

Prosuming visuality, authenticity and urban exploration within tourist experiences

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**PROSUMING VISUALITY, AUTHENTICITY AND
URBAN EXPLORATION WITHIN TOURIST
EXPERIENCES**

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BA (Hons), MA, M.Inst.TT, MTS, ATMI**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the University of Wolverhampton
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

March 2016

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Abstract

This PhD by publication draws on a range of publications from the last five years.

These books, papers and chapters explore tourist motivation and experiences in a range of contemporary contexts. The body of work moves from mainstream discussion around sustainability and slow tourism in the tourist decision making process to the use of visual media to explore, understand and co-create tourist spaces, investigating related tourist subcultures and counter-cultural destinations. In particular the work focuses on Urban Exploration and, later, on cold war sites.

My papers consider both tourist decision making in relation to planned visits, and the subsequent publication of images of places which have been visited. The work considers authenticity and visuality as components of the dissatisfaction with modern tourism, and the experiences it offers, I argue that this dissatisfaction is driving tourists to understand, engage with and experience tourist sites in new ways, seeking liminality and embodiment within the tourist experience.

The study will develop this analysis through four key areas:

- A clarification of the role of tourism within advanced societies and as a multi-disciplinary field of research.
- An evaluation of authenticity, visuality and urban exploration
- A critical review of tourist consumption, prosumption and co-creation
- A review of the methodologies adopted through the papers submitted for this PhD by publication to explore the mixed-method approaches to data collection and the centrality of visual methodologies and discourses in understanding tourism and tourism geography.
- An exploration of the role of real and virtual experiences in deconstructing and reconstructing urban tourist experiences to evaluate the factors which influence and inform tourist decision making.

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PREFACE

“We are more able to control our own environments than ever before,
yet we are deceived and disappointed”

Daniel Boorstin, 1964

Spending my childhood exploring tourist destinations all over the UK, an activity I have now enjoyed for some 30 years, it was, perhaps, inevitable that this was also the industry I would eventually work within. However, the more I see and experience of the tourism industry, the greater my desire for alternative experiences.

Having worked in tourism, and encountered many thousands of tourists in my varied roles, the opportunity to work in Higher Education provided me with the opportunity to write a book, something I had always aspired to do. The book I planned to write was to be about the different ways in which tourists experience the places which they visit, and, more fundamentally, their general dissatisfaction with those experiences. The book I had planned to write was inspired by the work of broadcaster Jonathon Meades and popular philosopher Alain De Botton, who both discuss alternative views on the nature of the travel experience, tourism spaces and tourist mobilities.

However, this was not the book I wrote. Rather I produced a textbook about Travel Operations Management and a few papers about pedagogy, both tied to the development and delivery of a Foundation Degree Course I was managing at the time for TUI UK Plc and other travel operators.

The more engrossed I have become in academic study, the more I have started to question my own experiences as a tourist, and the numbness with which I responded to many of the attractions that I have visited. For the past 8 years my growing

dissatisfaction with some of my own tourist experiences has sat alongside my desire to explore alternative ways of experiencing these places. My very first job, as a student, was working at Calke Abbey, a National Trust property which is presented in a state of decline and is, therefore, atypical of the visitor experience at other National Trust properties.

Thus, there is some alignment between my experiences, my search for alternative ways of 'seeing' and 'exploring' and the collection of papers which now comprises this portfolio of work. Having spent considerable amounts of time in the car travelling between tourist sites, and at the same time starting to teach the concept of Slow Tourism, I worked with a colleague to explore the notion of Slow Tourism. Following this, I experimented with my own attempts at Slow Tourism, staying within a small destination area, walking between attractions and eating only local food and drink. Whilst this was an interesting experience, the attractions I gazed upon were still relatively homogenised, though seem to have become more memorable as a result of the way in which I reached them (on foot). This experience led to me presenting a joint paper at The British Academy of Management Conference on the topic of Slow Tourism, and to my subsequent mono-authored study on engagement with Slow Tourism.

It was also at this time, in 2009, that Google Earth was gaining in popularity and becoming used by Destination Management Organisations. The idea of an aerial gaze and the use of the images which are geotagged within Google Earth gave me a new area of interest, through which I could further develop the research I started whilst completing my MA (where I looked at the role of images within the management of popular tourist destinations). I was also fascinated by the ability to move between older aerial images within Google Earth, thus being able to see how places have changed through time, and particularly the period from 1999 (when I was at University and visiting many different tourist attractions each month) where the changes illustrated on

Google Earth offered me an opportunity to see how places had changed and developed over time – an interesting and emotive exercise in nostalgia, which contributed to the design of my research around the nostalgic gaze. The historic aerial photographs on Google Earth also became a valuable teaching tool, demonstrating the ways in which planning and development has changed and shaped different destinations and the changing provision of visitor infrastructure. At the same time, my frequent work related visits to Cities including Glasgow and London was providing me with an opportunity to explore on foot, between meetings, and to reflect on my enjoyment of the urban experience – for me it is not the museum and attractions which I enjoy, but the urbanity of the city and the changing nature of city spaces. Further it is the abandoned and derelict parts of cities which I find most fascinating.

It was at this time that I first came across the notion of Urban Exploration (a definition and explanation is provided within this work), and in particular the attraction of decaying buildings and the reasons for exploring such places. Using Urban Exploration websites, I found derelict railway sheds, abandoned houses and disused transport infrastructure which were no less important or interesting than those same types of places when they are presented as tourist attractions. In their derelict form they are open to interrogation, inviting the viewer to explore more of the history of the site – as opposed to the formal narrative offered of a site when it becomes a heritage attraction. I further discussed Urban Exploration at conferences and through the publication of a paper and a book chapter.

It was also my discovery of these websites which led me to uncover derelict theme parks and attractions that I visited when I was younger. The nostalgia I felt in response to these images, which inspired me to think more about the academic application of Urban Exploration. Thus these sites became a lens through which I could explore a range of tourist and related phenomena, and which could also become a mediator for my own research. Consequently, I have explored both the activity of Urban Exploration

and the role of Urban Exploration as a way of understanding through imagery, other people's nostalgic responses and their memories.

Other themes emerged through these studies and my wider reading which I have also explored, including elements of risk and adventure, dark tourism, heritage, nostalgia and visuality. It is the use of images which I now find most inspiring. In my spare time I produce my own photographic prints which I sell, and thus imagery is important in the way that I see and explore the world.

Henceforth, this thesis explores further the meaning of my research, its context and the concepts produced in order to critically evaluate and synthesise my work such that it further underpins a model I developed for my capstone paper (2016) on Urban Exploration and Tourism. This model questions the contemporary nature of the tourism industry and identifies the potential for a divergence from modern tourist experiences to postmodern tourist encounters as being fundamental to the nature of tourism experience in the future. It also enables me to relate my research to Cold War tourism as one example of a new tourism niche which better reflects the themes and issues highlighted in my work. My exploration of the former Regional Command Bunker beneath my office in West Oxfordshire was my first experience of such a site. I have visited many others for work, for research, for pleasure, as informal tourist attractions, but most often I have stumbled upon such places entirely by accident.

Examples of my own explorations

Site of the former American Adventure Theme Park, Ilkeston, Derbyshire



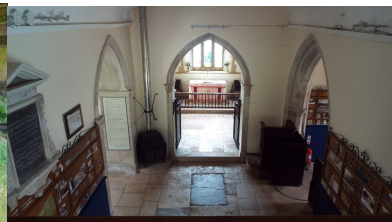
Steel Wire Mills, Shining Cliff, Derbyshire



Imber Village, Salisbury Plain



Tyneham Village, Dorset



Chapter 1 – Introduction

This introductory chapter considers and develops the definitions of tourism and discusses its meanings and interpretation to provide a basis for this study. The chapter then provides a statement of the contribution of my work and provides a brief overview of each of the papers. Throughout this chapter and the subsequent chapter, each paper is referred to as an Appendix. This narrative demonstrates the common themes and linkages which will be further explored within the next 7 chapters. Further, this chapter also sets out the key terms which underpin my papers.

1.1 Tourism

In 1963 the United Nations recognised tourism as a phenomenon associated with spending periods of time (greater than 24 hours) away from home and described those travelling for shorter periods of time as 'excursionists'. In 1981, Burkhart & Medlik identified key characteristics of the tourism industry based around the movement of people and the nature of the experience as being different from everyday life. However, these characteristics also suggested that such activities would not include any form of employment within the destination – problematic for later explaining business tourism, volunteer tourism, serious leisure or backpacking. In 1986 Leiper defined tourism as the movement of people from a tourist generating region to a tourism destination zone and proposed 'The Tourism System', yet this is a static module which does not allow for variances in behaviours.

Cooper et al (2000, p8) described tourism as "a multidimensional, multifaceted activity which touches many lives and many different economic activities". This definition, which also considers the economic impacts of tourism, moved the field of study a long way from the earlier definition by Holloway (1994, p1) as being about "movement of people away from their normal place of residence". In 2010, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation updated their definition as follows:

Tourism is defined as the activities of persons identified as visitors. A visitor is someone who is making a visit to a main destination outside his/her usual environment for less than a year for any main purpose [including] holidays, leisure and recreation, business, health, education or other purposes. This scope is much wider than the traditional perception of tourists, which included only those travelling for leisure.

Since the 1970s there has been increase in interest in the phenomenon of tourism and those who engage in it as an area of academic practice. This definition reflects the continual growth of research and development within tourism. Of particular relevance to this narrative is the seminal work by MacCannell, 'the Tourist' (1976) in which he suggested that the holy grail of tourism was to discover 'authenticity', positioned as a reaction to the industrialisation and subsequent fragmentation of modern society, and a nostalgic yearning for a lost rural idyll. He noted that such endeavours were, however, usually limited by both local people and the tourism industry itself, suggesting the nature of the tourism industry made it impossible to discover authenticity, not least because the tourism industry works so hard to present official histories and narratives. A key theme in the collection of papers presented here draws upon the question of the authentic nature of travel experiences, the contemporary presentation of tourism and the nature and structure of heritage experiences.

As noted in the more recent definitions, tourism is a key factor in economic growth and world trade. Even though tourism was rarely examined by academics until the 1970s, it was recognised by policy-makers as a key issue in the 1950s (Robinson, Lueck and Smith, 2013). Much early scholarship was influenced by the growth of mass tourism and the recognition of the value and accessibility of a range of leisure activities. This research was carried out by economists, geographers, sociologists, historians and others. This early investigation supported the development of the underpinning ideas and concepts upon which contemporary tourism is founded as both a field of study and

as an activity which has profound impacts on economies, communities, societies and environments (Robinson, Lueck and Smith, 2013). The notion of a 'field' of study reflects the interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary and extradisciplinary nature of the subject (Tribe, 2004). Although tourism has been referred to by Goeldner (1988) as a discipline, my work takes the view that tourism lacks sufficient theoretical underpinning to claim to be a discipline, and thus there is considerable scope to explore the gaps in knowledge that this epistemological position reveals. For example, the study of tourism is based upon the use of underpinning concepts and frameworks from a range of other subject areas (Page and Connell, 2009; Robinson, Lueck and Smith, 2013). As the study of tourism has evolved, it has come to be seen as more complex area of study (Tribe, 2004). Indeed, Stuart Hall (2005), described tourism as a child of modernity and suggested that both tourism and the study of tourism are about the creation of new relationships between place and time.

The papers presented here (Section 1.6 onwards) explore the notion of time (authenticity¹, heritage² and slow tourism³) and place (nostalgia⁴ and cities⁵) and develop these relationships further. Hall suggested that in this way it is possible to rethink tourism as part of the social science of mobility. Consequently, any notion of rethinking tourism as the social science of mobility implies connecting empirical research with theory building. Hall further argued that the rubric of a tourist gaze⁶, suggested a decorporealisation of the tourist linked to opportunities for research relevant to postmodernism.

¹ Appendix 1,2,3,7,8,9

² Appendix 7,8

³ Appendix 1,2,3

⁴ Appendix 7, 9

⁵ Appendix 6,7,8

⁶ Appendix 4,5,6

1.2 Tourists

Boorstin (1972) categorised those who travel as trippers, tourists and travellers - trippers describing those who are interested only in glancing at what they see, whilst tourists and travellers gaze upon the sites they visit. Travellers, MacCannell (1976) argued, are those who specifically seek and recognise 'authenticity' and are thus seen as elitist in their travel exploits. These definitions are problematic in categorising individuals – in reality tourists take on these different roles at different times in their lives. The tourist may seek authenticity, but be equally willing to accept the fakery and fatuousness presented by the tourism industry – a connection referred to as the post-tourist (Heitmann, 2008). The experience of hyperreality within tourism, through film set tours for example, further blurs the boundaries in seeking to define what is authentic.

Tourist experiences are increasingly created through the technologies of representation, an intermixing of reality and fantasy, and a faith in authentic human experience (Strain, 2003). The 'authenticity' presented to tourists (through tourism) is increasingly driven by representations of that authenticity, despite the promise of demediation offered by the tourism industry. Strain (2003) explained this as the illusion of demediating mediation, to illustrate the role of the tourism industry in creating the illusion that what is viewed by the tourist is an unmediated representation of the past, whilst in fact mediating a new interpretation which is no more or less mediated than the demediated authenticity that they promised to offer in the first place.

The study of tourism in contemporary times is, therefore, necessarily about the spaces of the virtual and the imaginary (Rojek and Urry; 1997; Crouch, 1999). As noted, space is also a key theme in the body of work presented here (Appendices 7 and 8). The papers in this body of work consider both the virtual (Appendices 4, 5 and 6) and the imaginary (Appendices 7 and 8), and broadly meet the spectrum of the study of space offered by Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010) which includes destination experience, memory and representation as spaces of desire, creativity, liminality,

reordering and enchantment. The spaces encountered in my work (Appendices 7 and 8) reflect the growing body of research around 'Urban Exploration' which has become a critical lens for mediating research. As a point of clarification, urban exploration as it is used in this thesis refers to the exploration of T.O.A.D.S. (Temporary, Obsolete, Abandoned and Derelict Spaces), as opposed to the exploration of urban areas more broadly. This use of the term urban exploration is supported by Dodge (2006), Paiva and Manaugh (2008) and Garrett (2010; 2012; 2014). The spaces referred to in this thesis are those which exist and are created within specific places – most frequently buildings in the urban environment, but also other locations defined as T.O.A.D.S.

The use of urban exploration (as exploration of T.O.A.D.S) within research has included a focus on healthcare and sociology (Prescott, 2011), geography (Garrett 2010; 2012; 2014) and history (Edensor, 2005). However, research is still sporadic in relation to tourism and little consideration has been given to the visual and photographic consumption of Urban Exploration (Robinson, 2015) and urban spaces, or urbanity⁷ more broadly. Geoghegan, Craggs and Neate (2013) called for greater critical inquiry around architecture and the lived experiences of architectural forms (within an urban context) from the original design to contemporary engagement with the spaces created through new forms of architecture and urban planning. They cite urban exploration as being one mechanism by which to explore and experience abandoned spaces within buildings.

1.3 Tourist Photography

Photography of abandoned spaces within buildings in Appendices 7 and 8 is related to the visual research in Appendices 4 and 6, and build upon the long tradition of photography and image within tourism. Sontag (1979) argued that to be a tourist is to also be a photographer, such is the importance of photography to the travel

⁷ Urbanity describes the experience of the urban environment, without focus on any specific destinations or attractions. Urbanity is about experiencing the urban nature of space simply by existing within it (Smith, 2015).

experience. Certainly, modern tourism and photography share an inseparable and intertwined relationship (Teymur, 1993, Markwell, 1997) which emerged from landscape painting and early documentary records of travel experiences. One of the key themes to emerge through this body of work is the exploration of the way in which tourists understand the world through the visual in an increasingly online and technology mediated society. The centrality of imagery and visuality was an area of interest in my MA thesis (see Figure 1.1) and has remained an area of interest through my own fascination with the abstract photography of tourist sites. This collection of published papers also draws on the notion of photography as a way to mediate space and choreograph experiences.

Figure 1.1 – My MA Dissertation

It has long been the case that in rural areas, such as The Peak District National Park, there are a number of destinations which have a popularity which dates back several centuries – places considered to be ‘beautiful’, ‘natural’ or ‘wild’, yet also relatively easy to access. In the Peak District, such popular sites include Dovedale, Thor’s Cave and Winnat’s Pass.

In a bid to manage these destinations for sustainability, and to reduce the impact of visitors, the Peak District National Park Authority and Visit Peak District and Derbyshire, together with the relevant local authorities, took the decision to actively ‘de-market’ these sites. The method for achieving this was the decision to remove images of these sites from all new marketing literature, and to instead focus on other areas of the National Park. This was part of a broader strategy to attract people to the region using the Peak District as the iconic brand, and to then disperse people through the region by promoting less popular destinations and attractions.

In my research, I set out to assess the likely success of this strategy, using the Hermeneutic Circle of Representation (Hall, 1997) as a lens through which to understand the likely benefits of any de-marketing activity. It should be noted at the time of the research that neither digital photography nor Web 2.0 were universally adopted.

The findings of the research, which involved questionnaires with visitors to the region (in one assessment) together with content analysis of postcards (in my dissertation), revealed that such images were so embedded in the visual components of the destination that they persisted in postcards and travel literature to such an extent that their removal from ‘the official guide’ was unlikely to have much impact. Further, most tourists spoke of how they found out about the destinations from family and friends, had visited with family in the past, and had seen their own and other people’s

photographs of the area before visiting, thus illustrating the extent to which the Circle of Representation dominated tourist decision making⁸.

