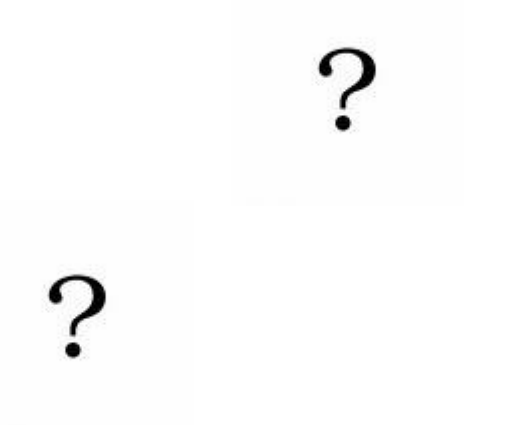


AUTHENTICITY IN TOURISM



MASTER'S THESIS
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AUTHENTICITY IN TOURISM

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1.Introduction

Over the recent decades, tourism has been intensified worldwide due to low travel expenses and higher incomes in the Western world. While travelling was reserved for the wealthier classes in society in former times, it has now become possible for almost everyone in Western countries to travel. The emergence of mass tourism after the Second World War stands for this development. In post-modern times, the tourism industry has become more complex. Possibilities for destination choice, transport, and form of vacationing have become endless, and the tourists themselves have become more experienced in travelling. Between mass tourism, backpacking, eco-tourism, ethno-tourism to old-fashioned pilgrimages, everything is possible in the travel industry.

Along with the growth of the tourism industry and its diversification, research in the field of tourism has become more and more important. Nowadays, not only economic and market research is conducted in the field of tourism; it has become relevant in the context of sociology, political science, anthropology and many more scholarly disciplines and is at many universities developed as a discipline of tourism studies itself.

In the context of the growing interest in tourism as a social phenomenon, questions as to why people want to spend time and money on vacationing have been raised, such as what is sought after by whom in terms of experiences, what happens between host and guest as well as guest and attraction, and many more.

The topic of this thesis, the complex concept of authenticity in the context of tourism, stands in relation to tourist motivation, because tourists in their holidays seek to visit authentic sites or obtain authentic experiences. It is furthermore connected with the discussions around cultural heritage, impacts of tourism on the toured cultures and the relationship between host and guest culture. In this context, John Urry's "tourist gaze" is a classic work. Moreover, it is related to basic philosophical and sociological discussions around the term authenticity, which tourism scholars base their approaches on.

The existence of authenticity on the touristic scene has been exhaustively queried by tourism scholars due to its ambiguous character. According to Boorstin, there is no

salvation from the artificial, the staged as opposed to the authentic for tourists¹. MacCannell identified six stages that differentiate authenticity with respect to front and back regions, which are interrelated with the different types of tourists². These regions display different stages, which fulfil the tourists' varying demands towards authenticity. The mass tourist might be satisfied with mass-produced, obviously inauthentic products, while the individual tourist seeks to enter local life, but usually does not achieve to enter the "real", the "authentic" back region³.

According to Cohen, the quest for authenticity on behalf of the tourist expresses the alienation of the individual from itself in modern society, which therefore detaches from its home society in search for authenticity⁴. Cohen realized, that the desired authenticity refers to the subjective perception of the tourist concerning the toured objects rather than to the toured objects themselves and their factual (in-)authenticity, but does not perpetuate this concept extensively as Wang does by introducing the notion of existential authenticity⁵. A total neglect of the object-relation enables authenticity to transcend measurement by being an internal subjective value, which can only be decided upon by the experiencing individual itself. This application of authenticity to tourism is an all-encompassing solution to the tourists' deceit on the one hand, and on the other hand it prepares the ground for the existence of authenticity despite its object-related dissolution by the possible understanding and accepting of in-authenticity on behalf of post-modern tourists⁶. It exceeds its purpose of explaining a mere touristic phenomenon, while at the same time posing itself into question in terms of relevance for the tourism context. If authenticity is related to subjective experiences of any kind in the tourism context and authenticity is defined as being "true to oneself"⁷, then this stage of being might as well be achieved regardless of the touristic character of an experience.

The question evolves, if authenticity, as a constructed negotiable concept⁸, might therefore be a commodity, or rather an attribute to commoditized culture used by

¹ Boorstin described in Cohen 2004: 102

² MacCannell 1999: 101ff

³ MacCannell 1989: 105

⁴ Cohen 2004: 103

⁵ Wang 1999: 358

⁶ MacCannell 1989: 104

⁷ Wang 1999: 358

⁸ Cohen 2004: 108

marketers to lure tourists to take part in certain activities or buy certain products, while existential authenticity exists in the tourism context just as it does in other contexts due to its philosophical meaning to life. Then again, if a certain group of people is or wants to be engaged in the search for their authentic self, they might feel urged to leave their inauthentic usual environment of a Western society⁹ expecting the availability of and favourable condition for authenticity in places other than home.

It is assumed, that the concept of authenticity in either usage is not a sufficient model for explaining tourist experience and motivation. This is the starting point for this thesis. In the following section, the specific goals of this thesis will be presented.

1.1 Aim of the thesis

As became clear in the introduction, many scholars have tried to define the term authenticity, but authenticity is a concept that with a closer look becomes quite complicated with respect to definitions. This is obvious both in the philosophical discussion as well as with respect to the discussion conducted by the different tourism scholars. Thereby, the term authenticity becomes somewhat blurred in the mind of the reader.

In tourism science, there have been some shifts in the understanding of authenticity. There is an object-related view, a social constructivist view and, nowadays, also an existential view. The constructivist perspective has deconstructed the object-related concept, while the existential approach has now deconstructed the constructivist view as well, and has moved the concept away from the touring itself to the tourist as a person.

As a working hypothesis, it can be stated that the term authenticity is suffering from unclear definitions.

Both object-related, social constructivist as well as existential authenticity concepts presented by the different scholars are not considered satisfying for the explanation and definition of authenticity in a tourism context.

⁹ Cohen 2004: 103

It is therefore regarded highly interesting to examine both the existing approaches as well as the phenomenon of authenticity as such closer in order to bring about new findings and knowledge.

Problem Formulation:

On the basis of a discussion of the different concepts of authenticity presented in the literature, this thesis seeks to bring about new knowledge on authenticity in the tourism context. This will be done by establishing a model based on a critical reflection on the used literature, which will be tested by a case study of a tourism website from Africa as well as interviews. This thesis hence seeks to explore and analyze the concept of authenticity.

Subordinate objectives of this thesis are the following:

- To discuss the state of the art concerning authenticity in tourism critically and extend it by a basic philosophical/sociological dimension (theoretical part)
- To provide a historical perspective on the issue of authenticity in the context of tourism (case study, first part)
- To investigate the understanding of authenticity on behalf of the provider in relation to the concepts offered by tourism scholars on the one hand (case study, website analysis)
- To investigate the understanding of both travelling, authenticity and Africa on behalf of the tourists in relation to the concepts offered by tourism scholars on the other (interviews)

In order to bring about a deeper understanding of the term authenticity into the scholarly discussion, this thesis combines theory with a practical part, which consists of an interview study and a website analysis. The consideration of both the tourists', the

providers' and the scholars' perceptions illuminates the concept of authenticity from a broad perspective, allowing the authors to broaden their understanding of the term during the course of writing and investigating.

The interview study¹⁰ and analysis of a website are used as tools to achieve the goal of creating a better understanding of the term authenticity, and are means of testing this thesis' understanding developed on the basis of the literature discussion. This thesis mainly focuses on the term authenticity, as well as it seeks to draw a connection between the providers' and the tourists' perspective, i.e. the connection between what is offered and what is sought after.

A special feature of this thesis is the historical perspective provided in the case study, which starts with a historical description of the history of European penetration in Africa. In order to make the thesis coherent, the interview study will be connected with the case by establishing interconnections between the two analytic chapters. It is regarded helpful in the context of analysing the term authenticity to connect the exploration of the understanding of the term to a certain destination, Africa, and the tourists travelling to it. Thereby, a practical and concrete component is added to the thesis, and the term authenticity is elucidated with respect to journeys to Africa. It is regarded interesting to find out about the application of the concept of authenticity by the provider in form of a website, and at the same time analyze the roots of the conveyed image.

After having introduced the topic including this thesis's problem and aim, the next chapter is concerned with the methods used in order to achieve the stated aim.

¹⁰ see appendix, chapters 13.1 and 13.2

2. Methodology

This chapter will be divided into several topics that are methodologically relevant. Firstly, the topic choice will be presented, as well as the overall philosophical understanding underlying this thesis and the research design. Later on, more specific methods used in the course of the thesis will be discussed.

With respect to the philosophical basis of understanding of this thesis which is crucial to the whole project, the authors have chosen a hermeneutical approach for their research. As the project is as well concerned with the human life and people's life world, phenomenology plays a secondary role in the research, especially relevant in the context of the interview study, while the overall mode of understanding is in accordance with hermeneutics. As a specific tool for analysis, communication theory has been chosen for the website analysis.

2.1 Topic choice

The concept of authenticity has evoked discussions in tourism research. Having read a few articles touching the topic during lessons at Aalborg University, the authors' interest was triggered. The concept of authenticity is especially interesting to the authors as they have been engaged in different types of travelling, and hence have asked themselves and each other questions as to the motivation concerning the different holidays and journeys. Moreover, questions as to the experiences obtained by the authors have evolved. Authenticity as a concept is highly linked to travel motivation and purpose. In tourism research, authenticity can be linked to the experience of one's "true self", the quest after which could be one motivational factor. This approach towards authenticity is corresponding to Wang's existential authenticity.

At the same time, authenticity can be related to objects, which in a tourism context would mean the authenticity or originality of the toured objects and attractions. Tourism

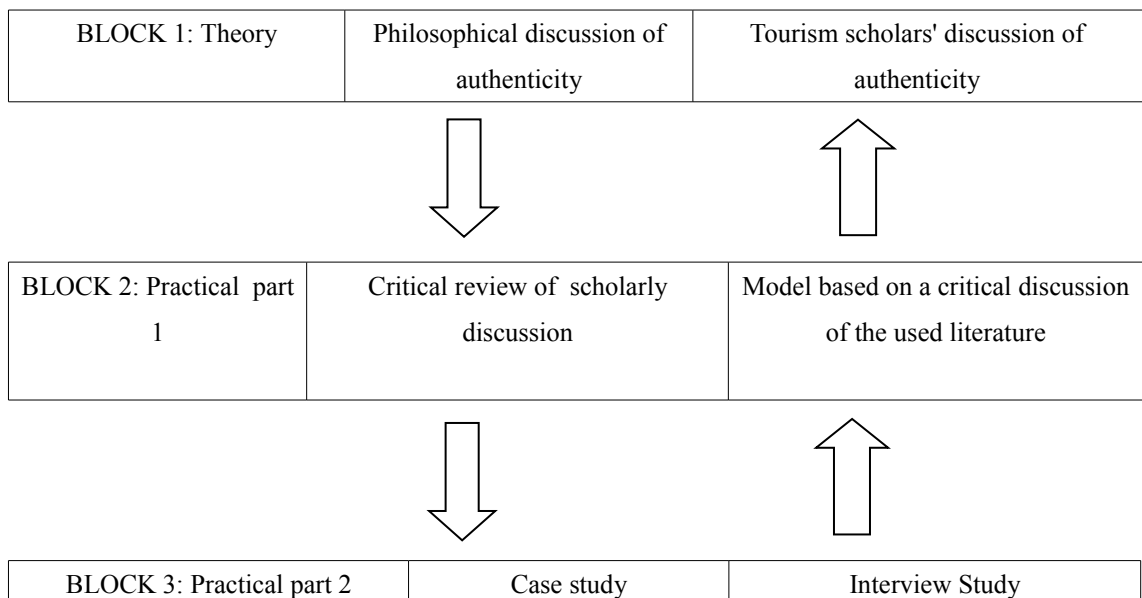
brochures therefore may advertise the authenticity of an attraction or destination as a striking quality of the sight.

Tourism scholars have been occupied with both the question after the human existence, which involves the discussion around travel motivation and the authenticity of existence, as well as with the authenticity of the toured objects such as cultures. It would be interesting to illuminate the different conceptions of authenticity from different angles, and bring about a broader view of the concept.

2.2 Research design and philosophical mode of understanding

From a simplistic point of view, this thesis is divided into three big blocks, as will be shown in the following illustration:

Figure 1: Research design



Neither the blocks themselves nor the subordinate chapters are meant to be separate parts - interrelations occur in all possible directions, which are indicated by the arrows

in figure 1. The establishment of interrelations between theory and praxis and the different parts of the thesis in general allows the authors to gain knowledge throughout the writing process. This is in accordance with the principles of hermeneutics, especially with the hermeneutic circle that will be explained later on. The very nature of the research carried out in this thesis brings about an explorative character underlying the author's working process.

As the purpose of this thesis is to enhance the understanding of the concept of authenticity, it will be carried out within the paradigm of qualitative research. According to Kvale, qualitative research holds the chance to elucidate the meaning of experiences and focuses on the lived world.¹¹ Therefore, this thesis is to be understood from the human being's perspectives in accordance with the principles of phenomenology.

Phenomenology, which has been developed as a philosophical mode of understanding by Husserl¹², is concerned with the subjects' perspective on the world. The researcher aims at examining the individuals' perception of reality with a focus on the immediate everyday life¹³. Naturally, the interest in everyday life is correlated with interpretive social science. Interpretive social science attempts to understand the meaning of life instead of observing it from an external viewpoint. Therefore, there will be an interview study in this thesis. While positivist research is associated with the production of exact measurements of reality, interpretive research seeks to grasp in-depth knowledge of reality and social interaction from the subjects' perspective:

An interpretive researcher wants to learn what is meaningful or relevant to the people being studied, or how individuals experience their life¹⁴.

Qualitative research, as conducted in the course of this thesis, is part of the interpretive social science¹⁵, just as quantitative research methods are. Neumann's dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative methods attributed to interpretive and positivist social science no longer holds¹⁶. The difference between the two approaches rather lies with

¹¹ Kvale 1996: 11

¹² Bermes 2005: 13

¹³ Kvale 1996: 54

¹⁴ Neumann 1997: 69

¹⁵ Ibid.: 63-73

¹⁶ Ibid.: 68, 63

the mode of understanding, which on the basis of the preceding clarification of concepts may be characterised as an understanding vs. an explanatory approach¹⁷. Due to its interpretive character, hermeneutics are closely correlated with the paradigm of interpretive science.

As mentioned earlier, phenomenology is important in the context of this thesis as well, even if secondary. Here it is crucial to mention Husserl, who proposes a presuppositionless and unprejudiced attitude on behalf of the interpreter, which is achieved by “bracketing” of previous knowledge¹⁸. Due to the fact that the theoretical previous knowledge of the authors plays a significant role at the stages of designing and analysing the interview investigation as well as the website analysis, this rather abstract concept is considered impossible in the context of this study.

The notion of previous knowledge will instead be treated in accordance with the principles of hermeneutics developed by Heidegger and Gadamer. Hermeneutics have evolved from the interpretation of the Bible to any text, whether spoken or written.

