructionist 'use view' (Gergen, 1999) of language. According to Gergen (1999:48):

> language and all other forms of representation gain their meaning from the ways in which they are used within relationships. What we take to be true about the world or self, is not thus a product of the individual mind. Meanings are born of co-ordinations among persons – agreements, negotiations, affirmations. From this standpoint, relationships stand prior to all that is intelligible. Nothing exists for us – as an intelligible world of objects and persons – until there are

> relationships. If we do quest for certainty, something to count on, a sense of grounded reality, it can only be achieved through relationships.

The insight sought by social constructionist research focuses on increasing our understanding of the social construction of reality within the specific context of the research. Thus, in the current study, the researcher, the participants, and the subsequent audiences account of the study will contribute to the meanings that are generated and understood from the research and to any subsequent adoption of such meaning into the body of knowledge or theory available as a result. In general terms, postmodern epistemology and social constructionist thought converge around the role of language as the key mediating feature in social research. As Schwandt (1997:79) has pointed out,

> it is becoming increasingly common in qualitative studies to view the interview as a form of discourse between two or more speakers or as a linguistic event in which the meanings of questions and responses are contextually grounded and jointly constructed by interviewer and respondent.

Schwandt's comments point to the importance of what Holstein and Gubrium (1995:14) refer to as the *hows* of interviews. Here Holstein and Gubrium have in mind the contexts, particular situations, nuances, manners and people involved in the interpersonal drama of the interview. Thus, interview 'data' cannot, through established processes of academic analysis, ever be detached from the social context within which it was constructed. At this 'seventh moment' (Denzin, 2001:25) in the development of qualitative research, it is worth noting that a desire, through immersion in the interview context, to reveal the 'real selves' of both the interviewer and the interviewee, must not impair our view of the self as a *process*. As Phelan (1998:10) has noted in relation to the dramatic nature of interviews, "performance and performativity [~PERFORMATIVITY] are braded together by virtue of iteration; the

copy renders performance authentic and allows the spectator to find in the performer *presence*".

Given the above considerations and arguments, and the need in the social constructionist tradition to ground claims in methodologically coherent principles it is necessary to consider transcription as a major and intrinsic part of discourse analytic research.

4.3.3 Transcription Conventions

It has been argued (Edwards and Potter, 1992), that the conventions of transcription adopted by the researcher presuppose their theoretical orientation. According to Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998:73), "the practice of transcription and production of a transcript represents a distinctive stage in the process of data analysis itself". Ochs (1979) asserts that transcription is theory. Such arguments certainly hold true for conversation analysts for whom the pauses, vocal inflections and solecisms of the speaker are the main conceptual analytical material. However, in discourse analytic approaches which seek to interpret the speakers discursive ways of accounting for beliefs, actions and points of view, such arguments may have less relevance. No system of transcription could conceivably show everything, and it is always a matter of judgement, given the nature of the project and the research questions, what sort of features to show, and in how much detail (Fairclough, 1992:229). All transcriptions of speech to written text are interpretative acts. Mishler (1986:48) has noted that:

> there are many ways to prepare a transcript and each is only a partial representation of speech. Further, and most important, each representation is a transformation. That is, each transcript includes some and excludes other features of speech and rearranges the flow of speech into lines of text within the limits of a page.

In the current study, formal transcription conventions, (such as the 'Jefferson system'), were eschewed in favour of a 'natural' style, in order to avoid the highly technical procedures which obscure the ability of inexpert readers to access the various 'meanings' of the text. However, certain 'conventions' (pauses, repetitions, contextual or explanatory information) were adhered to in order to assist the analyst/reader more fully to interpret the verbal interaction, while preserving the integrity and ungrammatical character of face-to-face interviews, thus facilitating relatively unmediated access to any subsequent reader. This approach to transcription is consistent with Gill's (2000:177) assertion that "a transcript should not summarise speech, nor should it 'clean it up' or correct it; it should record verbatim speech with as many features of the talk as possible". Although transcription of extended dialogues (interviews) is very time consuming and requires intense concentration, it should not be relegated solely to audio typists or research assistants (Atkinson and Heritage, 1984; Wood and Korger, 2000), although many analysts recognise the benefit of having other interpretations of the talk being transcribed. The process of transcription itself, if carried out by the analyst, can be closely associated with 'analysis' because profound engagement with the 'data' is required to produce a thorough transcript. In the current study I carried out the transcription of interview texts as well as those segments of 'promotional' and 'operational' texts reproduced in Chapter Five. In this study I regard the practice of providing verbatim reproductions of interviewee responses as a means of allowing subsequent readers of this study the opportunity to examine my own interpretations as well as to proffer new interpretations of the 'data'. Perhaps more importantly it serves to facilitate the articulation of the respondents own voice in the 'data'.

Other Voices

The process of transcription is where the text is created in the service of the researcher's agenda. I could have created numerous 'versions' of the text to fit with a variety of agendas or analytic techniques. Also, the form of transcription adopted is in large part influenced by my own trans-disciplinary construction within the academy.

4.3.4 The Target Personnel

As has been outlined in Chapter One the conduct of interviewees with OTO personnel is designed to assist the researcher to gain cogent insight on the projective/representational practices of these aforementioned organisations through dialogue with those individuals with designated responsibility for policies/issues revolving around the commissioning, production and editing of texts and images used to mediate 'England' as a site of consumption for tourists. The selection of interviewees was based on purposive sampling (see Chapter Three, section 3.4) and guided by the desire to access those individuals implicated in the selection, production and projection of material and symbolic resources used to portray England in and through tourism. Therefore, I sought permission from senior executives within OTOs to conduct interviews with members of staff in relevant positions within the OTO concerned. In some instances these initial contacts resulted in interviews with OTO chief executives.

4.3.5 Access to the Interview Setting

Access to the OTO personnel interviewed for the current study was negotiated through direct contact with senior executive level personnel. This was achieved through letter or email communication with various individuals in a kind of 'top-down' approach in order to gain the consent of targeted individuals to take part in the interviews. Subsequent to initial contact with the BTA, permission was granted to

carry out interviews at the BTA head office and through a number of further contacts a preliminary interview was held with a senior member of BTA editorial staff. From this preliminary interview other individuals pertinent to the focus of the study were identified within the organisation. Interviews were conducted with commissioning editors and archivists within the BTA. In all five interviews were conducted with BTA staff.

At Regional level the chief executives of all ten regional boards were contacted, and permission was sought to interview them, or alternatively to interview senior officials engaged in commissioning, production or editorial aspects of the boards projective discourse. RTB chief executives, (CEs), were emailed directly in a similar 'top down' approach as outlined above. In a number of cases these initial contacts with RTB Ces, (or their designated representative), led to contacts with other relevant individuals within the particular RTB. In all, seven interviews were conduced within five RTBs.

4.3.6 The Issue of Piloting

In operationalising the research strategy in this study no formalised or distinct period of 'piloting' was carried out. The rationale for this important decision is based on two considerations, both of which can conceivably be encountered outside the specific context of this study.

Firstly, the interview programme operationalised in the current study requires access to organisations and individuals who themselves are operating in dynamic and fast changing environments. Therefore, issues of access and the logistics of interview programming were problematic. In some instances interviews were extremely difficult

to programme and were often re-scheduled by interviewees in response to the dynamics of their organisational roles. The interviewing programme was potentially spread across twelve organisations, which although engaged in substantively similar operational circumstances, have in-fact a variety of approaches to fulfilling their remit. For example, some RTBs regard their operation as primarily commercial, with limited public sector ethos. Others consider their role as that of an arms-length approach to public service provision with a 'public-private' partnership. In addition, the research design requires that the interview programme engage with individuals in a variety of organisational roles and circumstances across those organisations. For these reasons the 'piloting' of interviews was considered to be problematic and it was questionable whether in-fact piloting would prove worthwhile given the circumstances and balancing the potential resource implication pertinent to this particular study.

Secondly and more importantly, piloting was rejected on epistemological grounds. The justification for omitting a distinct period of 'pilot' interviewing is, in part, contained in arguments put forward nearly half a century ago by Poole (1957) that interviews are in essence 'interpersonal dramas' (Pool, 1957:193), therefore the assumption that the conduct and outcome of any interview, or series of interviews, is predictive of any other is highly questionable if one assumes a 'negotiated', interactional encounter in which knowledge is constructed within the 'context' of any given setting.

Another aspect of the interview process which has relevance in relation to 'piloting' is that the interviewer, whether they acknowledge it or not, becomes increasingly

acquainted with the setting(s) and with the interview process, as well as being influenced (consciously or unconsciously) by each preceding interview throughout the entire interview phase. As has been pointed out in Chapter Three, the conduct of an emergent study requires that each methodological step is based on preceding steps taken thus far, therefore any artificial boundary between 'pilot' and 'main' study is delusionary.

Taking the above comments into account, it is reasonable to suggest that the setting-up of a distinct 'pilot' phase is both unnecessary and inadequate in studies which recognise the negotiated nature of knowledge construction in the interview encounter. For this author a more appropriate stance to the unfolding interview process is to acknowledge its emergent nature and to embrace those insights which are an outcome of social encounters, (interviews), in their particular 'context', whether those insights are derived at the outset, or at any other phase of the interview programme.

The argument I put forward in the preceding chapter (Chapter Three), that in any discourse there can be no objective beginning and no clear end, and that all discourse can only be understood on the bases of others, seem to support an emergent, unfolding view of the interview schema in this study. The arguments put forward here is not to deny that in the embryonic stages of the interview process the researcher should reformulate and adjust their approach, on the contrary, such activity is essential in conducting social research. What I question is the assumption that a distinct 'pilot' phase, which is deemed separate from the 'study proper' is adequate or indeed necessary in research settings where meanings are continually being negotiated. For the reasons outlined above, the interview research design utilised in this study

conceives the interview programme as a continuum in which insight is gained and adjustments are made throughout the entire interview phase.

4.3.7 The Interview Protocol

The qualitative interviews carried out for the current study can be described as 'topic-oriented', as the interviewer sought to gain insight into informants attitudes, beliefs and opinions regarding the representation of England as a tourist destination, and the selection and projection of material and symbolic resources by the particular organisation concerned. Topic-oriented interviews are, according to Hölzl (1994), "a very suitable tool in all those areas where the subjective views of interviewees on socially relevant areas are required". In the current study all interviewees were given the opportunity to conduct the interview at a location chosen by themselves. In most instances the preferred location was the interviewee's workplace. The interviews were envisioned as open-ended conversations with no explicit expectation on the interviewee to articulate 'institutional policy' or conform to prevailing political sensitivities. The interviewees were encouraged, (by not interrupting the flow of utterances), to produce sequences of thoughts on the topic under discussion. In this way the dialogic nature of interviews conceivably provide insight on the construction of England as a tourist site through the subjective utterances of individuals implicated in social interaction within and across OTOs.

4.3.8 The Interview Agenda

The interviews were organised around thematic areas, with questions often being posed indirectly. This open method of questioning facilitated the kind of extended narrative alluded to above. By emphasising the narrative component, it is left to the

interviewees how they structure a topic (Hölzl, 1994:64). While this questioning strategy may not yield immediate or directly relevant insight, it does provide a means of accessing attitudes, beliefs and opinions from which the researcher may draw inference. In the current study it was felt that referring directly to, for example, ethno-cultural representation, might place an obligation on the interviewee to defend the organisation's position and, by implication, their own role within the organisation, thus potentially, setting in train a defensive or hostile disposition on the part of the interviewee.

The interviews followed a loose pattern or series of stages which can be outlined as follows. Firstly, a *preliminary stage* in which rapport was established and a brief explanation of the reasons for, and purposes of, the interview was offered, (in most cases the interviewee would have been made aware of these in advance, as several interviewees requested such details prior to granting permission to conduct the interview). During this initial stage of the interview the recording equipment was set up. Secondly, an *initial stage* in which interviewees were asked to explain their roles within the board/institution and to provide some background information on their personal histories prior to and since joining the organisation. From these introductory stages the interviews entered the *core* or *primary* stage. Here the emphases was, in the main, on the institutions selection, production and projection into the public domain of material and symbolic resources to represent the territory for consumption by tourists, and the role of the individual interviewee within that process. In addition this section also focused on the interconnections between the particular boards in question and external agencies and/or structures of governance. The interviews concluded with an *elaboration* or *summing-up* stage. Here interviewees were prompted to re-cap on

what they felt were the salient issues/points vis-à-vis their or their boards implication in the representation of the territory in question. This stage was often the point where other avenues of enquiry or sources of data were offered to the researcher by the interviewees. It should be pointed out that as a result of the diversity of institutions involved in the interviews, and the variety of individual interviewee roles involved, the interview agenda varied considerably. Therefore the pattern of 'stages' outlined above is provided as a loose outline, rather that a definitive guide to the conduct of all and every interview.

4.3.9 Ethical Issues in the Interview Process

The ethical issues raised by the interview process are outlined as follows. All interviewees were assured, prior to interview, that their participation in the interview process and any subsequent use of the interview data would protect their anonymity. As the interview programme unfolded, four ethical considerations emerged.

Firstly, the issue of respondent confidentiality emerged as a contentious issue during the conduct of the interviews when one potential interviewee requested details of previous interviewees participating in the research study. This request was denied and the individual in question was informed of the ethical reasons for this decision. The individual in question accepted the explanation and subsequently agreed to be interviewed.

Secondly, there was concern regarding the decision not to focus exclusively or predominantly (during the interview process) on issues concerned with the representation of ethno-cultural diversity (the central focus of the study) in the

discursive projection of any given territory. In relation to this point, and as outlined above, it was felt that focusing directly on ethno-cultural diversity could produce an obligatory or defensive stance on the part of the interviewees which would inhibit the effectiveness of the data collection process. It was also felt that the decision not to refer directly to the concept of ethno-cultural diversity as a key focus of the research did not place the interviewee in a disadvantageous or muted position as they were free to refer to this topic as part of the interview discourse should they so choose.

Thirdly, the issue of ownership of any material produced as a result of the interviews could be said to have ethical implications. However, it had been made explicit to all respondents why the research was being conducted and the likely use of material produced. In addition, all respondents were supplied with a transcript of the segments of interview 'text' included in the study (see 4.3.10 below).

Fourthly, it is recognised that the transcription of interview tapes raise ethical issues if third parties, such as transcribers, are allowed to listen to their content. However, in this study all transcription was carried out by myself, therefore this issue did not arise. For the reasons outlined above it was felt that any ethical concerns regarding the interview process had been adequately addressed.

4.3.10 Member Checking

In this study 'member checking' procedures are operated in relation to interview data by providing each respondent with a transcript of the segments quoted in the exemplars of interview data utilised in Chapter Five below, thus giving the respondent the opportunity to refine responses or provide additional information which they

regard as pertinent to the topic (it should be noted that in such procedures any refinements are communicated through the 'written' channel therefore differing lexical choices may be selected). In practice this procedure proved problematic in so far as that during the intervening period between the date of the interview and the submission of transcripts to the interviewees, a number of interviewees had left the organisations in question and I was unable to access new contact details within the timeline of this study. Also, the time lag between interview and transcript submission meant that some interviewees had little recollection of the detail of the original interview and therefore provided no additional comments on the content of the transcripts. Overall, the 'member checking' procedure provided little in the way of additional data. However, in carrying out this procedure in an attempt to reduce the possibility of misinterpretation it can be argued that, within the scope an limitations of the study, I went as far as I reasonably could to minimise the possibility of textual inaccuracy and to include the voice of the respondent in producing a 'co-authored' text which is "a fair representation of the view rather than a merely accurate one" (Tripp, 1983:34).

4.3.11 Referential Adequacy

The initial scanning of OTO promotional brochures (archived at the British Library, London) can be regarded as a form of referential adequacy in that they can be utilised by subsequent investigators in order to test the claims made in this current study.

4.4 THE CORPUS

The corpus examined in the following chapter (Chapter Five) comprise three parts: firstly, a selection, (through purposive sampling), of OTO published texts produced

with the specific intent of promoting England as a tourist destination. Secondly, a selection of OTO texts published as part of the day-to-day operation of individual OTOs which can be regarded as being produced primarily for the consumption of the 'policy community', (including other OTOs and 'industry' partners), within which OTOs operate, or which are produced in response to the prevailing systems of governance which impinge upon such institutions. The third element of the corpus comprises a number of 'texts', (transcriptions), derived from interviews with personnel within OTOs in England.

4.4.1 Corpus Sample Selection

Fairclough suggests that samples should be carefully selected on the basis of a preliminary survey of the corpus, so that they yield as much insight as possible into the contribution of discourse to the social practice under scrutiny (Fairclough, 1992:230). As has already been stated in Chapter Three, there are numerous sources of data available to the discourse analyst in relation to published 'texts' emanating from OTOs in England. In this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England, the specific discursive events detailed in appendix 1 and 2 below were selected because they potentially represent the broad range of institutional communication within OTOs in England on matters relating to ethno-cultural diversity. It is recognised that within the constraints of the current study (time, economic and human resources) the selection of discursive events for analysis and indeed the analysis itself can not be regarded as exhaustive in terms of the potential insights which may be achieved through sustained engagement which would undoubtedly enable a more in-depth interpretation of such institutional discourse and praxis. However, it is worth reiterating, (from Chapter Three), van

Dijk's point that even with sustained effort a complete discourse analysis of even a small segment of text is out of the question. With regard to the published texts selected for inclusion in the corpus, these individual 'texts' were identified in three differing ways.

- *Firstly*, the British library archive of OTO brochures were examined and individual items were selected on the criteria that they could potentially provide insight on the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by OTOs in England. Subsequently, these items were photocopied for inclusion in the corpus.
- *Secondly*, during the process of interviewing respondents from the various OTO, I was provided with a range of published materials in the form of brochures, reports, and research 'findings' of various kinds.
- *Thirdly*, individual published texts were sourced from the publications lists of the various OTO included in the study.

In all three subsections, (i.e. the interview 'texts' and the two 'types' of published texts), individual text 'segments' were selected for analysis primarily because they alluded to aspects of ethno-cultural diversity in contemporary England, or otherwise informed the analysis of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by OTOs in England. At this point it is important to reiterate that within the body of published texts produced by OTOs in England the proportion that can be regarded as focusing on aspects of ethno-cultural diversity is minuscule. Therefore, textual silence on matters of ethno-cultural representation is in itself an important issue in this study and one which must be addressed outside of any 'text-internal' analysis .

Details of the specific texts included in the corpus are provided in appendix 1 and 2. These record the year of publication, the publisher, main title of publication, sub-title, (i.e., the title of a specific article, feature or sub-section within the main text which is the focus of analysis), and the page number of that specific section. Full transcripts of the complete data set are not provided. However, in some instances 'full texts' of specific items, (i.e. feature article), are provided in Chapter Five. Original copies of the various 'operational' and 'promotional' publications included in the corpus may be obtained from the organisations concerned or through publicly accessible collections, (for example, the British Library).

4.5 OPERATIONALSING CDA IN THE STUDY

The overall aim of the analysis of OTO 'texts' in this study is to explain how the discourse is structured to represent/misrepresent (or silence) 'minority' ethnic populations. Thus, the analysis required the identification and interpretation of patterns in the discourse. From the data collection procedures carried out in relation to 'published' and 'interview' texts, and from initial 'reading' of the corpus, I became aware of the paucity of data relating to 'minority' ethnic populations. Therefore, from the outset of the analysis the issue of absence became an important consideration. Another key consideration was the issue of context. Context in this instance refers to what is 'with' any given text, in essence, its situational background. In the current study the conduct of interviews with OTO personnel contributed to an understanding of the context within which 'published' texts were produced. However, because of the relatively limited number of interviews conducted as part of the data collection process, and the temporal range of 'published' texts analysed in the study (2000 –

2003) the situational context of all and every 'text' could not be explored. An additional difficulty in operationalising CDA in the study vis-à-vis 'context' is that within the institutional dynamics of OTOs in England, the context of text production and consumption is constantly shifting.

The analysis of OTO texts in this study seeks to determine how 'texts' within this specific institutional setting construct England as a site of consumption for tourists and how, within such constructions, the ethno-cultural diversity of contemporary English society is represented. In attempting to realise this objective, and recognising the malleability of Fairclough's (1989) framework for CDA, a modified framework is deployed in this study. The framework maintains Fairclough's three dimensional approach and focuses specifically on transitivity in OTO texts (dimension 1), intertextuality in OTO texts (dimension 2), and the institutional context within which OTOs operate (dimension 3). In the analysis of OTO 'texts' this study is concerned with efforts to bring into focus the interconnectedness of discursive practice and extra-linguistic social structures. In essence, analysis is concerned with the relationship between various OTO discursive events and prevailing political and institutional structures of governance which enable and constrain multiple subject positions in and through tourism.

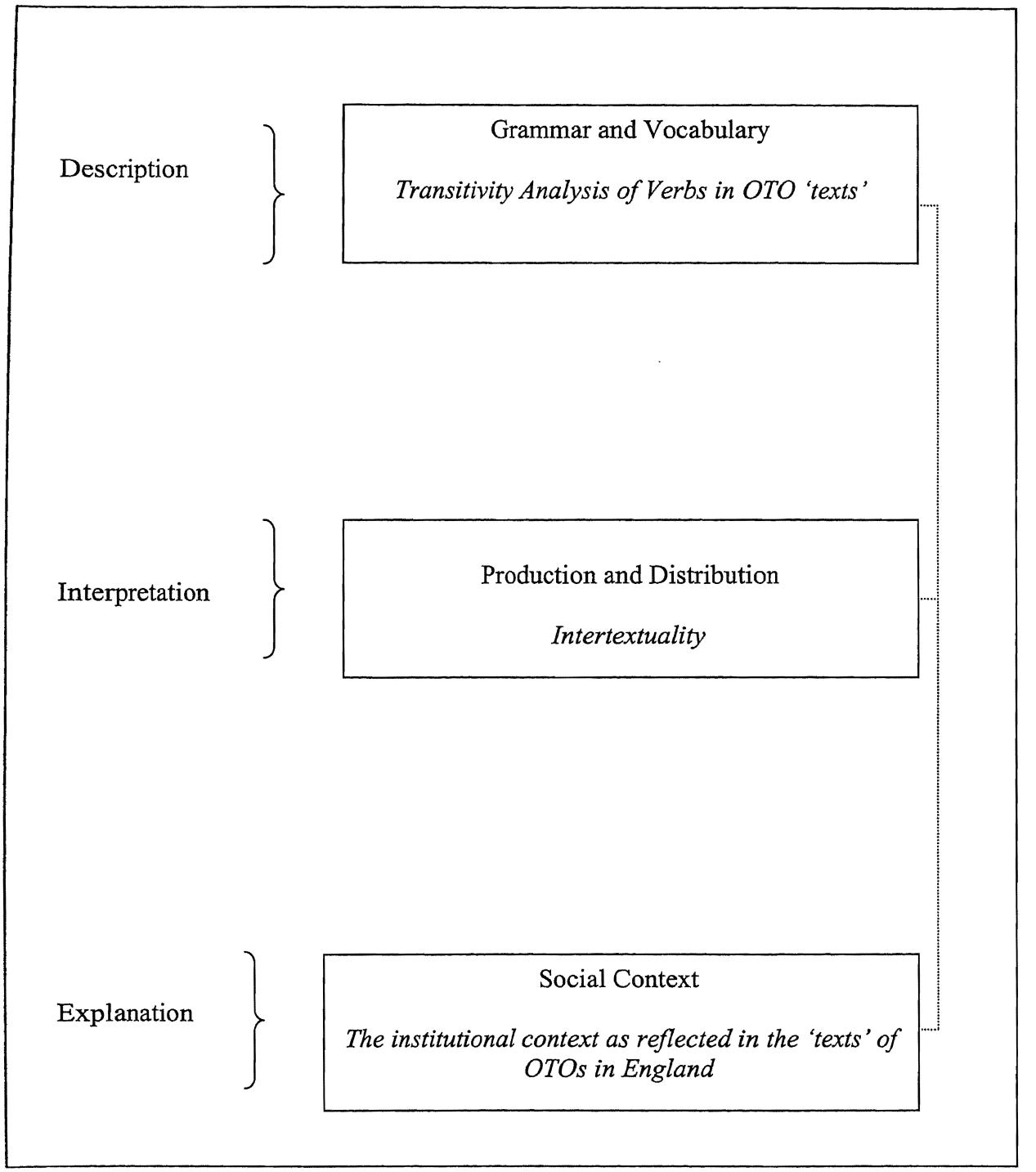
In relation to interviews conducted with individuals within such public/private institutions (OTOs) one must distinguish between the 'public-private (corporate)' domain of the institution and the 'private' (everyday) domain of the interviewee. In order critically to interpret the discursive complexities of the interview 'texts' one must be vigilant to the fact that they are constructed through the interaction of both

the 'public-private' domain and the 'private' (everyday life) domain of the individual interviewee. Thus, interview data analysed in this study contain conversational elements shaped by their interpersonal nature, as well as discursive practices shaped by the institutional context within which the interviewee operates.

Following initial 'reading' of the corpus, the starting point for in-depth analysis was a 'close reading' of the various texts in order to identify relevant segments within these texts, which were then subjected to micro textual analysis (see exemplars and associated comment in Chapter Five). Transitivity analysis of selected texts was also carried out and the results of these 'interpretative findings' are presented and discussed in Chapter Five.