I also observed (Appendix 4) that relatively little research had been developed within the past decade to explore just how ‘the gaze’⁹, and its relationship to semiotics, and tourist behaviour has been influenced, manipulated or altered by technological innovation (Robinson, 2013).

1.4 The Cultural Turn

Research into visibility and image is heavily informed by the cultural turn in the last 40 years (Hall, 1997; Rose, 2013). Through this cultural turn economic relationships are infused with culturally symbolic processes (Zukin, 2006), which are expressed differently in different cultural systems (Thrift and Olds, 1996; Shaw and Williams, 2004):

“Culture, it is argued, is not so much a set of things – novels and paintings or TV programmes or comics – as a process, a set of practices. Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the ‘giving and taking of meaning’ – between the members of a society or group”

Hall (2003, p236)

Hall describes the unsettling of culture as the breaking of unwritten rules and codes and argued that as society seeks to keep things ordered, the places where order does not exist become hidden, suggesting that this includes the “decay, dereliction and the

⁸ The findings from this research almost certainly reflect both the theories which were tested through the study, and hint at the extent to which tourist decision making is based upon the experiences of others, and the past experiences of travellers themselves. Such behaviours may be easily aligned with the psychocentric tourist (Plog, 2001), and with nostalgic visitation practices (Robinson, 2015). Further, the nature of these visitors and their reasons for visiting the region, can be aligned with the market research carried out at the time by Arkenford (2005), who noted that ‘Traditionals’ were a core market for many established destinations

⁹ The Tourist Gaze (Urry, 1990) considers the ways in which tourists look at, or gaze upon, the places that they visit. It has been argued, by a number of authors, including Strain (2003) that The Gaze should be understood in a broader context, as simply the way in which people gaze upon things within their daily lives.

detritus of lived experiences". This view is particularly important for developing work around Urban Exploration (as defined in footnote 7), which becomes one aspect of the cultural turn and reflects contemporary cultural interests (Pinder, 2005). This is a theme to which the discussion returns later. Cultural geography is also explored as it provides foundations for discussing the concepts of desire, gaze, gender and race, together with the iconography of space in the creation of culture and its history (Burden, 2006). Thus, this demonstrates the extent to which the cultural turn has influenced and informed research across a broad spectrum of subjects, including those which are discussed within the corpus of work presented in the appendices.

1.5 Tourism and Postmodernity

For tourism, postmodernism has become increasingly relevant, and explores a multiplicity of tourist motivations, experiences and environments. It moves beyond modernist propositions regarding the variety of tourist experiences and the importance of "authenticity" (MacCannell, 1976; Uriely, 1997; Heitmann, 2008) to an acceptance (and possible dislike) of the 'hyperreal'¹⁰ nature of contemporary tourist experiences. There are two distinct theoretical frameworks of importance in developing these discussions further – the 'simulational' and the 'other' (Munt, 1994; Uriely, 1997). It is 'the other' which is central to the discussions within this thesis.

Simulational postmodernism is based upon Boorstin's idea of pseudo-events and hyperreal experience (2012)¹¹ situated in simulated, themed, or contrived attractions as post-modern environments. 'The other'¹² is based upon MacCannell's quest for authenticity and has tended to focus on rurality and naturalness of the countryside as

¹⁰ Umberto Eco (1986) discusses hyperreality and explains it, simply, as experiences which are based upon multiple layers of reality, invention, imagination and fantasy, to the extent that it may be hard to decipher fact from fiction. Disneyland is often cited as an example of such hyperreality, where the fiction of Disney becomes a historic reality.

¹¹ The reprinted 2012 edition of Boorstin is used within this discussion – note later that there are comments from Rushkoff within this text which are key to a later discussion; hence this edition was selected.

¹² 'The Other' refers to otherness as the way in which our understanding of the world is created through the contrast between one thing and another. Such that in this text, picturesque landscape is understood in relation to wasteland. Wasteland as 'the other' makes it possible to understand the picturesque landscape in a positive way.

postmodern expressions of authenticity (Heitmann, 2008; Burden and Kohl, 2006). Furthermore, the concepts are complementary rather than contradictory, reflecting the 'both-and'-attitude of post-modern theories in contrast to the 'either-or' of modern ones (Uriely, 1997). There are interconnections between the positions, though my research has focussed more strongly on 'the other' and the nature of authenticity within an urban context.

1.6 Rationale for the Selection of Papers

This discussion is based upon the order in which the papers below are presented. The selection of papers is based upon the thematic organisation of ideas around authenticity, nostalgia, experience and consumption. The first three papers are focussed on Slow Tourism and the development and applicability of the 'slow' philosophy¹³ within tourism. These papers present the development of my work in this field, and include a conference paper, book chapter and peer-reviewed article. The themes which emerge from these discussions are linked to the tourist experience and authenticity.

The next three papers focus on the development of knowledge around imagery and technology, building on visual methodologies and the Tourist Gaze. These two papers and one book chapter explore the role of online images within tourism and develop the tradition of tourist painting and photography in a digital age. When these papers were first written there were limited other writings and research. Through the papers I present the idea of an Emediated Gaze, and explore the role of Google Earth within tourist photography and representation of place. The final paper then looks at the ways in which individuals mediate their own experiences online. The summation of the three papers draws on issues of tourist experience, the role of technology, visibility, the

¹³The Slow Food movement is a non-profit, eco-gastronomic, member-supported organization that was founded in 1989 to counteract fast food and fast life, the disappearance of local food traditions and people's dwindling interest in the food they eat, where it comes from, how it tastes and how our food choices affect the rest of the world (Slow Food, 2010). A further development of Slow Food is the Slow City movement, which builds on the ideas of Slow Food but extends the philosophy to cities and destinations. Following on from the Slow Food and Slow City movements, Slow Tourism has evolved as an extension of this philosophy to encompass travel and tourism activities. (Heitmann, Robinson and Povey, 2011).

impact of instantaneous publishing of images online and the ways in which individuals may seek to present individual stories of their tourist experiences.

The seventh paper, the peer-reviewed article on the nostalgic gaze emerges as a development of my interest in images of sites of Urban Exploration. My work on urban exploration prior to this paper elucidated images of derelict themes parks which underpinned this specific paper. Its inclusion is important in bridging the gap between the work on visibility and technology, and an application of these ideas in the development of a specific piece of research which was based upon online imagery of tourist sites and an autoethnographic approach to research which has become key to my methodological philosophy which I discuss in Chapter 4.

The eighth paper, a peer-reviewed article discussing urban exploration, photography and visitation of abandoned places draws upon my work on visibility and tourist photography, as well as a range of related tourism themes (heritage tourism, dark tourism and tourist experience), to establish the idea of urban exploration within a tourism-related context. This paper also presents a framework for further research which draws together issues which emerged through this paper within the context of tourism. On both these two papers themes emerge around authenticity, heritage, photography, tourist experience and visibility.

The final paper selected is not in chronological writing order, but was the last of the papers in the corpus of work to be published. This paper further develops ideas around nostalgia and nostalgic travel experiences. Whilst nostalgia is a key theme, so is the methodology that was adopted and the focus on battlefield sites within the work as these form an important part of the future direction of my research.

1.7 Summary of Papers

1.7.1 Slow Cities (Appendix 1)

The first of the papers submitted as part of my thesis was a development of presentation delivered at the 2010 British Academy of Management conference (Slow Cities – the Emperor’s new clothes or (another) solution for sustainable tourism management?. At the conference (Appendix 1) we presented Slow Tourism¹⁴ as an emerging concept which had developed from the Cittaslow (Slow City) and Slow Food movements. The subsequent paper I produced critically evaluated the work of the limited research which existed at the time and explored tourist awareness of the concept. Whilst the sample size was relatively small, the paper underlined the weaknesses in existing research (Dickinson and Lumsden, 2010) but did draw important relationships between tourist intent to minimise their impacts whilst also engaging with local economies more effectively as part of the tourist experience.

1.7.2 Slow Food, Slow Cities and Slow Tourism (Appendix 2)

With Heitmann, I co-authored a chapter on Slow Tourism within ‘Research Themes in Tourism’ (Robinson, Heitmann & Dieke, 2010), which set out a niche-tourism approach to research opportunities and problems within tourism. The chapter is significant within the context of the book, which addressed a gap in the marketplace in terms of setting an agenda for popular research topics.

1.7.3 Contextualising Slow Tourism (Appendix 3)

This mono-authored peer-reviewed article evaluated the broader awareness of Slow Cities and Slow Tourism outside the realm of Slow Food practitioners. The only similar study (Dickinson and Lumsden, 2010) has carried out research with Slow Food

¹⁴ Building on the ideas of Slow Food, Slow City and the Slow Movement, the principles and philosophy can be easily applied to tourism. Central to the meaning and concept of slow tourism is the shift in focus from achieving a quantity and volume of experiences (while on holiday) towards a focus on the quality of (generally fewer) experiences. It is a form of tourism that respects local cultures, history and environment and values social responsibility whilst celebrating diversity and connecting people (tourists with other tourists and with host communities) and is characterised by the enjoyment of discovery, learning and sharing. This ‘slowing’ of the pace of a holiday provides opportunities to interact and connect with local people and places on a deeper level.

practitioners. The paper demonstrated that Slow Tourism was not a widely recognised phenomenon, but that the philosophy of the slow movement when applied to tourism did have genuine potential to engage visitors with a more authentic version of the destinations that they visit, whilst also contributing to the sustainability of the destination.

1.7.4 The Emediated (Google Earth) Gaze - An Observational and Semiotic Perspective (Appendix 4) and

1.7.5 The Emediated (Google Earth) Gaze (Appendix 5)¹⁵

I address these two works together. The first was a peer-reviewed journal article, the second a book chapter. The peer-reviewed article came first, and explored the emerging role of Google Earth within the context of tourist behaviour and tourist experience. The paper developed from a workshop I hosted at the 2010 Leisure Studies Association Conference at Leeds Beckett University which set out to explore what Google Earth may mean for research opportunities in the future, and a pedagogic research paper I presented at the Association for Tourism in Higher Education Conference in 2010). My paper sought to test Google Earth alongside existing knowledge of imagery, visuality and photography within tourism. The paper used a semiotic approach to research, based upon content analysis of images on Google Earth in recognised tourism honeypots and in less touristic cities. The paper revealed that online images reflected the repetition of the usual signs and signifiers of tourist photography, the potential to create new signifiers and iconification of new sites of interest, and the use of Google Earth as one component of tourist experience. It should be noted that this form of netnography, though not discussed in the paper itself, is explored within the methodological reflections in this thesis. The book chapter provided a critical evaluation of the literature around imagery within tourism and developed this discussion by telling the story of the research paper and exploring what this may mean in the development of contemporary visual methodologies.

¹⁵ While in the publication I used a model on p167, subsequent reading would advise me to revise this to remove the Westernized Gaze from the table.

1.7.6 Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph (Appendix 6)

As a development of my Google Earth research this study sought to explore, through a post-positivist approach to research, aspects of online image sharing – not particularly focussed on the nature of the images, the paper instead explored tourist behaviours with images and the ways in which these pictures become a representation of tourist experience. The study suggested that the public sharing of photographs online frequently led to editing and manipulation of images, often constructed to present a particular version of the travel experience. Photographs were shared online to choreograph a particular visual truth. The paper also revealed strong relationships between photography, emotional response and the role of photography as a future mediator of nostalgic lived experience.

1.7.7 'Lest we forget': A veteran and son share a 'warfare tourism' heritage experience (Appendix 9¹⁶)

As a development of the role of nostalgia in the tourist experience, I started to co-author, with a colleague, a paper which was to explore the nature of nostalgia within tourist experience (see 1.6.8). This paper was somewhat delayed by the opportunity to explore nostalgic experiences through the eyes of a World War 2 veteran (Bob) and his son (Steve) who was a colleague within my department. Steve had secured Lottery Funding to take his dad back to Australia, to relive his memories of his time in Australia whilst serving in the Navy on the Arctic Convoys during World War 2. This study revealed a number of interesting issues for further exploration, including tourist experience within the context of battlefields and battlefield tourism, the role of nostalgia in mediating experiences and the methodological approach adopted in exploring in

¹⁶ Appendices are chronological, based upon the order of publication. Papers are presented here in order of writing)

depth the experiences of two individuals, one remembering their personal memories and one learning this remembered nostalgia.

1.7.8 I Remember it Well: Epiphanies, Nostalgia, and Urban Exploration as Mediators of Tourist Memory (Appendix 7).

Returning to the notion of nostalgia within tourist experience, this paper took the ethnographic approach used in the above paper, and developed the findings through auto-ethnography and netnography to explore personal nostalgic experiences. The paper is novel in developing the growing interest in Urban Exploration and the online records of Urban Exploration as a mediator for nostalgia. The paper considers nostalgic experiences when there is no longer an opportunity to revisit the places associated with the creation of the epiphanies which lead to lingering nostalgic emotion, and, so far uniquely, explored this phenomenon amongst much younger audiences than those traditionally studied in nostalgia and memory tourism studies. This final point was a key issue for the reviewers in accepting this article for publication, alongside the methodological approach adopted.

1.7.9 Conceptualising Urban Exploration as Beyond Tourism and as Anti-Tourism (Appendix 8)

This final paper draws upon three years of attempts to explore and publish the concept of Urban Exploration in the field of tourism. Whilst I initially set out, in 2012, to explore Urban exploration as tourism through the visual nature of online images of T.O.A.D.S (Temporary, Obsolete, Abandoned and Derelict Structures), the paper I developed failed to attract interest from journal editors despite being considered interesting due to its lack of fit within any particular subject area. Urban exploration was referred to in a number of areas and explored in geographical journals, but lacked the necessary foundations within tourism. Thus this alternative, literature based paper emerged from my initial findings and set out to bring together key issues from earlier papers and conference experiences, whilst developing a conceptual map to position Urban

Exploration within the context of tourism. The model which emerged (see Chapter 6) ultimately becomes the golden thread through which I discuss issues of consumption, prosumption, authenticity and the nature of the visual within this submission for a PhD. I also, towards the end of this discussion, start to focus on areas of interest within tourism which emerge from the development of this paper.

1.8 Contribution to Knowledge

As noted in 1.6, these papers were selected based upon the contribution to knowledge and the coherence of the narrative which they provide for this submission – both as a cohesive body of work and to illustrate the future direction of my research. In the compilation of the appendices, there are five particular themes: slow tourism, authenticity, visuality, nostalgia and urban exploration. In each of these areas there are clear contributions to knowledge which are identified below. This thesis then brings together those themes as a further contribution to research which will be the focus of future publications. This latter contribution is established in Chapter 6 of this work.

Slow Tourism: Although it is the theme of authenticity which is the focus of these papers within this thesis, the submissions under this heading (Appendices 1, 2, and 3) represent a significant body of work developing slow tourism. At the time of publication only Dickinson and Lumsden had produced any other research in this field. These papers, therefore, offer a significant development of the slow philosophy for tourism, and for the role of tourism within the Slow City movement. Further, they explore and contribute to discussions around authenticity and the search for existential authenticity discussed later in this work.

Authenticity: Discussed within the context of slow tourism, nostalgia and urban exploration I explore the idea of the search for authenticity proposed by MacCannell

(1976), and suggest that it is finding existential authenticity which is the focus of individual tourists. This idea is central to explaining the rationale behind the increased interest in travel to sites which are not opened up or managed for the purposes of tourism (such as Urban Exploration). This theme and contribution emerges in Appendices 1, 3, 7, 8 and 9.

Visuality: Whilst there exists a considerable body of knowledge around tourism, photography, visuality and semiotics, by 2011 only Urry and Larsen had made clear reference to the potential implications of the internet. The research presented in Appendices 4, 5 and 6 is unique in exploring the role of online publication of images, establishing the difference between analogue and digital photography using empirical data, and examining the ways in which individuals curate their photographic collections to tell stories of their travel experiences. Whilst this contribution is primarily located within Appendices 4, 5 and 6, it is also a key issue in Appendices 7 and 8.

Nostalgia: It was noted by Bartoletti (2010), that nostalgia represents a new frontier in tourism research. The work presented for this thesis (Appendix 7) responds to this opportunity, and provides autoethnographic and ethnographic insights into the phenomenon of nostalgia in a tourism context. The fact that the work also established nostalgia in younger age groups than previous studies, and uses photography as a mediator for research ensures this paper makes a contribution to methodological approaches to studying nostalgia, as well as developing knowledge around the creation of nostalgia and its future mediation. Emotional responses to nostalgia are also identified in Appendix 6.

Urban Exploration: Whilst Urban Exploration has been discussed in geography, social care, healthcare and art, little attention has been paid to the relationship between urban

exploration and tourism, despite the fact that the urban exploration movement attracts explorers to travel globally to explore new sites. Garrett (2014) suggested that there were considerable opportunities to develop new research, and therefore, the paper in this body of work (Appendix 8) examines urban exploration from a tourism perspective and makes a unique contribution to the field of study as the first paper to provide this insight.