Heidegger presumed, that understanding is conditioned by history and language, based on which the interpreter develops a framework of understanding¹⁹. Furthermore, the interpreter himself chooses, or is preconditioned to choose, certain contexts, to which the targeted problem is regarded relevant²⁰. In the course of the ongoing study, the circumstances of understanding are being re-made over and over, which results in the so-called hermeneutic circle. Gadamer added the notion of fusion of horizons between past and present to this concept, which enables the interpreter to achieve higher levels of knowledge in the process of his work²¹.

Even though the disciplines of hermeneutics and phenomenology are not congruent, Heidegger also aims at understanding the above mentioned life world of the subject, which is phenomenological in nature²². Therefore, there is a close relation between the two disciplines.

¹⁷ Neumann 1997: 67/68

¹⁸ Kvale 1996: 54

¹⁹ Wachterhauser 1986: 6

²⁰ Ibid.: 1986: 13

²¹ Schneider 1991: 36-39

²² Bermes 2005: 25

In this thesis, Husserl's more critical view upon understanding, which calls for repeated validity checks of the "understood", is adapted. This will be evident in the recurring questioning and reviewing of analysis results. This preference results from the claim of universal understanding prevalent in hermeneutics that has provoked the critique of numerous scholars²³. Nevertheless, hermeneutics is the basis of understanding in this project. It has been shown that both phenomenology and hermeneutics can be criticised for certain reasons. For this thesis there have been chosen aspects from both disciplines that are considered appropriate.

The preceding description also implies deductive reasoning, as the thesis develops from the more general to the more specific. According to Neumann, the following steps characterise the use of deductive reasoning²⁴:

Theory ► Hypothesis/Model ► Observation ► Confirmation/Rejection

In this thesis, the model will be created on the basis of a selection of relevant theory; it is, hence, not developed independently by the authors, but meant to be embedded in the existing scholarly discussion. In the practical part of the thesis it will become evident, whether the model is supportable or not. At the stage of confirmation/rejection, the research perspective is broadened again by relating the interview findings and results of the analysis of the website to the initial research question and relevant theory. Hence, the thesis takes the form of an hourglass, where observation constitutes the narrowest point²⁵.

²³ Bermes 2005: 24

²⁴ Neumann 1997: 47

²⁵ <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/strucres.php>

2.3 Interview study

The interview investigation will be designed on the basis of the proposed hypothesis, which is preceded by the development of a deeper understanding of the phenomena to be investigated.

For the interviews, an explorative, open structure will be adapted. The purpose of the interviews is to cover the topic in a conversation as opposed to the sequenced question catalogue used in quantitative studies.

In order to make the interview situation as comfortable as possible, the interviewees will be introduced to the topic and the ongoing investigation.

Each session will be summarized in a way that suits the purpose of the investigation. As this thesis is not concerned with linguistic analysis or pragmatics, recording and transcribing are not regarded necessary in the context of this thesis.²⁶ This measure is conveyed sufficient with respect of the conveyance of meaning extracted from the interviews, as meaning will be in the centre of interest in the later analysis of the interviews.

The aim of the following analysis is to understand and condense meaning. In order to grasp an overall impression of each interview, the latter will initially be read as a whole. In accordance with the research questions that are dependent on the purpose and problem attended in the present thesis, meaning units, i.e. answers directed to the text, will be extracted from the interviews. These meaning units will be expressed as simple as possible and transformed into descriptive statements based on each interview.

The interpretation of these will be determined by the preceding discussion of theory. In order to gain a certain amount of control over the analysis and make the process more transparent to the reader, the undertaken steps are clarified. Both authors will independently analyze the interviews. Therewith, avoidance of randomness and the possibility of including multiple perspectives are achieved. This approach may enrich the analysis through a more multilayered perspective and lead to further clarification and refinement of the ongoing study. It will be decided in the course of the dialogue,

²⁶ Kvale 1996: 161/162

whether differences in interpretation should be dissolved by agreement or reported as such side by side. The different findings of the interview investigation will be interpreted on the basis of relevant theory.

The validation of the interview findings is highly intertwined with the quality of craftsmanship on behalf of the authors. Validation thus begins with the soundness of the topic choice and the logical procedure of theorizing, which emanates from the theoretical part of the thesis. It furthermore lies with reliability regarding the interview itself, both on behalf of the interviewer in form of consistency in the course of the interviews and on behalf of the respondent with respect to his/her trustworthiness. These are permanently being scrutinized.

Validity is also in question at the stage of summarizing, which calls for transparent techniques, as intended in this study. With respect to the analysis, validation is achieved by the fact that there are two interpreters, which minimizes analytic mistakes. Hence, validity is achieved by permanent quality control and discussions, that lead the authors to a higher level of understanding as described in Gadamer's hermeneutic circle mentioned above. The transparency of the applied techniques and research steps likewise support reliability and validity²⁷.

The specific practical details of interviewee selection, techniques and design will be addressed in a later chapter.

2.4 Choice of website and communication as an analytic tool

The website www.africatanzania.com has been chosen as the case study of this thesis, because it fits thematically into the thesis' objectives. Its headline „Tanzania Authentic Africa“ introduces the concept of authenticity on the website. This is perceivable throughout each of the analyzed rubrics of the website. The tourists are invited to experience the real, original Africa.

²⁷ Methodological issues and design concerning the interview investigation are in accordance with Kvale ch. 5-13

This thesis seeks to find out about the meaning of authenticity in a tourism context. The website not only represents the providers' understanding of authenticity and how they try to turn the tourists' quest for authenticity into profit. It is also helpful in understanding travel motivations and the tourists' perspective and perception of Africa, as the offered travel opportunities reflect the tourists' request for it.

As for the analysis, communication has been chosen as the methodological tool. As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter the website www.africatanzania.com has been chosen as the case study and will therefore be object for analysis. Analyzing basically means to break up into pieces and put back together. During the process of analyzing the different pieces are examined and questions related to the purpose of the analysis are answered. The method for analyzing a text is according to Jensen an active process that takes place between the text and the person performing the analysis, he calls it an interpretation, where the different parts are to be seen in the light of the unified whole²⁸.

When analyzing a website or any other text for that matter, it is important to pay attention to certain elements. Due to the fact that the website has been created in order to communicate a message from the sender to the receiver these two parties and their relations are important for the analysis. Other things to consider are the means used to communicate the message and catch the attention of the receiver. The means are shown in form of for example the layout and design, the choice of colours and writing, and the use of language and pictures.

In the following, the concept of communication theory will be presented more in detail, and the specific means of analysis will be presented.

2.4.1 Communication

The concept of communication can be defined as an interaction between a sender and a receiver:

²⁸ Jensen 1993: 16-17

Communication is the process of transferring information from a sender to a receiver with the use of a medium in which the communicated information is understood by both the sender and receiver. (...) Communication requires that all parties understand a common language that is exchanged. (...) Communication is defined as a process by which we assign and convey meaning in an attempt to create shared understanding²⁹.

Harold Laswell, a researcher in media, has illustrated the process of communication in one simple sentence:

Who says **what** to **whom** through which **channel** with what **effect**?³⁰

In the situation of communication both sender and receiver are included in a historical, social and cultural context, which contain norms, values and attitudes³¹. Communication is a social interaction where at least two agents interact and share a common set of signs and common rules of communications. The message is sent in a code, (spoken, written, visual, etc.) and in order for communication to be successful there has to be symmetry between the code sent by the sender and the code understood by the receiver. A code is a rule for converting information into another form or representation, not necessarily of the same type³²

Simplified a communication model could look as follows:

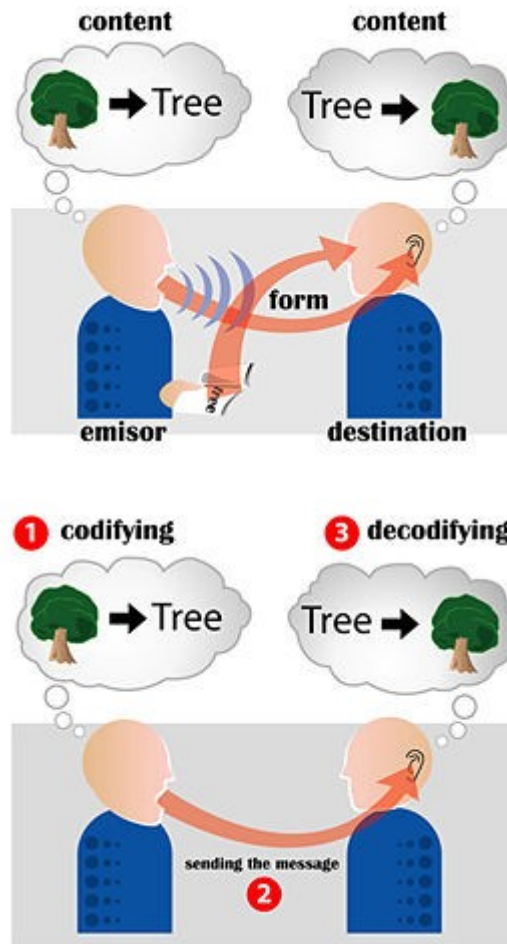
²⁹ <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communication>

³⁰ Fibiger 1999: 7

³¹ Hansen 1994: 16

³² <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Code>

Figure 2: Communication



Source: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communication>

In the communication process the message can be subjected to noise, both literally and in the form of for example a misleading picture in a news program. Cultural differences and differences in experience as well as a wrong choice of medium can disturb the communication and thereby make the contents of a message difficult to understand or receive.

Communication is as mentioned above an interaction between a sender and a receiver, but even so communication is divided into two categories: one-way-communication and two-way-communication. The first mentioned covers the interaction where the receiver

cannot respond directly in the moment, like for example is the case in mass-communication, whereas the latter covers the interaction where it is possible for the receiver to respond directly, like in for example a conversation on the telephone³³.

With base in the sentence of Laswell mentioned above, the different actors and actions are now explained.

2.4.2 The sender

Formally and theoretically the sender is always the person or persons who write the message or the brochure or produces a TV-programme, but stepping out of the theory and into reality is a little more complicated. When sending a message the sender takes on a role that can vary depending on the message and situation e.g. a teacher will in most cases communicate in a more formal and professional manner in the classroom than if he drinks a cup of coffee with the students in the cafeteria.

The codes are as earlier mentioned important for the communication between the sender and the receiver and the usage of the right set of codes is important in order for the message to be understood. The choice of codes depends on whether the role of the sender is private or institutional and is thereby also determining for the presentation's sub- or objectivity or formality of the relation between the actors³⁴. In the website analysis, it will be examined who is sending the message to whom, what kinds of codes are chosen and for what purpose.

2.4.3 The receiver

The message communicated by the sender is sent with the purpose of addressing a certain target group or receiver. The target group can be defined with narrow or broad

³³ Fibiger 1999: 5-7

³⁴ Ibid.: 10-12

limits, the most important is that it is defined as precisely as possible. By addressing a very large target group, the sender risks not hitting the target at all and the definition of the target group is therefore important before sending the message. In the process of defining who the receivers are, the sender has to find out what characterizes this group and thereby chose the best channel and code to use communicating the message. Often target groups are defined by their demographic data such as gender, age, education etc., and doing so the most important data for the situation of course have to be chosen; if the sender for example communicates to business managers, it could be an important fact that most business leaders are men. Another way to address a target group is by defining it by lifestyle and interests instead of pure demographic data³⁵. From the perspective of the receiver who has to decode the message, parameters such as the demographic data and other are relevant. It will be examined in the analysis, how the message is decoded, and to what extent the sender's expectations towards decoding are matched by the receiver. The decoding of the message is highly linked with the connotation-denotation model which will be explained in a later chapter.

2.4.4 The message

In a few words a message can be described as the idea and the contents of the information or matter the sender want to communicate to the receiver. The sender basically gets an idea that he wants the receiver to be aware of and through the contents of the idea he communicates it to the receiver. The contents is created through for example research, the sender's own experiences, etc. and the choice of sources depends on the role the sender chose to play and is of vital importance for the credibility of the message and the sender.

The message can be communicated in different ways and it is important for the choice of communication what the purpose of the message is; whether the sender wants to inform or influence/affect the receiver.

³⁵ Fibiger 1999: 13-14

Three of the ways in which the sender can communicate a message are through information, argumentation and emotion.

- Information: Through information the sender concentrates on the facts and leaves it up to the receiver to conclude on the given information.
- Argumentation: By using argumentation to communicate the message the sender tries to convince the receiver that his point of view is correct.
- Emotion: When using emotion to communicate the message the sender appeals to the feelings and sympathy of the receiver.

The three different ways of communication do not exclude each other and are often combined to attract the attention of the receiver. Communicating a message also includes a choice of language and a choice of angle from which the sender wants to communicate his message³⁶.

It will be analyzed to what extent the three kinds of communication are present on the website; while there will be a focus on the choice of language of the website.

2.4.5 The channel

The channel can be described as the tool through which the message reaches the receiver. The choice of the channel is a very important consideration for the sender of the message and the options are many e.g. newspapers, magazines, TV, or as in the case of this analysis the Internet. The channel is normally chosen after defining who the receiver of the message is, due to the fact that the sender has to choose the media type and vehicle most likely to reach, appeal and influence or inform the receiver audience³⁷.

As channel the Internet can on the one hand be considered a choice of low cost and maintenance. It has the possibility of reaching a very large group of people and most people have free or cheap access to the internet. On the other hand using the Internet as channel gives the receiver the control of when to be exposed and the sender is at risk of not reaching the target group at all.

³⁶ Fibiger 1999: 18-21

³⁷ Ibid.: 22

Due to the fact that the chosen channel for the message in this case is a website the analysis will mainly be concerned with the different elements and means of communication the sender is using in order to attract the attention of the receiver. In contrast to the printed media such as for example newspapers, books and magazines, a website is flexible and easy to change. As mentioned above it is also low in costs and maintenance and has a potential of reaching a large audience fast.

During the analysis of a website one has to consider the elements of communication mentioned above. It is of course important to the layout and structure of the website who the sender and receiver is as well as what the sender wants to communicate through the message.

Furthermore one has to consider elements such as structure, navigation, link types, text and graphics³⁸.

In the context of the subject of this thesis the analysis of the website in 7.6 will as mentioned above, mainly be concerned with the elements of communication from sender to receiver. The layout is of less importance and will therefore only be treated briefly.

2.4.6 Layout

The overall layout on a website is important in order for the sender to successfully deliver his message. The layout consists of a number of different elements, which all have to be considered in the communication process.

The structure of a website is important due to the fact that it creates a relation between the different content groups. The structure is meant to make it easier for the receiver to find the information he is looking for and thereby be satisfied with the message communicated by the sender. A successful website is arranged in a way that makes it easy for the user to navigate between the different pages without getting “lost” on the way. Furthermore the colours, text and pictures are important for the communication

³⁸ Sørensen et al. 2002: chapter 3, pp. 44-76

between the sender and receiver and there has to be a balance throughout the site to create a stable and constant impression. Too many changes or bad choices in colours, sounds and images may create noise, which makes it impossible for the sender to communicate the message³⁹.

2.4.7 Denotation and connotation

Learning about and understanding of communication involve the distinction between the actual meaning of the sign and the associations the sign creates in the mind of the receiver. The basic and literal meaning of a sign is called the denotation, while the associations the sign create in the mind of the receiver are referred to as connotations.