FIGURE 4.0

FRAMEWORK FOR CDA IN THIS STUDY



Note: the framework facilitates multiple points of analytic entry; therefore, no structured sequence of analysis is required.

CHAPTER FIVE

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF SELECTED OTO DISCURSIVE EVENTS

5.0: INTRODUCTION TO THE ANALYSIS

Taking Simpson's (1993:176) definition of ideology as 'a mosaic of cultural assumptions, political beliefs and institutional practices', and assuming that through circulation in social and institutional settings 'texts' are loaded with ideology, the critical analysis of OTO 'texts' can potentially provide a rich source of relevant insight on the ways such organisations, (OTOs), produce and circulate dominant conceptualisations of England and Englishness in and through tourism. Ideology provides a framework for organising, maintaining and transforming relations of power and dominance in society. Ideological constructs act to produce, preserve and promote dominant discourses on what is natural and normal in the context of any given territory, through the communication of ideas, frames of reference and codes of meaning through language. It is widely accepted that the choice of words in any discursive event is not arbitrary, but is influenced by the socio-cultural context within which it is produced (Wodak, 1997; Taylor, 2001). Thus, textual analysis can, potentially, reveal the underlying ideological stance of the producer (individual/institution) of any given discursive event. Given the dominant laws and norms in the public sphere in England which restrict overt expressions of prejudice or discriminatory practice, manifestations of ethnic or cultural inequality which underlie such norms are likely to be concealed within the dominant discourses of the media, state agencies, ministries, and a plethora of public and private organisations of which official tourism boards are one. Systematic and explicit discourse analysis

are among the more successful means of assessing such production and reproduction of prejudice (van Dijk, 1997).

Ideology is carried in the everyday 'common sense' discourse of institutions which become naturalised and accepted as 'normal'. In this study CDA is utilised in an attempt to 'denaturalise' such discursive events through a multifunctional view of texts and social structural relations. Working from the modified 'model' of CDA outlined in Chapter Three, this current chapter focuses on the analysis of a range of texts published by OTOs in England within the years 2000 – 2003 (see appendix 1 and 2), as well as on the transcripts of interviews conducted with members of staff within those OTOs identified in Chapter One, namely *VisitBritain* (formally known as the *British Tourist Authority*), and the *Regional Tourist Boards* of England. The analysis of the corpus sample focuses on the three dimensions of OTO text namely text analysis (*description*), analysis of discourse processes (*production, distribution*), and social analysis (*the macro social context*). Thus, the approach adopted facilitates the analysis of texts from two standpoints – from within the text, (text internal analysis), and from outside the text, (text external analysis).

5.1 NOTES ON ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

The order in which the analysis of discursive events was carried out was purely arbitrary. Although the results are set out in clusters representing 'promotional', 'operational', and 'interview' texts, this presentational sequence does not imply that the analysis of individual discursive events was carried out in that order. It should also be noted that although the corpus comprises a number of discrete 'published' and interview 'texts', such texts were not analysed in their entirety. Instead,

following initial reading of the entire 'texts', specific segments of these 'texts' were selected for analysis in terms of their relevance to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity (i.e. segments which referred to aspects of ethnic or cultural diversity or otherwise inform the topic). Nor, it should be made clear, were all texts analysed during every stage of the analysis.

> *Other Voices*
>
> Inherent in the critical approach advocated within CDA is an overt political engagement with the social problem at hand. Thus, it is necessary to ask whether it is sufficient to 'expose' or 'write' the 'story' of the research without engaging with the materiality of diversity in England, between text and context. I should not go into research unless it promises results that would advance the aims of the people affected and unless I am prepared to take all practicable steps to help translate the results into action (White, 1972:102, quoted in Hall, 2004:52).

5.2 GOVERNANCE IN OTO INTERVIEW TEXTS

This section deals with the spoken discourse of a number of semi-structured interviews conducted with senior staff members within a number of national and regional tourism organisations in England. In order to protect respondents confidentiality the names and positions of individual respondents are withheld. The rationale for withholding 'position' relates to the relatively small number of employees within RTBs in particular. Providing details of a respondent's position within such circumstances risks revealing the identity of respondent and thus has large ethical implications. In the exemplars provided throughout this chapter respondents are identified by the following codes: F = female respondent, M = male respondent, N = respondent from a national tourism organisation, R = respondent

from a regional tourism organisation. Thus, RM3 denotes that the interviewee is the third interview of a male respondent from a regional tourism board.

5.2.1 Interview Context

Initial consideration of the context within which the interviews were conducted revealed a number of aspects of the interview process which have implications for the detailed analysis to follow, as well as for the broader interests of the study overall. Firstly, at the level of 'text', several of the interviews exhibited aspects of 'unequal encounters', where one speaker, (in this case the interviewee), acts through various 'devices' (for example, Fairclough 1989, identifies the devices of interruption, controlling topic and formulation, see Table 5.0), to constrain the access of the less powerful participant (in this case the interviewer).

TABLE 5.0

INTERACTIONAL CONTROL FEATURES IN INTERVIEWS

DEVICE	EXAMPLE
Interruption	The selection and change of topics, the opening and closing of interactions,
Controlling	Interview agenda, question-answer sequences, often controlled by the dominant participant to a pre-set agenda.
Formulation	Treating part of a conversation as an occasion to describe that conversation, to explain it, to characterize it, to explicate or summarize it. Ways in which earlier parts of a text or interaction are paraphrased.

Source: Fairclough (1995).

It is important to note that even if the dominant participant yields control, they still exercise control at some level, for example, paradoxically through seeding control. For example, the granting of an interview can, in some sense, be regarded as a yielding of control, but the interviewee still retains much of the balance of power in terms of selecting the time, mode and setting for the interview, as well as having the ultimate veto of cancelling the interview at any time. This brings me to the second and broader social practice component of the interview process. Without exception interviews were conducted within the day-to-day working environment of the respondents, usually in their own offices or in adjacent meeting rooms. Interviews were, for the most part, scheduled to fit within the tight working schedules of the interviewees, who were predominantly drawn from relatively senior positions within their organisations. Thus, for the interviewees there was little room for reflection on their responses, or to engage in protracted discussions in relation to the topics raised by the interviewer. It is also worth noting that the interviewees inevitably draw on a wide range of information sources during the conduct of interviews. It is reasonable to assume that, as a consequence of their role as senior representatives of organisations which are operating in the public sphere, many of those interviewed for the current study have discussed similar issues in various institutional settings and that they thus draw on aspects of previous discursive events as part of an intertextual chain in the text and talk of OTO in England. Therefore, the analysis of OTO text in this study attempts to follow the 'intertextual chain of events' by combining the analysis of OTO published texts with the analysis of interviews conducted with individuals responsible for the commissioning/editing of published discursive events. Individual interviewees within English OTOs are also likely to draw on established institutional practices in an interdiscursive

[~INTERDISCURSIVITY] process in which they can resort to a range of established Discourses, Genres and Styles. For example, in relation to the monarchy in Britain intertextual 'chains' relating to Royalty can be said to emerge in the discourse of OTOs as a result of a variety of institutional discourse (The Media, The State, English Heritage, National Trust, Museums et cetera) and the incorporation of 'Royal' themes in developing marketing strategies for OTOs and the subsequent diffusion of these in a variety of OTO discursive events.

From the interviewer's perspective, the institutional context and constraints within which the interviews were conducted also impinged on the process of enquiry. On occasions interviews were interrupted as colleagues of the interviewees sought guidance, or otherwise required the interviewee's attention. In some cases open plan office accommodation and the presences of over-hearers also militated against reflective engagement with the topic at hand.

5.2.2 Initial 'Reading' of Interview Texts

The process of converting the taped interviews into transcribed 'texts' also enabled the researcher (transcriber) to develop a more intimate knowledge of the 'text'. Although formal 'initial reading' marks the starting point for the analysis of interview 'texts', insights gained during the interview process itself as well as from the process of transcription, cannot and should not be disregarded, devalued or severed from the analytic process. It is reasonable to suggest that through such processes the analyst develops a keen sense of the 'contours' of the data within each interview prior to any formal analysis.

Following 'initial reading' of the interview texts and incorporating insights gained in the processes of interview and transcription a number of issues emerged in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs in England. Interview data supports the view that to a large degree those individuals interviewed for the current study regarded the marketing role of the specific OTO within which they were located as being of primary concern. Given that OTOs in England are operating within a predominantly neo-liberalist political and operational context, this in itself is unsurprising. The overwhelming concern in terms of these OTOs (as expressed by individual interviewees) revolves around the management and maximisation of available resources in order to achieve marketing goals. In relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity initial reading of the interview 'texts' suggests that there is only limited acknowledgement of the significance for ethnic 'minority' populations of signification in and through tourism. More importantly perhaps, the claim of a number of respondents that issues of ethno-cultural representation was not a concern in their particular (OTO) context signals a rather ethnocentric perspective within some OTOs in England. The absence, in many OTO texts of reference to aspects of ethno-cultural diversity can be regarded as a highly significant 'finding' (see section 5.7 on textual silence). Many of the interviewees viewed issues of ethno-cultural representation as being the concern of 'cultural consortia' rather than something of direct relevance to them. Also, there is little recognition of the potential role of OTOs to privilege or deny ethno-cultural identity in and through tourism.

The following section provides a quantitative analysis of transitivity in selected interview 'texts'. Table 5.2 (below) provides a transitivity profile for selected

interviews showing transitivity in interviewee responses arranged in relation to the interviewee 'talk' in relation to seven constructs, namely:

- the OTO within which the interviewee is located (employed);
- other OTOs;
- national and regional government;
- local people;
- tourists;
- the tourism industry; and
- other organisations.

The focus of the transitivity analysis was (a), to discover whether 'writers' of OTO discursive events display preference for particular processes within their texts and (b) in the event that such preferences are evident in any given discursive event, to compare and contrast any variation between individual discursive events and (c) to inspect the cultural, political or ideological significance of the process types chosen by the writers/speakers.

5.3 TEXT DESCRIPTION

It is widely recognised that it is rarely possible to read meanings from the surface of text or talk. Therefore, in order to access the semantic aspects of language expressed through the grammar of the clause this section focuses on a transitive analysis of selected interview texts. Transitivity has been a focus of attention in critical linguistics (Hodge and Kress, 1988) and in CDA (Fairclough, 1992). Halliday's grammar proposes six different processes or kinds of transitivity and, in order to establish who is performing which kinds of actions in the text, it is necessary to analyse all the verbs in a piece of text and then relate them to one of the six processes (Jenks, 1997, Hicks, 2000). The system of transitivity in the clause is outlined in Table 5.1. The rationale for conducting an analysis of transitivity in any

given text is to explore the possible social, cultural, ideological, and political factors determining the process types chosen in any particular discourse.

TABLE 5.1

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSITIVITY IN THE CLAUSE

PROCESS TYPE	TYPE OF	EXAMPLE OF PROCESS
Material	**Doing**: actor + goal (doing, creating)	*Parents sometimes hit children*
Verbal	**Saying**: sayer + what is said (receiver)	*One of the workers suggested that I try some shebeen brew*
Mental	**Sensing**: Senser + phenomenon (Feeling, Thinking, Perceiving)	*I like that one.* *The children feel angry.*
Relational	**Being**: (being, having)	*Child abuse is terrible* *This child has a dog*
Behavioural	**Behaving**: (physiological, psychological)	*Breath, dream, sleep, smile, laugh*
Existential	**Things that exist or happen**	*There is a man at the door*

Source: Adapted from Janks (1997), after Halliday (1985).

5.4 Transitivity in Interview Texts

What follows is not an exhaustive study (focusing on those dominant processes of transitivity only) of transitivity in the corpus; rather it is an attempt to identify the most significant aspects of the interview texts in terms of transitivity. Representations can provide social actors with active or passive roles and a transitivity analysis of verbs enables us to explore the subject positions of such actors. Table 5.2 (below) provides an analysis of the process types employed by interviewees in their responses to questions during interviews carried out in relation to the current study.

TABLE 5.2

OCCURANCE OF PROCESSES IN RELATION TO SEVEN CONSTRUCTS IN INTERVIEW TEXTS

Construct	Material	Verbal	Mental	Relational	Behavioural	Existential
Base OTO	370	34	195	250	1	5
Other OTO	20	2	2	21	0	0
External Governance	15	1	4	16	0	0
Local People	3	0	1	0	0	0
Tourists	11	0	1	15	0	0
Tourism Industry	13	1	5	6	0	0
Other Organisations	28	0	3	16	0	0

Within discursive events participants may be back-grounded or fore-grounded to meet the desired aims of the writer/speaker and which may or may not be recognised by the reader. Thus, representations can provide social actors with active or passive roles. From the quantitative analysis of process types in the interview texts we can see that the configuration of transitivity features shows that of the main types of processes (material, relational, mental), identified, material processes dominate. Relational processes comprise another relatively dominant process type in the interview texts. Subsidiary types of processes (verbal, existential, behavioural), occurred with much less frequency; therefore the focus here is primarily on material, (actional), and relational processes.

In addition to analysing the types of processes found in the interview texts overall, the analysis also sought to identify their use in relation to the seven constructs outlined above (i.e., the OTO within which the interviewee is located, (employed), other OTOs, national and regional government, local people, tourists, the tourism industry, and other organisations. Understandably perhaps, the predominant construct within the interview texts was that of the 'base OTO' within which the interviewee was located. Few processes in the interview texts were associated with 'local people'.

Material processes within the interview texts are repeatedly concerned with the 'action intention' type of process (actional processes) where an actor (the OTO) is projected as acting upon a Goal, as in the following example from interview NF1:

π Exemplar 1:

1 NF1 tomorrow we'll work out exactly what we are going to cover
2 under those headings and then we'll decide who's going to write
3 it.. we'll probably write quite a lot of it in house because we've
4 got the time at the moment...

In the interviews analysed for transitivity processes the 'actor' (OTO) is often referred to in personal terms such as *we*. There is also repeated use of terms such as *the board,* as well as the acronym for the board such as the *YTB* (Yorkshire Tourist Board). Strictly speaking terms such as *the board* suggest inanimate entities, which would be incapable of performing action intention processes. Here the OTOs in question are projected as 'actors' in the processes, which comprise collections of individuals, rather than being wholly inanimate entities. Thus, the repeated ascription of the role of 'actor' contributes to the creation of a positive image of the OTO in achieving stated goals. Material processes give the impression that action (actor) can be taken to bring about change (goal). This is consistent with the ideologues of free market economics and the dominant systems of administration and management prevailing within public-private partnership organisations in England.

The repeated projection of OTOs as 'actor' suggests that these organisations are dynamic and engaged in purposeful action rather than entities which are subject to the market and the restraints of the structure of governance within which they (it) operate. Yet, such claims of purposeful action raise important questions in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by and through such organisations. As I will demonstrate later in this chapter, when interview text refer to matters of ethno-cultural representation we can find few claims of purposive action by OTOs. The use of actional processes enables those individual interviewees to present their actions

and those of their base OTO in a positive role of change agent, while simultaneously concealing the production and diffusion of ideology.

Relational processes in interview texts, (exemplar 2), can be associated with, or represent OTOs role in classifying and making judgements which signify their institutional power in the domain of mediating their regions vis-à-vis the tourism market.

π Exemplar 2:

1 RM4 the national strategy was influential, it was of its time and we
2 were in the process of writing our own strategy.. it was good to
3 have a national one...

Considering the pattern of transitivity in interview texts as outlined in Table 5.2 (above), an obvious question is how does this pattern come about? It is difficult to imagine that interviewees consciously construct such particular patterns of transitivity in their responses to interview questions. It may be useful here to draw on Foucauldian perspectives which argue that human subjects are constituted in and by discourses which speak through them.

5.5 GOVERNING DIVERSITY IN OTO INTERVIEW TEXTS

The quantitative analysis outlined above provided insight into the way text producers consciously or unconsciously select ideologically laden syntax to mediate their subject positions. The forgoing analysis represents the 'text' description stage of the three dimensional approach adopted in this study. However, as Janks (1997:330) has noted, "words march in rows one after the other structured into meaningful order". Thus, the intertextual context within which discursive events take place are a crucial

aspect of analysis. Therefore, in this current section I attempt to position OTO 'texts' within their socio-historic context. Intertextual analysis can reveal how text producers draw selectively from pre-existing texts and how these relate to and reflect the social and historic context within which they were produced. All texts are part of a socio-historic framework and in the context of OTOs in England, intertextual analysis is conducted to reveal the purposes of texts within this framework. This focus on the historic and social aspects of the discourse is fundamental to placing the analysis within the framework of critical theory with a view to becoming a factor in social change (Hoy and McCarthy, 1994:16). Within OTO interview texts interviewees draw on a range of discursive strategies in order to give authority to their utterances relating to the topics discussed. For example, interviewees regularly draw upon aspects of the regulatory, economic or policy framework within which they are required to operate in order to give meaning to the decisions and actions which they take. While many of the interviewees were unable to provide evidence of decisions or actions aimed at nurturing a positive conceptualisation of ethno-cultural diversity within the representational discourse and praxis of their organisations, they regularly referred to alternative actions (such as disability awareness, or class divisions), or the work of external bodies and incorporated reference to these actions and decisions through forms of intertextuality. Thus, the utterances which comprise interview texts do not necessarily reflect the here and now opinions of the interviewees, (if that is ever the case with human interaction), but are, in part at least, historical discourses which mediate the words and ideas of its predecessors. Such instances of intertextuality also tend to reinforce the position of those dominant speakers who, through their ability to access and circulate ideas in the public sphere, act to restrict or deny alternative articulations and positions.

There are striking similarities between individual respondents in the interviews carried out for this study. For example, there are recurring references (exemplar 3) to the economic implications of tourism within the national or regional context.

π Exemplar 3:

RM2 arts good for you.. sport for all there's a common good aspect.. tourism for all doesn't wash .. tourism is an economic activity pure and simple.. its very much about pounds and pence... so even though we have national synergies with the cultural sectors I suspect that tourism will move closer to being economically led... we'll be addressing those key competitive issues whether it's quality or skills

Likewise, many respondents attempted to downplay or deny the importance of representing the ethno-cultural diversity of their particular region. In the following example, (Exemplar 4), the interviewee seems to suggest that representing the cultural diversity of the local region is not part of the OTOs role, which is viewed primarily as marketing the region in the 'national' and global marketplace.

π Exemplar 4:

RM3 diversity issues are primarily the remit of the local authorities.. we don't have a remit or the resources to develop work in such areas.. I would say that's more a matter for local politicians than ourselves who.. we are much more focused on the job of increasing spend.

In Exemplar 5 below the respondent speaks of working with regional cultural consortia in identifying 'businesses' involved in 'art and culture' while simultaneously arguing that while the board does not have any strategy for dealing

with issues of diversity they do 'always ensure' that their promotional material reflects the 'multi-ethnic' composition of 'Britain'.

π Exemplar 5:

RF2 The board has not undertaken a cultural audit itself but we have worked with the regional cultural consortia in identifying the range of businesses involved in art and culture.. we do not have a diversity strategy but we always insure that our promotional material reflects the make-up of the area. In our training material we insure that any pictures or images represented are culturally diverse and reflect Britain's multi-ethnic composition.

There are a number of interesting aspects to this particular response vis-à-vis the way individuals conform to established discursive positions. In lines 1 – 3 for example the respondent adopts a similar position on matters of ethno-cultural diversity to other interviewees in other OTOs by distancing themselves from issues of diversity. The respondent acknowledges that the particular OTO in question does not have a 'diversity strategy' but (according to the respondent) does however reflect the multi-ethnic make-up of 'Britain' in its promotional material (4 – 7). This suggests that the respondent is drawing on established notions of 'political correctness' vis-à-vis ethno-cultural diversity which are widespread in the rhetoric of public and private institutions in the United Kingdom. This interpretation of the respondents comment is supported by the fact that the respondent makes no distinction between the ethno-cultural composition of the particular region in question and composition of 'Britain' as a whole. Further evidence in support of this interpretation is provided in Exemplar 23 (below) which is part of a recently published (2003) guide to marketing to 'ethnic minorities' – which its author considers to be a 'buzz-word'.

The above examples point to the possibility that such individuals conform to established discursive positions when operating in their capacity as official commentators on the everyday praxis of such organisations. In doing so they can be said to be drawing on their 'members resources' (Fairclough, 1992) or their mental maps which are ideologically invested.

The tendency of some respondents to downplay or deny the relevance of ethno-cultural diversity in OTO policy making and resource allocation has also been noted in other domains outside of tourism. For example, Jay (1992) in an investigation of racism in policy making in relation to employment, education, health, policing, as well as tourism, in four rural county councils in England, found that while there were certain committed individuals, the dominant reaction to the research was hostility and doubt as to its relevance. Thus, it is imperative to connect 'local' manifestations of racist discourse (which may be manifest in discourses of silence or denial) in OTOs in England, with wider 'national' public discourses on the future of multi-ethnic England. In light of the recommendations of the Macpherson Report (1999), Parekh Report (2000) and the Denman Report (2001) and legislative changes in relation to discrimination and injustice, many organisations and institutions have been eager to develop policies aimed at addressing such issues (for example the Arts Council of England and the Museums Association). However, there still remain numerous organisations in the public sphere (including OTOs) whose management functions continue to elide issues of social inclusion and social justice.

Linguistic choices made by respondents perform ideological work through the cueing of the listener (reader) to interpret what is said from a particular standpoint. The following example is a segment of interview text (RM1) taken from an interview with a member of staff at the LTB/VisitLondon. The following comments were made with regard to cultural diversity in London in relation to LTB/*VisitLondon* work on diversity issues:

π Exemplar 6:

1	RM1	we have a brief in our contract for delivering work both with
2		the greater London authority and with the association of
3		London government, the trade association of the boroughs, to
4		address issues that range across the political spectrum .. and
5		diversity cultural mix.. ah culture, the cultural offer,
6		accessibility et cetera are areas that we have as tick off boxes
7		on our list of subjects that those two bodies, both of which ask
8		us to address..

Such comments seem to suggest that for this particular OTO ethno-cultural diversity is regarded as an 'obstacles', which in the prevailing 'politically correct' environment of local and regional government, must be 'ticked-off' (6) in the ongoing work of selling (note that the respondent uses the term cultural *offer* 5) the region in the national and international market place. Terminology from the genre of corporate management, (for example, *contract for delivering work*, 1), reinforces the ideological position of the speaker.

The segment of text reproduced from RM1 above which focused on the involvement of the LTB/VisitLondon responding to issues of ethno-cultural diversity in London and which exhibited strong commercial and corporate values is in contrast with other

segments of the RM1 text. For example, when discussing the role of regional government in London the respondent suggests that:

π Exemplar 7:

1	RM1	it's absolutely right that London is seen as a great big people
2		system, it's, you know seven and a half million people who work
3		here and I don't think tourism.. certainly tourism out in the deep
4		shires where all their worried about is vicarage tea parties and
5		country churches and rolling hills, has any idea of the cultural
6		and social dimensions of tourism that we face in London

The lexical choices made in Exemplar 7 are much less corporatist than those in Exemplar 6. The respondent seems to align his response with the subtleties of the topic (publicly elected representatives) under discussion in this part of the interview (for example, the reference (1 – 2) to *people system*). However the problematic nature of dealing with issues of ethno-cultural diversity remains evident when the respondent uses the term *we face* (6). Such discursive strategies seem to accord with a reductionist view of 'diversity' which has to be 'managed' in the service of the global tourism economy. Rather than addressing institutionalised relations of dominance such managerialist strategies may obscure the inequalities of access to and participation in the public sphere of representation in and through tourism in which dominant groups translate the imagined England of tourism discourse in their own image.

Exemplar 8 (below) reproduces part of an interview with an official within the Heart of England Tourism Board. The interviewer enquires as to the ways in which the *Heart of England* tourist board attempts to represent and mediate the ethnic and cultural diversity of its region.

π Exemplar 8:

RM2 yes amm I would say it's something we haven't probably looked into enough amm.. there's always hot spots I can think of Leicester. Leicester promotes itself very much on its ethnic diversity and cultural attractions and Birmingham does to a certain extent but it obliviously promotes its balti belt right around the black country area.. amm it's well not saying it's unique to the West Midlands but it's obliviously... it's a culturally influenced product or an ethnically influenced product .. the balti phenomena .. amm its not a huge thing at regional level.. one of the projects we are involved in is accessibility.. you know the disability .. the discrimination act.. we've got quite a major programme running on that one at the moment through money from E.T.C. to raise awareness of D.D.A. principles.. to be fair I don't think race [sic] has ever been an issue really here amm... we run a series of customer care training programmes.. basically customer training for tourism was initially developed by E.T.B. many years ago one of these bug bears people have amm is taxies when they're picked up by taxi drivers people are always moaning about taxi drivers being rude and whatever. some local authorities have thought why don't we get these taxi drivers on a customer care training programme so there's no better way of providing a good welcome to visitors than targeting the public transport providers whether it's at stations or buses or trains or taxies... I think a couple of them (local authorities) were been accused of being racist in some fashion that they were been targeted but it had nothing to do with that it was just about raising overall customer care but it became an issue which I know some of the public became a bit cautious about because there were sensitivities involved maybe they went about it the wrong way or maybe it was perceived the wrong way but I think it was all done with the best of intentions that it was just by increasing or improving services to visitors but am.. no I haven't ...no I've never heard of race [sic] being an issue.