1.9 Summary

Thus, a number of questions emerge for further discussion through the narrative which follows:

- The nature of tourism prosumption
- The role of technology within the prosumption of The Tourist Gaze
- The changing nature of urban tourism and the prosumption of urbanity
- The nature of tourist spaces, heritage and authentic experience as components of prosumption
- The development of nostalgia and urban exploration as opportunities to prosume existential authenticity
- A synthesis of my research to articulate and conceptualise opportunities for further research.

The narrative of tourist consumption, co-creation and prosumption is the lens through which I explore visibility, nostalgia and urban exploration. The way in which tourists prosume tourist spaces is, therefore, the 'golden thread' (Smith, 2006) throughout this narrative.

1.10 Organisation of my Thesis

This thesis discusses and explores key issues to create a discourse which explores, explains and ties together the paper listed above with other research and publication I have produced, whilst setting the discussion in the context of tourism as a field of study. In my reflection on my research, and through earlier drafts of this thesis, I select

the lenses of consumption, prosumption and tourist experience to explore these issues. In this first chapter I have set out the key issues and definitions which are used to explore and explain tourism, tourists and my existing research.

Chapter 2 explores the consumption and prosumption within tourist experience and discusses and evaluates key issues in the exploration of urban space. This chapter explores the changing nature of urban tourism and discusses urbanity as positioning the tourist within a cityspace, as a co-creator of the urban experience.

Chapter 3 then considers issues relating to authenticity, liminality and visuality in the context of tourist experience, consumption and prosumption, thus developing further the discourse in chapter 2, and focussing attention on the key issues which are explored in both the papers and this discourse.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methodologies adopted in the body of work presented here, and explores the research journey which has informed, and been informed by my research. The paper considers my ontology, epistemology, methodologies and axiologies that were adopted, and discusses the changing nature of my approaches to research as a research journey.

Chapter 5 reflects further on the outcomes of my research and explores what these mean and their implications for future research. The chapter draws together the emergent themes and reflects upon the model which emerges from my capstone paper. The chapter also explores the idea of Cold war tourism and contextualises and exemplifies evidence of a growing interest in Cold war sites and sites of urban exploration, personally remembered nostalgias and new forms of heritage interpretation.

Chapter 6 then concludes my discussions and sets out a further agenda based upon opportunities, questions and issues raised within the corpus of work.

Chapter 2 – Prosuming Tourist Experiences

In this chapter I set out the key issues and the seminal and contemporary works in relation to my research. In particular, the chapter explores the ideas of consumption and prosumption within the context of urban environments, positioning urbanity and the city as a space which is ripe for exploration and the co-creation of urban tourist experiences.

2.1 Prosuming Tourism

The analysis of practices of tourist consumption is based upon broader theories of consumer behaviour which emerged in the 1950s from psychology, sociology and social psychology, it was during the 1980s that consumer behaviour was recognised as a key area of interest for research by Sheth, Gardner and Garrett (1988). Issues discussed within consumer behaviour include brand loyalty, buying behaviour, attitudinal research and decision making emerged at this time. In tourism, most studies are focussed upon understanding tourist behaviours, attitudes, values, motivations, perceptions, expectations, preferences and choices from pre-purchases to post-purchases, and most contemporary discussions focus upon push and pull factors (Dann, 1977) as these are considered the factors which most likely influence decision making for tourism purchases. In *Tourism: The Key Concepts* (Robinson, 2012), Khoo-Lattimore (2012) identified that current research tends to focus on motivation, buying processes and models of consumption. Although consumption is a useful lens through which to explore tourist experiences and is important in the corpus of work presented here (integrating consumer behaviour with other disciplines whilst focussing on factors including personality, memory, attitudes, lifestyle and perception, as well as the external factors) it is the notion of presumption which is central to development of my research.

As tourism has evolved, post-Fordist structures of consumption have been used to exemplify the shifting nature of tourist consumption from package holidays to more independent, niche market, tailored experiences (Munt, 1994; Urry, 2002; Shaw and Williams, 2004). Yet increasingly tourism relies not upon the traditional idea of consumption, but on the notion of co-creation (Pappaladore et al, 2014). As Ritzer (2012) observed, interest in co-creation and prosumption has gained considerable traction in the 21st Century. Despite only becoming prevalent in the last two decades, prosumption was first explained by Toffler (1980) as bringing together the processes of production and consumption, an idea first explored by Karl Marx and later by McLuhan and Nevitt (1972). Ritzer argues that prosumption has always existed, but has been understood as the separate processes of production and consumption. (Ritzer, 2009; Ritzer, Dean and Jurgenson, 2012).

Prosumption was subsequently discussed by Kotler as “The Prosumer Movement” (1986) and Dabholkar (1990), whilst the related concept of ‘value co-creation’ (Humphreys & Grayson, 2008) has been of interest within tourism literature. The host-guest relationship is one such example in tourism (Meuter et al, 2000) and enables both parties to contribute to the creation of an experience. This reflects a more active and innovative participation in the process of production (Prebensen and Foss, 2011). Xie et al (2008, p110) define prosumption (within tourism) as “value creation activities undertaken by the consumer that result in the production of products they eventually consume and that become their consumption experiences”. This is consistent with the notion of value co-creation, where tourists also contribute to co-creation through their own performances (Lusch and Vargo, 2006; Haldrup and Larsen, 2010; Rakic and Chambers, 2012).

As postmodern theory is opposed to binaries (Pietrykowski, 2007) it is more appropriate to adopt prosumption as the model for understanding and explaining consumer behaviour. Further, much of the research presented in the appendices is

based upon Web 2.0 (Appendices 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8), which Ritzer argues is further evidence of the difficulty distinguishing between producers and consumers. In the development of the Emediated Gaze (Appendices 4, 5 and 6) one of the key ideas is the role of tourists (as consumers) uploading images of destinations (thus becoming producers) which are then seen online by others and become part of the marketing of destinations. Ritzer and Jurgenson (2010) argue that this is evidence of businesses employing consumers to work on their behalf –they posit that this is evidence of the exploitation of consumers working for free on behalf of businesses. In contrast to the Emediated Gaze, the promotion and sharing of Urban Exploration sites (Appendices 7 and 8) is more akin to Web 2.0 acting as ‘the ultimate social factory’ (Ritzer, 2009).

Of particular importance in the broader context of the corpus of work presented here, is that the prosumption of experiences, especially where tourists are a part of the production of the experience, relies not upon single attractions but upon spaces where tourists are to be found. In an urban context (section 2.2), this is best described as ‘Urbanity’ (section 2.3), and provides an opportunity to reflect upon the role of individual in co-creating and presuming their experiences (section 2.4).

2.2 The City

Cities are central to economic growth and to the tourism industry. Urban tourism as a concept was defined by Law (1993) as referring to the repackaging of industrial cities into tourism products – a spectacle of architecture, design, image and consumption which are considered by some to be impersonal and deeply contradictory (Wearing, Stevenson and Young, 2010). In post-industrial cities the regeneration of urban environments has led to the creation of new spaces for tourists which emerge from specific ‘state-directed industries’ (Hutton, 2006). Despite the benefits of tourism, Richards (2011) observed that the gentrification and serial reproduction of culture

brings about issues of cultural commodification¹⁷, authenticity and dissonance. A further consequence is the changing nature of such places and the period of time where industrial areas become zones of alienation and dereliction. In particular for urban explorers, this is the opportunity to explore the liminal spaces of abandoned historic buildings prior to their demolition or reuse in the new commercial spaces which are created. Such spaces are prime locations for urban exploration and help to embed this practice within the debate about authenticity, heritage and space. The newly created spaces which replace the old and present a new way to engage with and understand the many different and contested histories of the area. However, Matthey (2014) has argued that such urban storytelling creates homogenised spaces with homogenised interpretations of history and does little other than reinforce the 'collective governmentality of citizens', whilst creating spaces which are not far removed from the 'society of spectacle' theorised by Debord (1984). Urban exploration, by comparison, is a geo-political movement which seeks to understand spaces without story-telling.

Detroit is one important example, a place which looks like a city but which persists "death-in-life existence" (Wilkins, 2010), a city in decay, which has become popular with Urban Explorers (Appendix 8) and the publishers of urban photography coffee table books (Herron, 2010; Strangleman, 2013). It raises questions about the economic and governmental system that produced it and questions what it could have been (also a trait of nostalgic reflections in 'The Nostalgic Gaze', Appendix 7). Some areas are rebuilt in failed attempts at regeneration, others are vacuously derelict and have consequently become fascinating to tourists and journalists. This is a consequence of the city consuming itself as out of town retail draws consumers away from the city centre, only to be replaced by subsequent new out of town developments which draw

¹⁷ Hall (2005) suggests that aesthetic reflexivity describes the influencing of practices of consumption and has led to a different attitude to authenticity, which is bound up with aesthetic illusions rather than a quest for the real or deeply spiritual. It is suggested that there are so many aesthetic authorities it is difficult for anyone/anything to comprehend the meaning of commodities.

people to new sites of consumerism. Those areas 'left behind' are neglected and fall into disrepair (Debord, 1984).

Mangurian and Roy (2010), specifically refer to the post-Google era as defining the post-modern city. Wilkins (2010) has compiled perhaps the most contemporary series of papers on the subject, 'Distributed Urbanism: Cities after Google Earth', which seeks to describe and explore the city in a post-modern and post-Google Earth context. It is especially relevant here as it draws together other works which use Google Earth to geo-spatially understand space and provides a synergy between my research with Google Earth and the nature of the city.

2.3 Urbanity

Urbanity explains the atmosphere, sensuality and experience which exists within an urban area. It is not tied to the attractions or sights of that place, but the projection of 'homogenized everyday activities and habits within a mirror of completely different spatial settings' Gospodini (2001, p. 927). Multicultural areas of cities enable the everyday and the exotic to overlap, creating a form of mundane capitalism where tourists and residents mingle together (Edensor, 2000; 2007; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska, 2004), providing opportunities for serious leisure (Stebbins, 1979) where visitors can, to some extent, experience and learn about other cultures (and thus experience some degree of liminality¹⁸). This can be seen through the idea of the 'situationist city' (Debord, 1977) which exists only in the parts as they are experienced and seen, not as a whole. This leads to the creation of subjective versions of the city based on the way individuals engage with these spaces – thus no two individuals will experience the same city. This leads to the existence of psychographic islands – inhabitants are attracted to some, and repelled from others. These islands can include both gentrified and regenerated city spaces, and the abandoned and derelict spaces

¹⁸ A time between times (Turner, 1980) where individuals are outside of their normal experiences, and may experience some form of personal change as a consequence.

enjoyed by urban explorers. These contradictory notions of the city lead to the creation of 'unités d'ambiances' based on different elements of different cities – a 'global derive' which creates an urban hypertext where individuals create their own version of the city based upon the ways in which they prosume (consume in Debord and Ruby) their urban experiences (Debord, 1984; Ruby, 2010).

Taking part in the city's everyday life is often central to the tourist experience and exemplifies the prosumption of the city (Maitland, 2008; Binkhorst and Den Dekker, 2009). These experiences will be based upon a host of sensual experiences, and not just the visual prosumption which may have occurred during the travel planning phase as a result of reading marketing materials and online content (Urry, 1990; Edensor, 2000; Rakic and Chambers, 2012). The individualised nature of each experience of urbanity can be aligned with 'existential authenticity' (Wang, 1999), which is a key issue for discussion later in the thesis (Appendix 7). The feelings associated with existential experiences are activated by the liminal process of tourist activities (Wang, 1999) and are heightened by the fact that there are no constraints placed on the tourist by daily life, such that the authentic self is more easily realised, but often experienced only within a liminal zone. This intra-personal authenticity involving 'self-making' or 'self-identity' are implicit dimensions of tourism motivation, particularly for more allocentrically based activities, and thus for urban exploration (Appendix 8). Tourists seeking authentic experiences are also, in part, motivated by nostalgia (Appendix 7) (Robinson, 2012). They are in search of their authentic selves and may mediate this through places and activities (Appendix 7) (Wang, 1999). It is this narrative which defines the choice of site selected for this research

2.4 Exploring the City

'The Flâneur' emerged from the work of Baudelaire (1863; Mayne, 1964) and offered a particular perspective on being within urban spaces, seeking aesthetic beauty in modernity where progress and change were rampant. This urban dweller, revisited by Benjamin in the 1930s, has become a popular figure in tourist writing as a poet and a stroller, being hidden within the crowd, and acting as a passionate spectator – gazing upon the world, yet hidden from the crowd by being within it (Benjamin, 1973; Wearing and Wearing, 1996; Stevenson, 2003). The Flâneur is engaged in an archaeological process of unearthing the myths and collective dreams of modernity (Frisby, 1986). He is, at this time, seen as a masculine figure, outside the production of tourism (Wilson, 1995), away from home and in search of the unfamiliar (Lechte, 1995), essentially an explorer (consumer) of urban spaces. This wandering, non-participative exploration of city spaces is in contrast to the tourist as a prosumer. Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010) adopt the term 'The Choraster' to define an individual who co-creates their urban experiences, becoming a part of the urban environment, and contributing to the experience of other people within the city.

The popular philosopher De Botton (2002) observed that it is an essential desire of humanity to discover meaning in the world through exploration and that exploration, by its very nature, is of little purpose when its results remain hidden. Many early explorers were tourists, painting and documenting what they found, exemplifying the relationship between modern tourism and the eighteenth century Grand Tour (and the period of Enlightenment) which was a form of tourism and exploration long before the creation of a formal and structured tourism industry (Strangleman, 2013; Burden and Kohl, 2006).

The idea of exploration is a deeply personal activity, and is about the individual being an explorer, rather than exploration being something the individual does within their leisure time activity (as tourism might be) (De Botton, 2002). By contrast, mass tourism has made it easier and safer to visit and explore places, whilst authentic exploration

still retains some sense of fear and risk taking (Holder, 2005). The trivialisation of 'adventure' in the 20th Century as a result of the safety offered to tourists by the accompanied and organised package tours offered by Thomas Cook deprived travellers of the opportunity to use their initiative and to experience real adventure. As a consequence, it takes more time and effort to create travel risks than to avoid them (Boorstin, 2012), yet risk is an essential requirement for the allocentric traveller (Plog, 2001). In an un-published case study of the Motor Car and Motor Coach (excerpt in Figure 2.1) which was written as part of a Knowledge Transfer Project I present the case that in Britain, there was little left to explore and discover by the end of the 1950s (Burden and Kohl, 2006; Boorstin, 1964), an example of Strain's critique (2003) that the more we explore, the less there is left to discover. Consequently, the places to see which were commonly regarded as being places worth visiting were already embedded within a semiotic of national significance before the birth of mass tourism.

Whatever the reason for exploring, and however unoriginal the exploration, such experiences are undertaken away from home in what are, at least to the individual concerned, strange and unfamiliar places where their exploration will provide new experiences, new opportunities for learning and new ways of understanding the world. This type of experience provides the foundation for seeking existential authenticity¹⁹ (Appendices 7, 8 and 9).

Figure 2.1: Excerpt from Case Study on the Motor Car and Tourism

In the early part of the 20th century London Underground had employed artists to design posters to encourage people to travel on the underground railway. The principal railway companies also commissioned artwork to encourage tourist travel to seaside resorts and rural destinations. However, it was the stylistic artwork of the underground promotional activity which captured Shell's imagination, and the company adopted this approach to the promotion of their own fuel sales. Although a number of methods were used by Shell, the series of particular interest here are the images of tourist sites, which arguably reveal much about the nature of visiting sites as they do about the

¹⁹ Existential authenticity is broadly understood as interpersonal and intrapersonal authenticity. Selwyn (1996) refers to hot (existential) and cold authenticity, which Brown (1996) suggests refers to the temporal characteristics of existential authenticity.

hermeneutic circle where images are captured, promoted and recaptured, thus creating iconic sites for tourists to explore (Hall, 1997).

Before exploring this further, it is essential to note that the tourist landscape was very different before the Second World War, and most car-based travel involved journeys to see landmarks, unusual follies and places to picnic, and Shell captured these places in poster art. A selection of these posters can be viewed at Upton House in Warwickshire, owned by The National Trust and once home of Walter Samuel, 2nd Lord Bearsted, Shell Board Member and son of Marcus Samuel, who was the founder of the oil company.

Heathcote (2011) discusses the Shell County guides which were produced between 1934 and 1984 and argues that these guides, as a series, were 'the largest essay on the relationship between our physical environment and British identity in the twentieth century' (p1). The guides accompanied the Shell advertising campaigns which featured the strapline 'See Britain First on Shell'. The changing nature of attractions means that many of the sites featured on the posters are no longer attractions, or have since been restored to a presentable and safely consolidated state. The full collection of Shell Artwork is conserved by The National Motor Museum at Beaulieu, but is occasionally displayed in other motor museums alongside the longer term display at Upton House.

Heathcote (2011, p132) observes that "in 1987 the series was reviewed under a different publisher and editor by Shell...The truth was that the Shell Guides had had their day ... The age of British holidays was over: roads were congested, hotels and cottages were expensive, pubs didn't admit children and beach cafes served unfashionable heart-clogging food; but most of all it was cheaper to fly to Spain, Italy or Greece, where it was warmer and the food was good". Heathcote does note that in 2011 things have changed again and Britain has seen something of a revival (as have the businesses he complained about, with MSAs [Motorway Service Areas] now offering good quality branded food, and beachside cafes offering Costas coffee and salads.