Most often the basic meaning or denotation of a sign is the same in different countries and cultures, while the connotative meaning can be very different. An example can be the word *school*. The denotation of *school* is an institution or building for education, where as the connotation can be different depending on where you are. In Denmark *school* is often associated with being forced to learn a number of boring things, whereas *school* in other cultures might be associated with more positive associations like knowledge and progress⁴⁰.

The distinction between denotation and connotation is important due to the fact that meaning tends to change over time and therefore is not finally fixed. The meaning of a sign can mean different things to different people at different times and places. Meaning is therefore determined by the place, time and purpose of the communication and by who is sending and receiving. As mentioned above both sender and receiver are included in a historical, social and cultural context, and signs are therefore regulated by codes, which are conventions that associate a sign with a meaning. Conventions are defined as agreements established by way of habit in a community of users of the same language⁴¹.

³⁹ Sørensen et al. 2002: chapter 3, pp. 44-76

⁴⁰ Kjørup 1991: 60

⁴¹ Gillespie et al. 2006: 13, 18

In the analysis, the authors of this thesis, acting as receivers of the messages sent by the website, will examine the denotative and connotative meanings conveyed by the website.

2.5 Outline

In this section, the content of this thesis will be briefly presented.

After having introduced the topic and clarified the methodological basis and philosophical mode of understanding, several theoretical chapters will follow, starting with a discussion of authenticity, which this thesis is mainly focused on.

In chapter 3, the term authenticity and its meaning are generally introduced. On the basis of an article written by Wang on authenticity in a tourism context, the four philosophical/sociological approaches of objectivism, constructivism, post-modernism and existentialism will be introduced. According to Wang, the various tourism scholars' perspectives on the concept of authenticity in a tourism context are embedded in these basic philosophical/sociological approaches. Therefore, these will be described from a broad perspective, but with a special focus on their understanding of authenticity⁴².

Afterwards, the mentioned tourism scholars' perspectives on the concept of authenticity in tourism will be presented. Among these perspectives the most outstanding are Wang with his existentialist interpretation of authenticity, MacCannell with his concept of staged authenticity, Boorstin with his total neglect of any competences and possibilities for achieving any kind of authenticity at all on behalf of the tourist, and Cohen with his rather post-modern interpretation of the tourist.

Furthermore, a discussion of the concept of travel motivation will be undertaken, as authenticity is highly linked to this field of study. Many scholars see the quest for authenticity as the main reason for people to go on holidays. On the basis of an introduction to the field of human motivation, especially with help of Maslow's pyramid of human needs, the concepts of motivation for travelling will be discussed.

⁴² Wang 1999

On the basis of the discussions of authenticity and tourist motivation, a model will be developed that shows the authors' understanding of authenticity after having gained broad knowledge concerning this concept.

The practical part of the thesis starts with a critical discussion of the understandings of authenticity in tourism. This will be done with reference to the previously undertaken clarification of the concept in the context of objectivism, constructivism, post-modernism and existentialism. This critical discussion constitutes objective number 1.

The case study treats objectives two and three. Firstly, as a basis for the analysis of the case, a historical perspective is provided on European penetration of Africa, which is the location of the case. Travelling, exploration, colonisation, tourism and the continuities and discontinuities in the European gaze will be examined. A description of Tanzania as a tourism destination and of tourism in Tanzania will follow as an introduction to the case, which consists of a tourism website on Tanzania. With the actual website analysis, the third objective will be touched upon, which is the providers' perspective on authenticity in tourism. The case study can be seen as an example of a destination that is advertised by help of the concept of authenticity, which can be generalized to the whole of destinations that use this strategy.

The fourth objective of the thesis will be touched upon in chapter 8 in form of an interview study, which provides the tourist's perspective on the concept of authenticity. In order to bring about a broader understanding of the tourist's perspective, respondents will as well be asked about their views on Africa and about their motivations for travelling there.

Each chapter will be concluded with a brief summary of its findings, just as the thesis as such terminates with a final conclusion that summarizes the results of the whole study.

3. Authenticity

The term authenticity stems from the Greek word *authentikos* and means real, genuine, and original. The meaning of the term authenticity is, as explained in the introduction, complex due to manifold definitions that can be somewhat contradictory or confusing.

In the popular, general understanding, authenticity means genuineness or originality, and also credibility and reliability. Persons, things, cultures, art, events and proceedings from all possible areas of life can be authentic, if they are considered original in nature.

Often authenticity is understood as an ideal lifestyle that is sought after. People who live their lives in an inauthentic way or are considered inauthentic as such are characterised by the identification with socially relevant facets of one's personality (e.g. status, profession, etc.), while the manifold facets of personality that exist beside these remain ignored. Sartre identifies this inauthentic being as the usual, normal state of being. A decision can be considered authentic, if it is in accordance with and has its roots in the self-made and individual picture of the self and if it fits with the individuality of the individual in question:

Authentisch sind diejenigen Wertvorstellungen, Ansichten und Handlungsmaximen, die von dem Subjekt selbstbestimmt gewählt worden sind⁴³.

The discussion of esthetics plays a crucial role in the discussion about the term authenticity, as the uniqueness and originality of a piece of art determines its esthetic character and value. It is not astonishing that the term has originally been used in the context of museums: experts examine objects of art or other pieces of interest in order to determine whether they are of value, and one factor is of course the differentiation between original and copy.

In the beginning of the 1970s, the concept of authenticity was introduced into sociological studies concerning tourism, and more specifically tourist motivation and touristic experiences (i.e. MacCannell, Boorstin etc.)⁴⁴. Since then, this topic belongs to the agenda of tourism research. The different models developed by the various tourism

⁴³ Prechtl & Burkard 1999:55 (Those values, ways of acting and opinions that are independantly chosen by the subject itself can be considered authentic.)

⁴⁴ Wang 1999: 349ff.

researchers, which will be presented in the next chapter, are based on different sociological and philosophical modes of understanding and explaining life and reality. In the following paragraphs, these modes will be presented briefly in their basic conceptions. This presentation has its starting point in the approach by Wang⁴⁵ who introduces the terms objectivism, constructivism, post-modernism and existentialism as the basis for tourism research into the concept of authenticity. His approach is based on existentialism.

3.1 Objectivism

A central claim of objectivism is concerned with the metaphysical axiom, that the validity of thoughts, sentences, and theories is not based on the actual process of thinking. It is thus crucial to differentiate between the genesis of thoughts and their validity⁴⁶. Objective truth, i.e. authenticity, can only be achieved or recognized through the elimination of subjective influences such as emotions, perspectives, special fields of personal interest, etc.

The relation between consciousness and existence is determined by the predominance of existence, which means that the world exists independently of consciousness:

Existence exists⁴⁷.

This quotation is an elementary thesis in the works of the American writer and philosopher Ayn Rand in the beginning of the 1960s.

According to Rand, an act of consciousness alone, e.g. a wish, or an imagination, does not have influence on the external existence:

Wishing won't make it so⁴⁸.

A further axiom consists in the consciousness of human beings, who are able to perceive existence. In objectivist theory, reason is the only possible human ability that

⁴⁵ Wang 1999

⁴⁶ Precht & Burkard 1999: 410

⁴⁷ Rand 1964 (Internet Source)

⁴⁸ *ibid.*

makes it possible for human beings to achieve knowledge. Objectivist epistemology excludes social dimensions. The process of achievement of knowledge is solipsistic, which means that it is a process between a single person and an object. In objectivism, it is acknowledged that human beings make mistakes and misunderstandings can happen, but they can have access to authentic knowledge through a rational epistemological approach.

Concerning the social and ethical consequences of the objectivist way of knowledge production, it can be stated that there has been exhaustive critique of this discipline and its scholars due to its „rationale egoism“⁴⁹, that reserves the access to knowledge of all kind to elites and intellectuals. The aim of objectivist philosophy is described as follows by Rand:

I seek to provide men – or those who care to think – with an integrated, consistent and rational view of life⁵⁰.

Goffman interprets social interaction differently. In his famous work about social interaction and the difficulties connected with it, he claims that interaction takes place on a stage where humans all play a role. It was him who coined the terms front stage and back stage in this context in order to show that social interaction involves hidden and public signs, acts and symbols.

Wenn der Einzelne eine Rolle spielt, fordert er damit seine Zuschauer auf, den Eindruck, den er bei ihnen hervorruft, ernst zu nehmen. Sie sind aufgerufen zu glauben, die Gestalt, die sie sehen, besitze wirklich die Eigenschaften, die sie zu besitzen scheint, die andlungen, die sie vollführt, hätten wirklich die implizit geforderten Konsequenzen, und es verhalte sich überhaupt alles so, wie es scheint⁵¹.

By this „impression management“, the actor tries to construct his social identity and seeks to leave an authentic impression for his audience. He or she seeks to leave the back stage, or the objective state, hidden, like the magician who loses his role as a magician once his tricks are revealed.

⁴⁹ Precht & Burkard 1999: 410ff

⁵⁰ Rand 1964 (Internet Source)

⁵¹ Goffman 1983: 17 (When the single subject is playing a role, he/she wants the spectators to take the created image serious. He wants them to believe that the person they see really has the characteristics he/she seems to have. He wants them to believe that his/her acts have the implied consequences and that everything generally is like it seems.)

The question whether the spectator evaluates such a presentation with respect to its authenticity by taking a look behind the facade and onto the back stage region, which would mean that he rationally achieves objective, authentic knowledge, has evoked discussions in the areas of art, culture, and also tourism research. Questions as to the meaning of the pseudo-event in the front stage region, the ability of the spectator to look behind facades and the meaning of this look and many more have been raised in this context. Goffman's discussion of human interaction paves the way to the constructivist approach which will be presented in the next paragraph.

3.2 The constructivist approach

Constructivism has opened a critical reflexion and revision of the view of authenticity in arts, philosophy, cultural studies and science that is based on the principles of objectivism. Constructivism has its origin in various approaches that were founded during the mathematical crisis, which was to be overcome by new approaches of logics and mathematics in the beginning of the 20th century⁵².

In mathematical constructivism, mathematical objects would be the result of a constructionist process. The existence of mathematical objects can hence only then be proven, if there can be found a method or principle for their construction⁵³. Today, the term constructivism is used in a much broader context, sometimes somewhat blurred and in-concrete.

Ein Kern ist wohl, dass wir die Welt, wie wir sie erfahren, wahrnehmen, erleben oder denken, nicht etwas – absolut – Objektives ist, sondern ein durch unsere eigene Konstruktion als geistige, erkennende und menschliche Wesen vermitteltes und bedingtes Konstrukt⁵⁴.

⁵² Prechtl & Burkard 1999: 298

⁵³ Fischer & Peschl 1996: 329-331

⁵⁴ Sponsel (Internet Source) (One fundamental characteristic is that the world as we experience, perceive or think it is not something absolutely objective, but that it instead is a construction influenced by ourselves as cognitive, knowing human beings.)

In constructivism, the traditional „epistemological question“⁵⁵ after the *what?* of knowledge is substituted by the question after the *how?* of the process of knowledge production. Hence, every form of cognition and perception is recognized not as a passive reproduction or image, but as an active, independent construction of a spectator or producer of knowledge. In a radical interpretation of constructivism, anything could be correct, as everything is

(...) ganz einfach: nichts muss stimmen, alles kann stimmen, jeder kann sich bedienen, wie es ihm gefällt. (...) Die gesamte Wissenschaft wie auch die persönliche Erfahrung und Interessenlage kann so oder auch ganz anders genutzt werden⁵⁶.

Clearly discernable in this so-called vulgar constructivism, is a renunciation of the traditional objectivist occidental philosophy, in which knowledge was an image of reality that existed independently of the spectating subject. This means that the aim has been objectivity, i.e. knowledge of the world like it really is, not like it maybe seems to be in the eyes of the subject. In constructivism on the contrary, especially in its radical version, it is claimed that knowledge primarily is a process related to the subject itself⁵⁷.

Concerning the discussion of authenticity, this means that there can not be such a thing like a static original. Authenticity is negotiable, and it is dependent on the single person's perception or perspective, while the object itself and the discussion around its authenticity is irrelevant. Authenticity is thus a projection of the ideas and imaginations of the subject.

3.3 The post-modernist approach

The term post-modernity is used to characterise occidental culture after modernity, which is the source for the term's ambiguity. Post-modernity and thereby also post-

⁵⁵ Prechtel & Burkard 1999: 299

⁵⁶ Sponsel (Internet Source) ((...)very easy: nothing has to be correct, everyone can take as he/she wants. (...) The entire world of science as well as personal experience and fields of interest can be used in this or that way.)

⁵⁷ Fischer & Prechtel 1996: 329-331

modernism is a relational term that also reflects the fluctuating, somewhat uncertain meaning of its antonym term modernity, which itself is an ambiguous category.

First of all, post-modernity denominates a new era and embraces a number of positions in philosophy, which basically have in common a critical view upon the paradigms of modernity⁵⁸. The traditional philosophical explanatory models the „grand recits“, as Lyotard calls them, whether it be rationalism, humanism, Christianity, Marxism, capitalism and so on, are subject to the post-modern findings, just as those terms that contain the concept of objective authenticity like truth, original, knowledge, reality, identity. The authority of the mentioned „grand recits“ became destabilised during the second half of the 19th century by the establishment of smaller fragments of meaning. These fragments can be combined arbitrarily and without their entirety mentioning or relating to a super-ordinate meaning or sense. post-modernism has therefore often been criticised for its arbitrariness; then again, reading post-modern scholars it is easy to find connections with and continuations of elements of modern philosophy, and also elements of traditional and even antique philosophy. Post-modernity thereby not only achieved the status of an era that replaced modernity, but can be seen as the „self-realisation of the avantgardist modernity itself“⁵⁹, that does not need any super-ordinate rules.

The esthetical discussion concerning post-modernity, that first and foremost has touched the fields of architecture, but also arts and literature, has gained a philosophical dimension by the work of Jean-Francois Lyotard in the 1970s and 80s, especially in his famous book „La condition postmoderne“ from 1979. Post-modernity in its esthetic dimensions served Lyotard as a basis for his philosophical model, which can be clarified with help of the concept of the „esthetics of the exalted“. Lyotard's view emanated from Kant's view of the exalted in his „Analytik der ästhetischen Urteilskraft“:

In seiner (Lyotards) Interpretation stellt sich das Gefühl des Erhabenen ein, wenn die Einbildungskraft nicht vermag, einen Gegenstand darzustellen, der mit einem Begriff, und sei es auch nur ein Prinzip, zur Übereinstimmung gelangen könnte⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ Precht & Burkard 1999: 458

⁵⁹ Helferich 1998: 477 (”die Selbstverwirklichung der avantgardistischen Moderne selber”(the self-realisation of the avantgardist modernity itself))

⁶⁰ ibid.: 477 (In his (Lyotards) interpretation the feeling of exaltation is achieved when imagination is not able to depict an object that could be congruent with a term or a principle.)

Within the concept of the exalted, what is thinkable or cogitable can not be congruent with what is representable. With respect to arts, especially painting, this has led to abstraction - abstraction thus makes a representation or reproduction of the cogitable possible, i.e. the representation of what is not possible to present.

