

Cultural Events as a Catalyst for Increased Intercultural Communication and Understanding

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Abstract

The post-modern tourist is a creature under scrutiny; the tourism industry one of increasing importance in the globalized society in which we live. Whereas in the past the tourist could go about his or her own business at ease, taking the well-deserved leisurely break from the drudgery of the nine-to-five day job, whether it be a beach holiday or a culturally inspired break, these days the tourist is constantly having to question their activities. The onset of the concept of the carbon footprint and the ideals of 'ethical tourism' are just two areas that have forced the tourist to seek moral justification for what was previously a mere pleasure-seeking occasion. An element of these moral justifications and one which is becoming more recognized within the field of tourism studies is that of tourism and attitude change (see for example Pizam et al., 1991; Nyaupane et al., 2008). MacCannell (1992) argues that the motivation of all tourists lies in their desire to seek out the authentic; the paradoxical situation is such that once anything is 'experienced' or 'touched' then it instantly loses its authenticity (Taylor, 2001), which suggests that tourists will never truly discover the authentic cultures that they crave. However, there is no doubt that some experiences are more authentic than others and this research suggests that these are the ones which potentially act as catalysts for greater inter-cultural understanding and attitude change towards the host community. These experiences often come in the form of 'cultural events'. Through thorough research and investigation into their characteristics, a case study event is chosen that is as authentic to the host culture as possible. Primary research is then conducted in a 'two-phase' (Pol and Pak, 1994) methodological process to discover how much the event experience altered the tourists' cultural understanding and their attitude towards the host community.

Key words: intercultural communication, cultural events, tourism for world peace, discourse, authenticity.

Introduction

This paper forms part of a larger on-going project which seeks to understand how 'cultural events' can be catalysts for increased cultural understanding and better intercultural relations. The very nature of the paper as a work 'in progress' suggests that it will be difficult to reach any solid conclusions and therefore it is by nature 'exploratory' both in terms of secondary data and potential methodological techniques to be applied in the primary research stage. In order to discover whether 'cultural events' at a destination serve to increase cultural understanding through increased cultural exchange, the post-modern 'tourist' is utilised as the avenue by which this cultural exchange takes place and therefore the study falls within the academic sphere of 'tourism studies', along with those of anthropology, cultural studies and event studies. The outcome of the research hopes to contribute something of relevance to all of these areas. To this end, some main themes which are covered in greater depth in the final study shall be investigated in this paper, namely – intercultural communication, and tourism in relation to this

field, cultural events and the commodification of tourism, and the 'authenticity debate'. The discussion of these themes will provide the research with a contextual framework and considerations of appropriate methodologies will then unfold.

The stance that shall be taken in relation to cultural studies is that culture is made up of several elements and that "the system of interconnections between all aspects of social life plays a more important part in the transmission of culture than any one of those aspects considered separately" (Levi-Strauss, 1963, p.358). Without all of the ingredients of *social structure*, a culture cannot be fully understood, and these ingredients are what could be considered 'webs of significance' (Geertz, 1973), the ingredients being the **economic, technical, political, legal, aesthetic** and **religious** aspects of a society or community (Levi-Strauss, 1963). This point is reiterated by Bruner and Turner (1986) who recognizes that culture is normally placed within the spheres of art and ritual, but actually it is "radically plural" (p.25) and symbolic in **all** domains. Taylor (cited by Geertz, 1973) stated that 'man became man' through the ability to transmit **knowledge, belief, law, morals** and **customs**, and it is these five facets that can be said to represent what makes up a culture and so, if one is to fully understand any community's culture, they must look at the knowledge, belief, law, morals and customs of a community in relation to their position within the economic, technical, political, legal, aesthetic and religious social structure. This model shall be used in the final project when discussing potential case studies for use in the primary research stage, but for the purpose of this paper, the views of Hofstede (cited by Jandt, 2007) shall be considered. Hofstede classifies the elements of culture in more simplistic terms as **Symbols**, which refer to verbal and nonverbal language, **Rituals**, which are the essential collective activities within a culture, **Values**, which are feelings within a culture about what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, normal or abnormal, and **Heroes** or the people who act as role models within a culture, and it is the first three of these that will form the structure for discussions surrounding the themes of the research.

Symbols - (verbal and non-verbal communication).