2.5 Visual Prosumption

Travelling can be seen as a period of time which is free of volition (Taylor, 1994) - a liminal period of time where travellers can potentially find self-actualisation and existential authenticity, as well as a personal brand and personal cultural capital. In order to record and relive those memories and periods of dreaming, photographs have become central to the tourist experience (Robinson, 2015) (Appendix 6). To this end, the literary and artistic traditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been superseded by multiple forms of visual media including television, film and photography. Susan Sontag noted that since 1839 "everything has been photographed, leading to a visual code which alters and defines our understanding of the places and

things which are worth seeing, and those which we have the right to see". She describes this as a grammar and ethics of seeing which has led to a "shady commerce between art and truth" and presents a narrow and selective interpretation of the things that we should see. Taylor describes three periods of landscape photography and asserts (as do Burden and Kohl (2006) and Boorstin (2012)) that mass tourism and mass photography first occurred in the late nineteenth century. The relationship between tourism and photography and, therefore, visibility was explained by Berger (1972) as a key tool in understanding the spaces that people both inhabit and travel to inhabit for temporary periods of time.

Unlike the artwork that predates photography (which Berger (1972) argues glorifies the social system and its priorities), and which have, through public display in galleries and houses become components of the visual economy of tourism (Boorstin, 2012), photographs appear to convey much less significance. Like art they offer both the image and the likeness of the content of the image, but are easily reproduced and copied (Berger, 1972; Edwards, 2006). Further, there may be other people within the image gazing back, suggesting a two-way gaze and raising the question of who is looking at whom? Photographs also adopt a documentary style language (Edwards, 2006) which asserts an authority of truth within the image which may contribute to Berger's notion of the cultural mystification of the past and the creation of new significances which emerge through the formalised heritage industry. In the early marketing of destinations, however, it should be noted that in marketing terms, artistic posters of tourist sites (rather than photographs) became much more important in portraying the places that should be visited than photographs (Heathcote, 2011). Yet photographs have become dominant in mediating meaning and sharing experiences (Appendices 4 and 6).

Edwards discusses photos as being 'documents' recorded by 'soulless cameras' and discusses in detail the importance of sociology and iconification as impacts of

photography. Any truth claim associated with photography relies, therefore, in understanding that the image is tied to the things it represents. He argues that it remains difficult to distinguish between digital and chemical photography, except to note that more interesting uses of digital photography can be found in the ability to create a heightened and more disturbing realism within the pictures which are recorded. The development of the Mediated Gaze (Appendices 4 and 6), provides evidence for this similarity. However, what can be understood through the visual is only the first stage in understanding the relationship between image and tourism (Boorstin, 1964).

In terms of European travel, this photographic content is guided by the picturesque, focusing on places of natural and historic significance - images of the history and heritage which has driven the growth of tourism within Western Europe (Berger, 1972; Nicholson, 2008; Strong, 2011). These same sites were popular on the Grand Tour, captured by painters, then photographers, then tourists. Each image of a site imbuing upon it a sense of its own importance. As such places have come to be seen as heritage products, so the images trade on both the artistic aesthetic and the reality of the experience (Sontag, 1979). Photography and tourism together have combined to explain the inauthentic 'use' of the past in England - the past of the heritage industry, of shared and collective nostalgias, rather than the authentic past (Appendices 4, 6, 7, 8) (MacCannell, 1976; Sontag, 1979; Taylor, 1994) which is frequently described as 'Arcadia' (Burden and Kohl, 2006; Nicholson, 2009). As tourists fear the failure of not seeing or perceiving whatever is expected the opportunity to see landscape in a prescribed manner allows the traveller to overcome anxiety and set aside the potential dangers of meeting 'the other' (Sontag, 1979).

2.6 The Tourist Gaze

Photographs offer mediated reconstructions of the environment, but do not offer a documentary account of exactly what these past worlds looked like (Chalfen, 1987). However, collected images are a key component in the way that landscapes are understood and viewed outside the place where the image was originally recorded. The new temporal order of tourist photography seems to be 'I am here' rather than 'I was here' (Bell & Lyall, 2005). Bourdieu (1990) offered a structuralist account of the social role of photography, suggesting that photographic recording defines social relations and that photography plays a key role in social integration, family membership and as a tool for marking important occasions and events (Haldrup and Larsen, 2003).

As the camera stands between the tourist and the view and captures a selective framing of a scene or site which becomes a representation of the view that is seen at a particular point in time, it nullifies the object being gazed upon (Sontag, 1979). This time and aesthetic distance then persists in the later viewing of the image. The hermeneutic Circle of Representation explains this continual and self-perpetuating illusory system of markers and sites to be visited (Boorstin, 1964; Urry 1990, 2002; Hall, 1997; Jenkins 2003; Urry and Larsen 2011). Urry developed this further through The Tourist Gaze, as a mechanism for understanding what people gaze at and upon, enabling the gaze to become a tool for critical inquiry where an image can be deconstructed into its component signs and signifiers in order to allow the researcher to understand the focus of the image that the tourist is seeking to view once the image is captured and stored (Rose, 2013). Whilst Urry (1990, p2) has linked the Gaze to tourism (Hall, 1997; Rose, 2013; Wearing, Stevenson and Jones, 2010) it has applicability in the wider social sciences and it may be better to discuss the mobilised virtual gaze as tied to technology and as being culturally ubiquitous (Friedburg, 1993; Strain, 2003).

In the second edition of 'The Tourist Gaze' (2002) Urry suggested that technology would change the accepted notions of visuality in tourism research. In *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011), Urry and Larsen observed that the internet and digital photography had made it possible to send images almost instantaneously and to share and exhibit them in virtual spaces (Appendices 4 and 6). The objectification of a site through photography (Xie, 2006), symbolic economics (Zukin, 1995), and photographic prosumption may give an insight into the self-representation and broader interests of individual travellers (or urban explorers). 'Symbolic economics' within tourism suggests that experiences fluctuate between representational, interpretive and experiential spaces located between and within the tourist gaze, Zukin (1995). This symbolic economy of space is concerned with the production of material forms (photographs for example), combined with the symbolic order of meanings. Meethan (2001) suggested that symbolic differentiation provides the raw materials from which tourist spaces can be constructed.

As Crouch and Lubren suggest "being a tourist is to produce, not only to consume, landscape, place and visual material" (2003, p12) - thus the tourist as a photographer becomes a prosumer (Ritzer, 2009) and, is consequentially employed by the tourism industry to help in the promotion of tourist sites and destinations. As a consequence, digital images contribute to the co-creation of tourist experiences in new ways. One of these, as yet unexplored in any literature, is the selfie – the opportunity to record an image of self within a space where someone else is taking the photograph). The selfie as a phenomenon offers a new opportunity for further research.

Chapter 3 - Issues of Prosumption

Contemporary consumerism involves imaginative pleasure-seeking, day-dreaming and an anticipation of new and different experiences from those in everyday life, influenced by a media driven society (Urry, 2002; Heitmann, 2008) There are a number of specific aspects of prosumption of tourism products which reflect this narrative, and which have become a key issue for my research. In this chapter I set out the development of my research, highlighting the issues which exist within the production and consumption of tourism which create the space within which my research sits. The chapter explores and defines concepts of authenticity, ruins and urban exploration, to highlight the gaps in current research where my work is subsequently able to make a contribution to the body of knowledge.

3.1 Prosumption of Authenticity

MacCannell (1999) developed the term 'staged authenticity', based on Goffman's (1959) front and back regions²⁰, and the broad assumption that people are happy to accept the staged authentic representation as 'authentic'. This is problematic as authenticity is not a given, measurable quality, nor is it a fixed, static concept and there is a tendency to rely upon visual evidence to create the belief that something is real as it exists and appears to be authentic (Eco, 1986). Authenticity is argued to be negotiable, to carry different meaning for different people and is able to change over time (emergent authenticity - Cohen, 1988). In this thesis and in Appendices 7 and 8 it is noted that tourists are aware of the inauthentic and emergent authenticity of tourist experiences. Thus the only truly authentic experience is achieved through existential authenticity - the interpersonal and intrapersonal authentic experience which is more akin to achieving self-actualisation (Wang, 1999).

²⁰ The front regions are those which tourists are able to see. The back regions are those private spaces away from tourists which are more central to authentic community experience (Goffman, 1959).

The fact that any other form of authenticity (and the ideas which support it) is created in the present and is a part of the construction of culture (Bruner, 1989) means that such authenticity cannot truly exist as there is nothing to judge it against – it is only authentic in its own interpretation (Heitmann, 2008). The nature of individual tourists means that authenticity has to take place outside of tourism as the tourist will always be external to the place they are visiting, and will be experiencing a commodified version of the authenticity they seek (MacCannell, 1976). By being co-present with the authentic experience necessarily means that the experience cannot be authentic due to the role of the tourist in that space, such that authentic lives within the backstage region become inauthentic by the presence of visitors from elsewhere, thus reflecting the front/back dichotomy discussed by Goffman. Drawing on Wang, the papers which discuss urban exploration and nostalgia argue that the only truly authentic experience is based upon the experience an individual is undergoing at that particular point in time and that this is tied to both existential authenticity and self-actualisation. As the traveller-self is mediated as much through real encounters as through the spaces of representation and imagination (Wearing, Stevenson and Jones, 2010), the emphasis in this argument is placed on the way the tourist experiences a particular site. The value of an existential understanding of authenticity is much more useful in theorizing the tourist experience (Crouch and Lubren, 2003).

Existential authenticity describes the tourists' quest for their authentic 'selves' and involves personal and intersubjective feelings which are activated by the liminal process of tourist activities. Two notable writers discuss existential authenticity, which is defined by Steiner and Reisinger (2006, p300) as "what it means to be human, what it means to be happy, and what it means to be oneself". Martin Heidegger (1962) suggested that to be authentic and to experience existential authenticity, it is essential to exist within a community, where being a part of that community and growing with the community, rooted in the place of the community is a necessary condition. By contrast Friedrich Nietzsche suggested that existential authenticity could be found individually,

outside of a community and in strange places. Whilst Wang (1999) and Steiner and Reisinger (2006) cite Heidegger as the author of existential authenticity, it is, as Shepherd (2015) observed, Nietzsche who places existential authenticity within the context of travel. For this reason, although Heidegger is referred to within Appendices 7 and 8, further reading would suggest that the work may be better informed by Nietzsche given the emphasis he places on travel within the search for existential authenticity.

Inter-personal authenticity refers to the sense of togetherness (with family, friends or other tourists) and is not dependent on the 'Other', but the search is directed in, among and between the tourists themselves (Wang, 1999). It neglects the activities structured around the tourist gaze (urban exploration photography is photography for art or historical record and is not a part of the hermeneutic circle of tourism marketing, Appendix 8). Wang tends to offer the seminal review of existential authenticity within tourism. Her examples (which are taken in the context of Heidegger's concept of existential authenticity), are primarily concerned with beach holidays, ocean cruises and other forms of travel leisure. Furthermore, most discussions on authenticity have tended to follow modernist traditions of analysis which take societies as totalities and 'the tourist' as a generalised, homogeneous identity (Uriely, 1997; Steiner and Reisinger, 2006; Heitmann 2008). My approach to research (see next chapter) provides an alternative view of the individual tourist and their experiences of existential authenticity, aligning the search for existential authenticity with the prosumption of heritage, nostalgia and slow tourism.

3.2 Sensual Prosumption

Thus far, exploration and consumption, have been treated as visual phenomena, based upon the theories which emerged around the tourist gaze. However, one of the nuances of exploration is its wider sensuality – the experience is about being involved bodily in the urban experience – not just gazing, but tasting and touching, hearing and

smelling are all aspects of 'experience'. There has been limited exploration of the senses within tourism and most heritage attractions fail to explore more than the visual aspects of authenticity. Taste emerges as a key issue in the development of any work around Slow Tourism because of its relationship to slow food and the role of food within authentic experiences (Appendices 1, 2 and 3). Smell is addressed within the development of work on urban exploration (Appendix 8). Further, the full suite of senses is a key consideration in discussions on nostalgia (Appendix 7).

Smell is particularly important as authentic aromas may not be particularly pleasant, or enhance the tourist experience. Yet in the search for authenticity this cannot be ignored, and despite attempts by some museums to create smell, these aromas are, by their very nature, recreated smells. This creates intrinsic problems in the creation of truly authentic experiences, yet smell has received little attention in western aesthetics (Giblett (1996). However, as smellscapes organise and mobilise people's feelings about particular people and places it is deserving of greater consideration (Porteous 1985). The olfactory is important in evoking memories of very specific places and hence becomes important in nostalgia (Appendix 7). Pleasant and unpleasant smells both have this effect, and to some extent I argue that unpleasant smells can become pleasant in the same way that entropic abandoned places can become visually attractive. The smells that can be found within abandoned places (Appendix 8), is a smell which is real and not recreated, though the smell is of damp and must, not the authentic smell of the place as it would have been before the period of dereliction.

3.3 Prosumption of Heritage

The commodification of products for 'tourism' and the packaging up of 'heritage' for the purposes of prosumption is argued to be a key driver for a postmodern society (Heitmann, 2008). The search for authenticity and the visual consumption of signs and signifiers (semiotics) reflects these discourses (MacCannell, 1999; Urry, 2002), with the growth of heritage preservation a response to social dissatisfaction and concerns about

the future, to which the heritage sector responded by producing glorified bourgeois representations of the past (Dann, 1994), echoing MacCannell's search for authenticity. Such interpretation, during the 1990s, broadened its scope to include servant's quarters and service areas in order to interpret a heritage that is perceived to be worse than contemporary society and focussed on the lives of everyday workers. However, these areas still lack their true potency and unpleasantness (Dann, 1996) which could only be understood through exposing the visitor to all the sensual stimuli of the time (Mills, 2003). This construction of authenticity merely perpetuates the myth which prevents the visitor from being able to "go behind the 'performance' to see how people 'really live'" (Barthes, 1973; George, 2011).

As observed in Chapter 2, successful western cities are increasingly driven by tertiary and quaternary industries. The regeneration of former industrial zones leads to the demolition or reuse of industrial structures, with some elements of their history being preserved, placed in museums or given other public locations (Duff, 2014). In these sites they exist as signs of industrial processes and social working lives of an industrial past which is becoming as distant in post-industrial cities as the rural past (Mills, 2003). Artefacts placed in museums are given a significance by being positioned within a public space where visitors are directed to see them in a particular way, out of their original context. The creation of living history museums, where buildings are relocated to a museum strive to recreate authentic and contextualised living histories (Boorstin, 1964). They are in contrast to the feelings of loss and anger experienced by those who once worked in those buildings and consequently they become dystopic (Mills, 2003). This 'living history' brings together historic buildings, landscapes, documents and re-enactors to create an experience which is arguably more about tourist experience than authentic fact. The visual appeal of outdoor museums is at the expense of more academic historical evidence and research, so that the visual consequently dominates the experience as a mechanism to attract tourists, rather than exploring the authentic nature of the way we used to live (Mills, 2003). The artefacts and buildings can be

authenticated (if not in their original location or context) and positioned within a rural vision of England which has never existed (Thrift, 1989) but which offers a postmodern nostalgia. It becomes “a collage of images of different epochs, a pot-pourri of images, and only a version of the 'authentic' life” (Heitmann, 2008). Then there is the implication of an unmediated visitor experience which is theoretically and practically impossible – an example of demediating mediation (Strain, 2003). A totally unmediated experience can be found through Urban Exploration (Appendix 8) which reconnects the tourist-explorer with the authentic artefacts in their original context. Likewise, Slow Tourism enables travellers to connect better with the place where they are staying, and to become more a part of the community (Appendices 1, 2 and 3). The original publication of *The Slow Tourism* work focussed more on sustainability and economic growth, but I demonstrate in this thesis its importance as a further mechanism to connect with authentic experience.

For those buildings which find their future as heritage products, these places become the substitute for the problems of history, offering single narratives enclosed in a stable present, exemplified by their subsequent and multiple appearances as tourist photographs and in tourist brochures. In this way heritage has no authenticity and no foundations. It becomes a commodity, another much-photographed product of the heritage tourism industry (Mills, 2003). However, despite these apparent failings, the memorable experiences created in these heritage spaces are important to those who visit (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) and to the economic success of the facility as a visitor attraction. Further, it is not just built heritage which is of significance for tourist consumption, but ruined sites as well. Whilst these are primarily religious sites or fortified structures such as castles, they also include industrial remains. Such places offer zones where other, sometimes oppositional meanings can be practised, and they mark out a range of experiences that are otherwise difficult to find (Edensor, 2005).

3.4 Prosuming Ruins

Lynch (1990) explored the perceptual differences between a 'ruin' and an 'abandoned place', and found that research participants made an aesthetic distinction with ruins described as 'pleasant' and worthy of reverence, in contrast to abandoned spaces which were associated with entropy, dereliction, and death. Yet such sites appear to create an artistic aesthetic which is of considerable interest to a wider viewing audience. Ruins have become those places which are preserved, protected and offer legitimate access (as attractions). However, Urban Exploration has, by contrast, been derided as being little more than 'Ruin Porn', where an abandoned site is stripped of its social and cultural connections, fetishized and then gazed upon by 'voyeurs' (Strangleman, 2013). It has been suggested that exploring such sites is about being able to feel places without constraints and social filters, thus enabling individual freedom, imagination and subjectivity (Hell and Schöne, 2010; Garrett; 2014).