In philosophy, the feeling or state of exaltation evolves from the impossibility of conceptualising or naming what is looked at. According to Kant, an object is considered exalted by its ability to evoke exalted ideas in the spectator. He exemplifies his viewpoint by mentioning natural spectacles like the stars in the sky or the stormy sea. He claims that it is impossible to objectively picture such events, and that the storming, angry sea evokes exaltation in us, because we have previously filled our mind with such ideas. According to Kant, the storming and dangerous sea is terrible to look at, unless one previously had ideas about this storming sea that precondition the view. It is, hence, not the storming sea itself that evokes the feeling of exaltation, but the ideas that already exist in the subject's mind in a combination with the storming sea⁶¹.

Lyotard has then modified Kant by reducing the experience of the subject to the feeling „dass hier und jetzt etwas ist, dass es gibt“⁶².

On the basis of Lyotard's approach, the scholars of post-modernism see aesthetisation as the only possibility of explaining the post-modern world, in which the borders between reality and illusion have become blurred. Umberto Eco's „hyper-reality“ is an example of this quest for explaining the world in the context of post-modernism. Hyper-reality is the image of something that does not exist in reality, but is a copy, a „simulacrum“ itself⁶³.

Despite the differences between the viewpoints of the various post-modernist philosophers, it can be stated that one characteristic feature of post-modernism is the deconstruction of authenticity in the objectivist sense of the term⁶⁴. The contradictory notions of the concepts of reality and imagination, right and false, have become blurred - things have lost their origin.

⁶¹ Kant 1973: Buch 2, 28f

⁶² Lyotard 1989: 45

⁶³ Eco 1984: Nachwort

⁶⁴ See Baudrillard's "Simulacra and Simulation"

This approach, together with the fast technical development that makes the inauthentic look more authentic than the authentic itself (if there is such a thing as the authentic), has evoked the discussion concerning authenticity in arts, culture, architecture, and also in tourism:

The approaches of postmodernism seem to be characterised by destruction of authenticity⁶⁵.

There is no absolute border between reality and fake, the boundaries have become totally blurred. The post-modern subject does not consider in-authenticity as a problem, because there is no such concept as originality in the first place, and, more importantly, the exploration of originality has given way to an interest in constructions and inventions.

Examples for the development of post-modern environments are the boom of the heritage industry, the museum boom, the development of urban centres that combine working, shopping and entertainment. Vester claims that, in post-modern scenarios, against the common interpretation that these are completely artificial and do not have anything to do with authenticity, the approach towards authenticity can be a more playful, even ironical one. He introduces the concept of emergent authenticity as the result of interaction by which inauthentic environments can become authentic⁶⁶.

The German post-modernist Wolfgang Welsch discovered similar elements in the treatment of authenticity. For Welsch, esthetic thinking is obliged to sensory perception, but goes further than that. By thinking and feeling, a perception of sense rather than a sensory perception only, is achieved. Parallel to this esthetisation, Welsch diagnoses an opposite development, an anesthetisation of society that is equitable with an increasing insensitiveness and loss of perception. Anesthetisation through standardised, predestined perception and the unperceivable play an increasing role in society nowadays⁶⁷. Welsch also mentions the uniformity of tourist perceptions as becomes clear when taking holiday pictures and postcards into consideration.

⁶⁵ Wang 1999: 356

⁶⁶ Vester 1993: 122-124

⁶⁷ Helferich 1998: 481

Wang sees in constructivism and post-modernism the crisis of the authenticity of the original, i.e. objective authenticity, and claims that while constructivists rather re-define the conception of authenticity, post-modernity totally neglects it:

Constructivists are reluctant to dig a tomb for authenticity, and they try to rescue the term by revising its meanings, postmodernists have buried it⁶⁸.

Wang argues that by burying authenticity, post-modernists paved the way for a new solution, namely his own concept of existential authenticity, which is based on the principles of existentialism.

The following chapter briefly illustrates the existential approach in philosophies.

3.4 The existentialist approach

In the quest for a solution for the problem of authenticity, the way from the manifold and sometimes complicated approaches of constructivism and post-modernism to the existentialist philosophy is obvious. Crucial elements of constructivism and post-modernism are found by tourism scholars as continuations in existentialism.

What Wang tries to find as real authenticity⁶⁹, can despite personal and contextual diversity and inconsistency be found in the key messages of existentialist philosophy. Sartre summarizes his probably most crucial point in the formula of the primacy of “existence over essence”⁷⁰. There is no pre-definition of the meaning of life; instead, the human being is what he makes of himself and is responsible for his life:

Er findet sich zuerst in der Welt vor, begegnet sich und anderen, entwirft sich in die Zukunft und bestimmt sich danach⁷¹.

For Kierkegaard

⁶⁸ Wang 1999: 358

⁶⁹ Wang 1999: 358ff.

⁷⁰ Precht & Burkard 1999: 170

⁷¹ Ibid.: 169 (He finds him in the world, meets himself and others and projects him into the future and determines himself after that)

(...) besteht die Wirklichkeit nicht in der äusseren Handlung, sondern in einem inneren Vorgang, in welchem das Individuum (...) sich mit dem Gedachten identifiziert, um darin zu existieren. (...) Die Subjektivität ist die Wahrheit, die Subjektivität ist die Wirklichkeit⁷².

Despite the manifold different approaches in existentialism it can be claimed that, in the context of the topic of authenticity, existence means the personal, individual, unique and subjective state of the human being, which is determined by self-determination and freedom.

From the term existence, Wang deduces the existential authenticity of the human being. He claims that this is „a special state of Being, in which one is true to oneself“⁷³. This, he claims, is the starting point and basis for the emergence of a counter movement to the ever-increasing loss of „true self“ that he sees in Western society. With respect to existential philosophy, Wang seeks to find a new, unconventional concept of authenticity in the *true self*.

In the next chapters, the concepts of authenticity developed in the context of tourism, developed by scholars like the just mentioned Wang, will be presented and critically discussed.

3.5 Authenticity in tourist experiences

The different tourism scholars have developed approaches that are influenced by each other and yet take somewhat different starting points. The following pages will present their ideas and establish interconnections between them. Firstly the scholarly approaches will be categorized after Wang's typology that differentiates between objectivism, constructivism and post-modernism and establishes then its own existentialist one. Afterwards, key concepts of the approaches such as the *pseudo-event* and *staged authenticity* will be presented.

⁷² Kierkegaard 1965 ((...), reality does not consist of external actions but of an inner process. The individual identifies himself with thought in order to exist in it. (...). Subjectivity is truth, subjectivity is reality.)

⁷³ Wang 1999: 360

3.5.1 Object-related authenticity

According to Wang object-related or objective authenticity in tourism refers to the authenticity of originals. Within this concept tourists recognize the objects that they encounter as authentic, even though this might not be the truth. The toured objects might be part of a staged scene made to please the tourist and thereby inauthentic experiences, but it all depends on the eyes that see. Within the concept of object-related authenticity, MacCannell operates with two different types of authenticity: authenticity as feelings and as knowledge. The first mentioned is used when tourists are in search of authenticity of experience and authentic experiences, which refers to the feeling of authenticity they experience, whereas the last mentioned, authenticity as knowledge, refers to tourists in search of authenticity of originals. In the search of originals tourists often become victims of staged authenticity, and even if they have a feeling of a real authentic experience, according to MacCannell, their experiences cannot be seen as authentic, due to the fact that they are artificially created⁷⁴. He furthermore argues that commoditization and commercialization of cultural attractions make it impossible for tourists to have their wish for authenticity fulfilled. On the contrary Cohen argues that it is possible to perceive tourists' experiences as authentic, even though they are perfectly aware that the experiences have in fact been staged.

3.5.2 Social constructivist authenticity

By constructive authenticity it is meant the result of social construction, not an objectively measurable quality of what is being visited⁷⁵.

This type of authenticity is a result of the match between the expectations and experiences of the tourists, and can be the reflections of his dreams, beliefs or stereotyped images. Seen from a constructivist standpoint authenticity has no static and absolute original or origin. According to Bruner authenticity is a struggle, a social process where competing interests argue for their interpretation of history. In line with

⁷⁴ Wang 1999: 351-353

⁷⁵ Ibid.: 351

the continuing process, constructivist authenticity can change from being something initially inauthentic or artificial to becoming something authentic with time, such as Disneyland and Las Vegas. Furthermore, constructivists see tourists in quest of authenticity in the sense that they are in search of signs and symbols of authenticity. For these tourists the experiences and visited objects do not need to be originals⁷⁶. Above it is argued by Cohen that experiences can be seen as authentic even though the experience has in fact been staged, and he believes that the acceptance of reconstructions is a modern quest for authenticity. He agrees with Bruner on the fact that not all tourists are in search for authenticity and that reconstructions are popular among tourists.

3.5.3 Existential authenticity

In existential authenticity tourists are in search of alternative forms of existence and they try to escape everyday life by going to distant places and times. Existential authenticity is concerned with the experience of being true to oneself and is not related to any object⁷⁷. Tourists are in search of their authentic selves and are not concerned with the originality or authenticity of objects, rather they are engaged in activities, which can make them feel in contact with themselves and at the same time make them forget about their everyday lives and responsibilities⁷⁸. Even fantasy can be relevant in existential authenticity, due to the fact that it provides a subjective feeling that is real to the individual. Within the concept of existential authenticity Wang operates with two different dimensions: *intra*-personal and *inter*-personal authenticity. First mentioned is concerned with the bodily feelings and self-making or self-identity, it is centring on the individual self and involves both physical aspects such as relaxation and reinvigoration and psychological aspects such as self-discovery and self-realization. The last mentioned, *inter*-personal authenticity, has its basis in social authenticity that focuses on

⁷⁶ Wang 1999: 355/356

⁷⁷ Kolar et al. 2007: 238

⁷⁸ Wang 1999: 360

the collective sense of self. Here an object or experience serves as a tool to bring individuals together for authentic interpersonal relationships⁷⁹.

Within the field of tourism activities such as relaxation, diversion, recreation and entertainment are used to make tourists get in touch with their feelings and let go a little of the self-control of bodily drives and impulses. Furthermore tourism is a pleasure that gives people not only exotic things to see, but also the pleasure of sharing and communicating with others who share the same interest and are seeing the same sights⁸⁰.

3.5.4 A quest for authenticity

In line with the ideas behind existential authenticity, Lindholm writes that adventurous, spiritually motivated tourists want to get off the beaten track and venture deep into dangerous territory where they can test their physical and psychological limits and gain a heightened sense of who they really are⁸¹.

MacCannell argues that:

modern man is losing his attachments to the work bench, the neighbourhood, the town, the family, which he once called 'his own' but, at the same time he is developing an interest in the 'real life' of others⁸².

Furthermore he writes that for modern people "reality and authenticity are thought to be elsewhere: in other historical periods and other cultures, in purer, simpler lifestyles"⁸³. Tourism that promises to take the tourist or traveller "back in time" to places "untouched by the outside world" therefore feeds the modern desire of self-realization⁸⁴. The modern tourist is no longer satisfied with a trip to the seaside or a cosy cottage at a lake; he wants to experience a taste of something foreign and exiting, if not primitive then at least exotic and if he is not able to find it in his own society, he goes elsewhere to find it – to places, which are believed to be more authentic.

⁷⁹ Wang in Leigh et al.2006: 483

⁸⁰ Wang 1999: 365

⁸¹ Lindholm 2008: 39

⁸² MacCannell 1999: 91

⁸³ Ibid.: 3

⁸⁴ Lindholm 2008: 39

The desire for adventure and self-realization is reflected in the tourism statistics; according to the World Travel and Tourism Council 174 countries invest and consume more than six trillion dollars on tourism every year. In 2005 the industry accounted for approximately 221 millions jobs and is thereby the largest industry in the world⁸⁵.

According to both Lindholm and MacCannell, tourists are in quest of as authentic experiences as possible, but authenticity in its pure form is difficult to come by and the discussion on whether it actually exists is never ending.

3.5.5 Staged authenticity

Authenticity has its roots in the Greek word *authentikos*, and refers to something real, genuine, and original. In tourism the concept initially described primitive art that was not mass-produced, but has as described above undergone a development.

According to Lindholm different theorists argue that tourists today are not really interested in penetrating appearances to find spontaneous, unrehearsed true backstage; instead, they are satisfied to experience the manufactured world they know from television and imagine in their dreams. They do not mind that it is all fake; in fact, they expect it to be and appreciate when the fakery is well done⁸⁶.

This is in line with the post-modernist way of thinking, as described in the chapter on the post-modernist approach; the borders between reality and fake are blurred, and even if the tourists are aware that what they observe is staged, they do not consider it a problem.

The theory on staged authenticity by MacCannell has its point of departure in the studies by Goffman on presentation and interaction. Goffman views interaction as a performance and divide this performance into regions or stages with a front and a back.

Goffman's front region is described as the region where the performance is given, while the back region according to Goffman is where our suppressed feelings make an

⁸⁵ Lindholm 2008: 41

⁸⁶ Ibid.: 43

appearance, and the back region is also the area where we knowingly contradict the actions carried out in the front region. Goffman's theory provides an explanation on how we interact with one another in daily life and how we develop a system to help express feelings that conflict with our front⁸⁷.

With bases in the theory by Goffman, MacCannell has developed a theory on staged authenticity, which can be applied in the context of tourism. MacCannell describes the front region as a place where guests or consumers meet with hosts or service people, while the back region is the place where members of the home team can relax and prepare between performances.

The division in front and back region generates the belief that the back region holds more than the eyes can see and thereby also is the place for secrets. This belief is part of the motivation for tourists to travel, they want to encounter authentic experiences and enter the back stages where the "real life" is lived. The question is whether the tourists can distinguish between a real back stage and one set up for the purpose and it is therefore difficult to know for sure if the experience is in fact authentic. Staged authenticity can be divided into six stages⁸⁸, which make it theoretically easier to separate them.

Stage one: a front region, the kind of space tourists try to overcome or get behind.

Stage two: a touristic front region, which to a certain extent has been decorated to appear like a back region. This second stage functions as a front region, but has been decorated to give the atmosphere of a back region.

Stage three: a front region that is organized to appear like a back region.

Stage four: a back region that is open to outsiders.

Stage five: a back region where tourists are permitted an occasional glimpse in.

Stage six: a back region, a space that motivates tourists to travel.

Staging of touristic spaces is a structural development of society and these spaces appear everywhere. The spaces are called stage-sets, touristic settings or simply sets, due to how worked up they are for the purpose. Sets are characterized as:

⁸⁷ Brooks et al. - <http://socserv2.mcmaster.ca/soc/courses/soc4j3/stuweb/cyber9/erv.htm>

⁸⁸ MacCannell 1999: 101-102

The only reason that need be given for visiting them is to see them – in this regard they are unique among social places; they are physically proximal to serious social activity, or serious activity is imitated in them; they contain objects, tools and machines that have specialized use in specific, often esoteric, social, occupational and industrial routines; they are open, at least during specified times, to visitation from outsiders⁸⁹.

When a stage or a set is created with the purpose to entertain, no matter how good the re-production is, it is staged and thereby inauthentic.