Drawing on his 'stock of relevant knowledge', (Huckin, 2002), the interviewee first acknowledges the ethno-cultural diversity of the region (1-8) while simultaneously qualifying this by the use of the terms (2) 'there's always hotspots' and (9) 'its not a huge thing at regional level'. Again the ideology of the market is evoked by the interviewee through the use of the (8) 'product' metaphor, before moving swiftly to

the more familiar position of a dissolved interpretation of diversity under the sub-set of 'socially inclusive' policies which relate to the physical or economic accessibility of tourist attractions (the organisations initiatives in response to Disability Discrimination Act). The interviewee attempts to depoliticise and universalise 'difference' under a unitary category of 'diversity' which enables new opportunities to deploy managerial power, (for example, in the monitoring of legislative requirements).

Finally, the interviewee attempts, implicitly, to relate a potentially negative aspect of the tourists experience of the region (taxi services) to the shortcomings of those, (taxi drivers), who it is implied are drawn primarily from 'minority' ethnic populations. This section of the interview concludes with a firm assertion that in his opinion 'race' is not and has not been an issue for the OTO in question.

As was found to be the case in the majority of interviews carried out in this study, an interviewee from the South East England Tourism Board (RM4) also sought to downplay, or dismiss the importance of representing the diversity of their region, as the following segment (Exemplar 9) demonstrates. It is reasonable to suggest that because of the way OTOs as public-private partnerships are constructed to reflect and legitimise the interests of managerial elites within and outside such organisations, issues such as 'diversity' rarely come to the fore as cultural domination plays a crucial part in maintaining such interests. Denials of issues relating to ethno-cultural diversity are part of the 'no problem here' position adopted by numerous public bodies in England (see for example Jay, 1992; Derbyshire, 1994; Neal, 2002).

π Exemplar 9:

RM4 you have in Brighton and Hove a very cosmopolitan population .. it is not generally seen as an issue and not something that has shown any significance...well the local government association have done work on tourism and social exclusion .. but ahm its not a big issue ..

Given that CDA is primarily concerned with the social effects of language the aim here is to explore whether negative conceptualisations of ethno-cultural diversity are reproduced by such OTOs, or challenged by them. Here the relations of power and the social processes and practices which sustain or challenge the status quo of power relations within OTO is of crucial importance. Recent policy initiatives in relation to regional development in England and shifts in roles and responsibilities within OTOs are a key concern in this respect. It is evident that 'national' bodies such as *VisitBritain* wield considerable power to influence the workings of regional tourism boards in England. Exemplar 10 (below) provides some evidence of the ways 'nationally' derived policies impinge on the operation of these boards. In exemplar 11 the interviewee highlights the structural limitations imposed on brochure editorial teams in terms of column inches. The respondent points to the way that resource allocation channelled through departments of state place limitations of the operational activities of OTOs.

π Exemplar 10:

NF1 if we take that as an example amm that's thirty two editorial pages four covers and signatures, blank pages slotted in for the ads so we now know we've got thirty two editorial pages to fill

π Exemplar 11:

NF1 and then it's costed, the exercise we've just gone through .. to see if we have enough budget, we are allocated a budget, this

3 year it was reduced by two hundred and fifty thousand pounds,
4 so we had to cut our cloth accordingly ...

Exemplar 12 alludes to some of the more subtle forms of disciplinary coercions [~ DISCIPLINARY POWER] placed upon the 'operational freedom' of regional tourism boards by 'national' bodies such as *VisitBritain*.

π Exemplar 12:

1 NF1 we provide the template for them to follow, in fact we've done a
2 lot of work on that just this year, one.. our account manager has
3 worked with them because they're all a bit, there ... amm they
4 varied so much in their standard before but now we've got them
5 to work to a template, but they'll all have the same type of
6 information in, we don't write it for them they write it themselves,
7 but within the template that we give them

Here the work of Foucault in relation to disciplinary procedures provides considerable explanatory potential in relation to what he terms 'the micro-physics of power'. Foucault (Foucault, 1977:139) conceives these fragments of power as constituted of:

> Small acts of cunning endowed with a great power of diffusion, subtle arrangements, apparently innocent, but profoundly suspicious, mechanisms that obeyed economies too shameful to be acknowledged, or pursued petty forms of coercion ...

The provision of a specified template for the production of promotional 'texts' which is aimed at overcoming variance in the ways such texts are constructed, or the ways in which individual producers/principals of discursive events emanating from RTBs in England arranged such 'texts' for the global tourism market can indeed be regarded as a profoundly suspicious form of institutional coercion which is quietly but purposively operating within the power relationships of OTOs in England. Further evidence of the way the operational freedom of RTBs is constrained through

the shifting power relations of regional governance in England is outlined later in this chapter.

Rather than attempting to secure absolute domination and thus risk resistance and potential conflict in relation to the content and structure of promotional brochures, the dominant organisation draws on the notion of hegemony, which offers alliances and concessions to subordinates in order to win consent. However, it is important to recognise the potential of such subordinate organisations for resistance through articulation and re-articulation, structuring and restructuring of ideological complexes (Gramsci, 1971) which never attain complete domination. Within OTOs, changes in discursive practice are likely to result in new orders of discourse. From a CDA perspective, power in contemporary society is to a large extent enacted through persuasion and manipulation carried out through subtle forms of written and spoken communication. Therefore the concept of hegemony and its notion of 'consent' lends itself to the critical analysis of discursive events which naturalise unequal relations through the enactment of dominance in text and talk. van Dijk (1998) identifies two major ways in which discourse is involved in the reproduction of dominance and inequality. Firstly, dominant speakers may, through limiting the communicative rights of others, (which can be seen in exemplars 10, 11 and 12), restrict participants ,topics or speech acts. Secondly, dominant speakers usually have the power to control access to public discourse, thus enabling the reproduction of dominance which ultimately serves the interest of those dominant speakers. In the analysis of OTO published texts and in the analysis of interview transcripts both these aspects of the discursive reproduction of dominance can be identified. For example, by virtue of their position as 'official' tourism organisations, such organisations can claim to

be the 'authoritative voice' of the tourism sector, both in relation to government (through its funding relationship), and the tourism 'industry', (through its membership and marketing relationships), thus limiting access to alternative speakers. Thus, OTOs draw their authority from their capacity to articulate public truths about England and Englishness for the global tourism consumer. OTOs in England also reproduce dominance and inequality through their power to select, to exclude representations of certain sites, or certain mediations of particular sites, and all of these moves are enacted outside their audiences (tourist and local) 'vision'.

From the analysis of interview transcripts it was found that some interviewees exhibited the enactment of dominance through restricting their responses to particular topics – for example the marketing orientation of many interviewees discourse. Such practices also exhibit aspects of organisations as "sites of struggle where different groups compete to share the social reality of organisations in ways that serve their own interests" (Mumby and Clair, 1997:182, quoted in Mayr, 2000).

- *Other Voices*

  It seems to me that the relations of power inherent in discourses of OTO are hugely resistant to attempts to 're-write' England in ways which value 'difference' not as the attribution of 'traits' for market commoditisation, but as an inherently human characteristic. Does it assist those who are subjugated or silenced in OTO 'texts' if I carry out a critical analysis of such discursive events, the results of which will for the most part remain within the parameters and network of practices which surround the academy? Such practices, (for example, the disciplinary procedures imposed by academic publishing) may constitute a barrier to emancipator change, rather than a conduit towards its enactment... what are the possibilities for change when "much of our received intellectual traditions as well as new and current scholarly work, popular debates, and mass media products remain embedded in a framework of analysis, production, and representation that serves to oppress and not to liberate" (hooks, 2002). Even if such barriers were to be overcome, there remain many other impediments to the development of 'inclusivity' in

the discourse of OTOs in England, not least of which is the epistemological problem of attempting to 'speak on behalf' of subordinated and subjugated 'groups'. Even as a marginal ethnic 'minority' author I am in a dominant position in comparison to those who are denied the power to speak.

5.6 GOVERNING DIVERSITY IN OTO PROMOTIONAL TEXTS

Of the three 'types' of texts analysed in this chapter, two text types, (promotional and operational), have been constructed to be read by a wide range of individuals from a broad range of cultural backgrounds. This is significant in the context of the current study since it is important to understand how a reader makes sense of a text, because this is closely related to the ways the text is produced. The reader of a text starts from a situational context related to the purpose the reader has for reading the text (in the case of OTO promotional texts, the context is usually as a potential consumer/tourist). Firstly the reader has to make sense of 'the surface of utterance', which in practice is the conversion of letters and words into meaning. This in turn is followed by the reader assessing the 'meaning of utterances' which relates to the words, phrases and sentences which combine at the 'local' level, (a paragraph for example), and at the 'global' level, (the coherence of the text as a whole), in any given discursive event. The roles people in the text are likely to undertake or what has been referred to as the 'script' are also important. For example, in relation to tourism promotional discourse, the texts are about the actions and roles of the reader as potential tourist. The reader will also bring presuppositions based on their past experience of reading other promotional texts. The discourse of OTOs in England are part of a socio-historical process in which each discursive event is moulded by previous 'texts' produced both within and outside the context on national and regional promotion of England in and through tourism. Each discursive event builds

on and/or responds to already existing 'texts' through either adding to, amending or rejecting them. As Foucault has argued, "there can be no statement that in one way or another does not reactualise others", (Foucault, 1972:98, quoted in Fairclough, 1992). Therefore, those discursive events analysed in this chapter are, to varying degrees, carrying on the ideas and beliefs expressed through the absorbed memory of their predecessors. For example, the following comment from a BTA respondent provides clear recognition of the intertextual nature of their promotional features.

π Exemplar 13:

1	NM2	The features are not simply designed to be printed.. they are
2		designed to stimulate journalists to write their own stories...
3		some of then read the features and say well that's a good idea,
4		I would like to develop that and go along the same theme.
5		Although the features are copyright free and designed for use
6		overseas they do quite often appear in this country... they have
7		been used in BTA brochures occasionally, they lift them and
8		put them in...

5.6.1 Producer Positions

It is appropriate at this juncture to reflect on the 'position' of the text producer in relation to the broader political and socio-cultural context within which they operate. This aspect of text production can be approached by deconstructing the producer of texts into various 'positions' (Goffman, 1981:144), for example the *author* (the person who communicates through a shared medium, i.e. written text), and the *principal,* (the person or entity whose position is represented by the words, for example, the individual or institution who provides the content or directs such communication). In relation to OTO 'texts', the author may be an individual or group of individuals within the organisation, whereas the principal may be the institution itself, a government department, or the collective interests of large corporations. Texts are produced out of

institutional and societal processes and struggles and are therefore products of contestation which shape the practice and output of those entities implicated in the process of production. The institution may have overall control over the form and content of any given discursive event, as well as the frequency and distribution of such events. However, institutional discursive events can be empowered or constrained by the macro socio-political context within which they are immersed, as well as by the everyday petty power of human agency on institutional codes and practices. As human subjects who are positioned within often competing orientations of for example, age, class, ethnicity, gender, individuals operating within OTOs are implicated in and influence the ways discursive events are constructed and circulated. It is through the roles, rules, procedures and relations of authority within OTOs that human agents produce and mould promotional and operational 'texts'. Within OTOs authors and editors may be subject to ideological pressures through those tectonic inheritances within which they themselves participate continuously to develop, consolidate and realign.

It is important to recognise the extent to which nationality, ethnicity, gender, age, lifestyle, education, work, etc. condition the skills and abilities that mediate relations and appropriate behaviours in society (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2001:4). As Campbell and McLean (2002:24) suggest with regard to England:

> the majority White English population may not have to reflect on the nature of their own ethnic identities in the ways 'minority' ethnic groups do... 'whiteness' is the norm in people's daily working, schooling and living environments... they have no need to form a representation of their ethnicity.

While this argument fails to take account of 'minority ethnic white populations' it does make an important point in relation to 'minority' populations and the importance role of articulating ethnic identity. Within OTOs, whose workforce is predominantly

drawn from the ethnic 'majority', such arguments may have particular significance in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England.

In addition to the influence of structural forces, it should also be recognised that individual agents operating within OTOs, (in 'isolation', or collaboratively), have a significant influence on the content of any given discursive event. As El-Issa (1998) points out, in tourist's guides the writer's main concern is to describe and delineate the characteristic features of the place or site under discussion. However, this raises questions in relation to the cultural diversity of places.

Generally, texts within OTO promotional brochures cannot be traced to any particular source within the organisation, or within any agency contracted to produce the 'texts'. For example, it is established practice within some OTOs for individual members of staff to commission freelance writers who have specialist knowledge of particular topics. These 'writers' are often former members of staff who 'know what the organisation want' in any given narrative, (see exemplar 14 below). Data derived from interviews with OTO personnel hint at the complexity of text 'production' within such organisations. Exemplar 14 (below) provides a brief outline of the different ways brochure texts are commissioned and constructed within OTOs. As is evident from the comments (3 – 5) made by this particular interviewee, freelance writers commissioned by the OTO, (for example, through their former employment and training within the organisation), are regarded as having developed a keen sense of the institutional language required of them. Although such former employees are no longer directly involved with the day-to-day operations of the organisation, they are perceived, (rightly or wrongly), by commissioning editors within the OTO as

having retained those tectonic inheritances which enable them to function within the institutional expectations of the text 'principal'. Exemplar 14 also provides (5 – 18) insight into the influence of external forces on the content and production of OTO discursive events. Here we can see an example of the subordination of the OTO in question to external structures of public governance, as well as to the tourism market.

π Exemplar 14:

1	NF1	well I've got a bank of freelance writers that know our style, ex
2		members of my team who, who have got families and are now
3		freelance and know the type of, the type of writing that we
4		need amm but, but then I might, on another occasion I might
5		need to use someone with specific knowledge.. like we
6		recently produced a brochure for waterway holidays UK which
7		is a consortium of boat operators and amm who come
8		together to market themselves overseas under that umbrella
9		amm the amm I was working then, the client was amm
10		representatives of the waterway holidays UK the environment
11		agency being one of them, so what they decided they wanted
12		was features written about boating holidays in particular
13		areas.. and they wanted them written in the first person so it
14		had to be someone who actually experienced a canal boat
15		holiday on the grand union canal or a holiday on the Norfolk
16		broads so then I had to go out, they gave me some leads, I
17		had to find writers who had actually experienced those types
18		of holidays

As can be witnessed from Exemplar 14 and as argued by Hollinshead and Jamal, (2001b:68) discourses in tourism are:

> highly collaborative ones, shaped by those in positions of private and / or public sector authority over the industry who are able to 'govern' the development and the management of the given destination's attractions, and its human, heritage, and environmental drawcards, often melding them to the strategic interests and the corporate requirements of distant but ever-better-positioned metropolitan players within the global tourism industry who are able to heavily rule from afar as to which sites, which sights, and which performances are to be harnessed for the visitor.

Another example of the influence of market forces in the form of commercial advertising, which by virtue of its role in generating additional revenues for OTOs is evident in Exemplar 15 (below). Here the interviewee alludes to the 'need' (10) of the OTO for advertising revenues, therefore such perceived economic imperatives are deemed sufficient grounds for allowing such agencies to have an input (what that input might be is not articulated) into the editorial process.

π Exemplar 15:

1	NF1	we've just had project team meetings for the core print that we
2		are going to produce centrally for two thousand and three ..
3		and it's a sort of brainstorming discussion and there are
4		representatives from the company who sells the
5		advertisements in them as well there, so we have their input
6		so... well we have companies who sell advertising on our
7		behalf in our publications so there's always a rep.. always one
8		of those, a representative from those companies at the
9		relevant project team meetings so that they can give their
10		input, obviously we need the revenue that they gain for us

Here we can witness the complex operational relationships within which OTO 'texts' are produced and in which those 'tourism-judges' (Hollinshead, 2000:14) cede their insider positions of cultural guardianship to outsider corporatist interests.

The following section provides an analysis of a promotional text entitled *Cosmopolitan London.* Cosmopolitan London is a sub-section of a brochure published by the London Tourist Board and sponsored by Transport for London entitled *Go Further in London.* The brochure, (as the title suggests), "is designed to help you discover and experience Londoner's London" (introduction written by the Mayor of London). The brochure is divided into 20 sub-sections each focusing on a variety of constructs (for example, *Village London* or *Sport and the City*). Sub-section 6 is

entitled *Cosmopolitan London*. This sub-section is reproduced in its entirety in exemplar 16 below. A version of this sub-section also appears (May 2003) on the LTB/*VisitLondon* website. While omitting certain sections of the text reproduced below the reproduction of the text on the website points to the intertextual nature of much OTO promotional discourse. The textual strategy employed in this text conforms to what Enkvist (1987:20) has termed the 'first place, then sights' principle. Enkvist argues that tourist guidebooks iconically reflect the principle that the tourist must first be taken to a specific place and then told what to observe. The syntactic organisation of *Cosmopolitan London* first 'takes' the reader to the conceptual location and subsequently tells the reader what specific sights to observe.

π Exemplar 16:

Cosmopolitan City
London is one of the most culturally diverse cities in the world. For centuries people from a vast range of backgrounds and countries around the world have made London their home and left an indelible mark on the city's landscape and culture. Exploring London's many communities means you can take a trip around the world without leaving the city.
African-Caribbean London
The African-Caribbean community has played a huge part in London's history. Brixton in South London is a great place to find Caribbean foods. At the lively street market you can buy yams, cassava, saltfish and green bananas. One of London's biggest street parties, the Notting Hill Carnival , has grown from Trinidadian roots and is held every August. The colourful costumes and vibrant music are a treat for all ages and backgrounds. Every October, features theatre, music and exhibitions across London to celebrate the history and influence of the African-Caribbean and Asian community on London. And in July, the RESPECT anti-racist and multicultural festival takes place in Victoria Park.
Jewish & Asian London
One of the oldest communities in London is Jewish. In Camden, the Jewish Museum tells the history of the community in London and can organise guided walks of the Jewish East End.
Brick Lane, in the city's East End, is one of London's great cultural melting pots. Settled by Jews and home to 18th century Huguenot refugees from France, the area is now known as Banglatown for the

Bengali (or Bangladeshi) community that has settled here. You'll find bagel shops alongside curry houses where you can have an inexpensive feast. The London Jamme Masjid, on Fournier Street, is now a mosque although it previously served as a synagogue and was originally built in 1744 as a Huguenot church. On Sunday, visit the bustling Brick Lane Market where stalls sell bric-a-brac alongside Asian spices and sari silks.

For a taste of India, head west to Southall or east to Green Street in Newham. These vibrant shopping areas are the place to buy Indian jewellery, fashion and music (including musical instruments). Tempting bakeries sell 'barfi' (sweets/candy) and greengrocers offer exotic fruits such as mangoes and green bananas. In late autumn you can watch Diwali, the lively and colourful end to the Indian year when the local community has parades, live music events and street theatre. Visit the magnificent Hindu temple, Shri Swaminarayan Mandir, in Neasden. Recently completed using ancient techniques, the temple features handcrafted marble and limestone.

The Bhavan Centre in Hammersmith, West London, is the UK's premier institute for Indian Art and Culture. It offers a unique opportunity to appreciate the music, dance, drama and languages of India along with philosophy, yoga and meditation. This is accomplished by holding regular classes and seminars, conducted by some of the foremost artistes and scholars, as well as by Bhavan's own teachers. To accompany the teaching, there are frequent performances by visiting eminent local and overseas artistes.

Irish London

Hammersmith also has a renowned Irish Centre which offers high profile events of Irish music, literature, theatre and dance. Ceilis and Set Dances are a great family evening out and regularly feature in the Centre's programme. The bar serves a good pint of Guinness too!

Chinatown

Right in the heart of London next to Soho, you'll find Chinatown with its many restaurants, grocery stores and herbalists - a great place to feast your eyes and stomach! The annual Chinese New Year Celebrations bring the area alive with dancing dragons and food stalls. In fact, food is one of the best ways to explore different cultures and London is the place to do it.

As table 5.3 (below) demonstrates, the dominant transitivity process in this text is material. In *Cosmopolitan London* the dominant material processes in the text not only relate to the text producer, they also involve the text receiver, the (potential) tourist. In this text, (as in many promotional texts), the reader is frequently ascribed the role of beneficiary, "the one to whom or for whom the process is said to take place" (Halliday, 1985:132).

TABLE 5.3

TRANSITIVITY PROCESSES IN 'COSMOPOLITAN LONDON'

Material	Verbal	Mental	Relational	Behavioural	Existential
37	2	3	13	0	0

Exemplar 17 provides specific examples (a – e), where the reader is ascribed the role of beneficiary in *Cosmopolitan London.*

π Exemplar 17

a - "you can take a trip around the world without leaving the city",

b - "At the lively street market you can buy yams, cassava, saltfish and green bananas",

c - "You'll find bagel shops alongside curry houses where you can have an inexpensive feast",

d - "you can watch Diwali, the lively and colourful end to the Indian year"

e - "you'll find Chinatown with its many restaurants, grocery stores and herbalists - a great place to feast your eyes and stomach! "

Taken in its totality this sub-section of *Go Further in London,* (or more accurately its author/principal), tends to construct the ethno-cultural diversity of the city as a series of 'terrains' which are available to be explored through consumption, (art, festivals, food, exhibitions). Here we can witness the deployment of a discourse of commercial multiculturalism [~MULTICULTURALISM], which urges the potential tourist to exploit and consume the 'other'. The text represents the diversity of the city as comprising a

series of visual and culinary experiences drawing on stereotypical signifiers to construct diversity in opposition to dominant conceptualisations of London. Rather than acknowledging the 'cosmopolitan' nature of the city as the title suggests, this text relegates its diversity to a form of domination in which the producer/principal seeks to act as its guarantor. Such strategies of Othering have also been identified in the related domain of travel writing. For example, Riggins (1997:17) has suggested that in spite of claims of objectivity, travel accounts in newspapers:

> still convey a rather high level of prejudice against Others. This is not construed as a deliberate conspiracy but as unconscious prejudice that is carried in the fabric of everyday commonsense discourses. Characterising Others as odd or irrational is a powerful strategy of exclusion used by a dominant majority that sees itself as normal and rational.

Thus, in representing London's ethno-cultural diversity as an 'Other' which is available to be toured and consumed, OTOs act, through their textual strategies, in a constitutive manner to construct the 'destination' (London) in a particular form which meets the perceived needs and desires of the global tourism market. Thus, such textual strategies have implications for power relations and the elaboration of alternative constructions of diversity.

Within the 'lead' (introductory section) the writer summarises the central focus of the feature/article and constructs the bases for their preferred interpretation. In the 'lead' section of *Cosmopolitan London* the writer invokes the metaphors of travel, adventure and exploration in writing about the city's cultural diversity. This text is set alongside a number of photographs depicting street scenes of people in a variety of traditional (predominantly) 'Asian' dress, 'Asian' foods and a photograph of a Hindu temple. According to Teo (2000:14) the microstructures that are manifest in headlines and leads are encapsulated with ideology values and attitudes and their

analysis allows us to peak into their underlying ideological meaning. Critical reading of the 'lead' in *Cosmopolitan London* (1-7) highlights a number of interesting points concerning the lexical choice made by the author /principal of this text. For example, lines 4-5 refer to the:

> diversity of people who have made London their home have left an indelible mark on the city's landscape and culture.

The people referred to in this passage are at once at home and yet seemingly absent. The selection of the word *left* can be interpreted as suggesting that they have either been totally integrated (assimilated) into the dominant culture, or that they have long since departed, neither of which represent the reality of 'minority' ethnic populations in the city. While a more positive reading would suggest that such populations have, through cultural mobility, developed new forms of cultural expression, the images accompanying the text does not support such a reading. Lines 6-7 support the interpretation of so called 'minority communities' as Other. The implication that you can tour the world without leaving the city, essentialises such communities as static and culturally frozen homogeneous entities. In this aspect of representation there is a significant danger of London's ethnic 'minority' populations becoming 'tailored' in OTO discourse to a kind of 'zoo multiculturalism' which often serves as a means of exhibiting diversity as a public testimony to the state's support for liberal and pluralist values, (Hage, 1998), or what Gilroy refers to as 'corporate multiculturalism' (Gilroy, 2000:21), in which international corporations deploy racial signifiers of difference as a means of constructing a brand image of "timeliness, vitality, inclusivity and global reach".

In the context of OTOs in England the texts produced to promote England as a site for consumption by tourists are likely to attract 'conferred expertise' status (Fairclough,

1989). Such OTO representations of London as a harmonious multicultural 'destination' can be 'read' critically as simply an alibi against claims of institutional racism in which the real significance of material difference is elided in favour of superficial sentimentality for the 'Other' which serves the managerially-oriented ideology of many public-private partnerships and the globalised political economy of tourism. As Bruner (1991:240), has argued:

> The language of the tourist text, as manifested most explicitly in tourist brochures, tour advertising, and travel writing serves "to fix the Other in a timeless present.

In such circumstances terms such as 'ethnic' (as in ethnic food, 62-63) acts to support the binary oppositions of the dominant culture and to construct a category ('minority groups') in opposition to a homogenous and fictitious 'we' group. Thus, the photographic depiction (without written caption) of the Hindu Temple at Neasden, or street scenes at Brick Lane Market are preferred as 'authentic' representations of diversity in London which are offered to the post-modern explorers of international tourism.