Critics of Urban Exploration suggest that participants lack care, authenticity and respect, instead over-aestheticising sites through photography to create a romantic vision of the past (Clemens, 2011; Strangleman, 2013). The artistic turn has highlighted Urban Exploration in recent arts, cultural and writing practice. Projects have been developed which seek to engage with city spaces and their potentialities beyond galleries and other formal arts institutions, demonstrating that aesthetics and imagery are key components in understanding urban spaces (Pinder, 2009) These activities are linked to the earlier politicized spatial practices of the situationists and to visionary and literary traditions of urban wandering as they intervene with how spaces are imagined, represented and lived, and identifies this as psychogeography (Benjamin, 1929; DeSilvey, 2006).

3.5 Prosuming 'The other'

Although Garrett (2014) provides a foundation for urban exploration in academic literature (Appendices 7 and 8), he disputes the notion of Urban Exploration as otherness. However, there is little doubt that in viewing Urban Exploration through a tourism lens that it is at least a representation of otherness. The long standing 'secret fascination' of otherness as the visual representation of difference is a topic which has a long history of theoretical development, perspectives and methods (Hall, 1997). Frequently, it is visual mediation and semiology which has been used as the mechanism through which to explore and understand these ideas. Images make it possible to view a place without taking part in the hazards and dangers associated with travelling there (see p26) (Holder, 2005). Picturesque landscape is understood only in contrast to 'the other', the images of wasteland and dereliction. Cities were earlier described as spectacles of architecture, design, image and consumption and thus Urban Exploration becomes 'the other'.

Godwin (1990) used a gender lens to explore images of social spatialisation. Of particular interest here is her focus on the nature of land ownership, boundaries and access. Exclusion or refusal of entry to vantage points and elitist ownership has long been contended by pressure groups such as the ramblers who attempt to use the law against the owners. Examples include the mass trespass of Kinder Scout which led to the creation of Britain's first National Park (The Peak District National Park in 1932), and the Right to Roam debates which led to the Countryside Rights of Way Act (2003). An urban right to roam is suggested as one logical endpoint for the goals of Urban Exploration, fed by a desire to explore a place more fully (Strain, 2003; Dodge, 2006). Whilst it would be over interpretation to see every waste photo as a cultural critique, there is a clear contrast which dates back to artist's paintings, where 'dreary' landscapes of British flatlands (Norfolk and Lincolnshire) were used to represent weak economies and poverty, and by contrast the uplands of rolling hills and mountains were

viewed as being wealthy and picturesque (Kemp, 1990). Extrapolating this to the urban environment, such images of 'the other' now focus on the rubble and remains of industry (Strain, 2003). Wasteland does not expect to be seen by tourists or to be viewed in a particular way, thus removing the need to see what others have seen (Sontag, 1979). Instead it becomes a symbolic form through which to view 'otherness'. Here 'the other' becomes the picturesque. In this symbolic form it exacerbates the liminal border grounds. Bound up in this is the compositional nature of beauty, and age and decay are important factors (Lynch, 2000).

Conceptually, 'The Gaze', and those who gaze, abhor the invisible (that which cannot be gazed upon) and perpetually strive to bring it to light. The distinction between landscape and beauty, or wasteland as its opposite is determined only by those who view a particular scene and juxtapose it to the other (Strain, 2003). The gaze, it is argued, is the most powerful though most resisted of the various ways of looking. Landscape and otherness are as intertwined as utopia and dystopia. Harris (1998, p13-14) described a romantic view of the abandonment he found (exploring abandoned country houses in the 1950s) where "estate care has been abandoned ... the lodge might be shut up, the gates locked. The drive is crumbling, weeded over ... the parkland ungrazed". Binney (1984) described his visits (to a range of sites including both country houses and industrial buildings) in a more factual style, designed to document the "places in danger, buildings threatened with demolition or simply left empty and decaying" thus politicising his exploration to highlight the decline and destruction of historic buildings. The textual style of these two authors illustrates the way verbal presentation can change the meaning and context of photography.

3.6 Defining Urban Exploration

Urban explorers seek out what they refer to as T.O.A.D.S (temporary, obsolete, abandoned or derelict spaces) (Dodge, 2006; Paiva and Manaugh, 2008; Garrett, 2010). Urban Exploration is defined as the activity of “seeking out, visiting and documenting interesting human-made spaces, most typically abandoned buildings” (Ninjalicious 2005, p4) and has grown to become a recognised leisure activity over the past decade (High and Lewis, 2007; Mott and Roberts, 2014). Urban Exploration sites are nearly always off-limits to the general public (Ninjalicious, 2005). It is about both exploring and recording liminal zones and derelict places, where participants are motivated by both the historic and artistic opportunities (Garrett, 2010; 2012). Urban Exploration increasingly involves photographic documentation and most urban explorers are keen photographers (Godwin, 2010; Pinder, 2005). It is the digital world, and Web 2.0 in particular, which has enabled interest in Urban Exploration to flourish (Garrett, 2012; 2014) (Appendix 8). Visuality has been discussed in Urban Exploration most notably by Edensor (2005) who suggested that industrial ruins are condemned as ugly, as valueless and as wasteland, home to unconventional activities, and that the sensory experiences in these sites “can surprise, confound, scare and amaze”. Urban exploration images record the places where engineers, builders and workers have left their marks (Ball, 2007). However, the images that are recorded have not been subjected to further investigation and images of ruins in particular can lose definition and meaning, thus becoming impossible to then make out what they are ‘of’. This creates a feel, texture and style around the obscurity of a site, meaning there is more to ruins than interpretation allows (Rose, 2013).

For example, Prescott (2011) and Jones (2006), discussed the fascination with derelict hospitals and asylums within Urban Exploration and suggested that the interest in the mortuary and the maternity ward within abandoned hospitals is a direct consequence of the retraction of birth and death (and, relatedly, the symbols and signs of birth and

death) from the public realm into private hospitalized spaces. This can be aligned to Dark Tourism, and the need to rationalise death in a tangible form (Foley and Lennon, 2000; Stone, 2006). Bennett's (2013) account of 'bunkerology' (Urban Exploration within former Cold War bunkers, which is discussed in Chapter 5) also places Urban Exploration (and its politics) within a wider set of practices. The production of images and other information about a bunker creates a record (a survey)²¹ of the site and this is where it is possible to identify alignment with the activities of groups such as the Twentieth Century Society²² (Craggs, Geohegan and Neate, 2013).

There are numerous websites dedicated to Urban Exploration (Garrett, 2012) featuring images which can be easily translated into retail items and books (Balm and Holcomb, 2003). The publication of artistically styled photographic coffee table books (Strangleman, 2013) and media attention (both about Urban Exploration and the use of Urban Exploration images) has further increased general awareness of the activity, which has led to increased media attention, yet the desire to access and document these hidden city spaces is a key issue for explorers (Appendix 8). Dodge (2006) suggested that Urban Exploration is also imbued with the thrill of accessing unauthorised spaces and further enhanced by the desire to find and experience an alternative aestheticism of space (drawing links with adventure tourism (Cooper and Robinson, 2012)). Garrett (2014) suggested that urban exploration is constructed specifically of an explorer-subject identity, which I suggest, is akin to the early explorers DeBotton discusses. Thus Urban Exploration and Tourism share common backgrounds where the former has stayed true to the notion of exploration (with associated risks), whilst tourism has enabled larger numbers of people to visit en-masse the places which have been explored, discovered and made safe (Holder, 2005).

²¹ The use of photographs for the purposes of creating a survey was one productive early use of the camera (Taylor, 1994).

²² The 20th Century Society – "The Twentieth Century Society exists to safeguard the heritage of architecture and design in Britain from 1914 onwards. The Society's prime objectives are conservation, to protect the buildings and design that characterise the Twentieth Century in Britain, and education, to extend our knowledge and appreciation of them, whether iconic buildings like the Royal Festival Hall or everyday artifacts like the red telephone box" (www.c20society.org.uk).

Garrett (2012) suggested that Urban Exploration is almost a form of anti-tourism, a rebuttal of the commonly accepted experiences of heritage as provided by the mainstream tourism industry, based upon 'smokestack nostalgia' (Cowie and Heathcott, 2003) creating an inauthentic shared nostalgia and experiences of industrial histories which limit the potential for critical investigation of industrial decline and the people it affected. Heritage tourism tends to trade on a collective nostalgia based upon a reconstructed social past or idealised version of history (Kibby, 2000), yet critics of Urban Exploration suggest that photography overrides any real interest in the place, the people or the reality of industrial life. This leads to the production of over-aestheticised images of the 'industrial sublime' (High and Lewis, 2007), and become responsible for creating a false nostalgia which overlooks the real lives of those who inhabited the spaces.

Chapter 4 - Methodological considerations

This chapter gives consideration to my personal (and changing) ontology and epistemology, and considers the varied methodologies adopted in the research papers presented here. The chapter considers the axiology of my research approaches and explores the ways in which research methods have been applied. Through this discussion I am able to explore my own journey as a researcher and the learning undertaken to progress my methodological praxis.

4.1 Ontological and Epistemological Reflections

The work undertaken for my MA was based upon content analysis of images and photographs. The findings were useful and the process of carrying out the research was rewarding, though the analysis of quantitative data which emerged from the research was bland in comparison to the qualitative data which emerged from other research at the time. In seeking to develop this research I tended to focus on the traditional view that much leisure research was mixed-method in its approach (Veal, 2006), and that this was a result, ostensibly, of the relative lack of subject-based foundations for research within tourism, borrowing as it does from other disciplines (p3, Chapter 1).

Thus the research approach adopted in 'Contextualising the Slow Tourist' (Appendix 3) remained a mix of quantitative and qualitative data collected from questionnaires. My preference for phenomenology, and for seeking to understand why things happen has most certainly limited the value I attain from quantitative data as the more descriptive qualitative feedback is much richer in content and insight. Thus whilst I have used positivist approaches, particularly within the context of content analysis of images, it is the qualitative results of my research which have provided greater illumination. The use of dual methods provides an opportunity to resolve and address gaps and questions which emerge in purely positivist research (Phillimore and Goodison, 2004). Thus 'The

E-Mediated (Google Earth) Gaze - An Observational and Semiotic Perspective' (Appendix 4) is able to identify some ideas, the research failed to really explore the reasons why these findings occur. Indeed a key issue in the conclusion of this paper was the lack of explanation and insight into why images are treated the way they are online. For this reason, I set out in 'Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph' (Appendix 6) to better explore the phenomenon of digital photography and the sharing of digital photographs, to therefore explore the impact of technology on imagery to address the issues raised by Urry and Larsen (2011). In this study interesting themes emerge (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1 – Conclusions from 'Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph'

Confirmation of a suggestion in the first paper that imagined mobilities and time spent as a virtual dweller then inform decisions regarding the selection of real experiences

Evidence that the real and virtual worlds of travel were considered in publishing photographs

That whilst official tourist board photography has been increasingly recognised as presenting one version of the truth (generally one recorded by professional photographers to create a particular destination image), that individual travellers also carefully select and edit their photographs for public display

Clear evidence that individuals feel some sense of peer pressure to show only their best and most interesting photographs in public

This suggests, therefore, that digital photography allows travellers to present a choreography of their own travel experience (in particular on social media) which is their preferred visual explanation of their trip

Further evidence that Google Earth is simply another element of the mediatisation of tourism (Uriely, 2005) and a part of the media culture which has evolved within tourism and photography (Larsen, 2006).

Further evidence of an Emediated gaze – a quarter of Google Earth users are actively looking at other people's travel photos

A large number of photos remain unused, sitting on hard-drives away from public view – potentially catalogued, often never viewed again.

In particular the research also identified emotional issues with photographs - ideas of nostalgia, memory and future reflection (or future nostalgia), as a particular point in time is recorded for a future self (Graburn 1989),

In this paper the emotional responses around photography were the most interesting – the idea of photographs as mediators of nostalgia and as artefacts which deliver an emotional response. This was a key issue for me in developing ‘The Nostalgic Gaze’, and this was the link through which it was possible bring together discussions on imagery, with research into nostalgia and the role of Urban Exploration.

Up to this point I had taken a pragmatic approach to research, adopting methodologies which best suited the theory I was seeking to develop (theoretical sampling (Phillimore and Goodison, 2004)). Having become familiar with tourist photography and the associated concepts and issues, I had adopted both inductive approaches (testing theories of imagery against the emergence of new technologies, which had not been fully explored in any literature at the time) and deductive approaches to consequently explore why these phenomena occurred. In carrying out research into photography some of the online images I discovered were of sites of Urban Exploration. Amongst these were images of the former American Adventure Theme Park.

This awoke some deeply personal responses in terms of my previous visits to the theme park during my childhood. I was left with the question of whether these personal responses were shared with other people, what the triggers for such emotional responses may be, and the ways in which people may seek to explore and share these feelings of nostalgia (Appendix 7). As the study of tourism is essentially the study of people as social entities when they are travelling away from home, it is necessary to consider each individual experience as each individual has their own experience and version of ‘Truth’ (Small, 2004; Ryan, 2006). To explore these different truths, it is helpful to consider both 1st and 3rd person discourses, thus I adopted an element of auto-ethnography within this next study. This idea of truth also becomes a key theme in exploring Urban Exploration and in questioning the nature of tourist consumption. This is a theme which I return to in section 4.2. However, I wish to firstly summarise my reflections on my own ontology and epistemology. As a part of the process of

reflection through my autoethnographic analysis and the comparisons I drew with other people, it became clear that whilst there were common themes (we all shared a nostalgia for this former theme park) our individual experiences, and the epiphanies that created these nostalgic touchpoints were all very different. This insight was achieved through the use of photo-elicitation (and netnography (discussed later)) in order to deliver access participants emotional selves which enables knowledge of the many and varied creative processes and innovative practices within the tourist experience (Scarles, 2010).

In summary, my ontological and epistemological views have shifted. This is very much a result of the reflections I have tried to encompass within the preceding discussion, and which follow the reflective approach suggested by Lawrence-Wilkes (2015), in Figure 4.2. Visual methodologies can, by their very nature, blur the boundaries between positivism and interpretivism (Rakic and Chambers, 2009). They suggest that increasingly such research will abandon the strict dualism of the past. This approach, however, left me with more questions than answers.

Figure 4.2 – The Reflective Practitioner (Lawrence-Wilkes, 2015)

Reflection	Reflexivity	Critical Reflection	Reflective Practice
Thinking about and interpreting life experiences, beliefs or knowledge.	Thinking objectively about ourselves, our behaviour, values and assumptions.	Broad contemplation to question and examine knowledge, beliefs and actions for change.	Use of reflective methods for personal and professional growth.

In order to answer these questions, my research has followed a particular narrative which has been led by my own observations (the postmodern approach discussed below) and I have adopted approaches to research methods which have enabled me to develop this line of inquiry, allowing each paper to be informed by some aspect of my research which has gone before it. The observational nature of my research, couched in real empirical observations, and in a context with which I have personal familiarity,

has led me to adopt an epistemology which is based upon the construction of knowledge (Phillimore and Goodison, 2004). I have found that it is the construction of ideas and concepts which has been of most interest. This relativist ontology (Hollinshead, 2004) seeks to understand the meanings attributed by and experiences of different populations against a backdrop of competing perspectives. This has enabled me to interpret realities from the perspective of those who participate (including myself). The journey to reach this point has meant that I have increasingly embraced reflexive research practices (Rakic and Chambers, 2012; Lawrence-Wilkes, 2015).

4.2 As a Postmodernist

Postmodernism can be explained as a particular set of philosophical ideas which support an aesthetic and late capitalist cultural condition of postmodernity where the world is understood with suspicion. Postmodernism shows incredulity towards the narratives of the modern world – meta-narratives which underpin societal truths (Butler 2002). It takes the view that information is believed to contribute to the manipulative image making of those in power, more than to the advancement of knowledge. Such a definition, whilst perhaps extreme²³, can be taken as a contextualisation of the heritage industry in particular. Tourism is one such meta-narrative that controls and governs its own interpretation through the forms of authenticity discussed earlier

For postmodernists, research is about developing an understanding of the world without following a particular narrative as to do so would assume a 'truth' which does not exist (Sontag, 1977). In my research I do not necessarily question the nature of existential truths (there are things which are true to me as I illustrate in 'The Nostalgic Gaze' (Appendix 7)) I question the nature of accepted 'truths' within society such as the

²³ I suggest this view may be extreme as much of my research talks about peer-to-peer sharing of images and media which are not always directly influenced by those in power – nonetheless, where these images are merely repeating existing tourist images through the hermeneutic circle of representation, there may be some truth to the statement.

nature of a collective authentic experience. Whilst the methods I have adopted are different in each paper, there is a consistency to the exploratory (non-scientific) approach I have adopted to investigate issues which are emergent within contemporary tourism studies, and where there is little underpinning existing research.

Postmodernism (and modernism) can provide a viable structure and strategy for categorising and contextualising developments in the evolution of the tourist gaze. It is predicated with an understanding of the shift from modernism to postmodernism as intensification process rather than a cultural rupture (Strain, 2003).