In the Serengeti National Park in Tanzania, visitors can witness an event that offers them a fantasy experience based on a Hollywood movie that romanticizes the Africa of the twenties. The guests are entertained by Masai performers who offer free souvenirs, dance and socialize with them. According to Lindholm tourists are quite happy to engage in this type of parodic constructed reality, which conform to their most superficial fantasies and the Masai do not reveal that they are in fact employed by the managing white company who also provide them with the gifts they offer the spectators⁹⁰.

Tourists look for experiences and enter tourist areas with the purpose of good experiences. Whether staged or genuine, experiences will never be routine and thereby most tourists seem satisfied even with sets created with the purpose of entertainment. In the following chapter the concept of pseudo-events is explained.

3.5.6 Authenticity and pseudo-events

MacCannell talks about staged authenticity and says that tourists are looking for authentic experiences, but according to Boorstin authenticity is non-existent and what tourists get is always artificial and created for the purpose.

In his book *The Image* from 1961 Boorstin wrote about pseudo events. He claimed that America was living in the “age of contrivance”, where illusions and fabrications had

⁸⁹ MacCannell 1999: 101

⁹⁰ Lindholm 2008: 44-45

become a dominant force in society. He described pseudo events as moments staged for the cameras, moments that are planned or planted instead of spontaneous, which in his opinion reduce the actual participants to props⁹¹. He furthermore writes that pseudo events satisfy our need for experiences and when we have tasted them we tend to believe that they are the only important events existing. He goes as far as to saying that pseudo events are poison and that its taste is so sweet that it spoils our appetite for plain facts. He claims that whenever a pseudo event is competing with a spontaneous event the pseudo event will dominate because it has characteristics that overshadow the spontaneous events. The characteristics are among others that pseudo events are more dramatic and can be repeated. The participants can be selected according to the event and interest, and due to the fact that the events are planned and cost money, somebody has an interest in them succeeding. Finally they outnumber the spontaneous events and thereby dominate our conscious⁹².

The tourism industry used to be a place where adventure seekers could experience reality, but now Boorstin argues that the same industry is insulting travellers by providing artificial products to tourists who expect to find scenes taken out of movies⁹³. He sees tourists as passive beings who expect things to happen for them and furthermore he refers to tourist attractions as places where the natives are in quarantine while the tourists pass by to take a look at them⁹⁴.

3.6 Summary

In this chapter, the term authenticity has been introduced and subsequently illuminated from different perspectives. On the basis of the framework elaborated by Wang⁹⁵, the approaches of objectivism, constructivism, post-modernism and existentialism have introduced and presented with respect to their interpretation of the concept of authenticity.

⁹¹ Boorstin 1 - <http://giltroy.com/labels/Iowa.html>

⁹² Boorstin 1961: chapter 1

⁹³ Boorstin 2 - <http://www.transparencynow.com/boor.htm>

⁹⁴ MacCannell 1999: 103-104

⁹⁵ Wang 1999

Within the objectivist view, authenticity „exists“, after the premise „existence exists“. Something is authentic or not, without room for mediating it.

The constructivist view, on the contrary, is much more concerned with the production of knowledge than with knowledge as an absolute entity. The subject constructs knowledge and, hence, also authenticity.

In post-modernism, the concept of reality becomes somewhat blurred. Right and false, and thereby also authentic and in-authentic, are concepts that are questioned, the boundaries between the two are unclear. As in post-modernism there is no such thing as originality, post-modernists have no problem with the inauthentic, as it can not be clearly differentiated from the authentic.

Within the existentialist paradigm, the human being is in focus: „existence over essence“. The human being himself decides upon or is responsible for his authenticity. The concept becomes unique and subjective.

With respect to the concepts of authenticity developed within the discipline of tourism, the perspectives of the most relevant scholars have been presented.

Boorstin neglects any possibility for tourists to perceive or achieve authenticity. MacCannell has developed his concept of staged authenticity with his front stage and back stage and further back stage regions that claims that the tourist himself may perceive something as authentic even though it is in fact faked. Cohen claims that nowadays' tourists are so experienced that they recognize the staging of a tourism event, culture or object and accept this staging, so that the in-authenticity is not a problem for them.

Furthermore, the quest for authenticity by the tourist has been discussed. In this context, the field of travel motivation is touched, and will be presented in the following chapter.

4. Travel motivation

In the context of authenticity, it is highly relevant to clarify the theoretical discourse concerning travel motivations, as the quest for authenticity may be seen as a motive for travel. MacCannell as well as other tourism scholars claim that authenticity is a crucial motivational factor for travelling, which according to him is rooted both in alienation from modern society and in the general in-authentic nature of modern life⁹⁶. For Boorstin, modern tourists themselves are the personification of the inauthentic nature of modern society, as they seek what he calls the pseudo-events that are invented by the tourism industry.

Therefore, this chapter tries to illuminate the different approaches towards travel motivation and connect these with the concept of authenticity.

There are many accounts on travel motivation. Goeldner and Richie mention three main sources for answering the question of why people travel: historical and literary works, works within the discipline of psychology, and works within the field of tourism research⁹⁷.

Already the wealthier citizens of the old Rome and Athens enjoyed travelling to Egypt and collecting souvenirs, and had summer residences that provided them with the possibility to escape the city's heat, dirt and hectic life. In their summer residences, they had pleasure in engaging in social life and eating and drinking a lot. The pilgrimages of the middle ages added a serious travel motive to our historical perspective⁹⁸ and linked travelling to the notion of spirituality.

Later on, the so-called Grand Tour, a journey through Europe's cities, not only added an educational component to travelling, but also increased the focus on status connected to travelling, even though it had been relevant in Roman times already as emerges from the preceding paragraph. To collect souvenirs is an act of increasing status, as souvenirs are shown at home or given as presents.

By the mid-nineteenth century, travelling began to be possible for and popular among

⁹⁶ MacCannell 1999: Introduction

⁹⁷ Goeldner and Richie 2003: 244

⁹⁸ Ibid.

the middle classes of European societies as well, by which the importance of the status component increased more and more.

This historical perspective shows how the travel industry evolved from earlier forms of travelling. The motives of gaining spirituality, escape the stress of a life in a big city, being together with other people and enjoying social life, increasing status by doing something the neighbours and friends had not done yet and proving it by collecting and showing souvenirs, educating oneself by travelling and seeing and experiencing new things and cultures, have always been and still are relevant and valid for the travel industry.

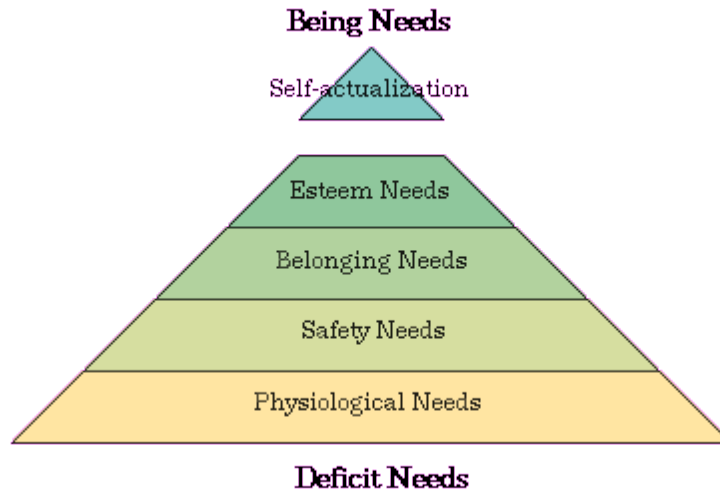
The second source mentioned by Goeldner and Richie relevant for understanding why people travel today are the outcomes of psycho-analytic research. Many scholars such as Freud, Maslow, and many more, have been concerned with human needs. It goes beyond the frame of this thesis to discuss the different approaches one by one. Goeldner and Richie list them by researcher/theory, and extract the concrete motives or needs relevant in the tourism context of today⁹⁹:

- personal control
- sex
- love
- competence
- tension reduction
- arousal
- achievement
- acceptance
- self-development
- respect
- curiosity
- security
- understanding
- self-actualization

It has to be mentioned, however, that Maslow's hierarchy of human needs has been used quite often in tourism research, which is why it will be cited here as well.

⁹⁹ Goeldner and Richie 2003: 246

Figure 3: Maslow's hierarchy of human needs¹⁰⁰



As soon as a person feels urged to fulfil a certain need, a motivation occurs which usually results in an action with help of which the individual seeks to achieve the satisfaction of this need. Based on this presumption, Maslow's lower levels of the pyramid have to be fulfilled before the higher levels. When a human being does not have the basic physiological needs like hunger, thirst and others fulfilled, he is occupied with actions that are carried out in order to fulfil these while the higher needs are of no or secondary importance.

Having these primary physiological needs fulfilled, needs concerning safety such as protection, stability and so on, become more relevant. Going further up the ladder, social needs such as love and friendship, and ego-related needs such as self-esteem and esteem become relevant. The top of the hierarchy is constituted by the notion of self-actualization, i.e. a desire for self-fulfilment, which as mentioned earlier is most relevant in a tourism context.

Maslow's top of the pyramid can be equated with Czikszentmihalyi's notion of flow experiences. For Czikszentmihalyi, flow is a state of mind where consciousness is in harmony and the wanted is pursued for its own sake instead of for external reasons. The complex interplay between body, conscience, and situation determines whether an

¹⁰⁰ Boeree 2005 (Internet Source)

experience can be a flow experience or not, while the subject itself is responsible for the outcome of an experience¹⁰¹.

The state of flow may as well be comparable to Wang's notion of existential authenticity. Czikszentmihalyi, somewhat on the contrary to Wang, claims that an experience can not become a flow experience by actively searching for it because neither do external conditions necessarily have to be favourable nor do experiences themselves necessarily have to be pleasant at the very moment they occur in order to be a flow experience. For Czikszentmihalyi, just as for Wang, satisfaction/existential authenticity depend on how the individual interprets the outer circumstances rather than on the circumstances themselves.

A question that will occur later in the thesis as well is whether Wang's concept of existential authenticity is especially relevant in a tourism context, or if it might be meaningless as it is apparent in all aspects of life.

In the context of authenticity, which this thesis is concerned with, the notion of self-actualization is most relevant. Pearce developed a hierarchy of travel needs that is based on Maslow's hierarchy of human needs. In Pearce's hierarchy, fulfilment-related needs constitute the highest need, followed by self esteem/development needs, relationship needs, safety/security needs, and basic physiological needs as the lowest and broadest point of the pyramid. In contrast to Maslow who focuses on the hierarchy itself, Pearce's emphasis is not on the hierarchy, but on "changing patterns"¹⁰². Tourists can have a range of motives; his model has a more fluid, mobile character.

The third source for understanding travel motives is the tourism research itself. Market research mainly focuses on different types of tourists and their specific needs and motive for travelling. This knowledge mainly emerges from questionnaires that are quite general in nature. Nevertheless, a typology of tourists concerning their needs and motives might be helpful in the context of authenticity as it might be able to dissolve contradictions and problems concerning this complex term and provide the discussion with new ideas.

In his typology, Cohen differentiates between the organized mass-tourist, the individual

¹⁰¹ Czikszentmihalyi 1991: 1f

¹⁰² Goeldner and Richie 2003: 254

mass-tourist, the explorer and the drifter¹⁰³, which respectively demand different types of services and experiences. The organized mass-tourist is highly dependent on the services of the tourism industry and goes for fully packaged tours. He is not leaving his touristic *bubble*. The individual mass tourist also uses the facilities of the tourism industry, but is less dependent on them. He arranges as much as possible at home beforehand, but he nevertheless organizes trips on his own in order to leave his *tourist bubble*. The explorer wants to go off the beaten track, while he still has the *tourist bubble* as a backup solution if what he is doing gets out of control. The drifter wants to experience new things at all costs, and does not need the tourist bubble as a backup. He wants to avoid other tourists. This typology is to a great extent congruent with Plog's psychocentric typology, which recognizes an average tourist who unites both security needs and curiosity. On the two extreme ends of the scale stand *venturers* and *dependables*, who are either poised for high risk or none at all. Venturers may seek contact and joint experiences with locals, while the dependable is more likely to stay within a *tourist bubble*, an exclusively touristic space¹⁰⁴. These types of tourists have different expectations and a different view and understanding of authenticity. Some might be engaged in the quest for authenticity; others may treat authenticity less seriously and therefore not consider it a motivational factor in their choice of destination and as a motive for travelling at all.

Graburn emphasizes the notion of escape as the most important motive of travelling, and sees the extraordinary as the most crucial factor in travel motivation. This also plays an important role in the previously presented studies¹⁰⁵. But he also mentions that there are different types of tourists, some of which prefer to have everything like it is at home when they are travelling. He especially connotes this type of travelling with wealthy people, who can afford to spend a lot of money on travelling¹⁰⁶. It can be questioned to which extent all possible types of travellers need components of their home culture and standard when away from home.

In general, it has to be mentioned that there are multifaceted motives for travelling, just as there are different types of both tourists and destinations that may play an important

¹⁰³ Cohen 2004: 39

¹⁰⁴ Weaver & Lawton 2006: 185-188

¹⁰⁵ Graburn 1989: 26

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.: 35

role in the context of travel motivation as well.

4.1 Summary

In this chapter, several approaches to travel motivation have been presented. In the context of this thesis, works within the field of tourism based on psychological accounts like the one by Maslow, are regarded most relevant. Pearce's work that is based on Maslow is regarded important in this thesis. In both hierarchies of human/travellers' needs, self-fulfilment are the highest level of the pyramid. Works on typology, like Cohen's or Plog's accounts, are as well relevant in the context of travel motivation, as different types of tourists may have different reasons for travelling.

The quest for authenticity as a motivational factor that by its equation with Czikszentmihalyi's notion of flow and Wang's notion of existential authenticity would be at the top of the travellers' hierarchy of needs has been mentioned.

In the following chapter, a critical discussion of the previously presented approaches towards the notion of authenticity in a tourism context will be provided.

5. OBJECTIVE 1: Critical discussion – authenticity in the context of tourism

In this chapter, the approaches towards authenticity developed by the different tourism scholars will be critically discussed. The approaches naturally contain critique as one claims to deconstruct the other, while this discussion goes beyond their statements about each other by implementation of the standpoints developed in the course of this thesis.

5.1 Boorstin

Within the category of object-related authenticity, Boorstin has developed his idea of the pseudo-event which he claims is sought after by the tourist. First of all, this idea stands in contrast to MacCannell's approach of the tourist's unavailing quest for authenticity; both scholars nevertheless are at one with the existence of the notion of the pseudo-event. The difference is that in MacCannell's approach, the tourist wants authenticity and cannot achieve it, while in Boorstin's approach, the tourist wants fake.

Cohen has criticised Boorstin because of his negative view upon the tourist, and claims this viewpoint emerges from prejudices and a lack of empirical data. According to Cohen, tourists are not stupid as Boorstin claims, but instead are believed to be participating in a game, i.e. Cohen emphasizes the playful component of travelling and implies that the tourist knows about in-authenticity and accepts it as part of the game¹⁰⁷.