Geertz (1973) infers that the interpretations of cultures are rooted in signs or symbols and that anything that is used to "impose meaning upon experience" (p.45) is a cultural symbol and these are ultimately what make up our lives. Therefore it can be said that culture "...denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols... by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life" (Geertz, 1973, p. 89). The "imposition of meaning upon experience" to which Geertz refers can be said to manifest itself in the tourist industry. However, globalisation and commodification of cultures has arguably led to a situation whereby "the signs which invoke the idea of travel are ... mass produced by the culture industry" (Galani-Moutafi, 2000, p.216). One school of thought suggests that this situation has led to a greater divide of cultures and deeper 'ethnocentrism', where there arises a "social construction of visited cultures as exotic, primitive, sensual, servile and...dependent on tourists for advancement and modernization" (Canton and Santos, 2008, pg. 8) and thus a large disparity occurs between tourist-generating and tourist-receiving societies, which in turn potentially acts as a barrier to effective intercultural communication. As stated by Neulip (2009), "high levels of ethnocentrism are dysfunctional with respect to intercultural communication" (p.174). Much of this process which can be termed as the (re)formation of ideologies occurs mostly through non-verbal signs or symbols, in what is commonly referred to in academic literature as tourism 'discourse' (Pritchard & Jaworski, 2005).

"Tourism discourse contributes to the formation and maintenance of Western discourse about the rest of the world" (Canton & Santos, 2008, p.8) and exposure to these types of representations helps to shape people's perceptions of host cultures and destinations. The discourses that Canton and Santos refer to come in the form of promotional media, guidebooks,

and travel programmes and the theoretical background for their argument derives from dominant ideologies through history such as post-colonialism which marginalizes 'the other'. This in effect means that before they even start off on their journey, the tourist has preconceived ideas about the culture they are visiting and it can therefore be argued that they will not be open to learn about the true nature of where they are visiting and its people. This is reiterated by Heidegger (1962) and subsequently Steiner and Reisinger (2004) who refer to the aforementioned discourse as 'idle talk' which they say is the "lifeblood of the tourist industry" (p.124). Therefore whether cultural events serve to enhance the cultural awareness / understanding of the tourist will be to some extent dependent on how exposed to this type of discourse they may be and to what extent they take heed of it; i.e. what the tourist's **preconceptions** are.

On the other hand, there is an argument that recognises the potential benefit that can be derived from inter-cultural communications within tourism. Intercultural communication has been defined by Neuliep (2009) as occurring "when a minimum of two persons from different cultures or micro-cultures come together and exchange verbal and non-verbal symbols" (pg. 21). The benefits have been described within the social psychological 'contact theory', which was originally put forward by Allport as early as 1954 (cited in Pizam et al., 1991), and can be summarised as follows: "...inter-group contact will lead to a change in mutual attitudes...and...contact between individuals from diverse groups ... [therefore] enhances understanding and acceptance" (p.47). This is the premise on which the research moves forward, the assumption being that tourist and host interactions are the "inter-group contact" referred to by Allport.

The more conventional forms of inter-cultural communication are broken down by theorists (Neuliep, 2009; Jandt, 2007; Brislin, 2000) into verbal and non-verbal forms; the non-verbal category is further segregated into kinesics (body language), proxemics (use of personal space), chronemics (use of time), paralanguage (sobs, whistles, ums and ahs), olfactics (use of smell), haptics (use of touch), clothing and physical appearance and silence. Much of the theory relating to intercultural communication can be transferred to tourism experiences and the ways in which tourists 'receive' different cultures. However, research in the area of intercultural communication in relation to tourism is limited and within the tourism literature the views of Bruner (1991) are invariably taken, that tourists "only spend a few days or weeks in any one locality and then move so rapidly that there is little opportunity for sustained interaction with local people" (p. 242). There is a handful of academics who have recognised the power of tourism to encourage greater intercultural understanding (see for example Pizam et al., 1991; Anastasopoulos, 1992; Nyaupane et al., 2008). Other relevant studies have been centred around 'culture shock' in tourism (Pearce, 1995; Hottola, 2004), the main argument being that tourists immediately experience a sense of shock when they arrive at their location and only over time does this develop into any form of host-guest relation. There are only a handful of studies, however, that discuss tourism in direct relation to cross-cultural communication and understanding. One of these is Steiner and Reisinger's (2004) study "Enriching the Tourist and Host Intercultural Experience by Reconceptualising Communication", their view being opposed to the traditional theory of communication's role as the achievement of common ground, conformity and consensus between cultures and more accepting of the Heideggerian (1962) theory that 'communication' within tourism should be interpreted more as the *acceptance* of *cultural differences*.