Butler used the example of historians to illustrate that they cannot tell us how things were as their interpretations are generated by socially constructed discursive practices that mediate reality so much that they effectively close off direct access to it. The relationship between history and the society which narrates it is especially interesting in the context of the different versions of Cold War histories proffered by the key players in this game of national strategy (Weiner, 2012). I have noted already that the authentic heritage consumed by tourists is problematic – especially where it is taken as an acceptance of ‘truth’ – noting that post-tourists of course accept and seek such inauthentic experiences for what they are (Heitmann, 2008; Smith et al., 2010)

My approach and my interest in the search for authenticity recognises that the truth is unreachable. Whilst the analogy of peeling an apple (layers of interpretation) to reach the truth (core) I argue maybe one view on accessing authenticity, this is an existential and individualistic search which frequently brings about frustration at not being able to access the authentic object which was sought. It was my personal frustration with feelings of nostalgia in particular, and my desire for more honest travel experiences which led me to adopt an auto-ethnographic approach to my research to find my version of the truth (or rather my version of my search for truth) as an analytical experience.

4.3 Research Design and Axiology

4.3.1 Visual Methodologies

Photographs are able to produce findings which cannot be achieved through other methods (Berger and Mohr, 1975; Edensor, 2005). My preference for visual methodologies fits with the new pictorial turn in research. Visual methodologies offer new possibilities for the design and reporting of research (Feighley (2003). Such critical visual methodologies (representation reference) take images seriously and consider the social conditions and effects of visual objects, one's own ways of looking at images (composition, technology, social factors – sites and modalities) and the site of production. Images enable the capture of meaning which words do not convey (Rose, 2013) and the constructivist approach enables the symbolic practices and processes of representation, meaning and language to be given meaning (Hall, 2003). I suggest that Urban Exploration offers this richness and contextualisation (Appendix 7 and 8), which is supported by Wang (1999) who suggests that Urban Exploration gives access to an authentically unseen world, in response to the signposting of 'official' sites and that such signposting may consequentially create constrains (schedules, itineraries, queuing, finances, accessibility) (Wang, 1999).

Rose and Gregson (2000), amongst others, call for methodological approaches which address the emotional, sensual, embodied and performative nature of social practice. Bijoux and Myers (2006) suggest that it is necessary to consider the role of feeling, thoughts and emotion within studies of embodiment. These are themes which are addressed within my research and which require methods which move beyond the realms of representation to access non-representational spaces of encounter and experience (Scarles, 2010). My work has also been guided by Larsen (2006) who suggests that a non-representational approach to media studies enables research to explore how ordinary people (as creative, expressive, hybridised beings) use technologies to produce media products. This approach enabled me to consider the way that images are shared and viewed online and to subsequently elucidate

discussions which may be based upon curiosity, meaning, ownership, current experience and individual memory, dependent on the focus of the paper.

It is worth noting that here is no shared theoretical base and thus researchers approach the subject with different interpretations of the subject in relation to the analysis of imagery (Jenkins, 2003). I have used content analysis in a number of studies, which many equate with quantitative approaches, including Ball and Smith (1992), Slater (1998), and Rose (2013). I have used this same approach in analysing responses to images online, as well as to the images themselves as interpretive and qualitative approaches are not the only way to create and construct knowledge in visual research (Rakic and Chambers, 2012).

Where my research has analysed qualitative textual content (either responses to surveys or online blog content) I have, in addition to content analysis, also used discursive analysis (Slater, 1998) to break down the imagery such that it becomes analytically interesting and coherent (Appendices 4 and 6). Successfully coded content analysis has then been used to interpret the cultural meaning of images (Lutz and Collins, 1993). My analysis has focussed on the context of the photo (time/dates), people, places or activities within the image and fits with the idea of qualitative discourse analysis which is adopted for the qualitative data analysis (Sather-Wagstaff, 2011). This approach also makes it possible to consider Baszanger and Dodier's (2004) observation that people will make individual choices about why they may choose to engage various practices (including Urban Exploration). I achieve this through thematic, discourse centred qualitative data analysis as this approach allows for the simultaneous collection of data and its analysis (Charmaz and Mitchell, 2001). This helped in developing an understanding of derelict, abandoned and ruined buildings because much of the discussion places these buildings in stark contrast to the acceptable, complete, ordered, presented and intact buildings of the heritage

industry (Rose, 2013). To achieve this fully, there has to be some understanding of 'the other' – in this case the formal, sanitised production of heritage which was discussed earlier.

4.3.2 Netnography

Netnography describes research which studies the cultures and communities which arise from internet-based communications, and where research and interpretation are methodologically informed through traditional approaches to cultural anthropology (Kozinets, 1998). Although not directly referred to within this collection of papers, Netnography has played a key role in the acquisition of data for analysis within a number of the papers presented here (Appendices 4, 5, 6 and 7) my various publications. It has been recognised as particularly important in developing an understanding of the changing nature of virtual tourism, the increasing participation in online communities and the impact of online user-generated content in providing new ways to explore and understand tourist experiences (Munar, Gyimothy and Cai, 2013).

In developing this research, I adopted a 'lurker approach' to data collection (Mkono, 2011; 2012), not revealing themselves to online participants, and making no contribution to the online sources they are using. Ethical issues were more easily addressed through Netnography in this format as the data I was collecting was contributed to a public forum by individuals who were only identifiable by their online usernames and thus the data is completely anonymous, and the researcher is merely another anonymous online community member (Mkono, 2011; 2012; Langer and Beckman; 2005). This anonymity is useful where sensitive research is carried out – in the case of urban exploration, participants often do not want to identify themselves. In the case of nostalgia and emotion more traditional methods may be limited by individuals discomfort with discussing emotions and feelings. Most discussions of

Netnography recognise that it may be used as part of a broader methodology or for triangulation.

4.3.3 Autoethnography

Whilst I did consider engaging in Urban Exploration, as a method I discounted this on ethical grounds. Instead, I chose to use auto-ethnography in developing my discussions around nostalgia (Appendix 7), as I was basing my autoethnographic reflection on memories of the past and online images. Visual autoethnography enables the researcher to become more deeply situated within their research (Scarles, 2010), which is a reflection of the growing importance of intersubjectivity, reflexivity and embodiment in visual research, and also notes that the role played by the researcher and the participants in visual research leads to the co-creation (prosumption) of knowledge which is also increasingly important (Rakic and Chambers, 2012).

As autoethnography requires careful analysis of experiences to avoid storytelling and inaccuracy and also needs to consider how other people respond to the same images and memories, it was a method that suited my research well (Denzin, 1989; Bochner, 1994; Ronai, 1996). This was especially important in a context of nostalgia as tourist experiences are shaped by personal motives, personalities, others involved in visiting and past experience (Ryan, 2010; Tung & Ritchie 2011; Komppula and Gartner, 2013).

4.4 Reflecting on my Research Journey

My post-positivist approach adopted the early papers (Appendices 1, 2 and 3) is highly reflective of the third moment of research (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998) and reflects the issues highlighted by Phillimore and Goodison (2004) that much tourism research has remained a depersonalised third person review, delivered by a 'tourism expert' and which fails to draw upon the multiple external factors outside of the field of study. Such research has been considered to be sanitised and oversimplified, resulting in generalised findings from limited sample sizes over a short period of time (Phillimore

and Goodison, 2004). Thus the research becomes a snapshot of that particular point in time. As my research developed I have become more confident in developing new methods - these have been necessary to explore and answer questions I identified, but also because I have become more personally connected to my research through nostalgia and Urban Exploration. The journey has enabled me to construct and develop new knowledge and has shifted my methodologies to being more closely aligned with their fifth moment of research, which removes metanarratives and opens up the field of study to consider tourism issues in the context of human subjectivity and socio-cultural and socio-historical antecedences (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). This recognition of individual and subjective truths offers opportunities for further research in all areas of tourism studies and enables the researcher to much more effectively become a part of the research as one voice amongst many.

Chapter 5 – Consumption and Prosumption

This chapter explains the development of my research from the conceptual underpinnings discussed in the first three chapters to a critical evaluation and synthesis of the findings of my research. The chapter starts to explore the meanings which are intertwined within my publications and draws together emergent themes of tourist motivation and experience in contemporary and post-modern contexts.

5.1 Slow Experiences

As food and taste offer a sensual connection with place, it is, as illustrated in Chapter 3, an important component of any touristic experience. Dickinson and Lumsden (2010) suggested that Slow Tourism was a model which could be widely embraced as a tool for sustainability. However, there is little real evidence of any major growth in the Slow City movement or of Slow Tourism as a definable concept (Appendix 3) despite the increased interest in Slow Cities and their potential connections with tourism (Appendix 1). The methodology adopted by Dickinson and Lumsden was problematic in sampling only Slow Tourism experts and supporters as a sample. The paper I produced (Appendix 3) identified that the term was not well understood by those outside the movement, and individual translations of the concept were limited. However, the concept is discussed within 'Research Themes in Tourism' (Appendix 2 - Heitmann and Robinson, 2011) and has been cited a number of times. As it builds on the demand for purchasing local produce, and for tourists to engage more with local communities, it has potential to bring travellers closer to finding perceived authentic experiences. Further (slow) food offers a greater range of sensory experiences and can, therefore, offer a greater range of perceived authentic sensory experiences (what it smelt like in the past, what it tasted like in the past). Despite this, the commodification of food for modern palates renders all food products as inauthentic to some extent (Mills, 2003). Those products which are genuinely reproduced using traditional methods and recipes offer some connection with a contemporary account of historic authenticity and the

history of regional food cultures, yet the ingredients, equipment and processes used in the production cannot be truly authentic as all have been subjected to modern alternative methods of production at some point. Nonetheless, Slow Tourism plays a role in the creation of tourist experiences even where it is not recognised as a specific mode of tourism.

5.2 Exploring a Google Gaze

The papers which discuss Google Earth (Appendices 4, 5, 6 and 7) focussed upon imagery in both the Emediated Gaze (the journal article and the book chapter, Appendices 4 and 6) and The Nostalgic Gaze (Appendix 7). In 'Developing the Emediated Gaze' (Appendix 5) the discussion commenced with the accepted notion that image comprises a set of beliefs, ideas and impressions which an individual holds about a destination (Crompton, 1979) and acknowledged that different types of travellers will take different types of photographs, based partially upon ideas formed by previous travel experiences (Murphy, 1985; Jenkins, 2003). I also acknowledge, particularly in the nostalgic gaze and within urban exploration, that photography is influenced by the range of self-images that the tourist holds, Crouch and Lubren (2003).

This presumption of images and representations of first-hand visual experiences supports the network of resources that facilitate the tourist gaze in the first place, including transport and accommodation. The visual sense helps to organise the experience to identify what to see, what is worth seeing and what is being seen (Urry, 2002). In Appendix 4 this is extended to suggest that the aerial perspective offered through Google Earth further coordinates and organises the tourists understanding of the spaces they inhabit and the relationship between these different spaces. The privileged aerial view that Strain (2003) talks about enables Google Earth users to see the backstage and frontstage areas from the air (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1976), thus removing some element of mediation from the composite experience of a place,

as illustrated in Figure 5.1. However, the open access nature of Google Earth means that this view is no longer so privileged, though may feel this way to the viewer. As Strain observed, such as view moves towards abstracted knowledge, which is representative of what Fabian calls anthropology's belief in "geometric qua graphic-spatial conceptualisation as the most 'exact' way of communicating knowledge that is at least authoritative as that of the resident, if not more so to give the sightseer multiple perspectives on a single object" (2003, p35).

Further, as Jurgenson and Ritzer observed (2009), the consumer is fully engaged in the production of Google Earth content, adding their own photographs, 3D buildings and Wikipedia content, thus demonstrating the role of prosumption (and wikinomics) in travel experiences. Of even greater significance is the way in which such open access and image sharing opens up a more democratic construction of tourist spaces, enabling the prosumption of front and back regions, bringing images of tourist sites closer to those of urban exploration.

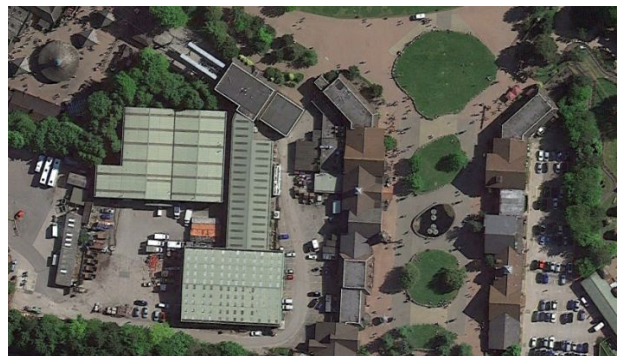
Figure 5.1 - Alton Towers front and back regions.

Front region:



(c) Towers Almanac

Back region:



(c) Google Earth

In terms of the stratification of images, the Emediated Gaze (Appendix 4) reflects the sight sacralisation model (MacCannell, 1976) and reveals little new information about the selection of images which appear to be of interest to visitors, although the

authenticity of some of the destinations selected for the study (Tintagel for example) did illustrate the emergence of incorrect labelling and signing of images (Figure 5.2). Largely, however, the images focus upon recognised tourist sites in large numbers. They form a part of Boorstin's image factory and reflect traditional notions of The Gaze (Urry, 1990; 2002; Urry and Larsen, 2011). Of particular note, however, was the absence of pictures of people, suggesting that there is a differentiation between personal pictures, which carry meaning for the photographer beyond the view (the Family Gaze, Haldrup and Larsen, 2003), and are, therefore, perhaps less willingly shared than those images of a particular place. There is, therefore, a clear divide in the gaze which is selected for public consumption. This observation in particular influenced the development of the second Google Earth based study (Appendix 6).

Figure 5.2 - Findings from 'Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph'

Some of the initial data sets provide unsurprising data. Starting with Tintagel it is clear that the most frequently recorded images exist of the Castle (King Arthurs Legendary Home), then the Old Post Office (owned by The National Trust), then general shots of the village and Church and finally Merlin's Cave and the adjacent waterfall on the beach. In addition to these images there are then several other categories of less than 10 pictures that include countryside and seascape shots, pictures of the village and specific buildings, the Youth Hostel, some industrial heritage and footpaths.

Of particular note in the textual framing of these images is the apparent confusion that arises between the 150-year-old Castle Hotel (labelled as King Arthur's Castle) and the real Castle 200 yards away. Similarly, of the 253 photos, 30 are labelled as their legendary locations rather than given their real names, most notably of the 73 Castle photos, 15 are labelled Camelot or King Arthur, and a further 3 refer to King Arthurs Island.

In the case of Bourton-On-The-Water the results are similarly conclusive in the relationship that is established between the commonly projected marketing images and those recorded by the tourists. The village is symbolised by the river running through the centre of the village and the bridges that traverse it. Of 84 images 47 feature bridges over the River Windrush and 29 of these are labelled as Bourton-On-The-Water, reducing the destination to the sum of its central feature. Very few other images exist, all being below 10, with Birdland (6) and Museum (4), general street scenes, shops, pubs and other markers receiving only 2 or 3 pictures each, together with the famous Model Village (2).

I use the phrase of mediation in this area of my work to convey the sense that the viewing of images is a two-way process – a clear alignment with the principles of prosumption. A decision has been taken to share an image online, but that image will mean different things to different people (Jenkins, 2003) and thus mediation takes place between the source of the photo and the person viewing the image (Table 5.1 and Appendix 5). This creates a sense of the destination which is based upon a photographic interpretation of a particular gaze, framed and presented for prosumption.

Table 5.1–Visual Mediators (Robinson, 2013)

Hard Mediators		
Mediator	Explanation	
Mobile Phones Portable Computers (laptops, tablets)	These technologies allow users to record and distribute photos digitally, and instantaneously	
Digital Cameras Digital Camcorders	Digital cameras allow the user to see the image immediately, to change colours and formats and to delete and record images continuously, as both still pictures and moving images	
Computers	A computer acts as a hub for managing social media (as do mobile phones and portable computers) and offers advanced software which can change and manipulate images	
Soft Mediators		
Mediator	Example	Explanation
Web 2.0	Facebook, Bebo	Social networking sites which host photo galleries, which allow people in images to be tagged and shared, and offers the opportunity for friends to view each other's pictures online
User Generated Content	Trip Advisor	Review sites where users can leave comments, and photos, relating to their personal travel experiences
Virtual earth applications	Google Earth (via Panoramio – see below)	Allows images to be tagged, positioned where they were taken, viewed by users worldwide and provides links to websites. Official tourist boards are also producing tours and fly-throughs on Google Earth
Galleries and Photo Upload Sites	FlickrR Panoramio	Websites where individuals can have accounts and can upload images, share images and allow images to be added to other users public themed albums

I defined this idea as the Emediated gaze, characterised by the global sharing of images, the enhanced accessibility and democratised nature of personal photography and the added 'reality' of these non-official photographs which may convey additional new meanings about specific spaces (Larsen, 2006; Robinson 2013). Such mediation

is more highly influenced by the assumed 'honesty' or 'authenticity' of the tourist photo as opposed to the official photo. This is a key issue for understanding the impact of Web 2.0 and its subsequent impact on the presumption of tourist photography and tourist destinations.

Interestingly, the clustering of photographs on Google Earth (highlighted as little blue squares) could offer a mechanism to map tourist interest within destinations and identify zones of tourist activity which provides data to inform tourism planning and to explore tourist behaviours through a geo-spatial platform. The images also appear to identify new sites of civic pride, such as football stadia and public sculpture (Robinson, 2013). I concluded that much greater research is required to establish the motivations behind the hosting of these images.