Boorstin's nostalgic concept of the traveller of old times that was not deceived by the travel industry and its pseudo-events and advertising campaigns and that was therefore capable of experiencing authenticity and authentic culture, can be criticised by the travelogues written by these old-time travellers. Just as advertising influences the tourists' view today, they had their ideas of the host cultures, which influenced their view¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁷ Wang 1999: 355/356

¹⁰⁸ Schmieder 1997: Introduction

Boorstin is considered to be right in his statement about the tourist that, as a consequence of advertising and other influencing aspects, wants the created expectations to be met. But his view upon authenticity and, hence, culture is static and within the paradigm of objectivism, which has been criticized by scholars like Bruner who ascribe authenticity a more negotiable and flexible nature¹⁰⁹. In this thesis, culture is seen as being in permanent change, which is why it is difficult to talk about authenticity in the context of culture for the authors of this thesis.

5.2 MacCannell

For MacCannell, whose view as well belongs to the field of object-related authenticity, tourists' travel motivation lies in the in-authentic nature of modern Western societies that makes tourists look for what they think once has been in the Western world. This authenticity is according to MacCannell impossible to achieve due to staging, which has to do with the commoditization of culture.

Cohen has criticised MacCannell because of his pessimistic view upon the possibility of achieving satisfaction, and also because of his idea of alienation of man in modern societies. The latter view is shared by Bruner, who claims that most tourists are actually satisfied with their life and do not need to be alienated in order to travel.¹¹⁰

Furthermore, MacCannell can also be criticised for his static, object-related interpretation of authenticity, just as in the case with Boorstin. The objectivist interpretation of the world that claims that truth is found independently from the subject has been deconstructed by other modes of understanding such as the existentialist claim of "existence over essence" which focuses on the subject's perception of the world.

¹⁰⁹ Wang 1999: 355/356

¹¹⁰ Boorstin 1 - <http://giltroy.com/labels/Iowa.html>

5.3 Cohen

Cohen's view upon the concept of authenticity may be considered both constructivist and post-modern in nature, as he interprets the tourist as such in a post-modern manner, while he interprets authenticity in a rather constructivist way. He emphasizes that the tourist knows about the in-authenticity of attractions but that he accepts it and plays his part of the game, which implies a post-modern way of travelling. Nevertheless, he sees authenticity as a negotiable concept and claims that inauthentic attractions such as Disney Land may become authentic over time, which can be considered as being within the paradigm of constructivism.

Thereby, Cohen's approach is seen as a refinement and elaboration of the earlier mentioned approaches.

5.4 Wang

Wang with his existential authenticity developed a new understanding of authenticity in the tourism context. Even though he claims that his approach is based on Cohen's work, it must be stated that his idea of existential authenticity does not have much to do with the other scholars' approaches.

His view on authenticity is restricted to the individual and his experiences during vacation.

It could be a point of critique that Wang first of all ignored the tourist typologies with respect to authenticity that previous approaches presented.

Furthermore, the question as to why existential authenticity is relevant in a tourism context evolves, as this state of being may as well be achieved in other than touristic situations. Wang presents his approach as one that dissolves the problems that existed in previous works.¹¹¹ The problem with Wang's approach is, then, that he is approaching the concept from a completely different angle. The denomination of "existential

¹¹¹ Wang 1999: 350

authenticity” already indicates that his interpretation has to do with existence rather than tourism. He then ascribes touristic situations favourable conditions for achieving authenticity, but such situations may as well be created at home.

With respect to the philosophical understanding of authenticity, it may be claimed that the individual itself is responsible for himself, and hence it is up to oneself to find authenticity in any situation in life.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter on tourist motivation, Wang's existential authenticity may be the same as Czikszentmihalyi's notion of flow and Maslow's self-realization category. These two concepts have been developed for the understanding of the human psyche in general. This, of course, means that existential authenticity is not meaningless in a tourism context, but that it is not more relevant in a tourism context than in other contexts of modern life.

5.5 Summary

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that the different approaches concerning authenticity in a tourism context show some interesting interrelations, while the latest approach by Wang stands for itself. It has been argued that the objectivist approaches by MacCannell and Boorstin do not hold water in the context of this thesis.

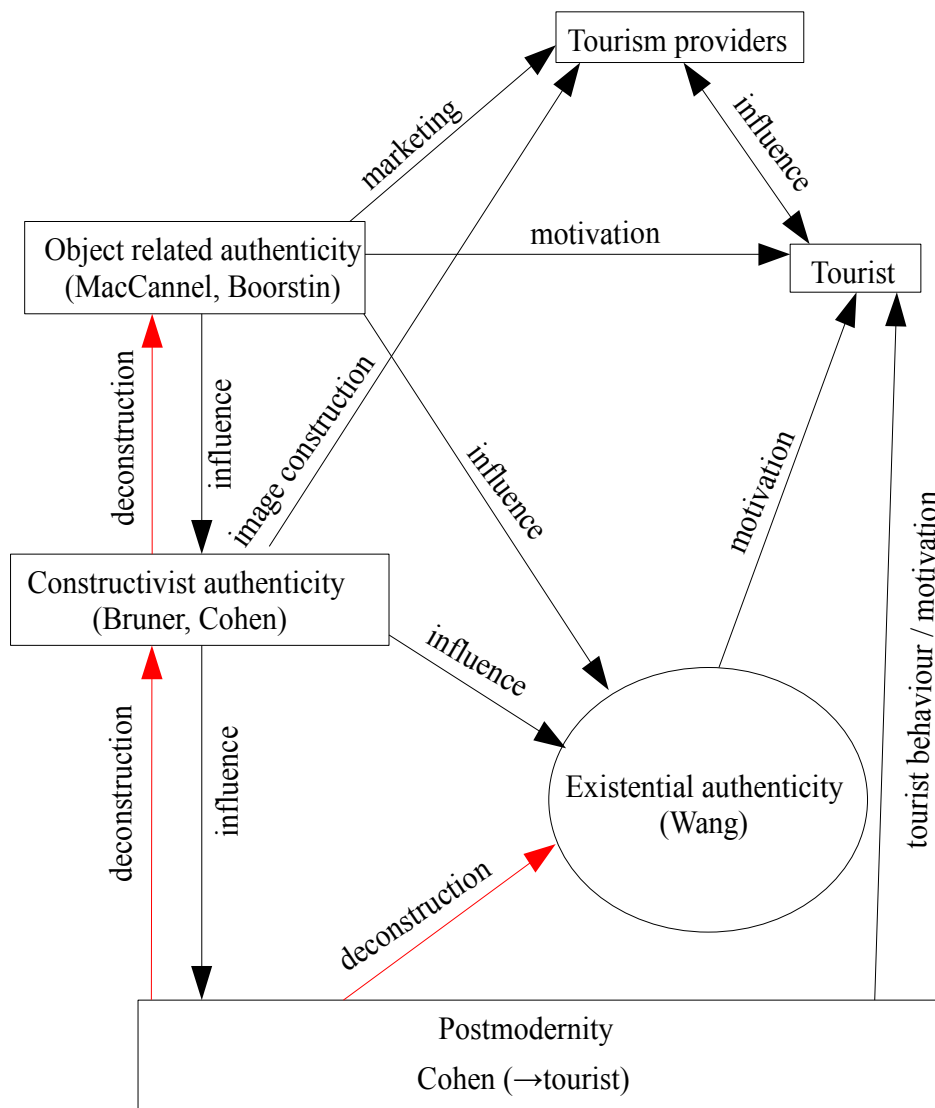
Cohen's constructivist-post-modern approach is considered most relevant with respect to a new understanding of authenticity in a tourism context, while Wang has been criticised extensively, and it has been questioned whether his new approach is relevant in a tourism context.

The findings of this chapter will be illustrated in the next section where a model on authenticity in tourism will be presented.

6. Model of authenticity in tourism

On the basis of the previous discussions, the authors of this thesis have developed a model in order to present their understanding of the different approaches towards authenticity. There is a focus on the relationships between the different approaches.

Figure 4: Model of authenticity in tourism



The object-related understanding of authenticity, which is evident in Boorstin's and MacCannell's approaches, has influenced the constructivists, who built their approach upon the objectivist view, while at the same time deconstructing it by claiming that authenticity can not be regarded a static phenomenon, especially with respect to cultures. Cultures are often called authentic in the tourism context, and the constructivist Cohen claims that authenticity is negotiable, and that inauthentic attractions may become authentic over time. The fact that he still accepts the concept of authenticity, though, proves that he is influenced by objectivism. This influence is shown by the arrows leading from the box containing object-related authenticity to the box containing constructivist authenticity, while the red arrows that lead in the opposite direction indicate that despite influence, the former approach has been deconstructed.

With respect to the tourist, MacCanell and Boorstin claim that the tourist is in quest for authenticity, while Cohen has come to a post-modern interpretation, in the way that his tourist is not in quest for authenticity, but accepts „staging“ as an offer from the tourism industry which he gladly enjoys. This is indicated by the arrow that leads from the box of post-modernity to the tourist.

The tourist is, of course, influenced by the tourism industry's offers and vice versa; therefore, an arrow leads from the tourist to the tourism providers. In this thesis it is assumed that most tourism providers have an objectivist approach towards authenticity in the sense that they are using the concept for their marketing efforts, because they claim that authenticity of the object exists. It could also be stated that they are constructing an image for the tourists, which would be within the constructivist paradigm of authenticity. It would not make much sense for them to offer something that might not exist or is negotiable; this is not a promising marketing strategy. This does, of course, not mean that all tourism providers have an objectivist perspective upon authenticity, as many of them are not at all concerned with it in their marketing material.

The tourist himself can be in quest for authenticity, either existential or object-related. This quest exists independently of the discussion about the different kinds of authenticity and the existence of the concept. This is due to the fact that the quest for authenticity is not part of the discussion of authenticity as such, but part of the

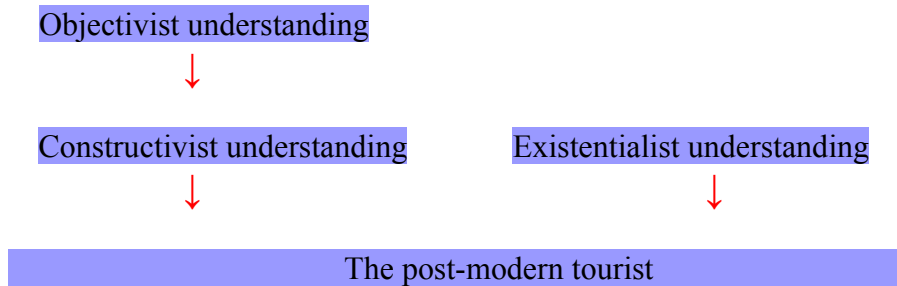
discussion of tourist motivation. A tourist can be in quest of authenticity, and can be trying to achieve it, whether object-related or existential, without even coming closer to it.

Furthermore, existential authenticity is believed to barely have a relationship to object-related and constructivist authenticity, as it does not refer to the toured objects, but to the tourist himself. As Wang claims, his approach has been influenced by the other two, while he in the authors' opinion is not deconstructing them, but shifting the perspective. The influence is indicated by the arrows from the two boxes to the one containing Wang's existential approach. He also claims to be influenced by the post-modern perspective upon the tourist taken by Cohen. This arrow is not fully displayed, as Cohen has not taken the whole step towards post-modernity. In this project, Wang's approach is considered interesting, but not solving the problems concerning previous approaches. It is also questioned whether it is especially relevant in the tourism context.

As Cohen is somewhere in between constructivism and post-modernism, and Wang has been criticised extensively, this project proposes to go one step further than Cohen and fully enter post-modernity in order to resolve the problem of authenticity in a tourism context. From a post-modern perspective, authenticity does not exist. It does, however, exist as a marketing tool and in the mindset of the tourist. It might be that different tourists are in quest of different types of authenticity, and it is therefore relevant as a motivational factor. This project nevertheless seeks to deconstruct object-related, constructivist as well as existential authenticity and thereby adapt a post-modern view upon the concept. Objectivism, constructivism as well as existentialism along with their tourism-relevant approaches towards authenticity are nevertheless regarded useful and will be/have to be used in the analysis in order to explain and interpret the interviews and the website.

Based on the model of authenticity in tourism, a model illustrating the travel career concerning the tourists' understanding of authenticity is developed as a by-product of it.

Figure 5: Travel career ladder of tourists understanding of authenticity



It explains the development of the tourist with respect to his understanding of authenticity. It is developed in the same way as the development of the understanding of authenticity in tourism: the object-related view becomes deconstructed by the constructivist view. Existential authenticity is considered an approach that exists beside the other two.

The un-experienced tourist may expect to encounter objectivist authenticity, which means the authenticity of the people or objects he meets or sees, whether staged or not. The constructivist view offers the possibility to accept attractions as authentic even though they may have been artificially built, such as Disney Land. This implies that with a certain experience, tourists begin to be less strict in their judgement of what is authentic and what is not, and perceive an attraction as being authentic as soon as it seems authentic to them. The existentialist approach is concerned with the individual's inner feelings; it is hence the individual again that determines authenticity, this time related to his own experience.

A post-modern tourist, then, has realized that authenticity is neither definable nor reachable. He has travelled many times, possibly in quest for authenticity, and has learned that it is a factor one can not determine. He is thereby provided with the possibility to engage in the quest for authenticity in a way that he looks upon the concept like a game. He knows that he will not achieve any kind of authenticity, but nevertheless engages in the quest for it.

After having explained the model developed in this thesis and elucidated the authors' interpretation of the concept of authenticity in the context of tourism, the website analysis will be the topic of the next sections.

7. Case study: a Tanzanian website

In this chapter, a Tanzanian tourism website will be analyzed with help of the methods presented in chapter 2. The case is considered an example for websites that destinations involving the concept of authenticity.

In order to be able to conduct such an analysis, the authors consider it highly relevant to have a knowledge basis concerning the recent history of Western penetration of Africa, including the ideological background involved in it. Furthermore it is considered important to have background knowledge concerning the destination in question, namely Tanzania. The following sections will be concerned with the establishment of this background knowledge. Afterwards, the very analysis will be put forward in the context of this background and in relation to the previously conducted presentation and discussion of the concept of authenticity.

It is furthermore necessary in this introduction to explain this thesis' approach towards authenticity in the context of culture. Tourism scholars speak of the commoditization of culture in the context of tourism¹¹². Authenticity plays a role in this context, as it is often so-called authentic culture that is subject to commoditization. As the term culture has manifold definitions and meanings, the authors of this thesis prefer to only briefly touch upon it, while they nevertheless consider it necessary to mention the term due to its close linkage with the concept of authenticity. A classic definition of culture defines it as “that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”¹¹³. If culture is defined in such a broad way, then it can be queried how such a “complex whole” can be commoditized. It could be argued that only few aspects of that “complex whole” are subject to commoditization in the context of tourism. It leads too far from the objectives of this project to discuss this question in detail, but to question the validity of this commoditization serves the authors of this thesis as a basis to argue that with respect to

¹¹² See for example: Greenwood, D.J. (1977) “Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as a Cultural Commoditization”. In: Smith, V.L. (ed.) *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Pp.171-185.

¹¹³ Tylor in Reisinger & Turner 2003: 5

the topic of this thesis, it is the idea of authenticity that is commoditized in the context of culture. This hypothesis will be subject to testing in this chapter, where the historical perspective on the history of European penetration of Africa serves as a basis for the development of the gaze that Western tourists have on the African hosts. It is claimed that it is this gaze that determines the other or his culture as being “authentic” that has been developed over time and which is sold back to the Western touristic audience by tourism providers. Furthermore, Bruner’s view upon culture is adapted. He claims that culture is in permanent change. Based on this, it is therefore assumed that there can not be an original of an ever-changing culture. Hence, there is no authentic culture.