Capital Breaks 2002: The Official Guide to London is a 44 page brochure produced by the London Tourist Board in 2001. The brochure comprises six sections including 'irresistible London', 'attractions', 'eating out', 'shopping' and 'travel services'. Pages 8 – 10 focus on the ethno-cultural diversity of London under the heading *Cosmopolitan Capital*. In a similar fashion to *Cosmopolitan London*, the producers of *Cosmopolitan Capital* tends to construct the 'text' in a syntactic organisation which segments the 'capital' into discrete areas in which the consumer (tourist) can experience *cuisines from over 60 different countries, admire great buildings of Muslim, Jewish or Hindu religions, or listen to clubland music from Europe and the steelpans of the Caribbean.* In *Cosmopolitan Capital* there is a certain tension within

the text which, on the one hand celebrates the religious diversity of the city, while seemingly placing limitations on the extent of such diversity, for example, through the phrase *there are several mosques in London* (1). Also, in common with *Cosmopolitan London*, the *Cosmopolitan Capital* brochure draws on cultural diversity as a commodity constructed for the consumer (7 - 8). While emphasising particular aspects of the diversity of the city, (particularly those 'visible minority' populations), the text simultaneously draws on the metaphor of the 'melting pot', evoking notions of assimilation.

π Exemplar 18:

There are several mosques in London, and one of the largest (although perhaps less spectacular than some) is located in Regent's Park. Built in 1976, it is very accessible to the visitor. Anyone can enter, on any day, between first and last prayer time, although women must have their heads covered and all visitors must remove their shoes and cover their arms and legs. The patterned decoration (without depiction of man or living creature) that runs around the interior provides a little piece of calm in the midst of the metropolis... this great, diverse and perplexing place is a melting pot of cultures, nationalities, religions and beliefs.

The construction of 'tourism' as a formation of statements which articulate the geographical movement of bodies is relentlessly deployed by OTOs. Promotional texts as expressed have a discursive form which produces the embodied substance-tourists. The relationship between form, (landscapes/architecture), and substance (tourists) lie in their heterogeneous realisation of optical and panoptical [~PANOPTICISM] procedures, the relations of power which map their functions and institutional force. In OTO texts the speech act as performance which materialises bodies (tourists/locals) also act to disembody 'minority' ethnic populations from such performances. Butler's (1993) work relating to the power of speech act as citation and iteration, (for example the repletion of conventional promotional strategies in

OTO texts), in constructing hegemonies, (we could designate the international travel 'industry' as such), provides insight in this regard. Butler also recognises the iteration in new contexts produces the possibility of change. In the context of the current study those new contexts may reside within the structural changes in the governance of OTOs in England on the one hand, and in broader developments within cultural politics on the other. One of the cardinal questions we ought to ask is whether 'making visible' what the iteration of 'destinations' does and then re-contextualising and re-signifying such constructions is enough to effect change (Threadgold, 2003). Discursive strategies tend to commodify 'difference' through a voyeuristic gaze which defines the 'reality' of London for the rest of the world, (Jordan and Weedon, 1995), or perhaps more accurately, for the beneficiaries of the globalised world at least.

It is also important to consider the social context within which OTO promotional texts are produced. In relation to London, the LTB/*VisitLondon* promotional texts are produced by authors/principals within an institutional environment which has close working relationships with other key institutions in the region (for example, the Association of London Government (ALG), the Greater London Authority (GLA, the London Borough Councils). Within this institutional environment the ethno-cultural diversity of the region is widely recognised and promoted (if often in a rather superficial manner). For example, the Association of London Government (2002/03) state that:

- London is home to nearly half (47%) of Great Britain's minority [sic] ethnic populations

- Over a quarter of London residents belong to a minority ethnic group [sic]
- More than 90% of older people from minority ethnic groups [sic] in London have lived in the UK for more than ten years
- 275 languages are spoken by pupils in London schools.

Other institutions within the public sphere in London also explicitly acknowledge the ethno-cultural diversity of the region. Given that the public policy environment in London acknowledges these social facts, it is all the more surprising that the LTB/*VisitLondon* continue to represent 'diversity' in such essentialist and stereotypical ways.

- *Other Voices*

  I recall a time when I stepped forward with excited anticipation towards new horizons - towards a world 'out there'. Now I move repetitively from boundary to boundary, within the 'cage' of human existence. There is no possibility of moving beyond these boundaries, they have always been in place, it's just that I was unaware of them; there never was any world 'out there' to explore, only that which you and I and others have imaginatively constructed. Yet, there are those within this place who do not share my view on these matters. They insist that it is simply my own inadequacies as a researcher, which have brought me to my current position, and which keeps me here. I have encountered many such views in recent times. Briefly, their position can be summed up thus - "reality exists "out there" and is driven by immutable natural laws and mechanisms. Knowledge of these entities, laws and mechanisms, is conventionally summarized in the form of time - and context free generalizations. Some of these latter generalizations take the form of cause-effect laws" (Guba, 1990:20).There are others who hold similar views to myself and whom I now tend to associate with - it's more comfortable that way. No need to regurgitate all those arguments again and again (even if I could recall them) - it's a bore. Much better to feel the cosy glow of reassurance, than to contend with those draughts of doubt. I don't want you to get the idea that it's all 'plain sailing' within this huddle. On the contrary, there are numerous heated debates and disagreements. Of course there are those in this place who are engaged with the 'business' of the day. They have other concerns, other masters who move in the shadows. All I can hope to achieve is a

> momentary interjection to nudge the conversation in this direction or that, in an attempt to unsettle the discourse. As someone who once resided in this place argued... "transformation requires disturbance of our deepest cultural assumptions about ourselves and our world" (Foucault, 1988:155). What hope of disturbance - those impenetrable bars which surround this place have ordered all that I do, all that I am. I can never be free of them, I can never be outside of this place - this 'manor'. Military life would begin in childhood, when young children would be taught the profession of arms in 'military manors'; it would end in these same manors when the veterans, right up to their last day, would teach the children, exercise the recruits, preside over solders' exercises, supervise them when they were carrying out works in the public interest, and finally make order reign in the country (Foucault, 1977:165). In this place there are few spaces in which disturbance can survive and for transformation to come into view. Instruction is omnipresent, order reigns.

5.7 TEXTUAL SILENCE

As I have already alluded to, the vast majority of 'texts' and talk emanating from OTO in England exhibit significant omissions on matters of ethno-cultural diversity. Yet, as Dann (2000:535) argues in relation to tourist brochures:

> Just as the pictorial and verbal content of advertisements leads to expected behaviour, so too can important items which are missing. Thus, photographs of resorts bereft of children send a controlling message that, for optimal pleasure, tourists should leave their offspring at home. Non-target groups may also be omitted, (such as fat people or minorities).

Therefore, for this study the concept of textual silence has an important role when considered in conjunction with explicit textual analysis. Traditionally, discourse analysts have tended to ignore silences, preferring instead to focus on the words, phrases, clauses or other elements that constitute the surface of text and talk (Huckin, 2002:347). Yet, in relation to the representation of peoples, places and pasts, silence wields immense power to elevate and to subjugate. Jaworski (1993:118) argues that:

> Silence is oppressive when it is characteristic of a dominated group, and when the group is not allowed to break its silence by its own choice or by means of any media controlled by the power group.

Thus, for Jaworski silence can be conceived of as a tool of socio-political oppression and / or control. In the discourse of OTOs, as elsewhere, what is omitted signifies every bit as much as what is included. Thus, the issue of felt silence or felt omission is of cardinal importance with regard to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of national and regional tourism organisations in England.

The notion of exclusion is crucial in CDA because it alerts us to who or what is conceivably silenced, thus providing clues to the 'force' (Fairclough, 1992) of a text as well as insight into where the text places emphases and what it chooses to conceal (van Leeuwen, 1996:38). It is widely acknowledged by discourse analysts that communication involves more than just the linguistic markers used to encode it (Huckin, 2002) and that absences or silences in a text is just as important as the text itself. Thus, exploring issues of ethno-cultural representation through the prism of silence can potentially enhance any 'text' based analysis.

Huckin (2002:348) defines textual silence as "the omission of some piece of information that is pertinent to the topic at hand". According to Huckin (2002), silences in text and talk can be grouped into five broad categories, or types, of silence (see Table 5.4). Huckin (2002) argues that the first two categories of silence, (*speech-act silences* and *presuppositional silences*), occur mainly on the sentence or utterance level, whereas the last three, (*discreet silences, genre-based silences* and *manipulative silences*), are broader in their scope of application, ranging up to entire texts (Huckin, 2002:348).

TABLE 5.4

FIVE CATEGORIES OF SILENCE IN TEXT AND TALK

CATEGORY	EXAMPLE
Speech-act Silences	> the 'pregnant pause', the 'silent treatment', the 'minute of silence'
Presuppositional Silences	> information is omitted on the assumption that it is already known, or recoverable from the context.
Discreet Silences	> confidentially, tactfulness, taboo topics.
Genre-based Silences	> conventional to a particular genre.
Manipulative Silence	> intentionally conceal information from the reader/listener to the advantage of the writer/speaker

Source: Huckin (2002).

In contemporary English society most inhabitants are routinely exposed, through advertising, news reports, political rhetoric and other public discourse, to what Huckin (2002) refers to as 'manipulative silences'. Much public discourse is ideologically shaped, or 'framed'. Writers and speakers commonly frame public issues by mentioning certain relevant topics and subtopics while ignoring others. These may not be personal or individual, but can be viewed as part of those tectonic inheritances which are defused throughout any given institution. It is within such routine, inherited, unsuspected procedures that strategies of legitimation (ideology) are expressed and put to use through discourse.

In the recent past the histories and cultures of 'minority' ethnic populations in England have been neglected and it is only very recently that public institutions have begun to acknowledge such dereliction. While many institutions in the public sphere, such as the museums association and English Heritage, are actively engaged in re-evaluating their roles within an ethnically diverse United Kingdom, it is questionable whether publicly funded official tourism organisations have even begun to engage seriously in such critical self-reflection. OTOs in England routinely elide the history and heritage of 'minority' ethnic populations. Yet, it is reasonable to suggest that the writer, (or editor), of any particular OTO discursive event has a stock of relevant knowledge and opinion available on any given topic, and that if silences do not have a communicative, discreet or conventional purpose then such silences are not only intentional, but manipulative.

In interview discussions with members of OTO staff regarding the representation of England in and through tourism, it became apparent that some OTOs in England are aware of the paucity of representations of ethno-cultural diversity in their promotional

'texts'. Interestingly, such awareness stemmed from research carried out in the overseas tourism generating areas (i.e., tourists desire to see themselves in the projected images of England), rather than from a desire by the OTO to represent the ethno-cultural diversity of the 'home' populations. During one such discussion a respondent, commenting on the absence of images of ethnic 'minorities' in OTO promotional material, suggested that one of the difficulties they, (the OTO), faced in this regard was the unwillingness of members of such 'groups' to allow themselves to be photographed. The informant continues:

π Exemplar 19:

NF1 what always comes up in our research is that we need more people in our photos, but getting people in photos isn't that easy.... we've had criticism for not showing - you know - enough ethnic minorities if you like - in our photographs, but – you know- its not that easy – you can't just go up to a group of people and take a picture of them, its quite difficult to get the people to do it – as I say you can't force people to do it.

The stance taken by this particular informant can be closely related to Gramsci's theory of hegemony and in particular to his concept of 'spontaneous consent'. The 'problem', (lack of photographic representations), is located within the 'minority' population itself and the dominant group make 'compromises', (in this case refrain from taking photographs), to the dominated group, which in fact does nothing to disrupt the hegemony of the dominators. It is also interesting to note that by using the term *showing*, the informant regards 'minorities' as those presumably 'marked' by skin colour or other aspects of appearance, thus demonstrating little critical awareness of the diversity of ethno-cultural identities in contemporary English society, a diversity which can not be fully assigned through contingent attributes such as skin colour. Attesting to the ways 'othering' is constitutive of dominant 'group' identity

Jasinski (2001:412), points out that "the discourse of a dominant group fashions the other, endows them with certain characteristics and habits, and thereby allows them to function as a contrast to the dominant group". Thus, OTOs in England routinely construct 'difference' among 'minority' ethnic populations in opposition to a dominant majority, (and fictitious), 'we' group.

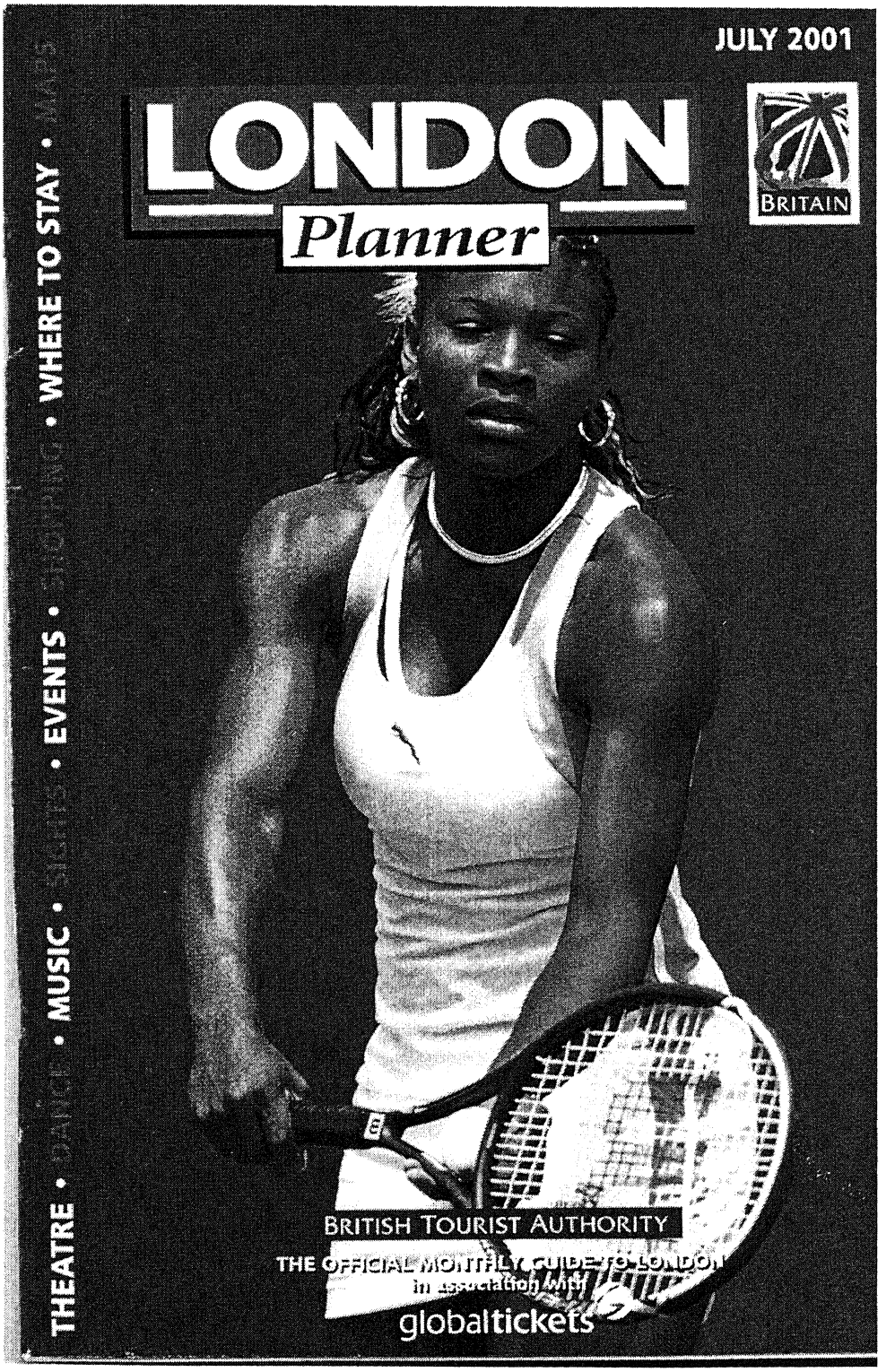
OTO 'copy' writers may be subject to ideological pressures and these may become internalised and defused throughout the organisation. Indeed, it may not be possible, even with sustained in-depth enquiry, to determine the extent to which individual discourse and praxis, as opposed to organisational tectonic inheritances, influence any given discursive event. However, there can be little argument that OTO representations of England and Englishness is to an overwhelming degree silent on matters of ethno-cultural diversity. Representations of England by OTOs are dominated by culturally monolingual images and 'texts'. Yet, just as museum collections are not simply about "displays in glass cases, but about relationships – between individuals, between museums and communities, and between peoples of different cultures" (Simpson, 2001:3), so too, the representation of 'national' or regional peoples, places and pasts by OTOs, through the selection and display of cultural resources, must be relevant to the culturally diverse societies they purport to represent.

Where images of 'minority' ethnic populations in England do appear in promotional photographs, (here I am referring to so called 'visible minorities', Alibhai-Brown, 2000), they tend to be attributed particular roles and interests. For example, I compiled an inventory of OTOs brochures as part of an initial exploratory investigation of OTO promotional texts and the only 'front cover' image depicting a

'Black' person (Figure. 5.0) is that of a well known sports star, (in fact there were few images depicting 'Black' people in any of over 1,300 brochures surveyed).

FIGURE 5.0

BROCHURE FRONT COVER IMAGE



The image, which is without caption, summons up myriad representations of 'Black' athletes in the media – "superbly-honed athletic bodies, tensed for action, super-men and super-women", (Hall, 1997a:233) – which through a process of inter-textual representation act to essentialise, naturalise and fix difference. In photographic representations of 'Black' people contained in the *Britain-on-View* image archive the vast majority depict 'Black' people in urban settings, (often portrayed in connection with 'cultural' events such as the Notting Hill Carnival). There are few images of 'Black' people in rural areas and fewer still of 'Black' people at coastal or beach resorts. Thus, the English countryside is constructed through the de-diversified discourse of the 'rural idyll' as 'a refuge from multi-culturalism' (Jay, 1992:22) in which the exclusion, (in historical, cultural and symbolic terms), of ethnic 'minority' populations "can also be read as the exclusion of minority ethnic people from Englishness *per se*: the denial of a relationship to English pastoralism precludes *inclusion* in the nation", (Neal, 2002:445, emphases original). For OTOs in England it seems that 'visible minority' populations can only be imagined in those urban spaces produced in large part by a combination social exclusion and 'White flight' to the 'real' England of small towns and villages. Thus, tourist spaces in England are signified in the visual depiction and representation of bodies (Crouch and Lübbren, 2003). As Pollard (1987-1988) puts it:

> It's as if the Black experience is only lived within an urban environment. I thought I liked the LAKE DISTRICT, where I wandered lonely as a BLACK face in a sea of white. A visit to the countryside is always accompanied by a feeling of unease, dread... (emphases original)

Thus, the countryside is constructed by OTOs in de-diversified discourses which act as a framing device for an English national identity which precludes visions of Englishness which do not conform to the populist conception of Englishness as a

homogeneous 'hyper-white' (Neal, 2002) place. Work carried out by Jay (1992), Derbyshire (1994), Nizhar (1995), Kenny (1997), Dhalech (1999), Henderson and Kaur (1999) and Garland and Chakraborti (2002) all attest to the exclusion of 'minority' ethnic populations in rural England (for extended discussions of 'minority' communities experiences of rurality in England, see Malik, 1992; Jay, 1992; Stephenson, 1998; Darby, 2000; Neal, 2002).

Data analysed for this study suggests that of all the OTOs focused upon, only the London Tourist Board/*VisitLondon* has in any significant way begun to engage with questions of ethno-cultural representation. Yet, much of the effort of the LTB/*VisitLondon* to project the diversity of the city continues to be framed within stereotypical projections of ethno-cultural diversity as 'other'. Such projections of ethno-cultural diversity are segmented and commodify in the service of the global economy of tourism, rather than for any social egalitarianism. Thus, it could be argued that within OTOs there is a tension between the professional managerialist discourse underpinned by a positivist epistemology which sees the priorities of such institutions in terms of products offered to consumers on the one hand and those of a socially minded public body on the other.

5.8 GOVERNING DIVERSITY IN OTO OPERATIONAL TEXTS

The OTO 'operational texts' examined in this study (see appendix 2) represent hybrid texts which are published and available for public scrutiny, but which do not form part of that overt 'promotional' effort as witnessed in the texts identified in this study as 'promotional texts'. However, although operational texts can be regarded as 'promotional' in terms of the organisations themselves, (i.e., they enunciate the operational praxis of the organisation in question, for example, through the

publication of policy documents). Thus, the texts which have been characterized here as 'operational' do provide an opportunity to peer into some of the workings of the OTOs in question and their relationships with other institutions and the structures of governance which act to enable and constrain OTOs in England.

Exemplars 20 and 21 reproduce segments of press releases issued by the BTA during the 2002 UKOK marketing campaign. Within these texts, (press releases), the author/principal employs manifest intertextuality, (the intertextuality is manifest when the presence of the other text is explicitly acknowledged) in order to enhance the authority of the text, as well as its potential to be taken up and circulated through other media. These instances of intertextuality provide some indication of prevailing inter-organisational power relationships. The status of the 'accessed voice' which is drawn upon in any OTO discursive event lends authority to, or in some way contributes to the authors/principals communicative purpose. Those who control the production , deployment, and consumption of this kind of knowledge achieve power through emerging conversational relationships (Lindstrom, 1990:51).

π Exemplar 20:

1	OT-8	Prime Minister Tony Blair said: "We want to share our heritage,
2		history and traditions. There is so much to experience. From
3		our countryside to our culture. Our coast to our castles. And
4		our theatres to our vibrant towns and cities. Here in Britain you
5		can enjoy the traditional side by side with the most modern and
6		contemporary".

π Exemplar 21:

1	OT-7	Culture Secretary Tessa Jowell said: "it is time to remind
2		everyone that Britain is a vibrant and exciting place to visit,
3		particularly in the year of the Queen's Golden Jubilee and the
4		Commonwealth Games"….

5 BA Chairman Lord Marshall said: "With flights from 167 cities
6 around the world into Britain, we have a clear vested interest in
7 the success of British tourism" ....

OTO press releases provide insight into the way certain individual/institutional perspectives are privileged in the discourse, while others are silenced. For example, it is unlikely that 'everyone', (OT-7:2-4), in the United Kingdom (or elsewhere) would wish to be reminded of, or celebrate, the dominance of British rule through imperialism, (monarchy and commonwealth, 3-4). It could be argued that the category 'everyone', which the speaker is appealing to, excludes many of those who comprise the 'minority' ethnic populations of the United Kingdom, the majority of whom reside in England. Likewise, the heritage, history and traditions alluded to by the current (2004) prime minister of the United Kingdom (OT-8:1-2) have been, as has been argued in Chapter Two, constructed to exclude those who may be regarded as external to the English 'national' myth. Therefore, under such conditions the 'we' whom the speaker is invoking can also be regarded as exclusionary of those 'minority' ethnic populations of England

In BTA/*VisitBritain* discursive events there are echoes of an imperialist ideology in so much as the 'British' Tourist Authority or *Visit 'Britain'* have a remit to market the 'United Kingdom', which not only includes 'Britain' but also the territory of Northern Ireland. This is starkly evident in BTA discursive events (OT-9) and in cartographic representations of 'Britain' which erroneously include the territory of Northern Ireland (Fig.5.1).