One area of tourism research that lies within the interests of this study is that of 'Tourism for World Peace', a movement originally pioneered by D'Amore (1988) who suggests that increased communication and understanding across cultures can be encouraged through correct and ethical tourism practices which then idealistically lead to peace in the world. Unfortunately, the very nature of the tourist industry as entwined within the post-modern world of

commercialism and globalisation, suggests that this is not really the case. The beneficiaries of the industry are the political animals and ruling classes, whereas host communities, whilst experiencing some economic benefits from tourism, do not appreciate the full picture. Jeong and Almeida Santos (2004) have argued that notions of globalization and consumption have limited power to explain the occurrence of festivals due to many of their characteristics – including that they occur in specific locations and offer representations of those places which leads to a powerful sense of place and identity. These festivals (or cultural events) are local in nature but appeal to a global audience, and at the same time have many purposes beyond commodification. Historically most of these events were produced for political purposes and these purposes continue to operate today – for example, consolidation of social control, resistance to it, or demonstration of community solidarity. In this sense, then, tourists that visit these events can potentially gain a very deep understanding of the cultural values that are being displayed and this can potentially lead to greater inter-cultural understanding and ultimately contribute to ‘World Peace’ through tourism.

Ritual – (the essential collective activities within a culture)

Ritual, ceremony and performance form a major part of a community’s culture and have become for many a reason for travel. These rituals, ceremonies and performances have, through a process of modernisation, been relabelled ‘cultural events’ (Getz, 2008). Cultural events are essentially displays of cultures and therefore an intensified means of transmitting messages regarding that culture to the audiences. They are therefore arguably forms of *non-verbal communication*, as they demonstrate the use of kinesics, proxemics, chronemics and haptics as well as displaying certain physical appearances particular to that culture. However, modern theorists on intercultural communication, as inferred in the previous section, do not include rituals, ceremonies and cultural performances in their classification of non-verbal communication. One has to delve deeper, into the realms of anthropogenesis (the scientific study of the origin and development of humans) to find a similar approach; Stockman (1985), for example, believes that ritual activity (out of which most authentic cultural events have grown) are a means of communication and that human beings have developed a sense of “aesthetic competency” (p.17) which she defines as “an ability or disposition for emotive acquisition of the aesthetic value systems of a group or society” (Stockman, 1985, p. 17).

What messages these cultural events transmit to the tourist will depend on certain factors such as *who* is performing and for *what purpose*? This is all tied up with the notion of authenticity, for surely if the true values of a culture are to be transmitted, then the event should be authentic to that culture? It has been widely recognized that the extent of authenticity will depend on not only the ‘viewer’ but also the presented interpretation of the displays (McIntosh and Prentice, 1999), whether these are museum displays or cultural performances. McIntosh and Prentice go on to argue that in many societies these representations are conveyed ‘formally’ as opposed to organically and they are conveyed by ‘professionals’ who thereby mix pastness and presentness in a process which Lowenthal (1985) refers to as “creative anachronism” (changing the past to suit one’s own ends). Increasingly then, through a process of *post*-modernisation, the original rituals and ceremonies that were so important to a community’s culture are becoming commoditised ‘cultures on display’ (Stanley, 1998) and it has been said that they are in this process losing a sense of their true and original meaning. Taylor goes so far as to say “the moment that culture is defined as an object of tourism, or segmented and detached from its indigenous sphere, its aura of authenticity is reduced” (Taylor, 2001, p.15). In other words, some truly ‘authentic’ events that are not staged for the tourists’ eye and remain unchanged and sacred to their communities (e.g. pueblo corn dances, as discussed by Laxson, 1991) do emit their cultural values to any on-lookers but in a *subconscious* fashion which is not driven by

commercial value, whereas at the other end of the scale cultural events are often designed to consciously present certain elements of a culture ('front-stage' elements, as referred to by Connell, 2007) especially for tourists whilst preserving the truly authentic 'back-stage' elements. They communicate their culture through a series of sign-values in a very *conscious* fashion, but it is questionable whether the tourist is actually gaining a true understanding of the culture, its *real* values.