7.1 OBJECTIVE 2: A historical perspective on travelling: European presence in Africa

Even though afro-centrists like Cheik Anta Diop regard the African continent as a cultural unit¹¹⁴, it is an almost impossible task to outline the history of a whole continent in a homogeneous way.

Nevertheless, it is possible to draw similarities and find common experiences with respect to the invasion of the western powers in form of exploration, slavery, and colonisation. Likewise, there are similarities in the perception of Africa in Europe throughout time.

In this thesis, it is presupposed that the exploration and colonisation of Africa, along with the racist and evolutionistic body of thought that was predominant at these times, have great impact not only on the current state of the African continent, but also on western ideas and perceptions of Africa and its people.

Furthermore, it is presupposed that Africa has an exceptional position with respect to images, ideas and perceptions in the western world. No other continent has been associated in a similar way with the unknown; even though this might be true a certain extent also for other former colonies.

¹¹⁴ Harding 1999: Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to create the necessary knowledge base for the analysis of the chosen website. To illuminate western ideas and perceptions of the people and places tourists travel to and have travelled to is considered a precondition for the understanding of authenticity in the context of toured cultures and objects and the experience of travelling itself. The understanding of nowadays' Africa, and subsequently touristic demand and supply, has its roots in the history of the continent, especially in earlier forms of penetration like exploration and colonisation. By including a discussion of these aspects into the treatment of the case study, the thesis takes a broad perspective, trying to understand current issues from a historical perspective. Possible continuities occurring throughout the different stages of western invasion will be discussed.

As a result of this discussion, equivalents to Urry's "tourist gaze" will be established for the different phases discussed in this chapter. This is considered relevant in relation to authenticity, as the way tourists look upon their destination along with its inhabitants stands in close relation to their travel motivation. The tourists' quest for authenticity, no matter which type or definition is used, originates just as much in the images and perceptions of the places tourists travel to as in their every day routine at home.

7.1.1 Exploration

While the focus in this chapter will be on perceptions on behalf of the explorers and the picture of Africa conveyed in their reports and histories, the next paragraph very shortly depicts the development of the invasion of Africa throughout time.

While Africa's coasts and the northern and southern regions have always been in contact with other cultures and foreign powers such as the Romans, Greeks and others, the remaining parts of the continent became subject to invasion first in the 15th century, when the Portuguese discovered the western coast as traders. They and other western powers such as the Dutch, Danish, Swedish and many more, followed to build bases in order to trade goods such as textiles, weapons and others for the treasures the African continent could offer: gold, slaves, spices, ivory and the like. In particular the slave trade, especially the trans-Atlantic slave trade, had due its immense proportion

enormous territorial, social, cultural and political consequences¹¹⁵.

In the Eastern part, the Islam moved onto the African continent, whereby the well-known Swahili culture emerged.

The South has been invaded by western settlers from as early as 1652 on, especially by Dutch invaders.

An aspect that also played an important role during the western appropriation of Africa is the Christian missionary work that was organised by missionary societies¹¹⁶.

Early settling, the establishment of the slave trade, missionary efforts as well as the spread of Islam in Africa will be of minor importance to this thesis, as the western penetration of Africa especially in the immediate history and the ideology behind it are of interest to the topic of this thesis.

An intensification of imperialistic efforts by the western powers can be noted from the 19th century on, where numerous geographical societies were founded in order to explore the continent.

The boundaries between exploration and colonisation are somewhat blurred¹¹⁷, as many explorers, especially in the later part of the 19th century, travelled under the authority of the imperial nations, often financed by one of the many geographical societies often with the aim of winning territory.

In their quest for understanding and giving meaning to their experiences and meetings, the explorers have obviously been highly influenced by their home ideologies, i.e. European natural history, evolution and race theories. The belief in the own, which is to say the European, superiority over the Africans, has had a great impact on the production of knowledge about Africa and its people in every possible aspect¹¹⁸. Theoretical equipment such as social Darwinism, racist theory, and evolutionism, the latter of which made it possible to interpret a journey to Africa as a time travel to the roots of western societies, allowed the travellers to associate intellectual capacities with their own skin colour.

¹¹⁵ Harding 1999: 10ff

¹¹⁶ Ibid.: 10ff

¹¹⁷ Fabian 2000: 285

¹¹⁸ Ibid.: 286/287

Despite this ideological equipment, the explorers have often been confronted with situations, in which theory/ideology and the experienced were somewhat contradictory. Fabian raises the question whether it at all was possible not to be racist in their situation, and comes to the conclusion that there are very few exceptions while the majority held on to their ideological background without questioning it, despite eventually mentioning contradictions to it¹¹⁹.

Imperialistic and racist statements occur in all research material and travel literature, which must of course be interpreted against the background of their purpose of serving the imperial powers by gaining territory, opening access to important resources or at least collecting information that served these or other imperialistic goals. On the other hand, there is after Fabian not one explorer/Africa researcher of that time that has not been caught in such contradictions between theory and praxis, and he claims that in their reports, ethnographic reality occurs not in verifiable facts, but in this tendency towards contradictions¹²⁰.

In this context, it would also be possible to discuss authenticity with respect to the information given in these travel literature and research reports, which has, as indirectly suggested by Fabian, been blurred by the previous knowledge and ideological background of the explorers.

Another interesting aspect of the explorers' writings is that they in some occasions argued for racism/evolutionism against their own knowledge. Fabian mentions the case of the well-known and widely respected ethnographer Becker, who against his own knowledge of the language, not speaking of the natural speaker's knowledge, claimed that Swahili was a poor language that used only about three-hundred words. Even he himself - in order to make his travelogues look more "authentic"- used more than this vocabulary in his reports, while this probably does not represent his complete knowledge of the language.

It is an interesting question why the explorers and researchers produced such contradictions. One aspect must be, that what they saw somehow had to fit in what they were supposed to see, whether it had to be like this for the sake of the potential reader in

¹¹⁹ Fabian 2000: 318

¹²⁰ Ibid.: 319

Europe and his expectations or for the sake of the author himself whose ideological world was crumbling. There was no solution to the contradictions found between the experienced and the home-made intellectual horizon¹²¹.

It has to be stated, however, that, as mentioned before, the race for territory and influence by the western powers escalated first in the later 19th century, from its 70s onwards, and can be called colonization latest after the Berlin conference in 1884/85¹²². Expeditions that had been carried out earlier in the century, or back in the late 18th century, were more bound to the exploring purpose. Authors that travelled that early often show both a higher interest and more respect towards the Africans they met, even though they of course were bound to the prevalent contemporary ideological horizon. Harding claims that it is necessary to differentiate between some of the early travellers and later expeditions, not only with respect to their purpose and attitude but also with respect to the knowledge produced¹²³. Harding thereby also determines a personal component, just like Fabian - as mentioned earlier in the context of racism.

7.1.2 Colonization

This chapter describes the colonization of Africa in general and the more specifically ideological background behind it.

Parts of the continent, e.g. the Portuguese colonies Mozambique and Angola or the Arabic Zanzibar, had been under foreign rule since the middle of the 19th century already. As mentioned in the previous chapter, an intensification of European activities all over the continent took place from the 1870s onwards, which among other factors has to be seen in the context of the colonial expansion worldwide, mostly by England and France¹²⁴.

Harding mentions both the nationalistic and expansionistic powers as well as a humanitarian movement in Europe, the latter of which has been nourished by some

¹²¹ Fabian 2000.: 319

¹²² Iliffe 2000: 251

¹²³ Harding 1999: 111-118

¹²⁴ Ibid.: 26

early explorers like Henry Morton Stanley or David Livingstone and their reports on slavery, as the motors of colonization¹²⁵.

When Germany and Belgium joined the colonial nations in their quest for territory in Africa, it was time for the Berlin conference in 1884/85, where the continent was distributed among the participants by help of contracts between the different European nations and justified by questionable contracts with local authorities, or persons who were taken for authorities by the Europeans¹²⁶.

The initially mentioned humanitarian purpose did not play a role in the process of colonization and must be interpreted as a means to justify the European invasion, the motivation of which is to be found in economic interests instead.

All African people have tried to defend themselves against the European invasion, but without success. Colonial wars and rebellions were the result of the violent European invasion that costed numerous lives and were a traumatic experience for African societies.

Even though the colonial nations had different tactics and official differences in their appropriation and rule of the new territories, such as direct vs. indirect rule, their systems were much more alike than one would expect. This is due to the fact that African societies were not, as the Western ideological background of the time claimed, static, amorph and passive victims of colonial violence; they instead actively tried to resist colonization and furthermore actively participated in decision-making processes, whether officially or not. The establishment of colonial rule and administration can therefore be considered a permanent struggle and a permanent process of change in all colonies, regardless the respective colonial nation¹²⁷.

It would not do justice to the course of colonization to ignore the abilities of African societies and people to counteract it with help of different strategies, not only violent resistance, on behalf of the Africans. But it is clear that the colonial system undermined local authorities and strategies of action that had been effective in situations of crisis before the arrival and advance of the colonial powers¹²⁸.

¹²⁵ Harding 1999: 26

¹²⁶ Ibid.: 27

¹²⁷ Harding 1999: 28

¹²⁸ Ibid.: 30ff

The total ignorance towards African needs and necessities of life is not only apparent in military violence but also in administrative characteristics and most obviously by a glance at the map: Western powers considered their own strategically needs only, which led to the establishment of borders that went through ethnic and idiomatic territories and/or important trade routes, separated families and groups from each other, united inhomogeneous groups within administrative units and destroyed nomadic life. In many areas colonization led to ecological and economic catastrophes like hunger, not only as a consequence of drastic measures like labor camps, but also because of the fact that African life, traditions, religions and so on were denigrated and considered inferior to the European equivalents in all aspects¹²⁹.

Expropriation and exploitation and military violence, but also the establishment of European administration systems, the establishment of schools, the focus on urban life and the general imposing of Western life style and the European body of thought, and many other aspects of colonization, undermined African life and ruined the continent on a long term scale¹³⁰.

Total denigration of the African undermined all aspects of African life and was omnipresent in the Western body of thought¹³¹.

The difference between exploration and colonization is the total neglect of African culture and life that is apparent in the colonial structures. While explorers still were interested in culture and people, especially the early explorers, even though they of course were influenced by contemporaneous ideology.

¹²⁹ Harding 1999: 52

¹³⁰ Ibid.: 45f

¹³¹ Mudimbe 1990: Introduction

7.1.3 Tourism

Most of the continent of Africa is quite marginal as a tourist destination in comparison to other destinations. Some few countries, mainly the northern Mediterranean countries, and South Africa, receive most of the touristic traffic, while other areas hardly have seen tourists at all.

Marginality has always been characteristic for the European interpretation of Africa as the „heart of darkness“. Its exotic features make it interesting for the European tourist.

As mentioned in chapter 4 the wealthier citizens of the old Rome and Athens enjoyed travelling to Egypt, where they explored the ruins of Thebes and tombs in the Valley of the Kings and for centuries, Arab, Asian, and later European explorers trekked across portions of the continent, often keeping records of the sites and peoples they encountered. Nevertheless it was not until the early colonial period describe above that modern tourism emerged in Africa. At first Europeans and Americans travelled to Africa to experience the wonders of Egypt and the Nile and the Mount Kenya and Kilimanjaro. Later on tourists came to participate in the hunt of the *big five* in the hope of bringing home a trophy of a lion or an elephant. At this period in time the tourism infrastructure in form of hotels and transport was limited, but after the World War II the prime attractions and their surroundings developed rapidly.

Some of the most favoured types of tourism in the African continent are cultural- and ecotourism. Besides experiencing the ancient monuments, artefacts and the African history, some destinations offer tourists to spend time in the local villages and participate in the local activities. Some argue that this type of tourism helps the local population to keep traditional cultural practices alive, while others criticizes it and claims that the tourists are not experiencing anything but staged authenticity and that they are intruding the privacy of the village residents.

Ecotourism is also very popular in various African countries, such as Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda and South Africa. On the one hand this type of tourism can help the survival of endangered species, while it on the other hand can result in the displacement of citizens who have to give up their traditional lands to give room for wildlife parks. To avoid

some of the problems various wildlife management programmes with the aim of winning the support of the local communities have been created. Part of a programme is for example to give the locals a voice in the planning process and award them with a share of the profit from the safari tourism.

Governments throughout the African continent are aware of the potential in tourism and for a number of countries tourism is a major source of jobs and foreign currency. Nevertheless the discussion on how much the countries and their citizens actually benefit from tourism is subject to discussion. The tourism industry most often offer low-wage, seasonal jobs and the popularity of a place depends on the promotional campaigns of foreign travel agencies¹³²

In the context of attitudes towards Africa, travelling as such, and the issue of authenticity among the tourists, the interview study will give way for further discussions.

7.2 Continuities – the gaze

In his classic tourism book of 1990, John Urry presents the “tourist gaze”, a concept that describes the way tourists look at toured objects and cultures during their holidays. Urry in his work focuses on the visual experience of the tourist, which has been criticized by many tourism scholars in the recent years for different reasons¹³³. Generally, Urry uses the notion of the tourist gaze in a twofold way. On the one hand, tourists gaze upon what they encounter during their holiday, namely landscapes, cityscapes and whatever distracts their eyes from routine, everyday experiences. On the other hand, Urry himself gazes upon society from the perspective of a tourism researcher in order to reveal “which otherwise might [have] remain[ed] opaque”¹³⁴. Concerning the tourist gaze, he states, that there is no universally valid type of gaze, as it naturally differs along societal and cultural borders. The target places and objects of gazing are chosen based on a

¹³² http://www.octobergallery.com/paintmagazine/pages/liv_tourism-africa.html

¹³³ Urry 2002: ch.8

¹³⁴ Ibid.: 2

preliminary anticipation of pleasure and distinctiveness from the usual environment of the tourist. These expectations arise from infiltration through media channels and thus¹³⁵ precondition the gaze. Different types of gazes include the romantic gaze, which strives after, for instance, beautiful landscapes, and the collective gaze, which involves a group experience of gazing at a certain site. Urry acknowledges to have taken into consideration the gazer only, ignoring the gazed. The particular local gaze has, according to Maoz, been ignored by tourism scholars, who concentrate on mere victimization of host societies¹³⁶.

The crucial point of criticism is that there are many other aspects that determine the relationship between gazer and gazed. In this thesis, Urry's gaze will be treated in the context of constructionalism and the notion of previous knowledge inherent to hermeneutics, as explained in chapter 2. This also became evident in the previous two sections, in which it has been argued that the spectator is influenced or even blinded by the ideological background and body of thought of the time and place he originates from.

In the context of Africa, the perspective of the Congolese philosopher Mudimbe is adapted who in his work "The invention of Africa" claims that African culture how Europeans understand it nowadays has been invented by them from the times of the explorers onwards¹³⁷.

With respect to the European's gaze upon Africa this means that it is preconditioned by previous ideas and theories.