π Exemplar 22:

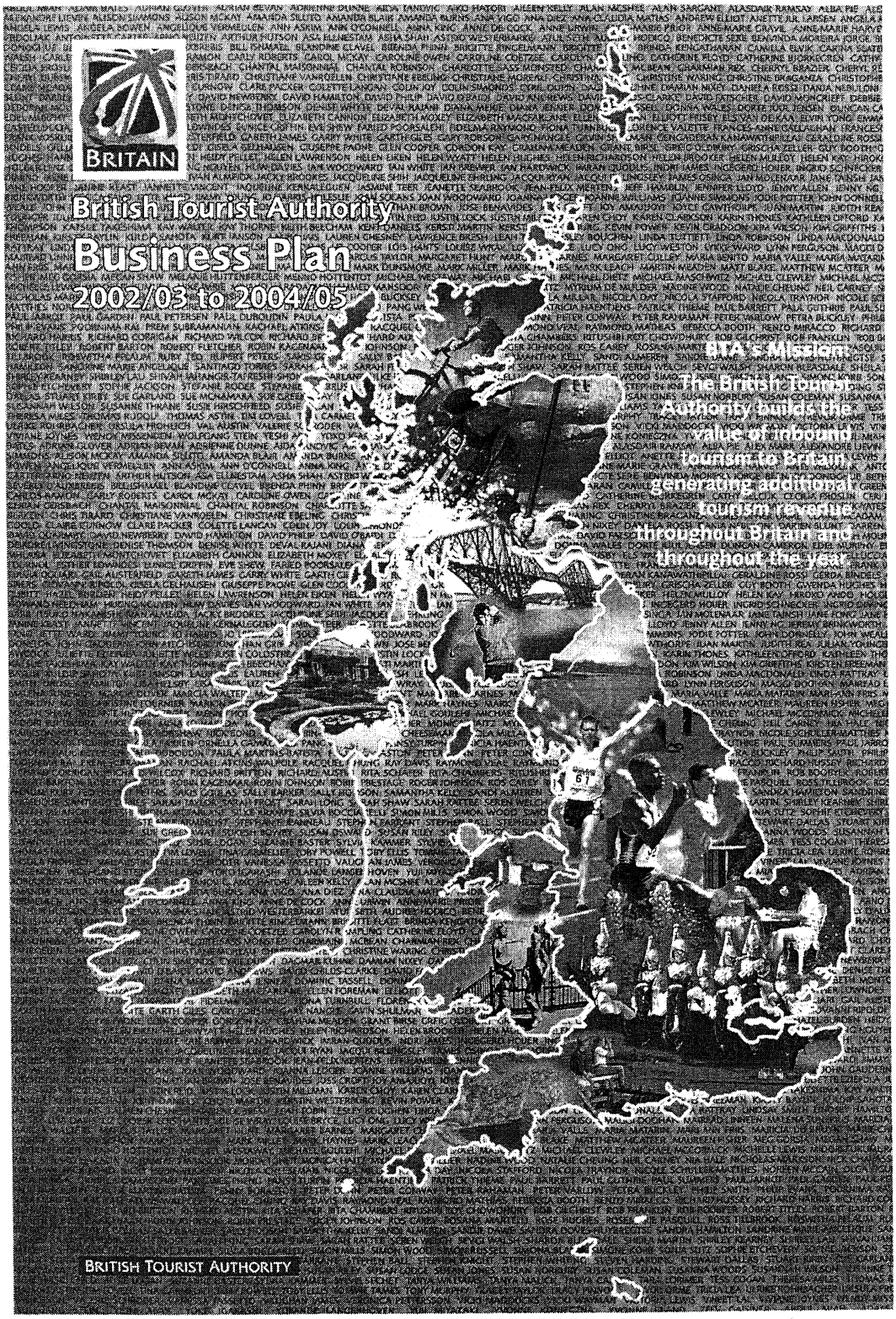
1 OT-9 The 'UKOK ' device stood out because of its simplicity and

> emotional impact. It is an expression of pride in Britain, inclusive of all parts of Britain, a statement of fact and an open invitation to visit

Thus, for those populations inside and outside the territory of Northern Ireland who identify themselves as 'Irish' within a devolved United Kingdom, or who do not recognise the legitimacy of 'British' rule in Northern Ireland, such representations are likely to be regarded as marking notions of imperialist domination which continue to resonate in the 'British' psyche. In spite of their implicit claims to objectivity, such cartographic representations can be regarded as "texts within discourses of power" (Harley, 1992; Pickles, 1992).

FIGURE 5.1

BROCHURE FRONT COVER IMAGE



Exemplar 23 and 24 are reproduced from an article published by *VisitBritain* which focuses on marketing to 'minority' ethnic populations.

π Exemplar 23:

OT-10 'ethnic minorities' has become a buzz-phrase, which the majority of funding bodies now expect to see in any funding application. Public sector organisations recognise the political importance of being socially inclusive. But promoting to this sector is not just about politics – it's also profitable.

In OT-10 the author suggests that reference to cultural diversity is openly acknowledged as being part of a 'politically correct' rhetoric which is circulating within public sector organisations. The author of this text regards 'reference' to ethnic 'minorities' as an established part of the policy delivery process within public sector organisations. The inclusion of reference to 'minority' issues is seen as a business and political imperative – not something of value to the development of a more equitable society and to be strived for in all and every aspects of the public sphere. This is particularly surprising given the fact that the author urges her readers, (based on research 'findings') to avoid tokenism and not to get involved, (in marketing to 'minority' ethnic populations), if you're not 'genuine'. This text makes numerous references to essentialist notions of 'minority groups'. OT-10 demonstrates the ways in which stereotypical notions of ethnic diversity act to essentialise 'minority' populations, while simultaneously denying the ethno-cultural diversity in England.

π Exemplar 24:

OT10 Each generation adapts to a greater extent than the previous one, becoming more used to a Western lifestyle in terms of fashion and social activities, but there is still a strong cultural influence in the places they visit, for example, Bollywood bars, R&B bars, Indian cinemas, Bhangra and groove parties, Gospel concerts.
Religion is a strong influence within ethnic communities, so it is important to have some understanding of which religious group

communities belong to.
We interviewed people from different ethnic minority backgrounds, trying to answer some of the questions which many people find difficult to ask. Here are some of the questions and collated responses.

In OT-10 there is the assumption that ethnic 'minority' populations in 'Britain', (this text was published by *VisitBritain*), are 'non-Western' and relatively recent settlers (Exemplar 24: 2-3), thus perpetuating notions of 'minorities' as 'other', while denying the diversity of 'established' 'Western' and non-'Western' 'minority' ethnic populations. Essentialist, stereotypical and exclusionary notions of 'minority' ethnic populations are also evident, (Exemplar 24: 4-6), in identifications of consumption patterns. There is a tendency to draw upon fixed markers of identity such as religion (8). Overall, this text tends to construct 'minority' populations as static, readily identifiable 'groups', while implicitly constructing the majority population in non-ethnic terms. Characterising 'minority' ethnic populations in fixed modes of existence is an established and powerful strategy of exclusion by the dominant majority. As a final act of subjugation or silencing, the author, under the heading "in their own words" 'collates' the responses of interviewees, thus cleansing the data of what she may regard as subaltern voices (13).

5.9 THE SHIFTING CONTEXT OF OTOs IN ENGLAND

Throughout this study the notion of power imbalance is key to the overall analysis of OTO texts and the representation of ethno-cultural diversity within them. Therefore it is crucial to examine the macro structures within which OTOs in England operate in order to make links between the text description, the processes of production and

distribution, and their social practice. Therefore, it is necessary to place those OTO texts analysed in this study within their institutional context. Power relations and imbalances are reflected in, and reproduced through discursive events which themselves are part of the process by which power is established, manipulated, maintained and opposed. As Fairclough, (1989:163) argues, imbalances of power are either implicitly or explicitly stated in all texts and text types as reflections of the discourse of which they are part. Therefore, in the current study it is crucial to explore the extent to which OTO discursive events construct positions of power and/or subordination. OTO discursive events are situated within the larger framework of institutional discourse on tourism. Any interpretation of OTO texts at the micro level needs to be connected to the macro institutional framework within which it was produced. An essential element in the analysis of these operational texts, and in the examination of the social practice of OTOs in England is a consideration of the macro structures of governance within which OTOs operate. Thus, I now provide comment on the shifting (2004) organisational arrangements for the administration of tourism in England, (for extended discussions of the development of tourism *policy* in England see Richards, 1995; Church et al., 2000; Tyler and Dinan, 2001; Richards, 2003).

The tourism sector in England can be characterised as an issue network placed in a policy arena dominated by an autonomous government and a fragmented state machinery, and loosely organised industrial and resource management interests (Tyler and Dinan, 2001:248). The Tourism Development Act of 1969 established the English, Welsh and Scottish tourist boards as well as facilitating the establishment of Regional Tourism Boards (RTBs) in England. 'Nationally' the structure of tourism boards are organised on three primary levels, at United Kingdom level, at 'national' level, (England, Scotland, Wales) and at regional level in England (Fig. 5.2).

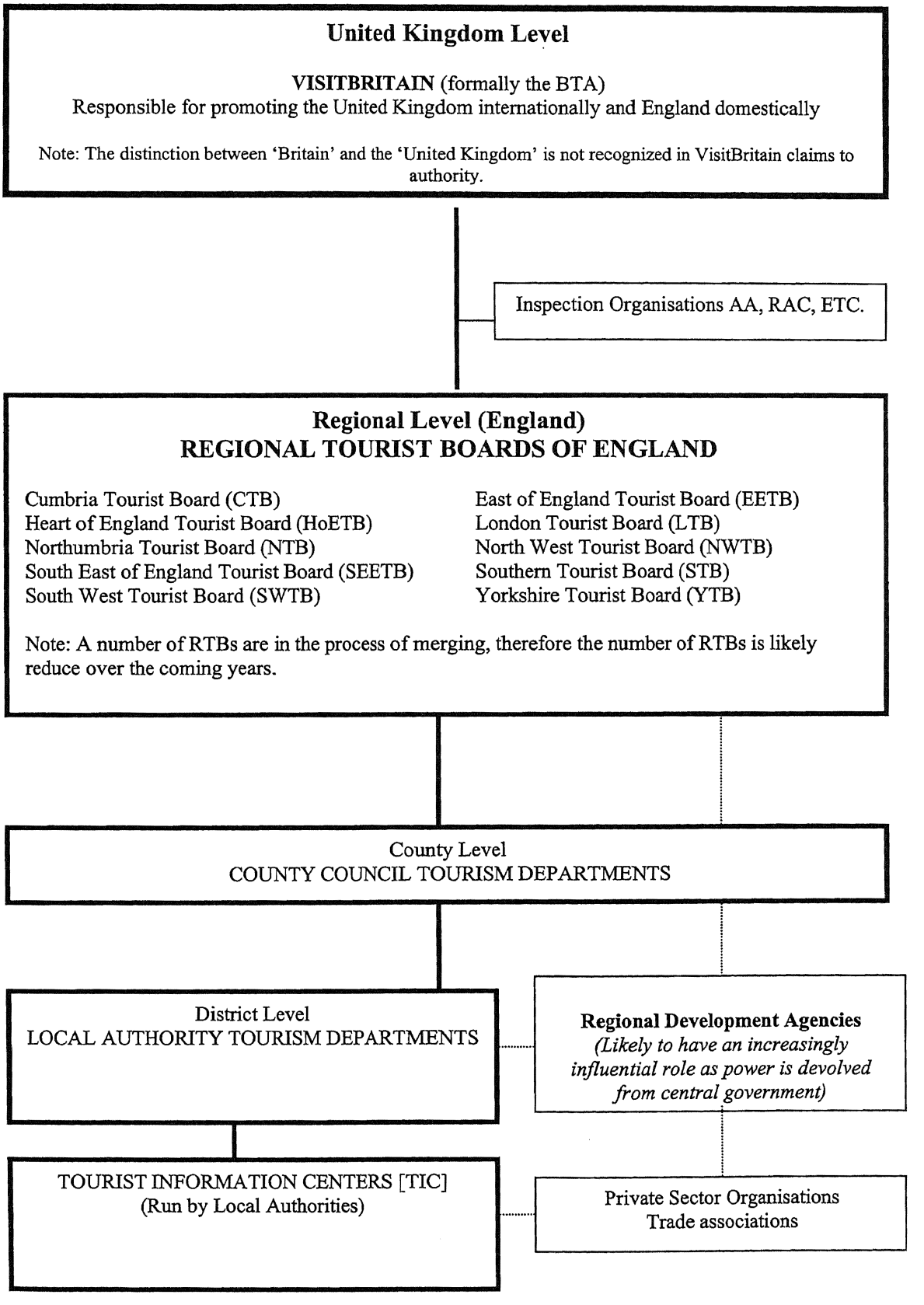
However, from a policy perspective it is important to note that in addition to those tourism organisation outlined in Fig. 5.2 up to nine government departments are implicated directly in tourism policy development and implementation in England. According to Tyler and Dinan (2001) the United Kingdom government has to manage the wants of interest groups in three main areas of concern. These are; (a) industry oriented issues, (b) the management of public resources, and (c) its own political agenda.

In the last decade there have been major administrative changes within tourism agency – government relations in England. Following the establishment of the Department for National Heritage in 1992, tourism had a clear department within government. During the same period however Conservative government ideology privileged private sector involvement in tourism over the public sector and the limited social and redistributive elements of tourism policy largely disappeared (Church et al., 2000). Thus, the first National Tourism Strategy entitled *Success Through Partnership: A Strategy for Tourism – Competing with the Best,* (Department for National Heritage, 1997), highlighted the need for competitiveness, quality, profitability and sustainability. Following the election of a Labour government in 1997, the new administration carried out a review of the 'national' tourism strategy and subsequently produced Tomorrow's Tourism: A Growth Industry for the New Millennium, (Department for Culture, Media and Sport, 1999). While retaining much of the thrust of the previous strategy the ideology of the new administration was reflected in initiatives such as regionalization, social inclusion and partnership. As Church et al. (2000:317) argue, it is difficult for government to exclude such concepts as they appear "in many other key government development documents". However,

private sector priorities still dominate the 'national' tourism strategy – *Tomorrow's Tourism*.

FIGURE 5.2

THE ORGANISATIONAL FRAMEWORK FOR TOURISM IN ENGLAND



There are a myriad of new institutional arrangements within the inter-departmental and ministerial coordinating mechanisms as well as other less formal arrangements for tourism organisations to access and influence related departments and government itself, and hence the public policy process. The impact of events such as the hijackings of September 11th in the United States of America and the outbreak of Foot and Mouth disease in 'Britain' brought the importance of tourism for the United Kingdom economy into focus, creating the impetus for the reorganisation of OTOs in the United Kingdom. The most important aspect of these changes as far as England is concerned was the dissolution of the ETC and the establishment of *VisitBritain* to replace the BTA. As a result of these administrative changes England would be marketed to the domestic, (United Kingdom), market as well as internationally. A less obvious, but nonetheless significant, outcome of the abolition of the ETC was that it cleared the way for more regional autonomy in the governance of tourism in England, thus furthering the government's devolution agenda. The thrust of Labour government policy with regard to 'sectoral' interests such as tourism has resulted in a shift of emphases from 'legislation' to 'regulation'. However, the abolition of the ETC in 2003 has resulted in a situation where there is no 'national' regulatory body in place in order to oversee the implementation of the national strategy *Tomorrow's Tourism – A Growth Industry for the Next Millenniu,* (still the current policy, Robinson, 2003), which includes such policy initiatives as social inclusion. Influences on policy development emanates in the most part from industry umbrella groups which lobby key areas of government such as the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions and the Home Office, thus enabling such interests to gain influential access to the public policy agenda for tourism.

Recent developments relating to the labour governments political agenda of devolution and 'new regionalism' in England are having profound influences on established institutional relationships in the realm of tourism. Perhaps the most profound of these institutional changes has been the creation (following the establishment of regional government offices in 1994) of Regional Development Agencies, (RDAs), by the Labour government in 1998. RDAs can be interpreted as 'new institutional spaces', (Jones, 2001), within evolving regional structures of governance in England. In all, eight RDAs were created as Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs) with a projected funding allocation of £2 billion by 2005/06. The regional agenda in England is the result of a complex combination of factors, such as the regional ethos prevalent within Europe, the need for regional structures in order to draw down ESF, (European Structural Funds), funding, the increase in regionalist movements in England as a result of devolution policies in Scotland and Wales, and the internal policy dynamics within the Labour Party (Lynch, 1999; Jones and Macleod, 1999; Danson, 2000). During the latter stages of the 2001 general election campaign John Prescott, (a senior member of the Labour Party and currently [2003] Deputy Prime Minister of the United Kingdom), announced that:

> In our manifesto we make it clear that provision should be made for directly elected regional government to go ahead in regions where people decided in a referendum to support it, and where predominantly unitary local government is established. After the election we will issue a White Paper setting out the way forward (Prescott, 2001).

The prevailing consensus among those responsible for fiscal policy is that economic restructuring is best organised around regional networks, partnerships and institutions (Danson, 2000; Deas and Ward, 2000). However, the strong focus on economic development at regional level has in many ways overshadowed concerns relating to

the 'democratic deficit' in the English regions – an ongoing (2003) debate which revolves around questions of full regional devolution in England. As far as the creation of RDAs is concerned criticism has come on the grounds that, (a) RDAs are unaccountable at local level with too much authority being retained centrally and, (b) that a business-led ethos permeates the regional agenda to the detriment of other goals such as social inclusion and sustainability (Gibbs, 1998; Danson, 2000). As Danson (2000:861) argues:

> The institutions of regional governance emanated from 'above' rather than from 'below' and [that] the central state's influence over these institutions shows little sign of having been 'hollowed out'. Thus, the objectives and functions of the RDAs are prescribed by central government, their boards are chosen by, and are accountable to, central government and their ability to develop unique strategies is hindered by the constraints imposed by central government guidelines; all, one might add, in direct contrast to the wishes expressed by many regional 'stakeholders' during the consultation period preceding the publication of the RDAs White Paper.

The development of Regional Chambers (commonly referred to as Regional Assemblies) are an attempt to offset the imbalance between local and central accountability. However, while there has been enthusiasm for regional assemblies in the North of England there has been little interest elsewhere (Robinson, 2003).

In 2002 tourism came under the remit of RDAs and the position and future role of the Regional Tourism Boards of England became uncertain. Partly as a result of uncertainty during the current (2004) period of transition to regional governance in England, there is evidence of developing tensions between the priorities of RTBs and the RDAs. For example, within the area of the South-East RDA there has been an amalgamation of the *Southern* and *South-East England* Tourism Boards to form a new organisation *Tourism South-East*, which conforms more readily with the geographic remit of the RDA than the former RTBs. In the North West of England the role of the

North West Tourism Board has been undermined as the role of the RDA in tourism within the region increases. Robinson (2003) argues that:

> As RDAs develop differing enthusiasms and perceived priorities for tourism, so their grant aid powers are forcing RTBs to reorganise to match their new paymasters' demands. This is happening now, over 2002 and throughout 2003, with dramatic impact on the previously regulated flywheel of RTB activity. The result is further fracturing the similarity between RTBs, and reducing their ability to deliver nationally co-ordinated programmes.

In relation to the changes which ensued as a result of the demise of the ETB and the establishment of the ETC, Tyler and Dinan (2001:225) suggested that the changes resulted in a general loss of 'corporate memory' and 'corporate knowledge' from both the government departments and the agencies affecting tourism, and that such developments:

> allows new relationships to be formed within the policy arena and for new issues to be raised and others to be given less priority as interest groups vie to get their own interests into the government's tourism agenda.

There is every reason to suspect that the current (2004) restructuring of tourism administration in England will have similar effects. Thus, in the context of the current study, it is crucial to consider in what ways the recent institutional changes and restructuring of power relationships which have come about as a result of the devolution agenda might impact upon the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through the discourse of OTOs. A number of issues ought to be considered in this regard. Firstly, the current absence of a national 'hub' for the coordination of English tourism issues outside of marketing and related activities may diminish the embryonic focus on 'diversity' which had been developing within ETC policy. As Robinson (2003) has pointed out:

> There are many relatively neutral, background matters affecting tourism where national coordination and cohesion is essential, as a hub or administrative support base. This is also necessary to evolve nationally-defined guidelines and national

standard, in matters such as data specification, quality standards schemes, training, legislation, etc.

While issues of ethno-cultural representation can hardly be regarded as 'neutral' or 'background' matters, there would seem to be a need for a 'national' voice which could be harnessed to support inclusiveness in relation to 'diversity'. Secondly, the likely development of competitive regional branding as a result of regional devolution in England can be seen as both an opportunity and a threat in relation to the representation of the ethno-cultural diversity of England's regions. An increased emphasis on the identity of individual regions could, potentially, provide 'minority' ethnic populations with new opportunities for enunciation in and through tourism. However, the lack of democratic accountability within the RDA structure, (as they are currently [2004] constituted), is likely to militate against such developments. Opportunities for the enunciation of 'minority' culture and identities are reliant on regional policies which genuinely embrace issues of diversity, rather than treating such issues in a tokenistic manner. Competitive regional branding by OTOs (in conjunction with RDAs) may push issues of ethno-cultural representation even further to the margins, as regions scramble for their share of the tourist pound. This is a particular concern in the absence of any 'national' body to monitor and coordinate policies. Thirdly, within the new regionally devolved structure for tourism there is likely to be an increased role for 'local' tourism organisations, (such as local authorities), particularly with the development of niche tourism at the 'destination' level. The National Strategy for tourism: *Tomorrow's Tourism* emphasises the role of local authorities in providing effective support for tourism development. Thus, there are opportunities for the development of local tourism in which 'minority' ethnic populations are not only represented, but are instrumental in bringing about. As

Foucault (cited by Marston, 2000:359) has argued, individuals are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising power through acts of resistance. Whether ethnic 'minority' populations are successful in resisting those dominant discourses of stereotyping and essentialism in OTO texts will to a large extent depend upon whether they are involved in the social processes that produce such 'texts'. van Dijk (1996:85-86), has highlighted the importance of 'access' to discourse as a major element in the discursive production of power. However, within the prevailing structures of governance where devolved power is increasingly in the hands of centrally 'appointed' bureaucrats, there may be few opportunities for 'minority' populations in England to penetrate official discourses of tourism. Therefore, what is needed is for 'minority' populations in England not simply to be represented in the public culture of tourism, but to have a strong role in its transformation.

Within the 'new regionalist' agenda, which seeks to develop the skills, networks and institutional structures needed to compete in the global market place, the institutional framework for tourism is likely to be more complex, less accessible to public scrutiny, and imbued with imperatives of capital accumulation and may pay scant regard to issues of inclusivity and social justice.

In purporting to officially represent the 'nation', organisations, such as those OTOs discussed in this study, generate substantial authority to represent a particular version of England to the world, and in doing so they provide local 'overhearers' with concepts of who 'they' are, or are not. The role of the OTOs is of particular interest in terms of organisational setting within the structures of public governance. With

reference to tourism, 'National' OTOs are regularly called upon to speak for the collective interests of 'Britain' in times of 'national' crises, (for example, during the 2000/2001 outbreak of foot and mouth decease, or following the September 11th hijackings in the United States). In addition, *VisitBritain*, through its position as the official body charged with promoting 'Britain' abroad, is empowered to select (privilege) particular themes in order to represent the 'nation' to the world. OTO 'practitioners' construct and project England based on professional and personal ideologies, corporate interests and the norms and values, which carry encoded meanings and messages. In a Foucauldian sense, OTOs are imbued with the power of observation over their 'territory', the very process which constructs England as a site for consumption for tourists and which acts back on its populace. This 'eye of power' (Hollinshead, 1999) is predominantly a 'white', male, elite, ethnocentric one whose observations and classifications provide 'the rules of representation' signalling those elements of the physical and social world which will be included and excluded from their gaze. Hence, the setting within which OTOs operate, in terms of their assigned role within broader political, economic and social structures, must be regarded as an important element within the overall context of this study.

5.10 DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

This chapter has explored the text and talk of OTOs in England in an attempt to uncover those ideological beliefs which circulate through normative projections of England in and thorough tourism. The chapter has sought to demonstrate how the close scrutiny of 'texts' can reveal the ways ideological significant meanings are produced/reproduced in the intertextual chain of institutional discourse. As has been shown in the analysis of OTO discursive events discussed above, in many instances

reference to 'diversity' signifies or incorporates numerous aspects of 'difference', not simply those differences associated with ethnic or culturally distinct populations. This is a key point with regard to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity by OTOs in England. Rather than addressing issues of ethno-cultural diversity directly, many of the OTOs included in this study subsume such issues under the sub-set of 'socially inclusive' policies which relate, for example, to the physical or economic accessibility of tourist attractions, thus obscuring issues associated with diasporic 'minority' ethnic populations and their role in the public sphere of tourism. Such practices blur what is at best a very hazy focus on issues of ethno-cultural representation in the discourse of OTOs in England. With only one exception (the LTB/VisitLondon), the OTOs inspected in this study have, (in their discourse and praxis), steadfastly avoided confronting their responsibility with regard to representing the ethno-cultural diversity of their territories. There is open admission by officials within these organisations that they have not in the past, and are not at present, actively engaged with issues of ethno-cultural representation, despite a number of high profile reports, (Macpherson, 1999; Parekh, 2000; Denman, 2001), concerned with social exclusion and racism within public institutions in 'Britain'. For example, none of the organisations included in the study have published 'diversity strategies', notwithstanding the comments made above that such strategies, should they be developed, are likely to encompass groups of 'diversity' issues in a search for a common denominator which can be relatively easily inserted into the prevailing policy and administrative framework of OTOs, but which may be insensitive to cultural perspectives of 'minority' ethnic populations who may have experienced long-term cultural dispossession. Such strategies are unlikely to meet the challenges of contemporary English society. Yet, it has been argued, (Bennett, 2001), that

publicly funded institutions have a key role in stating and symbolising a commitment to incorporate the virtues and benefits of 'minority' cultures with the 'mainstream'. As Bennett (2001:57) concludes, the "capacity of institutions in the national public sphere to act as a means of effecting cross-cultural exchange means that they have a significant long-term role to play in building public support for diversity". In the English context however, such commitments are usually only forthcoming in response to 'national' or EU legislation, or in response to pressure from public or other funding bodies. Even with the presence of such legislation, those who are required to comply often do so grudgingly and formalistically. Perhaps even more importantly for the context of the current study, as Bennett (2001:57) points out, "the criteria of excellence which inform many of the institutions in the national public sphere are – whether explicitly or implicitly – ethnocentric or racist".

When we ask the fundamental question why are OTO promotional texts produced, we have to understand the workings of the political economy of international tourism. As is abundantly clear from the analysis of interview texts set out above that OTOs operate under an neo-liberal economic imperative which requires the commoditisation of 'destinations' through textual and visual mediation. The producers and controllers of such promotional material are overwhelmingly drawn from the dominant culture, thus those 'minority' ethnic populations are excluded from participation in the production and control of such promotional material. Consequently, 'minority' populations in England are only represented as part of the dominant discourse of Othering. Hence, the discriminatory practices carried out by OTOs in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England can be directly related to forms of institutional racism as are evident in the recruitment and

staff development practices of many public and private organisations in England. Thus, we can view discriminatory practices in the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England in and through the discourse of OTOs as the deployment of discursive strategies which are regulated to produce social divisions in order to facilitate and maintain relations of dominance and subjugation. Therefore, the discursive strategies employed by the producers/principal of OTO texts represent ideological positions which are more likely to be disrupted through action at the macro social level.