Cole (2007) recognizes that for some communities the commodification of culture can be disempowering but emphasizes that in others it can be a political instrument in the construction of their identity. In other words either 'cultural erosion' or 'cultural involution' occurs (Shepherd, 2002). Some examples of cultural erosion whereby the 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1984) of a community has been harnessed and reproduced as a tourism product are Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, Canada (George & Reid, 2005), Amboseli National Park, Kenya (Van der Duim et al., 2005), Mayan communities (Medina, 2003) and Yakel Village, Tanna, Vanuatu (Connell, 2007). Cultural involution, on the other hand, has been described by Xie (2003) as "the concept that tourism can inject new meanings into current cultures" (p.6). In an interesting study that highlights both the benefits and disadvantages of the commoditization of an area's culture Xie focuses on the dance performances that take place in Hainan, China and the ways in which these have, over the years, changed from being born out of mourning for the dead to themed for tourists as reflection of a 'new society'. Lacy and Douglas (2002) also conclude, in their study of Basque tourism, that the "touristic commodification of Basque identity" (p. 17) is neither intrinsically negative *nor* positive, but is extraordinarily complex and highly sensitive to economic and political influences. Their particularly insightful view is that all aspects of Basque culture, whether they be authentic in the traditional sense of the term or cosmopolitan in their modernity (for example the Guggenheim Museum), add up to form the identity of the area and that the anthropology of tourism serves to provide direct insight into the formation and modification of the area's cultural identities. It is seemingly difficult for academics to find the middle ground, but there is arguably always a 'third way', and in this context neither the term cultural 'erosion' nor cultural 'involution' applies; a more appropriate term would be cultural *evolution*.

In selection of an appropriate case study for the research, all of the above should be taken into consideration. The challenge is to select a cultural event that displays as much of the authentic culture of that region as possible and one which ultimately stages the event not for the tourist spectator but for the indigenous community from which it has grown - the cultural event chosen should be as "naturally, culturally and spiritually unspoilt" (Taylor, 2001, p.10) as possible. This way a true picture of whether the cultural event serves to enhance the cultural awareness of the on-looker can be gauged. In selection and discussion of the appropriate case study, all the aspects of social structure and culture as presented in the introduction should be taken into consideration to give a holistic picture of the history of the event and which aspects of the culture it reflects. Within this process it is generally recognised that a culture *evolves* and therefore that tourism will inevitably have or have had an affect on the culture of the region, but the overarching aim is to find a cultural event that has been as little affected by these changes as possible.

Values - (feelings about what is good or bad, beautiful or ugly, normal or abnormal within a culture)

"Cultural ideas (thoughts, beliefs and values) are expressed and communicated symbolically...and those properties of culture that seem most distinctive of it and most important are its values" (George and Reid, 2005, p. 101).

As suggested in the above quotation, the values of a culture are what matters the most in any form of cross-cultural communication and they are also what distinguishes one culture from another. These values, however, can only be transmitted to on-lookers effectively if they are open to receiving them. When looking at the cultural tourism product and the projection of cultural values as a form of non-verbal intercultural communication, the extent to which the host destination wishes their 'audience', 'participants' or 'spectators' to understand the values of their culture will be evident in the ways in which they present or 'stage' their ceremonies, rituals and 'events'. Central both to the communication of these values and to the experiences of the tourist is an understanding of the notion of 'authenticity'. Whereas there are many studies that focus on the authenticity of the tourist product (as discussed above), Selstad (2007) points out that "the primacy of tourist experiences in tourist research is not self-evident" (p.20) and that "exploring what tourists think and do will ...add new dimensions to the study of tourism" (p.31). This study aims to take this stance but in order to analyse tourist experiences, some background on the 'authenticity of experience' and how this relates to the postmodern tourist must be examined.