In response to these results, the second paper, 'Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph' (Appendix 6) seeks to explore the motivations to share tourism images in online public spaces, and the ways in which these images are managed by those who record them. On Google Earth images are uploaded by individuals who are known only by an alias or user name, and with little other useable data there is no simple way to identify which images are posted by locals and which by visitors to a destination. This is in contradiction to the idea of images ascribing a notion of success and satisfaction in tourist activities, where the photographer seeks recognition for their personal images (Sontag, 1979; Taylor, 1994) although it does support the assertion that little is known about why tourists collect images (Haldrup and Larsen, 2004). This is a further illustration of the difficulties outlined by Foster (1998), Feighley (2003) and Cohen (2003) in seeking to understand the motivation behind image selection, although this now extends from the point of recording to the point of public sharing, unless technology has facilitated that these actions occur together. In addressing these issues, this paper asked a sample of

tourists, through social media, to explore their photographic decisions and management. The results identified a number of interesting themes, in particular:

- A number of respondents edit photos before putting them in a public space
- Photographs are catalogued and stored on home computers, yet will rarely be accessed again
- The choice and selection of images to be shared publicly are chosen to choreograph a record of the travel experience
- Many photos are chosen with a view to those images playing a role in future nostalgic reminiscences (Appendix 7 also)

Whilst it is thought-provoking that there are millions of images stored on PCs which will rarely be viewed again (a consequence of digital photography) it is the desire to carefully choreograph tourist experiences online which is of most interest – in particular the role of images in ascribing the idea of a 'successful' travel experience (Sontag, 1979), and the careful selection and editing of images which further ensures that they provide no account of the truth (Chalfen, 1987). However, these images feed into a hermeneutic circle which leads to the construction of ideas about tourist places.

5.3 Online Travel

Boorstin (1964) was the first to suggest the idea of instantaneous travel, though he was referring to the birth of the supersonic aircraft. However, virtual travel (which involves no physical movement whatsoever) is instantaneous and, when access is difficult, web travel can be a substitute for direct encounter (Tresidder, 1999; Balm and Holcomb, 2003). The tourism industry can provide unlimited access to places of escape, yet this access relies upon constructed representations (Tresidder, 1999). The difficulty with images which are accessed through sites such as Google Earth is that they perpetuate myth making (Appendices 4, 5 and 6) and offer only a limited opportunity to see behind the front-stage areas. The papers which consider nostalgia and urban exploration (Appendices 7 and 8) are linked by the use of images from urban exploration websites

– these papers argue that some tourists want to see beyond those constructed realities (summarised in Robinson, 2013).

The more interesting findings in the Emediated Gaze (Appendices 4 and 6) suggest new liminalities in the divide between a virtual world and a real experience. The study illustrated that the scope, lens, photographer, their emotional state and their rationale for taking the photograph, combined with the increased versatility of new technology did lead to new meanings around the role and value of the tourist photograph, and hinted at the role of embodiment within the selection of images. It appears that imagined mobilities and time spent as a virtual dweller can subsequently inform decisions regarding the selection of real experiences (Robinson, 2012). This idea supports the concept of an e-mediated gaze (Robinson 2013), where Google plays a key role in the constructed representation of potential destinations. As Rushkoff (in Boorstin, 2012) noted - whilst Boorstin did foresee a shift from humanity and intellect to a society driven by images, he did not anticipate peer-to-peer communication (Boorstin, 1984). His work assumed that an image driven society would be created through images fed to society, rather than those created by society. The role of society in the production of images demonstrates that the image driven society is in fact influenced by prosumption. Historically, research has tended to link images to the Circle of Representation (Hall, 1997; Jenkins, 2003) and consumer behaviour, but has not considered the emotional power of images in the representation of destinations. This emotional aspect of embodiment deserves further consideration. Eisoner (1998) suggests reality can be fully experienced by seeing places as they were seen during the person's childhood (Erikson, 1963), providing a powerful link between this research and the work on nostalgia (Appendix 7).

Online travel makes it possible to explore places which are not on the official tourist trail, and which may be less safe to visit in real life. This may include particular

destinations, city zones, or specific places where access is not allowed – sites of urban exploration for example (Appendix 8).

5.4 Consuming Urban Exploration

Appendix 8 is a review of Urban Exploration, and further discusses and analyses Strain's 'illusion of demediating mediation', a resistance identity to "the spell of commodity cast over a deluded or self-deluding public by a manipulative 'culture industry' the purveyor of conformity, boredom and 'flight from reality" (Taylor, 1994), and the post-tourist acceptance of the postmodern simulacra (Baudrillard, 1981).

To explore this further, I refer back to the roles of tourists and travellers. The 'post-tourist' accepts the fakery offered by the tourism industry. They see tourism as playful, as a mix of authentic and inauthentic experience, and recognise the inauthentic nature of the tourist experience and even embrace it (Urry, 2002; Smith et al., 2010). Such experiences offer the post-tourist the opportunity for escapism. Sites of interest to post-tourists include blackspots, heritage sites, literary landscapes, theme parks, film and television studios and sets (Rojek, 1993). Such sites may be based on multiple cultural experiences and artefacts, maybe even commercialising sorrow and death (through, for example, Dark Tourism). They may not differentiate between reality and fiction, absorbing both in equal measure, (Smith et al., 2010), leading to experiences which are representative of Bourdieu's simulacra, being hyper-real and existing in a media driven world (Feifer, 1985). They are influenced by hyper-consumerism, globalisation and the experience economy (Rojek and Urry, 1997; Urry, 2000; Heitmann, 2008) and take part in activities simultaneously – visiting a site, learning about a place, photographing it and instantaneously uploading this image online. They may not even leave their house to engage in tourist experiences, relying on media representations to form their perceptions of the world (Urry, 2002). As a result of commodification, postmodern concepts such as semiotics, media society, hyperreality, pastiche and spectacle are of particular interest.

Appendix 8 contests the generalised assumption that tourists believe that the contrived scenes and pseudo-events are authentic', suggesting that they seldom seek the 'real authentic', preferring instead a commoditised interpretation in keeping with their own provincial expectations (Boorstin, 1964; Wang, 1999). Featherstone (2007) for example, argues that the post-tourist is fascinated with the ordinary lives of others in an extraordinary environment. This is key to the prosumption of Urban Exploration – the opportunity to explore ordinary lives in unique and abandoned spaces. In this context the Urban Explorer 'tourist' (and many explorers travel extensively for their hobby) assumes the explorer identity discussed by both De Botton and Garrett. Garrett (2014), speaks passionately of the risk that Urban Exploration may become commodified as another 'product'. However, there is already supply which meets this demand. Table 5.2, presents a list of UK attractions which are presented as temporary, obsolete, abandoned or derelict sites (T.O.A.D.S). In addition to this list, there are a number of former Cold War sites which are discussed later in this chapter which are presented in a similar genre.

Table 5.2: Attractions presented in the Urbex Genre in the UK

Calke Abbey	Opened in 1984 by The National Trust. Presented as a house 'where time stood still' from 1924
Broseley Pipeworks	A pipe museum in the Ironbridge Gorge World Heritage Site, presented as if the workers have just left
Brodsworth Hall	An English Heritage property presented as 'faded grandeur' with abandoned rooms
The Coffin Works	Manufacturers of coffin furniture, presented as if the workers have just left
Denis Severs House	Presented as if the family have just left, with background noise to simulate people in next door rooms

The paper on Urban Exploration (Appendix 8) does not seek to commodify the activity, nor does it seek to rationalise it as tourism – instead it puts forward the argument that Urban Exploration is like tourism, yet does not rely upon the formal tourism industry for the attractions it presents. The paper argues that it is, instead, 'beyond' tourism, yet

shares many commonalities. I argue that there is a new dimension within the way in which individuals come to understand their world through travel and photography, which takes place within a thirdspace. This thirdspace allows for the articulation of difference and diversity where identities can be renegotiated in a fluid way and hybrids are constructed and reconstructed (Bhabha, 1994). It was argued by Hollinshead (1998) that these opportunities could be provided by tourist destinations as sites of cultural production and negotiation, and, therefore, hybridity. I argue that Urban Exploration provides a heightened opportunity for 'thirding', where the material and mental spaces of traditional dualism to be combined with another mode of thinking about space to create an 'open-ended set of defining moments' where physical, virtual and interactional engagement with urban spaces can be achieved. This makes it possible to consider the meanings, interpretations and stories of those who inhabit and pass through these spaces. This moves beyond the traditional dichotomies of self/other, host/guest to create a travel experience which is holistic and interconnected, where these dichotomies exist simultaneously (Wearing, Stevenson and Young, 2010).

The opening up of spaces for 'thirding' is illustrated by Dodge (2006) who suggests that Urban Exploration can be seen as place-hacking: Creating an open-sourcing of knowledge of hidden spaces. This knowledge is then shared through photographic records - some as artistic output, others as a survey of a site (Taylor, 1994; Bennett, 2011; Strangleman, 2013). This leads to the production of photographs which illustrate the aesthetics of decay (DeSilvey, 2006; Pinder 2005). Edensor (2005) is seen as being a supporter of the view of Urban Exploration as aestheticism and suggest that exploration of these sites consequently transforms these everyday industrial sites into 'the exotic' (DeBotton, 2002). By inference, there is something of the nature of tourism about visiting these sites. Indeed, Bennett (2011) argued that Urban Explorers were middle class preservationists seeking to conserve their built heritage, and thus photographic surveys become essential – a similar position to the one adopted by Craggs, Geohegan and Neate (2013). This is in contrast to Garrett who argues that

Urban Exploration is a search for the photogenic, yet whilst photography may capture a sense of the appearance of place, it is not a replacement for being present in the space and experiencing first-hand the mixture of sensual stimuli - thus, as with all photography, it offers no real account of 'truth' (Chalfen, 1987). Craggs, Geohegan and Neate called for greater critical inquiry around architecture and the lived experiences of architectural forms – this may be achieved through treating T.O.A.D.S as thirdspaces.

There are also strong parallels with dark tourism in Urban Exploration visits to derelict hospitals and asylums, and subsequent reflections on memorialisation, commodification and industrialisation as intimations of postmodernity (Jones, 2006; Lennon and Foley, 2000; Stone, 2006; Prescott, 2011; Buda and McIntosh, 2013). As tourism can be both 'as' darkness and 'about' darkness (DeSilvey (2006) the paper suggests that one emergent niche in tourism is the development of 'Cold War Tourism' and 'Atomic Tourism', a theme which is revisited in section 5.9.

5.5 Embodiment, Sensuality and Liminality

Tourist experiences are individualistic and personal (Ryan, 2000; Arsenault, 2003) and by engaging in tourism activities, tourists are able to better understand their own loci in time and space (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999; Wang, 1999). Pons (2003) and Crouch and Lubren (2003) suggested that the tourist needs to be bodily involved in the world. The desolate and derelict representational aesthetics and the secret and transgressive nature of Urban Exploration, makes psychogeography an important element of the Urban Exploration experience. Giblett's psycho-analytical critique of the attraction and repulsion of spaces such as wetlands, bogs, and marshes and the dark, dank, smelly, slimy attributes of these liminal spaces which are emphasized by those who explore them, may provide opportunities for understanding self and embodiment within Urban exploration (Giblett, 1992; 1996). Edensor (2007), for example, suggested that the limited access to authentic urban experience created powerful sensations which are focussed on intense and bodily sensations.

“Photographs are never merely visual but in fact conjure up synaesthetic²⁴ and kinaesthetic²⁵ effects, for the visual provokes other sensory responses. The textures and tactilities, smells, atmospheres and sounds of ruined spaces, together with the signs and objects they accommodate, can be empathetically conjured up by visual material”

(Edensor, 2005, p16)

Wearing, Stevenson and Young (2010), highlighted that it is through the embodiment of space that tourists gain new insights into their identities and develop a greater sense of self. They argue that for the individual, experience is authentic to the self and is affirmed and determined by the comparisons and contrasts the traveller makes with themselves, others and their encounters. Wang (1996) proposed that existential authenticity provides a better lens through which to view tourist experiences as any other interpretation of authenticity makes it impractical as a mechanism through which to explore tourist motivations. Nietzsche’s concept of existential authenticity thus becomes an important framework to explore the ideas of authenticity for Urban Exploration. As individuals explore the world in which they find themselves this co-defines both their heritage and their destiny (Steiner and Reisinger, 2006).

The feelings associated with existential experiences are activated by the liminal process of the activities an individual has engaged with, which are strengthened as there are none of the usual constraints placed on the tourist by their everyday lives (Wang, 1999). This enables the tourist to more easily realise their authentic self which is often experienced only within this liminal zone. This intra-personal authenticity involves ‘self-making’ or ‘self-identity’ which are implicit dimensions for tourism motivation (Crouch and Lubren, 2003). The value of viewing Urban Exploration from

²⁴ Synaesthetic experiences are driven by symbolic rather than sensory representations

²⁵ Kinaesthetic effects are those which are driven by the physical act of taking part.

this embodiment perspective enables researchers to focus on groups that have been marginalised in previous research and academic practice (Johnston, 2001; Mott and Roberts, 2013) and it these encounters which define people and places (Buda et al, 2014).

Orbuch (1997) and Crouch and Lubren (2003) note that photographs are examples of self-representation and can be related back to the notion of existentialism discussed previously. Goffman (1959) and Orbuch (1997) suggested that publishing photographic accounts is a tactic in the presentation of self. Therefore, in seeking nostalgic experience those who seek sites of personal nostalgia are more likely to search for existentially authentic nostalgic experiences which will potentially involve all the senses. Similarly, Wang (1999) suggests that tourists seeking authentic experiences are essentially motivated by nostalgia in their search for their authentic selves.

5.6 Consuming Nostalgia

The concept of nostalgia has become an area of particular interest and discussion amongst tourism scholars, who have recognised the construct as a new frontier within the tourism industry, receiving an increasing amount of recognition as a driver and motivator of tourist activity (Bartoletti, 2010; Caton & Santos, 2007). Strain (2003) explores the narrative trope of the repeat journey as a visual or metaphorical retracing of steps in the re-enactment of a past journey marked by discovery (as a memory of the first experience of seeing a sight as a child, Eisoner, 1998).

As noted previously in the Emediated gaze papers (Appendices 4, 5 and 6) issues relating to emotional engagement with specific sites were identified. In particular, the study raised questions around the emotional influences involved in the selection of photographs, and the subsequent emotional responses to the images which are seen through the Emediated gaze, including ideas of nostalgia, memory and future reflection

(or future nostalgia) - images preserved for a future self, which can be looked back upon as happy memories of the past, recorded for the future. Whilst the afterlife of the photograph may be out of the control of the person who recorded it once it is in the public domain, it also has a relationship with the person who recorded the image when it is viewed as an item of nostalgia in the future. This places an additional perspective on the afterlife of the photo and highlights the potential for research into notions of image, emotion and nostalgia (Appendix 7).

Both this paper (Appendix 7) and Appendix 9 (Fallon and Robinson, 2016) moves from the position of a group of nostalgic people who position the object of nostalgia as the lens for research and instead makes the subject of the nostalgia the focus for exploring responses. Nostalgia is a difficult construct which has been defined as “a yearning for the past, or a fondness for tangible or intangible possessions and activities linked with the past... used to develop, sustain, and recreate individuals’ identities” (Sierra and McQuitty, 2007, p99-100), and as “a sentimental or bittersweet yearning for an experience, product, or service from the past” (Baker & Kennedy, 1994, p170). Davis (1979, 107-108) adds another dimension to the definition of nostalgia, defining it as a “collective search for identity [which] looks backward rather than forward, for the familiar rather than the novel, for certainty rather than discovery”. Both papers acknowledged, with Bartoletti (2010), that nostalgia is a phenomenon which represents a new frontier within the leisure industry, from which a sense of modern nostalgia arises. This is something that can be exploited by the market in a number of different ways given the lack of existing research (Russell, 2008).

Appendix 7 investigates nostalgic responses to images of the former American Adventure Theme Park (2015) to address some issues identified in earlier studies – including a focus on nostalgia amongst younger audiences. Emotional attachment is a theme which emerges in the research and is one issue of note in relation to the sense of loss related to the closure of the theme park – in particular, the lost opportunity to

share the destination with other people. In Appendix 9 it was noted that there were a variety of nostalgic reasons for Bob and Steve to engage in warfare tourism, and these overlapped with general tourism motivations, as well as motivations for both 'dark' and 'battlefield' tourism (Figure 5.3). The theme of warfare or Battlefield Tourism, and its relationship with dark tourism and with nostalgia provides opportunities for further research and offers links to the development of Cold War Tourism and 'Ostalgia²⁶', which is summarised in an as yet unpublished development of Royston and Robinson (2016).

Figure 5.3 – Analysing Bob's reflections

These motivations, and the subsequent experiences on the trips, are inter-related and complex. Overall, the two trips represented opportunities for Bob and Steve: share time together and become 'closer', both generally and in terms of Bob's wartime experiences; individually reminisce (Dann, 1998; Prideaux, 2007) and share 'collective' memory (Halbwachs, 1980); and also take some leisure time in a different environment (Hyde & Harman, 2011). This is very similar to the idea of families sharing what is commonly known as 'quality time' together (Carr, 2011; Obrador, 2012; Wallop, 2011) – the trips provided the opportunity for two family members to learn more about each other, to get closer, and to do so "in a nice way".