5.10.1 OTO Discourses on Diversity

The foregoing analysis of OTO texts has shown numerous examples of the ways ethno-cultural diversity represented, misrepresented and silenced within OTO 'texts' in England. From a Foucauldian perspective, the correlation and regularity of discursive statements relating to ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs in England can be said to constitute 'discursive formations' through which dominant notions of England and Englishness are deployed and articulated across a chain of discursive events (Foucault, 1972:167). Here I am moving away from the notion of discourse at the micro level of text and closer to Foucault's conceptualisation of discourse as those institutionalised modes of speaking and writing which become the object of political struggle (Foucault, 1972:120). The ways in which OTO texts come together – cohere – to construct particular versions of ethno-cultural diversity which have effects (stereotyping, for example) can be viewed as a productive aspect of discourse in the Foucauldian sense. If we conceive of OTO discursive formations as political 'assets', (Foucault, 1972:120), then it is essential to recognise that the ability of OTOs to make statements which contribute to, (as well as potentially transform),

dominant discourses of England, implicates them in struggles over how the 'nation' should be imagined and (re)membered.

From the data examined above, a number of 'interpretative findings' arise which can be conceived of as the dominant 'discourses' in OTO 'texts'. These 'discourses' can be identified under four broad headings which I have termed; *denial, equality, otherness,* and *silence.* These discourses and ideologies have implications for the development of tourism policy in England as well as for those 'minority' ethnic populations whose histories; heritage and identities may be privileged or denied within such institutionalised praxis. In an attempt to explore more broadly the 'interpretative findings' outlined above, I will now discuss each of these discourses and how they are manifest in England's OTO texts.

> *Other Voices*
> Shadows of doubt and uncertainty begin to obscure my research 'telling's'. Have I jumped over the social context of my interviews in order to make broader statements? Have I used the content of texts out of context to move up the discursive ladder? - moving from discourse to Discourses - from encounters with texts to Discourses. Should Discourses be grounded or postulated?

5.10.2 The Discourse of Denial

Implicit in the discourse of OTOs in England is the claim that prejudicial conceptualisations of ethno-cultural diversity simply do not exist, (see exemplar 8 and 9 above). These 'interpretative findings' are supported by empirical research carried out by Jay (1992), Derbyshire (1994) and Neal (2002), which found that there is a propensity on the part of non-statutory policy-makers, service providers and community organisations to fail (or refuse) to acknowledge ethnic and cultural

diversity as a significant issue. Within OTO interview texts a repetitive rhetorical theme was the denial of ethno-cultural representation as an issue of significance for such organisations, despite the obvious dearth of ethno-cultural representation within the projective practices of OTOs with large 'minority' ethnic populations within their territory. Implicit in these denials is the belief among OTO interviewees in this study that English institutions uphold the ideals of democracy and social inclusion, despite the recognition in official circles and among large sections of the United Kingdom public, that institutional racism is widespread. Also, there is little understanding within OTOs in England of the communicative power of tourism representations and subsequently there is the added denial of OTO responsibility for equitable and inclusive projections of 'national' and/or regional populations, (including 'minorities'), and cultures. *Discourses of denial* in the text and talk of OTOs in England facilitate the ideological dissemination of the status quo in representing England in and through tourism. This in turn feeds into the argument being developed in this thesis that there is a monocultural structuration of England in tourism discourse. Thus, the *Discourse of Denial* in the text and talk of OTOs in England forms part of the representation of England in and through tourism which acts to govern ethno-cultural diversity through the distant ordering of knowledge to induce and solicited attitudes which cohere to the distilled essence of the 'nation'. In this sense OTOs can be regarded as constituting part of the 'educative apparatus', (Gramsci, 1971; Foucault, 1984b), of the state through their role and power to select and project England's 'national' and/or regional culture(s).

5.10.3 The Discourse of Equality

Despite a plethora of laws and statutes underpinned by a democratic liberalist ideology of equality, the public sphere in England has yet to develop strategies which successfully confront institutionalised forms of prejudice, discrimination and racism. Within the text and talk of OTOs examined in this study there is a tension between the liberalist ideology of the state which purports to defend the rights of all 'subjects' (citizens) to participate fully in the public sphere of 'national' life, and the monocultural projections of the 'nation' in and through the discourse of publicly funded tourism organisations. These tensions between conflicting ideologies, (one committed to democratic principles, one based on prejudice, discrimination and notions of supremacy), coexist within structures of 'democratic racism', (Gilroy, 1987; Goldberg, 1993; Henry, et al., 2000), which results in the continuance of racist attitudes, beliefs and behaviours within public institutions including OTOs in England.

Implicit in OTO discourse is the notion that the United Kingdom, and by implication England, is an equitable society in which all individuals have equal access to the material and symbolic resources of the 'nation'. The underlying premiss of this liberal and progressive ethos, as far as OTOs are concerned, is that those representations of England projected in and through the discourse of OTOs, are natural and neutral, representations of 'reality' which may have incrementally built up over many decades and that the absence of representations of ethno-cultural diversity in any given communication simply reflects social reality in that particular context. Such arguments do not account for the absence of representations of ethno-cultural diversity within those territories/regions where so-called 'minority' ethnic

populations comprise significantly large percentages of the population, and in some cases constitute the 'majority'. Within OTO *discourses of equality* there are also resonance's of the *discourse of denial* (discussed above) in so much as OTOs tend to bypass issues of ethno-cultural representation by relegating such issues to other bodies, such as 'cultural consortia'. By placing of issues of ethno-cultural representation within ever-broader notions of 'diversity' OTOs in England disavow, (simultaneously acknowledge and deny), 'minority' ethnic populations. Strategies of 'positive stereotyping' which can be seen as part of these *discourse of equality*, do little to overcome such praxis. The *discourse of equality* identified in the current study can be regarded as part of "pluralist-sounding multiculturalist rhetoric of sectional interests" (Hollinshead, 2000:26). Here I am referring to the exploitation of 'diversity' as a commodity to be sold in the global tourism market place. Therefore, the *discourse of equality* can be viewed as a passive stance which demands little in the way of institutional or governmental intervention over and above prevailing structures of governance. What is needed in OTO representations of England is articulations which make explicit the perspectives which govern the selection, contextualisation and projection of material and symbolic resources, in and through tourism, in order that such 'perspectives' are laid open to challenge and reinterpretation.

5.10.4 The Discourse of Otherness

'Othering' has been described as a process of "defining where you belong through a contract with other places, or who you are through a contract with other people" (Rose, 1995:116). Fundamentally, the *discourse of 'otherness'* permeates the vast majority of OTO texts through stereotypical and essentialist projections of the ethno-

cultural diversity of England, as well as through erasure, omission and silence. In relation to exoticised, essentialist and stereotypical projections of ethno-cultural diversity, much of the ideological power of such representations lie in their repetition of in a variety of contexts, (for example the segmenting of 'ethnic-minorities culture' into discrete and static 'communities' in OTO texts analysed above). Such exoticised representations continue to evoke a historical matrix of subordination (Borgerson and Schroeder, 2002:588). The discourse of othering can also be identified through the designation of ethnic 'minority' populations as 'disadvantaged communities'.

Representations of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs construct the majority population as 'we' while consigning 'minority' ethnic populations in England as 'others' who possess 'different' and exotic characteristics. 'Their' culture and identity is represented within OTO texts as a commodity available for consumption. This *discourse of 'otherness'* as a negative figuration is also signified in the relegation of, (stereotypical and essentialist), representations of ethno-cultural diversity to designated spaces within the projective practice of OTOs in England. While some OTO texts in England include representations of ethno-cultural diversity, there are rarely allowed to stray beyond the designated textual space assigned to them. For example, as discussed above the ways representations of ethno-cultural diversity is relegated to subsections of promotional texts focusing on 'ethnic' or 'cosmopolitan' aspects of the destination/region. Thus, the cultures and identities of 'minority' ethnic populations in England are appropriated for the benefit of the international tourism industry. *Discourses of 'othering'* in OTO texts act as self-celebratory monologues of the power of dominant 'groups' over the 'other'. The *discourse of otherness* is a powerful strategy which enables the construction of 'us'

and 'them' oppositions within which inequalities of access to, and participation in, symbolic resources of the 'nation' are legitimised. What is required of OTO discourses is conceptions of the plurality of cultures which comprise the 'nation', rather than expressions of majority-minority binaries.

5.10.5 The Discourse of Silence

The ideological nature of discourse is often defined by the unsaid (van Dijk, 1986:178) and the paucity of reference to the ethno-cultural diversity of England in OTO texts can be regarded as an indication of the ideological positions of these publicly funded organisations vis-à-vis such diversity. Thus, in the context of the current study silence on matters of ethno-cultural representation does not signify the absence of a position on such matters, but constitutes the espousal of one position among numerous potential standpoints. The denial of access, participation and equity, (symbolic or participatory), to 'minority' populations in and through the projective practices of OTOs, have the consequence of sustaining differential advantage and privilege to the 'majority' ethnic population of England. Within the texts of OTOs in England, between the lines which enunciation the 'national' history, heritage and culture of England, in and through tourism, there is a deafening silence on matters of ethno-cultural representation. The projection of negative, stereotypical narratives (or omission or silence) vis-à-vis the ethno-cultural diversity of England by OTOs can, as already alluded to above, have a significant influence on the belief system of those 'minority' populations, as well as on the belief systems of the 'majority' population. The repertoire of words and images utilised by OTOs in England not only produces and reinforces the myth of England (for tourists and for the populations of the territory of England), but also positions and subjugates those less dominant

populations within that myth. Thus, in the processes of mediating England in OTO 'texts' the *discourse of silence* is closely linked to the *discourse of othering* in what Foucault refers to as a "double repression: in terms of those it excludes from the process and in terms of the standard it imposes on those receiving the knowledge" (Foucault, 1977:219)

Overwhelmingly the authors/principals of promotional texts are silent on the ethno-cultural diversity of England within such texts, so much so that a key constraint encountered during this study was the limited textual material available for the analysis of ethno-cultural representation in and through the discourse of OTOs in England. OTO silence on matters of ethno-cultural representation in tourism in England acts to reinforce notions of 'national' ethnic and cultural homogeneity, while simultaneously denying 'minority' ethnic populations the right to enunciate their cultures and identities in and through officially sanctioned projections of the 'nation'. Tourism is part of a complex multi-dimensional cultural, economic, historic and social system, (Poon, 1993); therefore it cannot be severed from broader concerns such as social justice, social inclusion and equality. OTOs responsible for the selection and display of symbolic cultural resources in England foreground particular people, places and pasts, but they also foreshorten, silence, disavow and elide 'others'. The *discourse of silence* on matters of ethno-cultural representation have the attraction for the text producer of non-commitment. By not referring to aspects of ethno-cultural diversity the author/principal of any given discursive event avoids responsibility for representing such social reality. Counter arguments that it is not customary to 'talk' about ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs, (genre silence), does not account for these silences, but raises further questions as to why

such silences persist. The *discourse of silence* on matters of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs in England can be regarded as part of what has been termed 'new racism', (van Dijk, 1998a), which limits and constrains the life chances of 'minority' populations. In OTO texts in England silence on the history and heritage of 'minority' ethnic populations can be viewed as perpetuating a unisonant anglo-centric 'national' identity. Thus, through the silencing of alternative voices 'in-groups' harness material and symbolic resources in order to construct an image of the majority as homogeneous – a fictitious we-group.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF 'FINDINGS' AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE CHAPTER

In Chapter One I suggested that this study of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of OTOs in England could be conceived of as a momentary interjection into a protracted debate on matters of ethnic and cultural diversity in England, in an attempt to focus attention on the role which tourism and more specifically OTOs can and do play in that debate. In this chapter (Chapter Six) I provide a summary of that brief interjection and draw inferences from it in relation to the long-term management and research implications of ethno-cultural representation in the discourse of OTOs in England and beyond.

The analysis of OTO texts carried out in Chapter Five provides useful insight into the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs in England. The goal of CDA is to provide "an account of intricate relationships between texts, talk, social cognition, power, society and culture" (van Dijk, 1992:253). This thesis can be regarded as providing 'an account' of those texts constructed to represent and project England in and through tourism and the intricate relationships which surround their production and circulation. Overall, the 'interpretative findings', (summarised in sections 5.10.2 to 5.10.5), suggest that despite ground-breaking advances in the public policy sphere in England over recent decades, aimed at developing policies to combat racism and social exclusion, OTOs represent England in ethnocentric and exclusionary ways.

These 'interactive findings' begin to suggest that there may be a profound mismatch (in OTO representations of England) between the reality of England as an ethno-culturally diverse place, and the representation of England by OTOs as a site of consumption for tourists. The analysis conducted in Chapter Five provides a basis for a critical understanding of OTOs projections of England through tourism and of some of the potential implications for 'minority' ethnic populations. As is evident from the examination of OTO 'interview', 'operational' and 'promotional' texts carried out in Chapter Five, (above), there are major issues to be addressed regarding the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England through tourism. In representing regions of England with large ethnically diverse populations, OTOs privilege representations of the 'majority' ethnic population, to the almost complete exclusion of the rich ethno-cultural diversity of these 'destinations'. As alluded to above, tourism is part of a complex multi-dimensional cultural, economic, historic and social system, therefore it ought not be severed from broader concerns such as social justice, social inclusion and equality. The results of the critical analysis of representations of the ethno-cultural diversity highlights the need for additional investigations of the political and institutional structures and practices responsible for the construction and mediation of England and Englishness in and through tourism.

The critical analysis of OTO 'texts' which I carried out in this study has enabled an exposition of the links between the production and distribution of OTO discursive events, as well as into the underlying power structures and relations at the micro level within such institutions, as well as at the macro level of social practice. The *discursive formations* or groups of discursive events emanating from those OTOs included in this study can be seen as operating to generate 'regimes of truth', (Foucault,

1980:131), within which OTOs shape and reflect dominant notions of what is significant in and through tourism in England, and therefore contribute to the ongoing process of constructing an ideology through which their audiences perceive 'reality'.

6.1 SUMMARY OF INTERPRETATIVE FINDINGS

The primary concern of this thesis has been to explore, through the application of CDA, the ways ethno-cultural diversity is represented, mis-represented or silenced in the text and talk of OTOs in England and how such discursive practices are implicated in broader macro economic, political and social structures and processes. I have argued, (see Chapter One, section 1.0.1), that much of the tourism studies literature concerned with ethno-cultural representation has focused attention on 'minority' populations in so-called 'developing' countries. Thus, this current study is a response to the paucity of research on the representation of 'minority' populations by official tourism boards in 'developed', particularly West European, countries. The conduct of this study can also be conceived of as an attempt to implicate the day-to-day discourse and praxis of OTOs in England with broader debates concerning social exclusion and institutional racism in the United Kingdom. Therefore, I make no claims to neutrality, but instead take an engaged political position, (as espoused by Critical Discourse Analysts such as Fairclough, van Dijk and Wodak), through discursive intervention in the social and political practices of representation by OTOs in England. In this regard, I consider the very process of conducting this study, (identifying, sourcing sampling, constructing, analysing and interpreting OTO 'promotional', 'operational' and 'interview' texts), to be part of that discursive intervention, not merely the academic outcome of those processes – i.e. this thesis and related activities in the academy. Thus, I regard the conduct of the study, (particularly the processes surrounding the

conduct of interviews with OTO personnel), to be an important element in raising awareness of the representation of 'minority' ethnic populations in the projective practices of such organisations. Therefore, for me this study represents a discursive intervention at the level of *conduct* as well as at the level of *outcome*.

What I have called for throughout this study is not the deployment of new historical public 'truths' in and through the discourse of OTOs in England, but the acknowledgement and projection, (in and through the projective practices of OTOs), of the plurality of historical and cultural 'truths' circulating within multi-cultural, multi-ethnic England and the opening up of discursive spaces for those hitherto silent populations in the 'contact zone' (Pratt, 1992) of tourism. In doing so I caution against any hasty reading of ethno-cultural diversity as "the reflection of pre given ethnic or cultural traits set in the fixed tablet of tradition" (Bhabha, 1994:2). Rather, what is needed within the public sphere of tourism representations is space for the articulation of emerging ethno-cultural identities which resists the kinds of essentialist and stereotypical articulations which 'minority' populations have previously been mediated through.

What is required in any opening up of 'spaces' in official tourism discourse is a recognition that ethnic and cultural identities are not as characteristically distinct as governmental and other classificatory systems allege, (the unprecedented adoption of 'free-field' descriptions of ethnic identity in the UK 2001 census attests to this). If OTOs are to embrace an ethnic 'minority'/dialectic perspective in their articulation of difference in and through tourism they need cogent awareness that such articulations involves complex and on-going negotiation which seeks to authorise cultural

hybridities (Bhabha, 1994:2) This will require more critical self-inspections of normative pronouncements on the part of OTOs and other public/private institutions implicated in those seemingly small acts of *writing the brochure – writing the 'nation'* (Bhabha, 1994:161, 139). In order to achieve such a self reflexive and critical mode of organisational behaviour which provides discursive space for alternative or competing articulations of regional and 'national' cultures and identities, OTO management in England will need to develop and put in place policies geared to transform their organisations/institutions into entities which comprise a more representative and responsive 'body' of knowledge on those dynamic 'flickering' (Bhabha, 1994) ethnic and cultural identities circulating in England at any given temporal moment. Bring such policy oriented actions into play may present considerable difficulties in the face of institutional modes of operation which are, as has been outlined in Chapter Five, predominantly geared to neo-political agendas. Additionally, as has been highlighted with regard to the Police Service (Macpherson, 1999; Jeffries, 2003), difficulties may be encountered in relation to institutionalised forms of discrimination and racism which may be unsuspectingly circulating within any given OTO.

Critical, reflexive and responsive inspections of the kind called for above are currently emerging within other parallel bodies in the public sphere in England. Recently the Commission for Racial Equality (CRE) has begun to broaden its focus from one which has been predominantly geared to 'Black' and 'Asian' populations, to one which in future will include a focus on those emerging populations of ethnic 'Whites'. This can be viewed as part of a growing awareness of the necessity in pluralist states of making 'whiteness' visible (Bennett, 1998:19). The Chairperson of the CRE

recently criticised the "race [sic] relations circle" for "concentrating too much on the colour of people's skin rather than on the facts of discrimination" (Phillips, 2003). This shift in emphasis mirrors the arguments I have been making throughout this study that a narrow focus on 'colour' is insufficient to capture the diversity of ethno-cultural identities within contemporary England.

In view of the need for OTOs to enact policies geared to produce more representative bodies of knowledge vis-à-vis England and Englishness it is worth noting that the CRE are taking steps for more inclusive representation of 'minority' ethnic populations, (including ethnic 'Whites'), on their management board. While the CRE can be regarded as being on the 'front line' in relation to matters of ethno-cultural representation in the broadest sense, OTOs and other organisations in the realm of tourism can hardly ignore the 'ethics of representation', (Borgerson and Schroeder, 1997), in any critical inspection of existing and future policies dynamics. OTOs in England could usefully parallel current initiatives in the museums sector in the United Kingdom, (such as the 'Diversify' initiative developed jointly by the Museums Association and the University of Leicester), aimed at overcoming the homogenous make-up of museum personnel, which it has been argued "has damaged the credibility of museums as interpreters of peoples lives and histories" (Sandell, quoted in Nightingale, 2003). It is reasonable to suggest that OTOs in England are engaged in parallel interpretations of peoples and histories – perhaps to an even greater extent than the museum sector. Thus, OTOs as interpreters of 'national' and regional culture, heritage and identity would do well to take heed of commentators in the heritage sector such as Sandell, regarding the credibility of their projections of England in the dynamic and shifting realm of ethno-cultural diversity in England. 'Growing'

organisations in ways which include representatives of the dynamic, diverse and evolving populations which comprise contemporary England is one of the challenges now facing the management boards of OTOs.

Developing awareness of the issues of ethno-cultural representation within OTO structures of governance is an important first step and one which it is hoped this current study, (its processes and material outcomes), will go some small way towards bringing about. Subsequently, what needs to be developed in the context of 'textual' and pictorial representations of England is increased visual and semiotic literacy in the day-to-day practices of OTOs, coupled with an ethics of representation. It is in these aspects of institutional praxis that OTOs could take a lead in developing policies which emerge out of the dynamics of multi-cultural, multi-ethnic England and which embrace multiple standpoints.

While the most influential drivers for more inclusive policies on ethno-cultural representation must ultimately emanate from within OTOs themselves (influenced by national and regional legislation and potentially by the dynamics of an evolving market which may be much more heterogeneous than has previously been the case), such OTO self-inspections must be paralleled by tourism studies scholars in order to scrutinise the storylines, narratives, representations, or otherwise, which mediate (or omitted) those 'minority' cultures and identities which have hitherto been regarded as surplus to the construction of England in and through tourism. Tourism studies scholars ought also engage in the appraisal of the representation in and through tourism of those 'new ethnic' populations which are emerging in contemporary England as a result of the recent restructuring of the global political economy.

Therefore, this current study should be regarded as an exploratory step in sketching the terrain upon which future research agendas may be developed and deployed.

The main 'interpretative findings' of this study revolve around four distinct but interconnected discourses which were identified through the critical analysis of 'texts' carried out in Chapter Five and supported by relevant extant literature in Chapter Three. Through the analysis carried out in Chapter Five I identify, and provided evidence of, discourses which can be conceived of as the major ideological invested positions adopted by OTOs in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in and through official projections of England in tourism. These I identified through the analysis of data in Chapter Five, (specifically at 5.10.2, 5.10.3, 5.10.4, 5.10.5), as discourses of: *denial, equality, otherness* and *silence.* These ideologically invested positions have profound and long-term implications for OTOs in England, as well as for those 'minority' ethnic populations who are found to be significantly elided in the text and talk of OTOs examined in this study.

At this juncture, it is worth reiterating the point made by Hall (2000), that "if the nation's heritage does not reflect us, then we do not belong to the nation". The foregoing comment by Hall has profound and long-term implications for OTOs in England in terms of reflecting the ethno-cultural diversity of the 'nation'. The analysis of OTO texts carried out for this current study suggests than OTO, through their projective practices, exclude 'minority' populations from the myths and memories of the 'nation' constructed in and through tourism. In doing so they disenfranchise those populations outside the boundaries of an assumed 'Anglo' mainstream. While the role of public and private tourism organisations as 'myth makers' (Selwyn, 1996) has been

theorised in the social science literature, insights from the analysis of OTO 'texts' analysed in the current study, (see for example, Exemplar 19), suggests that the projective practices of OTOs in England neither accords with the imagined England of the (potential) tourist, or with the social 'realities' of multi-cultural, multi-ethnic England. Apart from the need for more sensitivity to their rapidly changing and diverse global market, OTO as (part) publicly funded organisations ought also develop more critical awareness of their role in representing the diversity of 'minority' populations in England. If OTO projections of England neither serve to confirm the mythical perceptions of potential tourists, or the social reality of ethno-cultural diversity, this begs the question of whose interests such significatory practices do serve. OTOs appropriate and mediate sites and sights of 'national' memory to the global tourist market, while simultaneously reinforcing dominant myths of the 'nation'. If, as Nora (1994:286) argues, "history's goal and ambition is not to exalt but to annihilate what has really taken place", then we should be highly suspicious of those public myths and memories of the 'nation' articulated thorough the text and talk of OTOs in which the fantasy of the 'nation' intersects with and serves the global tourism market.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF 'FINDINGS' FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF OTOs

The critical evaluation of the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in the text and talk of OTOs in England has not been addressed in the tourism studies literature prior to this study. While there has been a significant focus on the extent to which public institutions engage with matters of representation and inclusion of 'minority' ethnic populations in England and in the United Kingdom more broadly, there has been little examination of these issues by officially sanctioned tourism boards. While the

management of OTOs are engaged with issues of social inclusion in terms of 'access' and 'inclusion' (physical and economic) in relation to tourism 'products', there has been little work carried out by OTOs in relation to the symbolic representation of the diverse ethno-cultural populations of England in terms of their heritage, cultures and identities. Yet, as Hollinshead (2002:8) has argued, "in many senses, tourism now sits in sovereign representational authority over the heritage of places". The paucity of OTO policy development vis-à-vis 'minority' populations also extends to the ability of citizens (subjects) to participate in the process of governance as well as changes to official enunciations of identity and culture (Dunn, et al., 2001). There is a need to engage in the development of policy which goes beyond the superficial and exoticised inclusion of 'minority' populations, which can be witnessed through, for example, the projection of 'ethnic' festivals and events as 'sales packages' (Dawson, 1991) in OTO texts, to more inclusive official representations of collective identities. OTOs in England who orchestrate the gazes of tourism can play a key role in transforming essentialised and stereotypical representations of England's 'minority' ethnic populations into the 'lived cultures' which constitute England's contemporary social world. The 'interpretative findings' of the current study suggest that managerial practice within OTOs have, to date, given little consideration to issues of symbolic representation vis-à-vis those 'minority' ethnic populations of England. As has been demonstrated in the analysis of OTO 'texts' carried out in this study, there is a failure, (or refusal), by OTOs to recognise the ethnically diverse make-up of the populations within their designated territory. Many of those interviewed for this current study explicitly or implicitly expressed the view that issues of ethno-cultural representation were peripheral to the core activity of projecting England to the global tourism market. Such attitudes highlight the everyday ethnocentricity which prevails within

such organisations and the need for OTOs to re-examine their operational praxis in relation to those populations they purport to represent, as well as to their global markets. Organisational/institutional management in tourism need to be alert to over-formulaic and sterile approaches to policy making. Tourism management at regional and 'national' level in England needs to explore more imaginatively the enunciatively possibilities within those broadcast narratives which project England to an increasingly diverse global market. Management practices in OTOs in England would do well to infuse their institutional, (individual relations and praxis), and organisational, (bureaucratic structures and practices), life with emerging perspectives which have come about as a result of a number of major conceptual shifts relating to constructions of contemporary identity and culture. These have been identified by Hall (1999:17-18) as part of a deep slow-motion revolution in the practices of cultural representation which include:

- a radical awareness by the marginalised of the symbolic power involved in the activity of representation;
- a growing reflexivity about the constructed and thus contestable nature of the processes by which some people acquire the authority to 'write the culture' of others;
- a decline in the acceptance of the traditional authorities in authenticating the interpretative and analytic frameworks which classify, place, compare and evaluate culture;
- a concomitant rise in the demand to re-appropriate control over the 'writing of one's own story' as part of a wider process of cultural liberation.