Getz (2008), when writing on 'event tourism' suggests that "experiences should be conceptualized and studied in terms of three inter-related dimensions" (p.415): people's behaviour (conative), their emotions, moods or attitudes (affective), and their awareness, perception and understanding (cognitive). This study is concerned mostly with the last of these dimensions but it should be said that any change in cultural awareness and understanding is intrinsically tied up with how authentic the individual perceives their experience to be. Steiner and Reisinger (2004) argue that *any* experience can be considered authentic as it is being experienced for the first time and from an individual's perspective. Wang (1999), continues in this vein by introducing the notion of 'existential authenticity' where the tourist actually feels a part of the experience, and a process of "touristic communitas" occurs where the tourist is likened to the pilgrim, in that they are "looking for the centre that is endowed with most sacred values and charged with high emotions" (Wang, 1999, p. 364) and where they are not concerned with the obligatory tasks of everyday life. In this situation, structures fall apart, roles and status disappear and it is relatively easy to make new friends, which also, it could be said, paves the way to greater inter-cultural understanding. In this state, "everyone becomes the same" (Getz, 2008, p.414) and therefore the tourist potentially experiences what it is truly like to be part of another culture, fostering greater inter-cultural understanding. This theory derives from the anthropological concept of 'liminality' and can be particularly applicable when talking about events such as carnivals or festivals. It has also been recognised by Crouch et al. (2001) in their discussion on 'Tourist Encounters' which they see as a sensual complex process where the tourist mingles with other people, shares a story and shares 'body-space' and where they are "not detached from the signs and symbols [that make up the industry, but semi-detached]" (p.262). This research takes on board the fact that authenticity is a constantly changing phenomenon and chooses to focus on what the tourist *perceives* to be their own authentic experience, whether this be existential through actual participation or more objective through a spectator's role (Olsen, 2002). Xie (2003) sums up the postmodern argument in the following quotation: "authenticity is relative rather than absolute and, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder" (p.5). It is ultimately down to the individual tourist, their **motivations, interest** and **quest for knowledge** to interpret these cultures and their forms of communication and therefore these are some of the pieces of information regarding the individual that will need to be ascertained during the methodological process.

Considerations of Appropriate Methodologies

The above discussions provide the contextual framework for the primary research. The objectives that will fulfil the main aim of the research to discover whether cultural events can act as catalysts for better intercultural understanding can be broken down as follows:

- To discover the motivations of the tourists that attend the event (and subsequently classify them accordingly)
- To investigate the tourists' level of understanding of the culture they are visiting *prior* to attending the event
- To examine whether or not the tourist feels they have a deeper understanding of the host culture *following* attendance at the cultural event
 - Do they feel like they had an 'authentic experience?'
 - Do they feel that they better understand a certain aspect of the culture of the region due to attendance at the event?
- To analyse how any greater understanding achieved, e.g. through tourism discourse, 'touristic communitas', follow-up research, interpretative signs or symbols at the event or through direct communication with participants and/or organisers.

With regard to methodologies on cross-cultural research in the tourism context, Kay (2004) poses the question "where and when should the research of cultural event tourists ... be undertaken: for example, at home in their country of origin; at the destination; before and after attendance at the event; on-site at one cultural event or across several cultural events?" (p. 200). In answer to this question, one must consider the views of Pol and Pak (1994) who introduced a "two-stage" survey method as a valid approach to event study research. Their argument was that in this situation, "respondents are either in a hurry to leave the event or they are actually in the process of experiencing the event...[and]... the interview environment is contaminated by other people" (p.316). Therefore, they argue, detailed information cannot be acquired on-site, but a short survey can be carried out which is then followed up by a more in-depth interview when the tourist returns home. This technique is supported by the view of Selstad (2007) who considers that "the tourist is in a constant state of transition, both through movement and experience... Learning is accomplished once the experience has been completed" (Selstad, 2007, p. 28). Therefore, what the tourist has learnt about the culture of the community which they visited should be ascertained following, not during their visit.

A variation on this theme is required for the current research for a number of reasons. Many cultural events take place over a series of days and therefore it can be argued that qualitative on-site interviewing over the whole duration would give more valid results than the quantitative survey approach as described above, which was used for a short-duration sporting event. The advantages to the use of qualitative survey design in tourist settings are summarised by Phillimore and Goodson (2004) who state that it places "emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants, and should view social life as being a result of interaction and interpretations" (p. 4). The second stage of the two-stage method has its advantages as described above, but the counter-argument to this is that much of the detail regarding the tourist experience can be forgotten by the time the tourist returns home. To overcome this problem, the use of photographic images shall be utilised to prompt memories of activities within the case study cultural event; as stated by Haldrup and Larsen (2006) "photographs ... prompt memory stories that would not have been prompted without the photographic objects" p.284.