Considering the perspectives of two participants across two trips also highlighted how Bob and Steve co-created their experiences before, during and after each trip (Binkhorst & Den Dekker, 2009) and also from one trip to the other. For Bob, nostalgia represented an important part of the experience (Dann, 1998), especially in terms of remembering his old mates. For Steve, nostalgia (or 'latent nostalgia' as Steve calls it) was one of the main reasons for travelling - "I went almost trying to look through his eyes" - and he purposely wanted to see his father's reaction and to try to empathise with him, indicating that empathetic identification (Ashworth, 2002 and 2004) can be with the living as well as with those who have fallen. For Steve, this desire had built up over time and the development of their relationship, further suggesting that the nature of existing bonds - and level of comfortability - between fellow travellers influences the nature and extent of co-creation on such trips.

²⁶ Ostalgia describes nostalgia for the former East Germany, the GDR or German Democratic Republic. 'Ost' is the translation for 'East' giving the adaptation to the word nostalgia.

5.7 Creating Research Opportunities

In Section 5.4 and 5.6, the paper refers to Cold War and Atomic Tourism as emergent areas of research. This theme has significant relevance as an emerging area of research. Firstly, many former Cold war sites, and in particular Royal Observer Corps posts have become popular with Urban Explorers, and were also the focus for Bennett's work on Bunkerology (2011). Secondly, the memory of the Cold War is still sufficiently contemporary as to have nostalgic connotations for individuals who lived through that period. Thirdly, there are links to the idea of 'darkness' within tourism, even though these sites were never put to use. Finally, many such sites remain relatively hidden, or otherwise inaccessible – only identifiable using satellite imagery. Further, there are few sites which are open to the public, and those which are, are presented as found with their original equipment, fixtures and fittings, thus they are little different to a recently abandoned factory or hospital. There is also a growing interest in nostalgia surrounding the Cold War period, not least, the interest in 'Ostalgia' (Sadowski-Smith, 1998; Blum, 2000; Bach, 2002; Coles, 2003; Enns, 2007; Manghani, 2008; Bartoletti, 2010; Kubicek, 2011). It is this convergence of nostalgia, urban exploration, dark tourism and the gaze which highlights the Cold War as one area for further development of the model in Appendix 8. As Bures (2013) observed, "Every day, the Cold War gets a little colder. And as it does, interest in these nuclear relics heats up". Whilst the focus for such relics is primarily placed upon Cold War installations, visits to sites such as Chernobyl can be included, and the proliferation of tourist photography within the zone of alienation is further evidence of the growing interest in atomic tourism.

As interest in the Cold War has increased, a wide variety of Cold War experiences have become available for tourist consumption. Examples include a Prague hotel which was a former prison for political dissidents, the Resck Labour Camp (Hungary) and various Secret Nuclear Bunkers (UK). Memento (Statue Park), an intended toxic waste dump, has inadvertently become an open air museum for 36 statues intended to

convince society in the former USSR that they were on the winning side of the cold war (Weiner, 2012). In Berlin, the 'Ostel' Hostel, offers rooms decorated and furnished to a design which echoes that of the former GDR, whilst a Trabi Safari, enables visitors to negotiate the streets of modern day Berlin (Gawthrop and Williams, 2011).

Other tourist sites include Checkpoint Charlie, scuba tours of the ships which were sunk in nuclear tests (Bikini Atoll) and The Nevada Test Site (NTS) viewing area overlooking Yucca Flat and the abandoned town of Mercury which was home to those who worked at the NTS. With the remains of dormitories, former leisure facilities, a movie theatre and a swimming pool, such sites are ripe for Urban Exploration. The US National Register of Historic Places has identified that these sites should be registered to encourage the growth of tourism and tourist visits to this region (Weiner 2012).

Weiner (2007) observed that the NTS tour “reflects another political calculus at work: Conservatives are trying to find ways to commemorate victory in the cold war, hoping to bring coherence to their cause by ensuring the anti-communist crusade in U.S. history”. The notion of victory is challenging – the UK perspective tends to focus less on the outcome of the Cold War, than on Britain’s preparation, which included technological innovation, architecture and propaganda. Hack Green Secret Nuclear Bunker, for example, focuses on the potential impact of a nuclear warhead targeting the north-west of the UK, and the visitor experience includes a chilling nuclear blast simulator. By contrast, the Secret Nuclear Bunker at Kelvedon Hatch places greater emphasis on the design, use and secrecy of the building. Orford Ness in Suffolk (UK), owned by The National Trust and accessible only by boat, is managed as a site for wildlife and conservation, but this site was classified until the 1990s. The large concrete pagodas which can be seen from the mainland, covered test labs for building atomic trigger missiles, whilst other architectural remains include other munitions testing facilities, offices, accommodation and other facilities. Table 5.3 provides an overview of Cold War sites and dedicated Cold War museums which are regularly open to visitors,

The potential for Mutually Assured Destruction which would have resulted shortly after the outbreak of a nuclear war would have had a profound impact on the lives of many millions of people across the world – especially in communist states such as the USSR and East Germany, and also in Cuba and China. Such sites represent ‘the other’ in the context of more traditional battlefield tours and experiences, which find their roots in Dark Tourism (Seaton, 1999; Stone and Sharpley, 2008; Baldwin and Sharpley, 2009; Dunkley et al., 2011) such as those recounted by Steve and Bob (section 5.5).

Nonetheless, such sites still echo a darkness – these are “places of dark purpose, potential refuges for a select few against the apocalyptic threats of the Cold War” (Bennett, 2011). Bennett demonstrated that bunkerologists place an emphasis on documenting and cataloguing the places they explore, recording these factually, but with a reverential and memorialist tone. This idea of memory, as shared and as collective nostalgia and existential authenticity, is seen as central to many encounters with Cold War experiences, and to other forms of exploration of historic sites (Samuel, 1994, page 186; Geoghegan, 2009, Craggs, Geoghegan and Neate, 2013). Bunkerology can be seen as a specific strand of Urban Exploration, yet it can also be linked to Atomic Tourism (or Toxic Tourism – this term in particular conveying darker messages about the toxicity of a site) (Hannam and Yankovska, 2014). Stone (2013) discusses Chernobyl as a heterotopian site where visitors can experience a post-apocalyptic world and despite the fact that access is officially controlled, the actual borders are discussed by Hannam and Yankovska as being ill-defined and insecure. Thus two things have happened in recent years. The area has become popular amongst thrill seeking tourists (not all of whom visit officially), whilst the Ukrainian government has also recognized the potential for tourism earnings through visits to the site.

Such darkness applies not just to bunkerology, or the other forms of tourism discussed here, but to all forms of Urban exploration, based upon the definition offered by

Bowman and Pezzullo (2010, pp. 190-191) who suggest that the darkness of a tourism site may be attributed to something “disturbing, troubling, suspicious, weird, morbid, or perverse about them, but what exactly that may be remains elusive and ill-defined”.

Table 5.3 - Cold War Tourist Attractions

United Kingdom	Hack Green Nuclear Bunker Kelvedon Hatch Secret Nuclear Bunker RAF Holmpton Nuclear Bunker The York Bunker RAF Neatishead Dover Castle Tunnels Orford Ness The National Cold War Exhibition, RAF Cosford Scotland's Secret Bunker Bentwaters Cold War Museum Gravesend Cold War Bunker
United States	The Greenbrier Bunker The Bay of Pigs Museum The Minuteman Missile Museum Growler Submarine Titan Missile Museum The Atomic Testing Museum Spy Museum
Germany	The Berlin Wall Berlin Stasi Museum The Brandenburg Gate Checkpoint Charlie
Canada	Diefenbunker
Cuba	Museo Playa Girón
Russia	Red Square
South Korea	The Demilitarised Zone
Denmark	Stevnsfort Cold War Museum Langelandsfort Cold War Museum Odense Bunker Museum

Chapter 6 – Concluding Thoughts

This chapter summarises the key issues which emerge from this thesis and the corpus of work presented in the appendices. The chapter provides both a reflection on the research and sets the future direction of my research, based on the development of the model in Appendix 8. Finally, the chapter identifies other related themes which emerge as areas for potential investigation.

Chapter 2 commenced by setting out the view that, as Ritzer (2009) argued, prosumption is a considerably more relevant notion than the binary processes of production and consumption. This chapter also provided an overview of urban spaces within tourism and explored contemporary issues for urban landscapes – in particular regeneration and gentrification, and the opportunities presented for new experiences and sub-cultures to emerge within the ever changing cityscape. Having established the centrality of prosumption, Chapter 3 then establishes the importance of authenticity and visibility within the prosumption of tourism and through urban exploration. Chapter 4 provided a review of the research methods employed within the papers submitted herewith, and explored the research journey which narrates these methods. Chapter 5 then summarised the key issues which emerged from the body of research and summarises key issues which provide the background for this final chapter.

My thesis demonstrates that technology is changing the nature of visibility, and reflects an increased dissatisfaction with the controlling nature of the tourism industry and the frontstage and backstage dichotomy (Goffman, 1959). I suggest that this is one of the main reasons for the popularity of Google Earth and other Web 2.0 platforms. The Mediated Gaze explains one of the ways in which tourists increasingly seek to understand the spaces they cannot access – the Aerial Gaze (Strain, 2003) provides further evidence of this, as does the work of Wilkins (2010).

However, whilst there is evidence of new frontiers in tourist photography, much online imagery is simply a further reflection of the myth making which exists within the marketing of the tourism industry. The ability to edit and choreograph images before uploading them further reflects the work that prosumers are doing on behalf of destination marketing organisations. The comments and responses to such images on social media may potentially enable viewers of these images to further prosume the experience without engaging in the act of travel themselves. This is especially important when the act of travel may involve some element of risk, such as visiting abandoned sites. Thus, in the work on urban exploration the photography associated with these sites is of considerable interest to those seeking an insight into the authentic existence of derelict sites and their past lives.

Both in this paper and in the appendices the work is broadly critical of the heritage sector – in particular the extent to which the heritage sector constrains the opportunity for prosumption of authenticity. This argument is not made in order to denigrate the value of the heritage sector, but to provide a reason for some travellers to seek opportunities to create and prosume their own experiences. The inauthentic nature of heritage, and the myths which are created by the tourism industry more broadly, are in stark contrast to the exploration of an abandoned building. The central argument here is that such sites afford the visitor (urban explorer) a more liminal experience which may, in turn, generate later nostalgic experiences. Central to this is the notion of exploration (De Botton, 2003), and I set out here and in Appendix 8 the argument that travel is relatively safe – even for the most allocentric activities risk is generally managed by tourism operators. Urban exploration removes the safeguards of the official tourism industry (Holder, 2005) and provides opportunities for travellers to once again become explorers, accepting certain risks associated with their travel experiences. It is for this reason that the model proposed in Appendix 8 suggests that Urban Exploration is ‘beyond tourism’, an activity which is tourism, but is also exploration, imbued with aspects of dark tourism and heritage tourism, and with a

similar focus on photography as tourism. Thus I argue here and in the capstone paper (Appendix 8) that tourist experiences have been constrained and controlled by the tourism industry – in particular the contemporary heritage industry which cannot satiate MacCannell's search for authenticity (1976).

Further, I suggest that it is impossible to discover true historical authenticity – instead I propose that the only authenticity which can be found in tourist spaces, and non-tourist spaces, is existential authenticity - a self-defined, self-located set of experiences and embodiment which help us define our place within the world (Crouch and Lubren, 2003). The role of dark tourism, for example, and as noted earlier, is partly driven by a need to rationalise and understand the inevitability of death. Many sites of Urban Exploration are sites of darkness – it is rational to link the need for existential authenticity in these places with the need to rationalise death – only in linking these activities can we find a form of existential authenticity which is reflective of individual lives and the inevitability of death within those lives.

Additionally, I observe that, as tourists, we increasingly seek to be fully involved and engaged, and that, for most, Urban Exploration is one representation of a complete sensory experience. Whilst sensuality within tourist experience has attracted attention in a number of papers, smell, taste and authenticity are rarely discussed together, yet there is clear evidence in my work on Urban Exploration (Appendix 8) that it is the smell of those derelict sites which creates a part of the experience. There is no such traditional smell within the open air museums which attempt to present authentic histories in a liminal setting (Mills, 1999), yet such sensual experiences heighten the sense of embodiment. Therefore, proscription of urban exploration sites provides an opportunity for embodied, self-led experiences.

A number of sites featured in urban exploration websites are former leisure facilities, theme parks and holiday parks. Many of these sites attract nostalgic interest. This was

the starting point for the research in Appendix 7 (which also develops some ideas explored in Appendix 6). In this thesis I argue that the role of nostalgia in the prosumption of tourist experiences is an issue which deserves greater attention. I have presented evidence that photography enables tourists to record their future memories. This means that we are consciously aware of creating reference points which will help to mediate individual existential authenticity in the future, and will be a part of a search for nostalgia. Nostalgia and memory tourism both provide scope for further investigation and, as illustrated through Appendix 9, help to shed light on human experiences and the connection between those for whom this is personal nostalgia, and the construction of shared nostalgias with others through the revisitation of sites where the epiphanies discussed in Appendix 7 were created. I also suggest that, as tourists prosume experiences, the heritage industry (and the wider tourism sector) will need to adapt to changing modes of consumption around nostalgia, emotion and embodied experiences. I demonstrate, using Cold War tourism as an example, that the modern tourist is accepting of the lack of authenticity in the tourism industry, and instead seeks authentic experiences in other spaces.

I have demonstrated in this thesis that the emergence of Cold War and Atomic Tourism provides an example of the convergence of the themes I have discussed – buildings which are not established as a traditional ‘heritage’ offer, and which play to a sense of nostalgia and darkness. These places offer a thirdspace and as a consequence are deserving of greater attention as having specific characteristics and attributes which are defined through other forms of tourism – a dualistic explanation of tourist interest, rather than the treatment of forms of tourism as individual niche activities and interests (Robinson, 2011). It may be that some of the relics of this period are able to be contemporarily authentic. Orford Ness, which The National Trust have abandoned to the elements, provides an uncommodified experience for the limited number of visitors able to reach the site by boat each day – yet I would not argue this is authentic in

relation to its former purpose, only authentic as a nuclear site in decline – retuning to nature with deliberately limited restoration.

In concluding, I also argue that my research, and the methods I have adopted arrive at a point which recognises from a tourism perspective, the issues highlighted by the various authors within Phillimore and Goodison (2004), and the work of Denzin and Lincoln (1998), that tourism research in the form it is presented here, illustrates a shift from post-positivist to 5th moment methodologies. I also propose that the lens of prosumption, especially in autoethnographic research, is a useful tool for exploring tourist experiences. Thus my research increasingly focuses on human subjectivity, a multiplicity of roles, considerable uncertainty and a new fluidity in explaining and exploring tourism and tourists.

Opportunities for future research which emerge from this study, beyond the development of the model I propose in Appendix 8, focusses on three areas: The relationship between visibility, space and the prosumption of the Tourist Gaze; the development of Cold War Tourism and the way in which the sites, monuments and bunkers of this period offer a dualistic renegotiate of the prosumption of experiences and; the search for existential authenticity through new forms of tourism cultures and in thirdspaces.

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Appendices

List of Appendices

Appendix 1 - Heitmann, S. and Robinson, P. (2009). Slow Cities – the Emperor’s new clothes or (another) solution for sustainable tourism management? British Academy of Management Conference 2009. 15th-17th September 2009, Brighton. **(Conference Paper)**

Appendix 2 – Heitmann, S., Robinson, P. and Povey, G. (2011). Slow Food, Slow Cities and Slow Tourism in P. Robinson, S. Heitmann and P. Dieke (eds) (2011) Research Themes in Tourism, Oxford: CABI. pp14-127. **(Chapter)**

Appendix 3 - Robinson, P. (2011). Contextualising the Slow Tourist in Journal of Hospitality and Tourism. Vol. 9 (2), 2011, p16-39. **(Conference Paper)**

Appendix 4 - Robinson, P. (2013). The E-Mediated (Google Earth) Gaze - An Observational and Semiotic Perspective in Current Issues in Tourism Research, 15 (4), pp. 353-367 **(Peer-Reviewed Journal Article)**

Appendix 5 – Robinson, P. (2013). The Emediated (Google) Gaze in J. Lester and C. Scarles (2013). Mediating the Tourist Experience. Farnham: Ashgate pp155-170. **(Chapter)**

Appendix 6 - Robinson, P. (2014). Emediating the tourist gaze: memory, emotion and choreography of the digital photograph in Journal of Information technology and Tourism. 14 (3) pp. 177-196. **(Peer-Reviewed Journal Article)**

Appendix 7 - Robinson, P. (2015). I Remember it Well: Epiphanies, Nostalgia, and Urban Exploration as Mediators of Tourist Memory in Tourism, Culture and Communication. 15(2) pp87-102 (**Peer-Reviewed Journal Article**)

Appendix 8 - Robinson, P. (2015). Conceptualizing Urban Exploration as Beyond Tourism and as Anti-Tourism in Advances in Hospitality and Tourism Research 3 (2) pp141-164 (**Peer-Reviewed Journal Article**)

Appendix 9 – Fallon, P. and Robinson, P. (2016). ‘Lest we forget’: A veteran and son share a ‘warfare tourism’ heritage experience in Journal of Heritage Tourism. (Accepted - details TBC). (**Peer-Reviewed Journal Article**)

Appendix 10 – Full List of Publications