As England evolves within a devolved and multi-cultural, multi-ethnic United Kingdom, one may presume that OTOs will increasingly have to confront and embrace these emerging attitudes, values and positions. Work has already begun in a

number of institutions/ organisations in the public sphere in England (Arts Council, British Council, Museums Association). The institutional complex of OTOs in England will increasingly need to acknowledge and enunciate the partial nature of those projected 'myths' of England and their implication in what Foucault refers to as the 'will to power'.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR OTO MANAGEMENT ACTION

Overall the analysis of OTO 'texts' which I carried out for this current study points to a general lack of critical self awareness within existing OTO management/operational structures in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity and the ethical implications of such praxis. This lack of critical awareness at management/operational level within OTOs has a material effect in that it helps conceal discriminatory and exclusionary practices, which are institutionalised in OTO representations of England. Thus, there is a need for OTOs to recognise that established notions of England projected by OTOs may increasingly be contested by emerging accounts of belongingness and 'nationality' which may not accord with established accounts, but may be, (as Bhabha is continuously reminding us), 'restless'.

I will now set out a number of specific actions which OTOs could usefully implement in order to transform their organisational discourse and praxis in ways which could potentially enables them to achieve their policy objectives while simultaneously deploying more inclusive and responsive notions of England in and through tourism. While each of these recommendations has individual merit in potentially bringing about the transformations deemed necessary for more inclusive projections of England by OTOs, I consider them to be interrelated elements of a broader strategy

for organisational transformation. Thus, although set out here individually, each of the following recommendations should be viewed as part of an integrated approach to developing more inclusive representations of ethno-cultural diversity by OTOs.

Thus, it is recommended:

- **RECOMMENDATION 1: TRAINING INITATIVES**

  (based mainly on subsections 5.8, and 2.4, 2.5)

➢ ***That OTOs immediately implement training programmes for staff at all levels, aimed at enhancing critical awareness of ethno-cultural diversity.***

- In order to broaden the scopic drive (the way they see and understand things) of their organisations, in the short-term OTOs should immediately develop management training programmes aimed at enhancing critical awareness of ethno-cultural diversity and the responsibilities of organisations in the public sphere to 'engage' with the full range of ethnic 'minority' populations in England. This *short-term action* should over time devolve into the more *long-term strategies* outlined in recommendation 2 below.

- **RECOMMENDATION 2: DEVELOP PARTNERSHIPS**

  (based mainly on subsections 5.6, 5.8)

➢ ***That OTO management boards in England work to establish partnerships geared to establishing and/or implementing criteria for the development of the equitable representation of 'minority' ethnic populations.***

- Develop partnership approaches with academic institutions in order to (a) identify organisational human resource needs, particularly in those areas of organisational operations which are concerned with the mediations of 'national' or regional symbolic resources and (b) to put in place academic programmes aimed at developing the visual and semiotic literacy necessary to interpret and mediate England's dynamic cultures and identities in an inclusive manner.

- **RECOMMENDATION 3: INITIATE RESEARCH**

  (based mainly on subsections 5.6, 5.8)

➢ ***That OTO management boards commission research with the objective of identifying and mapping areas of institutional praxis which***

perpetuate forms of social exclusion vis-à-vis 'minority' ethnic populations.

- Individual OTOs should commission independent research geared to identifying specific areas where immediate remedial actions can be taken by senior management in the *short term* to minimise the impacts of institutionalised forms of discrimination vis-à-vis the representation of 'minority' ethnic populations. *Long-term* research is also required in order to build on the initial research 'findings' and to monitor the process and progress of transformative actions (for example, such long-term research could form part of any strategic planning initiatives for tourism, such as the 'Evidence and Intelligence' research strategy contained in the London Tourism Action Plan (2003/4 - 2005/6).

- **RECOMMENDATION 4: DIVERSIFY WORKFORCE**

(based mainly on subsection 5.7)

➢ ***That OTO management boards take the necessary steps to put in place strategies geared to achieving an ethnically diversified workforce.***

- Develop (through the type of partnership approach recommended in 2 above), strategies to encourage a more ethnically diverse range of potential employees into a career within England's OTOs, in an attempt to diversify OTO workforces to reflect the dynamic and changing make-up of England's population.

- **RECOMMENDATION 5: STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATION**

(based mainly on subsections 5.6, 5.8)

➢ ***That senior editorial personnel within OTOs consult with a broad range of stakeholders, including representatives of 'minority' ethnic populations, on the selection of material and symbolic resources to be mediated through OTO representations of England.***

- Conduct consultations with interested stakeholders in order to identify ways in which the storylines and mediations deployed by OTOs more sensitively enunciate the history and heritage of the broad range of ethnic populations in contemporary England.

- **RECOMMENDATION 6: REVIEW OF PHOTOGRAPHIC ARCHIVES**

(based mainly on subsection 5.6)

➢ ***That OTO management instigate regular reviews of their image archives in order to (a) be more vigilant to images which, over time, may be regarded as essentialist or stereotypical and (b), to identify significant omissions in the available image stock.***

- Carry out a review of existing policies and processes in relation to the identification and selection of photographic images to be included in image activities in order to more fully take account of England's dynamic and ethnically diverse populations.

- **RECOMMENDATION 7: REVIEW IMAGE MANAGEMENT PROCESSES**

  (based mainly on subsection 5.6)

➢ ***That OTO editorial management review their photographic image selection, production and consumption processes to map institutional modes of exclusion vis-à-vis 'minority' ethnic populations.***

- Carry out a review of existing policies and processes in relation to the identification and selection of sights/sites/resources to be included in photographic images to be used in promotional activities in order to more fully take account of England's dynamic and ethnically diverse populations.

- **RECOMMENDATION 8: REVIEW OF 'COPY' PRODUCTION PROCESSES**

  (based mainly on subsection 5.6.1)

➢ ***That OTO editorial management review their processes of 'copy' production and where deemed necessary initiate procedures geared towards eliminating ethnocentric projections of England.***

- Carry out a review of existing policies and processes in relation to the production and dissemination of storylines, (i.e., feature articles and other texts), produced to promote England and where deemed necessary implement policies geared to facilitate inclusive representations of England which reflect the ethno-cultural diversity of the populace .

- **RECOMMENDATION 9: DEVELOP NEW STORYLINES**

  (based mainly on subsection 5.9)

➢ ***That OTO 'creative teams' work to develop new storylines which account for the history, heritage and culture of those emergent 'new ethnicities' which are increasingly part of England's 'national' story.***

- Critically assess, and where deemed necessary alter, existing policies and processes of production and projection of England's 'national' or regional storylines in order to include those emergent populations through the projection of new enunciative locations.

- **RECOMMENDATION 10: MONOTOR INFLUENCE OF EXTERNAL AGENCIES**

  (based mainly on subsection 5.6.1)

➢ *That OTO management boards develop and put in place procedures to monitor the influence of external agencies on OTO promotional material in order to be vigilant to exclusionary or ethnocentric practices.*

- Critically monitor the influence and input of external agencies and individuals who may not be accountable to those represented populations, but who under the existing structures of governance, have access to and influence over the representational strategies of OTOs.

- **RECOMMENDATION 11: MONITOR EXTERNIAL TEXTS / IMAGES**

  (based mainly on subsection 5.6)

➢ *That OTO management boards develop, and put in place, procedures to monitor their consumption of externally produced written texts and photographic images in order to guard against exclusionary or ethnocentric representations of England.*

- Critically monitor the utilisation of external sources of textual and visual representations of England as part of an overall strategy to ensure the delivery of those transformative actions necessary for the recognition and inclusion of ethno-culturally diverse representations of England by OTOs.

- **RECOMMENDATION 12: DEVELOP ETHICAL STANDPOINT**

  (based mainly on subsections 5.10.1 – 5.10. 5)

➢ *That OTOs develop ethical perspectives which facilitate the development of human potential.*

- Drawing on recommendations 1 to 11 above, develop policies and procedures geared to support an organisational 'Ethics of Representation'. The guiding question for the development of such an ethics must be: what principles are required for all members of any given population to *achieve, maximise* and *share* their human potential? In developing such an ethical position OTOs' ultimate transformative action would be to bring about the conditions necessary for a politics of articulation. Thus, moving from perceptions of 'minority' ethnic populations as objects of information to subjects of communication.

The adoption of the above twelve recommendations can be regarded as a first step towards the realisation of those human potentials noted above. In implementing the recommendations outlined above OTO are likely to encounter support for, and resistance to, such measures. As has been demonstrated by the analysis of OTO 'texts'

in this study, there are deeply entrenched organisational behaviours relating to the representation of material and symbolic resources in England's OTO projective practices. The deployment of strategies geared to transforming such behaviours to more equitably account for the dynamic and ethnically diverse nature of contemporary England is likely to face resistance from both within the OTOs themselves and from external structures of governance, (which it has been demonstrated elsewhere are institutionally racist, see Denman, 2001; Macpherson, 1999). Indeed, the ability of OTOs to develop and implement policy is closely related to the prevailing macro political context, (for example through 'national' tourism policy and funding arrangements). However, the deployment of strategies geared towards transforming OTO discourse to positively project the ethno-cultural diversity of contemporary England are not only a necessary part of ethical practice, but potentially contribute to social well-being and social inclusion. Additionally, viewed from a purely economic standpoint, such transformations are likely to have a positive effect on the tourism market in an increasingly mobile and diversifying world. However, for such transformations to be achieved OTOs will first need to relinquish those 'no problem here' discursive positions of denial which this study has identified, and instead embrace 'solution talk'.

6.4 THEMES FOR DEVELOPING TRANSFORMATIVE ACTIONS BY OTOs

In recognising that society is neither a system, a mechanism or an organism (Parton, 2003), but a symbolic construct which is dynamic and constantly changing through human actions of social participation, (including language), in which individuals construct preferred realities or change previously constructed views and perceptions, I now provide an outline of six guiding themes, (adapted from Parton, 2003:8-9, after

Gergen, 1999), for the development of transformative actions as advocated in recommendations 1 to 12 above.

In relation to OTO discursive and projective practices, practitioners could potentially bring about those transformative actions alluded to above by considering that:

- **Theme 1:**
  A critical stance towards taken for granted understandings of the world.

➢ the terms by which we understand the world and ourselves are neither required or demanded by 'what there is'. What is required is the 'problematization' of taken for granted ways of understanding the world and a suspicion of our assumptions of how the world appears.

- **Theme 2:**
  The world as a social process.

➢ because the world, (including ourselves), is a product of social processes there cannot be any given, determined nature of the world 'out there'.

- **Theme 3:**
  Historical and cultural specificity.

➢ social categories and concepts are historically and culturally specific and therefore vary over time and place. We cannot assume that our ways of understanding are necessarily the same as others, or are any nearer the 'truth'.

- **Theme 4:**
  The relational nature of knowledge and actions.

➢ knowledge of the world is developed between people in daily interactions which form negotiated understandings. These understandings sustain some patterns of action as well as excluding others. Thus, knowledge and action are intimately interrelated. Thus, it

is important to recognise that our explanation and/or representation are derived from relationships.

- **Theme 5:**
  Action and change through generative discourses.

➢ as we describe, explain or otherwise represent ourselves and the world, so do we fashion our futures. Thus, we must confront the challenge of generating new meanings through generative discourses which offer new possibilities for action and change.

- **Theme 6:**
  Developing reflexive dialogue

➢ the development of reflexive practice (dialogue) is required in order to place one's premises into question, as well as to acknowledge alternative framings of 'reality'.

6.5 IMPLICATIONS OF 'FINDINGS' FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDAS

The foregoing analysis and discussion (Chapter Five) highlights the need for tourism scholars interested in the "imaginative universe of tourism" (Hollinshead, 2002), to pay greater attention to the significatory importance and constitutive power of mediated individual, group, or institutional vision in any given setting. Some have argued (Hitchcock, 1999:28), that tourism boards, often unintentionally, reflect prevailing cultural norms and stereotypes. Such arguments do not in themselves account for the paucity of representations of ethno-cultural diversity in the discourse of the OTO in England, where even the stereotypical 'other' is significantly omitted.

Those once natural, given, timeless assumptions of what constitutes England and Englishness are increasingly open to contestation and re-negotiation. It is now time for those working in the field of tourism to question the foundational assumptions

from which their criteria of judgement is drawn. As Van Dijk (1996:292) argues, keeping our eyes, ears and mouths shut, (or our computers idle), makes us directly responsible for, if not guilty of, the perpetuation of ethnic inequality and injustice. Those in tourism studies concerned with the way the 'nation' represents the diversity of its subject-citizens must seize every opportunity to challenge those ethnocentric representation of who 'we' are.

This study of OTO discourse in England demonstrates that there is an urgent need for further research in relation to the ways 'official' national and regional tourism bodies, through their discourse and praxis, represent, mis-represent, privilege or silence the history, heritage and culture of populations within their assigned territory. Tourism researchers and tourism management practitioners urgently need to further their understanding of language use within the projective practice of OTOs. They need to understand the relationships within which some words, (or silences), outweigh those of others and the ways in which such words, (and silences), are rooted in discursive, material and power relations. The 'interpretative findings' of the current study suggest that under current conditions of governance in England OTO discourse is imbued with monocultural notions which perpetuate the myth of England as a culturally unified and homogenous entity. It is acknowledged that language not only mediates knowledge of the world but is constitutive of such knowledge. In the context of the current study the authors/principals of OTO texts can be regarded as producers and mediators of 'positions'. Therefore, there is a need for the development of future research agendas aimed at exploring the processes by which organisations in the public sphere of tourism construct and project notions of 'national' and regional identity in and through tourism. Such research agendas would need to take account of

the habitus – the "principles, practices and representations which are objectively regulated without obedience to rules" (Bourdieu, 1977:72) – of individual praxis within OTOs as well as of those within public and private institutions and organisations which encroach upon the governance of tourism in England. Therefore, future research agendas will need to facilitate approaches to research which allow for in-depth and long-term engagement with the institutional discourse and praxis of OTOs in England. Here I have in mind an inspection of the commitments, loyalties and allegiances of key individuals within OTOs and other bodies.

In this current study I have taken some tentative steps toward illuminating issues of 'minority' ethnic population representation, misrepresentation and omission in OTO projective practice. There is now a need for further comparative work by tourism studies scholars in order to examine the representational practice of other national and regional tourism boards, particularly in West European countries with multi-ethnic populations.

In addition to the deployment of long-haul research agendas in arenas which extend and parallel this current study of OTO representational discourse and praxis, there is a need to inspect the ways such discourse and praxis are received (or rejected) by (a), those 'minority' populations represented, misrepresented, or silences by such significatory practices, and (b), by those populations (potential tourists) who constitute the targets of such significations.

At an institutional level tourism researchers will need to consider the 'imbrication', (Carney, 1990), of OTOs within broader structures of governance. Such 'imbrication'

are part of an increasingly pluralized system of governance through "self-organising networks involved in publicly interested discourses which transcend hierarchical institutions" (Gibbins and Reimer, 1999:159). Within these evolving 'self-organising networks' struggles over the 'politics of difference' is likely to become a key terrain of contestation which future research agendas in tourism studies will need to map.

Linked to the need for tourism research agendas to inspect the shifting terrains of 'difference' and its potential for the enunciation of 'new ethnicities' in and through tourism, tourism scholars will also need to address these questions in terms of the 'fuzzy logics' of administration as new modes of decentralised responsibilities are devolved down to 'groups' who may not be subject to democratic sanction, (as has been shown to be the case with England's RDAs). As Jones (2001:285) argues in relation to the new regional structures of governance in the United Kingdom:

> we need to take seriously – through sustained qualitative and especially biographical work – the loyalties, commitments, affiliations, or in other words, the habitus of regional personnel. Specifically, we need to address the extent to which the individuals working in the various bodies are committed to improving the socio-economic and cultural well-being of the regions they represent.

Therefore, future research agendas in tourism studies will need to dissect the transcendence of public governance from centralised and democratically authorised structures, to devolved but unauthorised local networks.

6.6 PROBLEMATIC ARENAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH AGENDAS

The following ten 'problematic arenas' are identified as areas for the potential development of future tourism research agendas.

Perspective research directions/agendas:

- ***Problematic Arena 1.***

  - *ABSENCE OF POLICY CRITIQUE ON MATTERS OF REPRESENTATION / SIGNIFICATION*

  While few 'nations' or regions have explicit policies on or for 'cultural diversity' in tourism, few investigations in tourism studies are exploring the character or absence of such policies.

- ***Problematic Arena 2.***

  - *NEGLECT OF THE DYNAMICS OF INSTITUTIONAL / ORGANISATIOAL LIFE*

  Researchers in tourism are too prone to taking the view that the state, region, interest group or 'community' organisations they inspect are unitary wholes which have consistent objectives independent of any internal or osmotic power contestations.

- ***Problematic Arena 3.***

  - *LACK OF CRITICAL INSPECTION OF TOURISM POLICY AND ITS 'IMPACTS' ON 'MINORITY' POPULATIONS*

  Too much research in tourism is predicated on the trite view that OTOs are inherently benevolent structures: multifarious sources and means of power, resistance or self-interest [for example, ethnocentrism[1]] are under-examined.

- ***Problematic Arena 4.***

  - *NARROW EXAMINATION OF THE ROLES OF VALUES, POWER, AND LEGITIMACY WITHIN/ BETWEEN OTOs AND BROADER STRUCTURES OF GOVERNANCE IN TOURISM*

  Too many investigators in tourism fail to probe the political ideologies and the different sources of legitimacy.

- ***Problematic Arena 5.***

  - *WEAK INSPECTION OF ADMINSTRATIVE COORDINATION CUM POLICY COORDINATION*

Few inquiries in tourism are sufficiently broad in scope or time to substantively critique the fragmentation of control in government across agencies at national/regional/local levels or between those different tiers of governance.

- ***Problematic Arena 6.***

  - *POOR ANAYSIS OF THE LIFE OF COMPETING POLICIES / POLICY PROPOSALS*

  Few inquiries in tourism are sufficiently broad in scope or time to sufficiently examine the career of different policy initiatives as competing policy proposals contest for dominance over each other.

- ***Problematic Arena 7.***

  - *NEGLECT OF AGENDA-SETTING AND ITS RELATED PROCESS OF CLIENTELISM AND COUPLING*

  Only infrequently in tourism have investigators significantly probed the specific and powerful ties that vested interests or the special relationships [clientelism] that strongly positioned industrial or other groups have within or alongside government bodies.

- ***Problematic Arena 8.***

  - *ABSENCE OF CONCERN FOR 'NON-DECISIONMAKING*

  There have been few explanations in tourism of 'subjugated' or 'silenced' issues which have not been formally or substantively attended to in government.

- ***Problematic Arena 9.***

  - *LACK OF REGARD FOR THE DIFFERENTIAL IMPACT OF TOURISM POLICIES*

  While much work has been conducted on the benefits and the costs arising from tourism development in many locations around the

world, there have been few in-depth studies which seek to discern the uneven spread of 'impacts' across different populations.

- *Problematic Arena 10.*

  ➢ *IMPOVERISHED ATTENTION TO THE POLITICS OF PLACE*

  While much work has been conducted on psychological, socio-cultural, and environmental notions of place in tourism, analysis of the political / ideological/ iconological struggles for power that are embedded within projections of place are few.

In developing future research agendas to inspect those 'problematic arenas' outlined above, tourism scholars would do well to move beyond the boundaries of the tourism studies literature in order to access a more developed and culturally aware syntax for evaluating the effects of tourism in and across populations. In this current study I have endeavoured to pull some of the emerging perspectives in social and cultural studies into the trajectory of tourism studies. In an effort to demonstrate the exploratory and explanatory potential of work emerging beyond the borders of tourism studies, I now provide brief comment on the potential contribution of some of these broader social and cultural perspectives on tourism through four broad perspectives, (*axiality, enunciation, governance* and *performativity*), relevant to developing research agendas in those 'problematic arenas' outlined above.

- **Axiality**

A potentially productive vein of thinking on the role of tourism as it spreads across the globe stems from the works of Buck (1993) in the field of musicology, the historically grounded critiques of McKay (1994) and Rothman (1998), and more recently synthesising critiques of Hollinshead (1998a, 1998b, 2002) all of whom are concerned in one way or another with the axial role of tourism.

- In the current study the axiality of tourism has facilitated an inspection of institutional discourse and praxis in relation to the representation of ethno-cultural diversity in England, which not only contributes to the tourism studies literature, but to wider debates revolving around issues of 'social exclusion' and 'institutional racism'. Thus, the axial role of tourism can be tapped into in order to examine a range of issues of concern to broader society.

▪ Enunciation

In this and future decades, tourism will play a large part in the articulation of peoples, places and pasts. Thus, in seeking to develop research agendas for the inspection of those 'problematic arenas' outlined above, tourism scholars will find the social science and cultural studies literature on 'enunciation' to be of significant analytic value. Scholarly work on enunciation proposes that culture ought not be conceived of as stable and fixed, but as a generative site for being and becoming - thus an enunciative location (Bhabha, 1994; Hollinshead, 2002). Therefore, scholars proposing to focus their research agendas on the enunciative possibilities of tourism must develop critical awareness of how 'politically correct' ideas and practices tend to obscure the articulation of alternatives, thus acting as a validity claim which legitimises dominance. Here Bhabha's (1994) work *The Location of Culture,* which focuses on the projective narratives and discursive processes through which states and populations are constructed and mediated, is instructive in this regard, (see also Hollinshead 1998b for a distillation of Bhabha's 1994 text). Scholars will also find the work of Hall (1997a) on representation and signification and Lidchi's (1997) work of the poetics and politics of exhibiting 'other' cultures illuminating in relation to the enunciative power of tourism.

- The current study has focused heavily on the enunciative potentials of OTOs and has inspected some of the ways in which enunciation can be utilised by such institutions to both privilege and deny.

▪ Governance

Much of the communicative/enunciatory power of tourism remains under theorised. Increasingly however, governments, hitherto silenced populations, and all manor of interest groups across the globe are recognising tourism as a potent communicator of 'group' values and ideological 'positions'. Therefore, it is increasingly likely that 'national' regional and local systems of governance will seek to 'manage' tourism in order to further or protect their perceived interests. Thus, the 'governance' of tourism (including the material and symbolic resources upon which it depends) will increasingly require critical inspection at all levels from

micro projects to trans-national legislation. In developing research agendas concerned with the governance of tourism scholars will need to look beyond the tourism studies literature which according to C.M. Hall (1994:19) has hitherto taken "a technical-rational or managerial perspective which excludes substantive questions of politics". Tourism scholars working on substantive issues of 'community', institutional, organisational , regional, national or international governance in/of tourism will need to delve deeply into those administrative and policy making apparatus which supports such governance, as well as into the ways individuals within those institutions internalise, reject or reformulate those prevailing governing procedures.

There is an urgent need to account for the development of those new-state and non-state structures (such as RDAs in England) which are increasingly been used to distribute centralised powers, and the implications of such developments for the governance of tourism. What will be the consequences for 'minority' populations of the development of fragmented institutions with unclear hierarchies of power. For example, from a positive perspective it has been suggested that marginalized 'groups' "may be able to achieve interest representation in these new situations, which normally would have been impossible through traditional channels of party and government representation", (Favell and Martiniello, 2002; see also Gibbins and Reimer, 1999). From a more pessimistic standpoint I have argued in this study that in relation to the 'new-state' or 'non-state' structures of governance emerging in England marginalized population may find it more difficult to access platforms of interest representation as bureaucratic structures evolve without the 'constraint' of local democratic accountability.