The survey which is to be carried out on site will take the form of a series of qualitative unstructured interviews with broad themes that will ascertain both motivations of the tourist and an understanding of the level of cultural understanding or knowledge of the tourist *prior* to the event, and subsequently what they feel they have gained in terms of their experience of the event

itself; whether attendance at the event has made any difference to their cultural understanding either through direct communication or through a process of non-verbal messages and whether they feel a level of cultural exchange has been gained due to their attendance. The results of the motivational aspects of this survey will lead to the formation of a cultural tourist typology, based upon the work of McKercher (2002) and McKercher and Du Cros (2003) and this, alongside the level of cultural understanding of the region which will be analysed in terms of the cultural aspects as described by Geertz (1973) in the Overview section. At the end of the on-site interviews, the respondent will be asked whether they are prepared to take part in a follow-up discussion forum when they return home. This will form part two of the 'two-stage' method.

This discussion forum will take place on the social networking site 'Facebook' based upon the data collected in the first stage and will seek to discover whether the tourist has any greater level of cultural understanding following their visit. The use of on-line survey methods is considered for many reasons, some of which have been summed up by Litvin and Kar (2001): "E-surveying' is an obvious extension of traditional data collection methods, offering researchers the potential to reach... respondents in a potentially efficient and cost-effective manner" (p.308). Other advantages to this technique which are relevant to the study in hand are that it can gain a response 'around the clock', is environmentally friendly and provides the opportunity for more complex research design (Weible & Wallace, 1998, cited in Litvin & Kar, 2001). The latter of these advantages is most poignant to the research undertaken for several reasons as it is the intention of the researcher to carry out the survey over an extended period of time and to use photographic images to prompt responses. The use of Facebook will enable both researcher and respondents to paste their photographic images on-line so that discussions can be formed on what tourists have gained from their experiences. Writing on photographic images as a research tool in relation to tourism is limited, but it is useful to take into account the views of Haldrup and Larsen (2006) who state that "in much literature, the camerawork of tourists is too easily and too quickly seen as passive, superficial and disembodied, a discursively prefigured activity of 'quotation'" (Haldrup & Larsen, 2006, p. 282); that is the photographer is not seen as an active element in the relation of experience. The truth is that the tourist as photographer is potentially an ethnologist, depending of course on what happens to the photographs following their trip. Robinson and Picard also cite some relevant points when reviewing Faulkner's book, stating that 'the camera is seen as a technology able to transport some essence of a place into another without losing its material authenticity' (Robinson & Picard, cited in Faulkner, 2010, p. 11). They consider the tourist photograph to be a 'trans-materialisation' of a place – an effect that is reinforced rather than diminished by distance.

Conclusion

The main themes and issues that relate to the larger research project have been covered to a level that encourages the reader to consider new avenues of academic thought surrounding culture, tourism and events. The methodologies that have been mooted seem to be 'best fit' for the research in hand. All that now remains is to select very carefully a case study event that fits all the criteria for valid, meaningful and transferable research outcomes. This will be done with careful consideration of the facets of social structure and of culture put forward in the Overview section and with recognition of the authenticity debate as outlined in the main text. It remains to be seen how the tourists that take part in the research respond and whether their experiences are gained through verbal and/or non-verbal forms of communication, how much of this communication is conscious and how much is subconscious, and whether or not it is gained through tourism discourse or through 'real-life' intercultural communication. What may be discovered is that the form of intercultural communication that is most effective is that of 'silence', which would reinforce the Heideggerian theory of intercultural communication as

acceptance of cultural difference. It is likely that any cultural events that are truly authentic to the area are therefore staged purely for the communities in which they take place and have only grown organically to include 'foreign' spectators and/or participants through a process of cultural evolution, would prefer that this be the case, as intimated by an interviewee of Laxson (1991) in her study of North American Indian pueblos:

Life in general is a mystery. In the ceremonies, as in life's journey, there is a mystery beyond every door. We request the outsider to sit and watch and just experience the event, and in time they will come to understand it (Laxson, 1991, p. 389).

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