These emerging new structures of governance offer different points and modes of access for the expression of competing interests than more traditional structures and therefore require different modes of analysis. Tourism scholars working on matters of new-state and non-state governance will derive much insight from the body of work emerging from theorists of 'multi-level governance'. Theories of multi-level governance have been developed primarily to account for the non-hierarchical and essentially contested nature of emerging political structures in the European Union (see for example, Hix, 1998; Hooghe, 1998; Marks et al., 1996). Whatever the exact nature of emerging new-state or non-state structures and the opportunities, constraints and problems emerge as a result, scholars of tourism can gain much from the theoretical perspectives emerging from studies of multi-level governance. Tourism at local, regional, 'national' and international level, is thoroughly infused by regulatory processes and practices, therefore analysts need to critique and interrogate such governance as it is exercised through evolving institutional practices. Thus, the realm of 'governance' in tourism offers

numerous potential research lines which require urgent inspection informed by perspectives outside of those apolitical technical-rational or managerial approaches which have thus far dominated the tourism studies literature.

- The current study has drawn substantively from the themes concerned with governance and the changing administrative and legislative arrangements which are emerging under neo-liberal economic and political conditions.

- **Performativity**

Tourism can be critiqued as part of that broad 'spectrum' or 'continuum' of social actions and roles which have been theorised as *performance.* Therefore, scholars pursuing research agendas in those 'problematic arenas' outlined above are likely to encounter much insightful and inspirational logics on such topics as embodiment, action, behaviour, and agency, from the body of work designated under that 'postdiscipline of inclusions' emerging from the *performance turn.* The primary fundamental of performance studies is that there is no fixed canon of works, ideas, practices, or anything else that defines or limits the field (Schechner, 2002). Because of the inclusionary spirit of Performance Studies (and the theoretical concern with what "inclusion" presumes), the field is particularly attuned to issues of place, personhood, cultural citizenship, and equity (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1999). In the realm of tourism, Performance Studies scholars are developing theories of heritage as a mode of cultural production that have implications for cultural policy dealing with preservation and equity in a variety of contexts (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1999). Performance studies critiques of tourism may, through its fundamentally relational, dynamic, and processual approach, potentially encourage tourism scholars to advance richer and deeper conceptualisations of tourism and its performative potential. One point of the intersection of tourism studies with performance studies which tourism scholars could productively pursue is Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) text *'Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums and Heritage.* For a critique of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1998) text, see Hollinshead (2000). For a discussion of the epistemological and political possibilities of performance see Phelan (1993).

- The exhibitionary logic of tourism and the authorial consequences of professionalised performativity within OTOs have provided a key theme for critique throughout this study. Thus, in the current study an inspection of the ideological value of performances or representations of England has enabled a critique of both what has been privileged and what has potentially been foreclosed vis-à-vis mediation of 'minority' ethnic populations by OTOs.

6.7 ENDNOTE

As I bring this brief 'conversation' on matters of ethno-cultural representation to a close I am mindful that commentators on those arguable more 'frontline' contexts, such as the Police Service, the Judiciary, Employment practices and the provision of other local and national public services, may regard an examination of the representation of 'minority' ethnic populations in and through official tourism organisations as somewhat peripheral when juxtaposed with the 'findings' of recent 'public' and 'private' investigations in relation to discrimination, social exclusion and institutional racism in the United Kingdom. Yet, those seemingly small acts of representation, mis-representation and silencing in the text and talk of OTOs in England can be regarded at best as condoning, if not perpetuating and providing support for, the *structures* of discrimination, exclusion and institutional forms of racism which have been and continue to be uncovered in the public sphere. Also, the study of tourism ought not be undertaken from 'enclavic' perspectives which often ignore the connectivity of tourism to other social and cultural discourse and praxis which are constantly in flux. Thus, in tourisms global/local nexus the projective practices of OTOs in England, (and in other regional and 'national' contexts), constitute an increasingly important terrain on which matters of culture, ethnicity, identity, et cetera will be contested – in many new 'conversations'.

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AGENTS OF DISPLAY

The term agents of display has been used to refer to a person with express or implicit authority to act for or represent another (1>1).

BIO POWER

The term 'bio-power' is used in Foucauldian thought to refer to discipline extended across the individual body. Foucault conceives of bio-power as the matrix of force relations that brought life and its mechanisms into the realm of explicit calculations and made knowledge-power an agent of transformation of human life (2>1). In Foucault's work there is no theory of 'bio-power' therefore it can be a useful instrument in the analysis of a diversity of relationships within/between communities and institutions.

CDA

Much of the research on power, ideology and control in discourse falls under the aegis of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which has adopted the social constructionist view of language, rather than one of language as a 'mirror' of social relations (3>1).

COMMODIFICATION

The concept of commodification refers to the dominance of commodity exchange-value over use-value and implies the development of a consumer society where market relations subsume and dominate social life (4>1). Commodification is the process whereby social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the narrower economic sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualised in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption. It is no longer surprising, for example, for sectors of the arts and education such as theatre and English language teaching to be referred to as 'industries' concerned with producing, marketing and selling cultural or educational commodities to their 'clients' or 'consumers' (4>2).

CRITICAL THEORY

Critical theory is a diverse set of abstract and philosophical writing (for example by Louis Althusser, Roland Barthes, Emile Benveniste, Jacques Derrida, Umberto Eco, and Jacques Lacan) which does not impinge directly on the analysis of discourse, but is definitely part of the same intellectual climate (5>1). See Belsey (1980) for a useful overview of critical theory approaches.

CULTURE

The institutions, symbol systems, and forms of regulation and training responsible for forming, maintaining and/or changing the mental and behavioural attributes of populations (6>1). The whole way of life of different groups and its institutional restriction to particular aesthetic practices of conduct, judgement, taste and evaluation

(6>2). Culture is the social viewed from another perspective, not a distinct analytic entity (6>3).

DISCIPLINARY POWER

A form of surveillance which is internalised. With disciplinary power, each person disciplines him or herself. Disciplinary power is also one of the poles of bio-power. This is connected to the rise of capitalism. Disciplinary power is especially important in the policing of sexual confession (7>1). Compared to the modalities of power characteristic of sovereign, juridical systems of power, disciplinary forms of rule and contestation are heterogeneous and do not derive from a single centre of power. Foucault invoked the analogy of 'panopticism' in his discussions of disciplinary power within institutional settings. The basic goal of disciplinary power is to produce a person who is docile. (7>2).

DISCIPLINARY TECHNOLOGIES

Techniques of discipline for producing docile people. Without the insertion of disciplined, orderly individuals into the machinery of production, the new demands of capitalism would have been stymied. (8>1). The aim of disciplinary technology is to forge a "docile [body] that may be subjected, used, transformed and improved" (8>2).

DISCOURSE

Discourse can be regarded as the meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, and statements that together present something to the world. Language as social practice determined by social structures (9>1). A discourse, Foucault suggests, is primarily the way in which a knowledge is constituted as part of a scientific practice whose knowledge is formed at the interface of language and the material world. Therefore medicine or psychiatry attempts to establish knowledge that will operate at the site of interaction between language and the body. In general, knowledge is not contained discursively, but exists at the edge between language and the rest of material reality (9>2). Bov (1990) warns that essentializing questions such as 'What is Discourse', or questions about the 'meaning' or 'identity' of some 'concept' named 'discourse' tend to contradict the logic of the structure of thought in which the term 'discourse' now has a newly powerful critical function (9>3).

DISCURSIVE FORMATION

A discursive formation consists of 'rules of formation' for the particular set of statements which belong to it, and more specifically rules for the formation of 'objects', rules for the formation of 'concepts', and rules for the formation of 'strategies' (10>1). The term also refers to the systematic operation of several discourses or statements constituting a 'body of knowledge', which work together to construct a specific object/topic of analysis in a particular way, and to limit the other ways in which that object/topic may be constituted (10>2).

DOMINANCE

The exercise of social power by elites, institutions or groups, that results in social inequality, including political, cultural, class, ethnic, racial and gender inequalities (11>1). In Foucauldian thought dominance is concerned with the tensions between competing constructions of 'truth'.

ENUNCIATIVE MODALITIES

Types of discursive activity such as describing, forming hypotheses, formulating regulations, teaching, and so forth, each of which has its own associated subject positions. So, for example, teaching as a discursive activity positions those who take part as 'teacher' or 'learner'. As in the case of 'objects' the rules of formation for enunciative modalities are constituted for a particular discursive formation by a complex group of relations(12>1). For example, in tourism, the position of 'host' and 'tourist' have their own subject positions formed by a complex set of relations which are channelled through the enunciative modalities of the tourism 'industry'.

EPISTEME

The Greek term 'episteme' is usually translated as 'knowledge' or 'science'. The product of certain organising principals which relate things to one another (by classifying things, and by allocating them meanings and values) and which, as a result, determines how we make sense of things, what we can know, and what we say (18>1). For Plato, episteme was an expression of, or a statement that conveys, absolute certainty or a means for producing such expressions or statements (18>2). Foucault appropriated the term 'episteme' and deployed it as his central concept in 'archaeological' writings. In *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (1972:191) Foucault noted that "this episteme may be suspected of being something like a worldview, a slice of history common to all branches of knowledge, which imposes on each one the same norms and postulates, a general stage of reason, a certain structure of thought that the men [sic] of a particular period cannot escape – a great body of legislation written once and for all by some anonymous hand". In a more precise account of 'episteme' Foucault (1972:191 wrote, "by episteme, we mean, in fact, the total set of relations that unite, at a given period, the discursive practices that give rise to epistemological figures, sciences, and possibly formalized systems... The episteme in not a form of knowledge or type of rationality which, crossing the boundaries of the most varied of sciences, manifests the sovereign unity of a subject, or a period; it is the totality of relations that can be discovered, for a given period, between the sciences when one analyses them at the level of discursive regularities".

EPISTEMOLOGY

The systematic consideration in philosophy and elsewhere, of knowing (13>1). A branch of philosophy that addresses the philosophical problems surrounding the theory of knowledge. A concerned with the definition of knowledge and related concepts, the sources of knowledge and the kinds of knowledge possible.

ETHNOCENTERISM

Ethnocentrism is a belief in one's own cultural superiority; that the customs, traditions, beliefs and behavioural practices of one's own culture are better to those of other cultures. The concept of ethnocentrism comes from the Greek words *ethos*, people or nation, and *ketron*, centre, which means being centred on one's cultural group (14>1). Ethnocentrism is often accompanied by a tendency to make invidious comparisons (14>2). Even some of the most seemingly radical of writers assume a vantage-point which tacitly adopts the positions and assumptions of a Western intellectual culture or openly privilege 'the West' as a model and mirror for other societies (14>3). Any general preoccupation with the development and comparison of cultural groups (whether as ethnic groups, races, nations, or civilisations) as unique and homogeneous unities could be regarded as broadly ethnocentric (14>4).

ETHNICITY

When a sub-population of individuals reveals, or is perceived to reveal, shared historical experiences as well as unique organisational, behaviour, and cultural characteristics, it exhibits its ethnicity (15>1). A collective within a larger society having real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood (15>2). Ethnic identities are now recognized as cultural fabrications, which can be imagined, appropriated or chosen, as well as transmitted directly to descendants (15>3).

ETHNIC CATEGORY

Ethnic categories are populations distinguished by outsiders as possessing the attributes of a common name or emblem, a shared cultural element (usually language or religion), and a link with a particular territory (16>1).

ETHNIC COMMUNITY (ETHNIES)

Ethnic communities are human populations distinguished by both members and outsiders as possessing attributes of: an identifying name or emblem; a myth of common ancestry; shared historical memories and tradition; one or more elements of common culture; and a link with an historic territory or 'homeland'. Ethnic communities exhibit a measure of solidarity, at least among the elites (17>1).

GOVERNMENT

For Foucault the term 'government' meant not so much the political or administrative structures of the modern state, rather, the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick.... To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others' (19>1). Thus, for Foucault 'government' refers to techniques and procedures for directing human behaviour (19>2).

GOVERNMENTALITY

Implies the relationship of the self to itself. Foucault intended this concept of 'governmentality' to cover the whole range of practices that constitute, define, organize, and instrumentalise the strategies that individuals in their freedom can use in dealing with each other (20>1).

HEGEMONY

Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically-defined classes in alliance with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium'. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through consensus or through ideological means, to win their consent (21>1).

HERITAGE

The whole complex of organisations, institutions and practices devoted to the preservation and presentation of culture and the arts – art galleries, specialist collections, public and private, museums of all kinds (general survey or themed, historical or scientific, national or local) and sites of special historic interest (22>1).

HERMENEUTICS

The theory of the operations of understandings in their relation to the interpretation of texts. In cultural studies the term refers to our understanding of how understanding takes place, particularly in relation to how readers understand the meaning of works of art and literature (23>1).

IDEOLOGY

A shared framework of social beliefs that that organise and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups (24>1). Ideology functions to convince its audiences that the ideas it offers up are timeless and ahistorical; that is to say, they have always been, and always will be (24>2).

INSTITUTIONAL RACISM

Institutional racism is a conception of racism as a stable and long-standing structural feature of society, rather than a psychological or cultural trait of individuals or groups (56>1). Macpherson (1999) defined institutional racism as 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin' (sub section 6.34).

INTERDISCURSIVITY

Relations between discursive formations (different types of discourse). Interdiscursivity involves the relations between other discursive formations which according to Foucault constitutes the rules of formation of a given discursive formation.

INTERTEXTUALITY

The term 'intertextuality' was coined by Kristeva in the late 1960s in the context of her influential account for Western audiences of the work of Bakhtin. Intertextuality in its broadest sense refers to relations between texts.

MULTICULTURALISM

The term refers to a variety of strategies for dealing with the cultural diversity and social heterogeneity of modern societies (27>1). A form of social engineering, which has come under criticism for ignoring the needs and circumstances of indigenous populations.

MULTIETHNIC

The term 'multiethnic' from the Latin *multus,* (much, many) and the Greek *ethnikos* (from *ethnos*, people), describes a social whole made up of ethnic components that interact with each other and organize their behaviour on the basis of a perceived ethno-cultural diversity, claimed from within the group or imposed from outside (57>1). In Western Europe the adjective 'multiethnic' is commonly understood to describe a new phenomenon, that of the coexistence of different ethnic groups as a result of migratory movements (57>2).

MYTH

Although the term has several meanings, that which is most relevant to the socio-psychological field refers to those tales which narrate human and supernatural events. Although myths are ostensibly explanatory and historical in nature they continue to shape social phenomena in contemporary societies. Myths are a powerful element of group cohesion, providing a strong feeling of belonging (58>1). Myths are stories drawn from a society's history that have acquired through persistent usage the power of symbolizing that society's ideology and of dramatizing its moral consciousness – with all the complexities and contradictions that consciousness may contain.... Myths are formulated as ways of explaining problems that arise in the course of historical experience (58>2).

NATION (ESSENTIALIST MODEL)

The essentialist model of the 'nation' asserts that nations are real entities founded in a historical past to which nationals are related by feelings of pride and affection. The image of the Nation in the essentialist model implies the existence of a geographical space, a set of traditions, rituals language that we all share.

NATION (PROCESS MODEL)

The 'process' model construes the nation as a system of interpersonal, social and political relations and relationships. It is a process, and not a particular event. The Process model sees the nation as constantly re-founding themselves because it believes that the nation shapes the individuals as the individuals shape the nation. This 'process model' implies a project for the creation of a multi cultural dynamic all-inclusive society.

NOMINALIZATION

Nominalization is the conversion of processes into nominals, which has the effect of backgrounding the process itself – its tense and modality are not indicated – and usually not specifying its participants, so that who is doing what to whom is left implicit. Medical and other scientific and technical languages favour nominalization, but it can be abstract, threatening and mystifying for 'lay' people (30>1).

OCCIDENTALISM

'Occidentalism' may be understood as a form of history, or rather a philosophy constructed on the bases of historical interpretation, that is written from the perspective of what it constructs as the 'modern West', and which detects in Western history something of universal significance (31>1).

ONTOLOGY

'Ontology' is the consideration of being: what is, what exists, what it means for something – or somebody – to be (32>1).

ORDER

The word 'other' is an elliptic pronoun or a deictic category that can refer to practically anything, depending on the context or situation (33>1). The term 'other' is closely related to the concepts of alterity and difference. From many different directions, and within many different disciplines, this question of 'difference' and 'othering' has come to play an increasingly significant role (33>2).

ORDERING

Any attempt to control or manage any known object. A 'known object' is an event, a relationship, an animate object, an inanimate object, in fact any phenomena which human beings try to control or manage (34>1).

ORDERS OF DISCOURSE

A Foucauldian term for the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society, and the relationships between them (35>1). Actual discourse is determined by socially constituted *orders of discourse*, sets of conventions associated with social institutions (35>2). A higher-order concept which has to do with the totality of discourse practices associated with an institution, and the relations between them. When a text is framed in such a way that it incorporates types of text from other orders of discourse, then we can speak of Interdiscursivity (35>3).

PANOPTICISM

A central concept within the theoretical mosaic of Michel Foucault, particularly in relation to surveillance and related disciplinary regimes. The production of and control over 'designated' tourist 'attractions' by commercial and quasi-governmental organisations can be regarded as a form of panoptic control through the imposition of spatial and temporal constraints on 'consumers' through supervision, monitoring and surveillance. In short, governing at a distance.

PERFORMATIVITY

The term 'performativity' has recently come to be used in a wide range of contexts to refer to what might earlier been referred to as the performance of the self. In its current use however the term refers specifically to a gendered, and sometimes raced, classed or ethnic performance of the self, and it connotes feminist work on the body and embodied subjectivity as well as carrying the implication that such a self is socially constructed and might therefore be constructed differently (37>1).

POSTMODERNISM

Having its origins in the field of architecture in the 1950s the term was taken up by Jean-Francois Lyotard in his poststructuralist critique of science and society. A major feature of postmodernism is an incredulity towards metanarratives (38>1).

QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research is multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural setting, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials – case studies, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts – that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individual's lives (39>1).

RACIAL

In devising 'racial' categories, imperial census-makers used names from the existing repertoire of cultural and geographical markers, but the categories themselves reflected the perception of the European rulers rather than that of the natives (40>1).

REFLEXIVITY

'Reflectivity' refers to the notion that a fixed and final account is never possible because claims are based on language, which cannot transparently represent the world. This means that no statement can stand unchallenged. All claims and statements (including the one that "no statements can stand unchallenged") reflexively paradoxical (41>1). Reflexivity can be regarded as the capacity of any system of signification to turn back upon itself, to make itself its own object by referring to itself: subject and object fuse...Reflexive knowledge, then contains not only messages, but also information as to how it came into being, the process by which it was obtained (43>1). Reflective journals act to 'train the self' (43>2) and can be regarded as "an exercise in self-transformation: one takes stock, monitors, observes, regulates, reformulates and reorients the self" (43>3). The very act of keeping a reflective diary "effects subtle changes in the keeper" (43>4).

REFLEXIVE KNOWLEDGE

See 'Reflexivity'

REPRESENTATION

The production of meaning through language, discourse and image (42>1). A socially constructed and structured set of meanings and techniques embodied in different modes and media. Representations are varieties of meaning revealed through qualitative research.

STATENENTS (CONTEXT OF: SITUATIONAL)

The social situation in which a statement occurs. Foucault observes that the relationship between utterance and its verbal and situational context is not a transparent one: how context affects what is said or written, and how it is interpreted, varies from one discursive formation to another (45>1).

STATEMENTS (CONTEXT OF: VERBAL)

The position of a statement in relation to other statements which proceed and follow it. These influence the form statements take and the way it is interpreted.

SUBJUCATED KNOWLEDGE

A whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or science (47>1).

SUBJUGATION

Being made subject to, being governed by institutionalised forces that control and frame (48>1).

SUBJECTIVITY

See 'Subjugation', 'Subjugated Knowledge'.

TECHNILOGIES OF THE SELF

Refers to a Foucauldian vocabulary which sees the 'self' as technical. Foucault stresses the difference between 'techniques of the self' and 'technologies of the self'. For Foucault the French term technique refers to a practical instance, while the term technologie refers to a practical system.

TECTONIC INHERITANCES

Those institutional/social meanings, beliefs, values and pre-understandings which circulate within consensual networks of inherited human ways of being.

THEORY

Interpretations made from given perspectives as adopted or researched by researchers (52>1). Theory is one of many modern contested terms. A way of seeing and thinking (52>2).

TRANSITIVITY

'Transitivity' is the characteristic of existing only when interacting with, or being created or summoned by, a person or a social actor (54>1).

TRAVELLING THEORY (NOMADIC THEORY)

Coined by Edward Said to describe the process whereby theory moves from place to place and from person to person. In contrast to static nationalistic or eurocentric

imperial theory, travelling theory alludes to theory not as a local or national category, but as an intellectual resource that travels across cultures (53>1).

TRUTH

A system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements (41>1). Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint." In other words, our institutions and schools of thought, our universities and charismatic leaders, our ministers our parents, our teachers, all of these collaborate to create a context in which something is established as "true" (55>2).

Key:

1>1 Medlick, 1996:10.
2>1 Foucault, 1976:143
3>1 Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:497.
4>1 Gotham, 2002:1737
4>2 Fairclough, 1992:207
5>1 Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:33
6>1 Bennett, 1989:10
6>2 Hunter, 1988, 1990
6>3 Goddy, 1992:30
7>1 Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:141
7>2 Barnett, 1999:378
8>1 Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:134-135
8>2 Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:135
9>1 Fairclough, 1989:15
9>2 Young, 2001
9>3 Bov, 1990:53
10>1 Foucault, [1969]1972:31-39
10>2 Lidchi, 1997:191
11>1 Mayr, 2000:38
12>1 Fairclough, 1992:43-44
13>1 Parker and Goicoechea, 2000:227
14>1 Reisinger and Turner, 2003:172
14>2 The Dictionary of Anthropology, 1999:155
14>3 Gregory, 1993:275-276
14>4 Dean, 1994:86
15>1 Aguirre and Turner, 1995:2-3
15>2 Schermenhorn, 1978:12
15>3 Kidd, 1999:4
16>1 Smith, 1999:13
17>1 Smith, 1999:13
18>1 Danaher, 2000:17
18>2 Jasinski, 2001:216
19>1 Burchell et al., 1991, cited in Smart, 1992
19>2 Foucault, 1997:81
20>1 Foucault, 1997:300
21>1 Fairclough, 1992:92
22>1 Hall, 1999:13
23>1 Osborne, 2002:154
24>1 van Dijk, 1998b:8
24>2 Schirato and Yell, 2000:72
27>1 Hall, 2001:4
30>1 Fairclough, 1992:179
31>1 Dean, 1994:79
32>1 Parker and Goicoechea, 2000:227
33>1 Riggins, 1997:4
33>2 Hall, 1997:238
34>1 Hunt and Wickham, 1994:78
35>1 Fairclough, 1992:43
35>2 Fairclough, 1989:15
35>3 Fairclough, 1989
37>1 Threadgold 2003
38>1 Lyotard, 1993
39>1 Denzin and Lincoln, 1994:2
40>1 Kertzer and Arel, 2002:10
41>1 Troyer, 1993:121
42>1 Hall, 1997a
43>1 Myerhoff and Ruby, 1982:2
43>2 Foucault, 1984a:364
43>3 Darier, 1999:171
43>4 Hinchman, 1991:138
45>1 Fairclough, 1992:47
47>1 Foucault, 1980:82
48>1 Foucault, 1982:213
52>1 Strauss and Corbin, 1998:171
52>2 Alvesson and Deetz, 2000:37-39
53>1 Osborne, 2002:248
54>1 Olsen (no date)
55>1 Foucault, 1980:133
55>2 Rabinow, 1998.
56>1 Bolaffi, et al., 2003:147
57>1 Bolaffi, et al., 2003:187
57>2 Foucher, 1993
58>1 Bolaffi, et al., 2003:190
58>2 Slotkin, 1992: 5-6

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

PUBLISHED 'PROMOTIONAL' TEXT INCLUDED IN THE CORPUS

Year of Publication	*Publisher*	*Main Title of the Publication*	*Sub-Title of the Specific Segment Analysed*	*Page Numbers*
2002	British Tourist Authority	Visit Britain	Royal London	23
(2002)	London Tourist Board	Go Further in London	Cosmopolitan London	6&7
2001	British Tourist Authority	London Planner	Getting to Know London	9-10
2001	London Tourist Board	London Capital Breaks 2002	Cosmopolitan Capital	8-10
2000	Heart of England Tourist Board	Discover the Heart of England	Birmingham: The Place to Be	35

APPENDIX 2

PUBLISHED 'OPERATIONAL' TEXT INCLUDED IN THE CORPUS

Year	*Publisher*	*Main Title of the Publication*	*Sub-Title of the Specific segment Analysed*	*Page Numbers*
2000/1	LTB	Report & Accounts	London Tourism the Way Forward	5
(2001)[i]	ETC	A Tourism Brand for England	The Strengths of the England Brand	6-8
(2002)	London Tourist Board	The London Tourist Economy	LTB's London Tourism Agenda	None
No Date[ii]	Yorkshire Tourist Board	Yorkshire Tourism: Brand Guidelines	The Yorkshire Brand	3-5
No Date	East of England Tourist Board	A strategy for developing tourism in the East of England	A Strategic Framework	45
No Date	Heart of England Tourist Board	Visitor Focus: Growing Prosperity in the Heart of England through Tourism 1998-2003	Key Principles	14-15

i *Please see notes at end of appendices.*

Note:

[i] If the year of publication is enclosed in brackets, this indicates that the text is published to target that particular years market. However, the publication itself may have been produced during the previous year in preparation for circulation.

[ii] If the year of publication is not recorded on the document the term 'no date' is entered. This indicates that although on date of publication is recorded on the document itself, it has been published within the three year parameter of the study