Despite the always individual and personal character of travel motivations and the journeys as such, it can be generally stated that the explorers and travellers of earlier times, even though highly influenced by racist and evolutionist ideas, were to a certain extent interested in foreign cultures and people. Evolutionism sees African culture as static societies that constitute the first step in the development of the human race, and thus journeys to Africa as time travels to the origin of European civilisation.

This interest mainly disappeared under colonisation, when Africa was considered a

¹³⁵ Urry 2002: 3

¹³⁶ Maoz 2005: 221

¹³⁷ Mudimbe 1990

possibility for economic growth by exploitation. Military violence as a new component of European superiority made way for the appropriation of a whole continent. But the idea of European superiority concerned all aspects of African life, as has been argued in the previous paragraph.

The European tourist's view upon Africa is nourished by the idea of the exotic, the extraordinary that at the same time is a crucial motivational factor for travelling on the one hand, but, most importantly for this thesis, also nourished by the history of ideas about Africa. But as mentioned before, the interviews will be used in the context of the gaze in order to further clarify the tourists' perspectives. The chapter on the gaze is therefore to be continued in connection with the chapter on the interview study, as this paragraph has to be considered hypothetical. Therefore, the gaze developed here will be added to the model, including its connections with the concept of authenticity, and will thus be tested during the analysis.

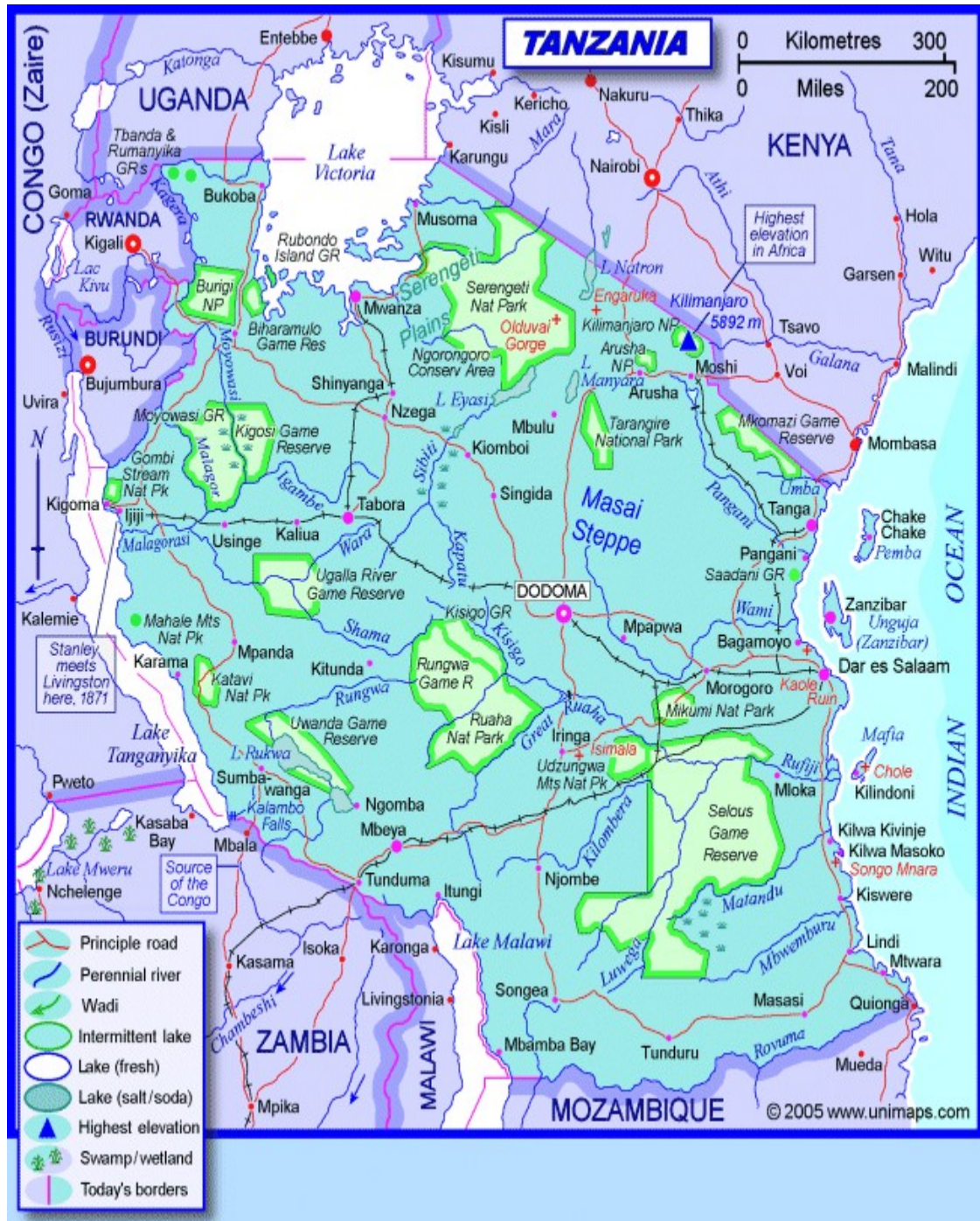
7.3 Tanzania – a short description

Before analysing the official webpage welcoming tourists to Tanzania, this paragraph will provide the reader with a short description of the country and its tourism.

Tanzania is the largest country in East Africa and with its 945,000 square kilometres it is approximately three times the size of Norway. The country is relatively new under its present form, up until 1964 the country consisted of two independent territories: a British-controlled UN trust territory called Tanganyika and a British protectorate with an Arab population called Zanzibar. In 1964 the two parts united to form the present Tanzania. The country has a population of about 36,500,000 people, who are mainly employed with farming or fishing. The capital Dar es Salaam is considered the most important town for business and development, but the former capital Dodoma is home for the country's government¹³⁸.

¹³⁸ Tanzania - http://www3.nationalgeographic.com/places/countries/country_tanzania.html

Map 1: Tanzania: Source: Unimaps.com



Tanzania is a country of great natural diversity and the tourism sector is one of the sectors with great economic growth potential. The tourism industry employs about 30,000¹³⁹ people and the country's competitive strengths lie in the abundant and diverse wildlife, the spectacular landscape and scenery, an unspoiled environment and a

¹³⁹ The estimated number is from year 1997

friendly population. However the national tourism policy of 1999, points out that the country has yet to exploit the tourism sector's full potential and mentions that most tourist attractions need to be developed and that the basic infrastructure needs to be improved. Furthermore Tanzania needs to be promoted as a desirable tourist destination by marketing the tourist products the country is in possession of¹⁴⁰.

The tourism industry is relatively small with about 5,000 hotel and lodge rooms of international standard and even with a number of 500,000 annual tourists, the country only counts for about 4% of the total international tourist arrivals in Sub-Saharan Africa. The neighbouring country Kenya counts for the double, even though their product is similar to the one of Tanzania. The tourism industry in Tanzania counts an estimated number of 200 ground tour operators, who arrange tours within the country, provide transport etc.

In order to create the growth within the tourism area, the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism launched *The Integrated Tourism Master Plan* in 1996. The plan was intended to cover the period 1996-2005 and was to be seen as a developing process with gradual implementation.

One of the challenges the tourism industry in Tanzania faces is to develop new tourism areas and products for the industry to expand. Most international tourism is concentrated in the Northern Wildlife Area, with the 'honey pots' of the Serengeti, Lake Manyara and Mount Kilimanjaro and these areas are reaching their limits of acceptable use due to over crowding.

The Tourism Master Plan points out that the lack of infrastructure and resources to improve it, makes it an impossible task to develop the whole country at once, and the plan therefore suggests a more realistic approach, which focuses on the eastern part of the country, dividing the country in a line between Mwanza and Mbeya.

As mentioned above Tanzania's strengths lie in the abundant and diverse wildlife, the spectacular landscape, an unspoiled environment and a friendly population. Furthermore the Tourism Master Plan mentions authenticity and the 'unique African experience' as competitive strengths that distinguish Tanzania from its competitors. The tourist attractions throughout the country are divided into three categories:

¹⁴⁰ Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism - National Tourism Policy 1999: 1,3

- Natural: climate, national parks, game reserves, coastal areas, islands, lakes, mountains, etc.
- Cultural: archaeological sites, historical sites, arts and crafts, etc.
- Man-made: architecture, museums, handicrafts, etc.

The appeal of a destination to tourists is among other things the quality of attractions it can offer. In this sense Tanzania provides a strong product, with its beautiful nature, rich heritage of archaeological and historical sites of which a number have been designated 'World Heritage Sites'. According to a survey among tour operators in Europe and USA, the main motivation for travelling to East, Central and South Africa is wildlife/bush experience, beach, combination holidays, trekking and culture. The main markets for Tanzania are Europe and the US and the visitors stay on average 10 days in the country.

7.4 OBJECTIVE 3: Authenticity offered – The website analysis

In this chapter, the official website of the Tanzania Travel Fair Committee (TFC), that was made by the Tanzania Tourist Board and private actors of the Tanzanian tourism sector in order to market Tanzania on the internet, will be presented and analyzed. After a short general description of the website, an analysis based on the theory described in the methodology in chapter 2, will be applied to both pictures and text on the website. Due to the fact that this thesis is concerned with the concept of authenticity the analysis will not be focusing on a specific evaluation of the general quality of the website. Subsequently, this discussion will be related to the historical perspective provided earlier, travel motivation, as well as to the different types of authenticity discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5.

7.5 Brief description of the website

The headline of the website is „Tanzania Authentic Africa“, and when one reads further, it is indicated what this authenticity is about:

Tanzania captures the very essence of the African continent, and distils it into a country, an African Eden of natural riches and cultural wealth¹⁴¹.

This introducing sentence of the website indicates the focus of the TFC, which is to present Tanzania's nature and ethnic variety as the main attractions of the country.

On the front page, there are some pictures showing nature, animals and traditionally dressed people of Tanzania, as well as a little introducing text.

It is then possible for the user to click himself further to different pages that present different aspects of the country, like for example the rubrics „Cultures and People“, „Mountains“ or „Lakes“ and more. Under each of the several rubrics, there are, according to the topic, one or few typical pictures of Tanzania, for example a rhinoceros, a baobab tree, a big ape in the rain forest, a lonely beach with turquoise blue water and so on, and many safari pictures. Under „Cultures and People“, one of the pictures e.g. shows some Masai people gathered in some kind of ritual. Supposedly, most of the pictures are taken in national parks.

The texts talk about the natural and ethnic variety and beauty of Tanzania and explain landscape and culture. Texts mainly suggest an idyllic picture of the country with its natural spectacles and its variety of ethnic groups some of which live as nomads or hunter and gatherer clans that can be visited by the tourists.

The website also contains other types of rubrics that touch upon organisational matters and activities carried out by the TFC, which are of no interest in the context of this thesis and will therefore not be presented in this section. The following analysis will focus on pictures and texts under the rubric „About Tanzania“.

¹⁴¹ TFC (2003)

7.6 Website analysis

In this section, an analysis of the website in accordance with the method presented in chapter 2 will be carried out; in the first part the connotation-denotation model will be applied and in the second part the communication from sender to receiver will be analyzed. Furthermore, a short description of the structure of the website will be provided.

7.6.1 Connotation-Denotation

The different rubrics of the website will subsequently be discussed with respect to what they actually show/say and the associations the authors had when looking and reading. In order to achieve validity with respect to the observations, both authors independently wrote down their associations with text and pictures and discussed the results afterwards.

As pictures and text stand in close connection with each other on the website, they will naturally be treated as units in the analysis. The relevant pages of the website can be found in appendix 3.

The **front page** displays the headline „Tanzania Authentic Africa“, which can be regarded the super-ordinate theme of the whole website. Connotations with the phrase „authentic Africa“ are manifold, and one thinks of some of those pictures and comments that are shown in the different rubrics of the website. Wild animals like lions and elephants come to one's mind, the savannah, the bush with its animals, and ethnic groups like Bushmen, Masai and so on, as they are mentioned on the website.

Furthermore, the front page shows three pictures accompanied by a short introductory text to the country. The pictures show herds of wild animals such as zebras, the Kilimanjaro Mountain, a traditional boat sailing along the coast, and a picture of a woman wearing traditional cloths and ornaments, carrying a baby on her hip which is very difficult even though it looks so easy.

The pictures somewhat evoke exactly what the text is describing: Tanzania as a peaceful paradise, home to wild life, national parks and peaceful rural societies. One thinks of safaris and untouched nature and is inevitably reminded of the documentaries about wild life in African national parks, with elephants and lions and lonely baobab trees. Likewise, the last visit in the zoo comes into one's mind, where these wild animals are captured behind bars for us to look at. The woman with her baby not only displays the peaceful atmosphere created throughout text and all pictures, but also the exotic nature of African ethnic groups.

Furthermore, the text emphasizes the great natural and ethnic diversity Tanzania has to offer:

Tanzania is a land of superlatives, home to Africa's highest mountain, deepest lake, and largest inland body of water, as well as its largest game reserve, most famous National Park and most abundant movement of wildlife.[...] Tanzania is home to [...] over 120 distinct ethnic groups [...]¹⁴².

The reader automatically is astonished with the great variety of natural spectacles that can be united in one country. The mentioning on the front page of the country's efforts with respect to the establishment of national parks, and its peaceful history that lacks any violence at all, underlines the notion of a paradise which has been preserved by government and people.

Key words with respect to the associations evoked by the front page of this website are peace, diversity (both ethnic and natural), wildlife and natural spectacles, and the exotic.

The following more specific rubrics display one or more pictures, a short introduction as well as the description of the most relevant sights/National Parks.

The rubric **Northern Safaris** focuses naturally on what to experience on a safari in the north, describing the „diverse eco-systems and habitats“¹⁴³.

The first picture shows two rhinoceroses in the savannah belonging to the „most famous“¹⁴⁴ Serengeti National Park. The other two pictures show wildebeests and a baobab tree during sundown. The picture shows the endless space in the Tanzanian

¹⁴² TFC 2003: front page

¹⁴³ Ibid.: Northern Safaris

¹⁴⁴ TFC 2003: Northern Safaris

landscapes, and just as on the front page pictures remind the reader of the untouched nature he has read about or watched on TV before. The texts related to the pictures differs from the introductory text on the front page in the way that it not only mentions what Tanzania has to offer, but very specifically indicates what a tourist can experience, e.g.:

These rolling verdant hills East of Ngorongorongo Crater provide classic trekking opportunities, walking amongst wildlife with Masai Warrior guides to little known craters and volcanoes¹⁴⁵.

The opportunity to visit places that are little known makes the reader feel that he has the possibility to experience something very unique, off the beaten track. The Masai warrior guides are part of the exotic and make the reader curious to meet one. Both wild animals and the Masai warriors evoke the association of both natural and cultural spectacle, but also a kind of danger that wakes curious feelings in the reader and makes him want to seek an experience on the limit of what he dares to experience.

The baobab tree during sundown evokes romantic and nostalgic feelings of a peaceful evening with a view over the beautiful evening landscape.

Key words with respect to the associations evoked by this rubric of the website are curiosity, nostalgia, uniqueness, danger, and of course peace, natural variety and wildlife.

The rubric **Southern Safaris** consists of only two pictures the first one, is a picturesque view over a lake by sundown, with leafs of a palm tree in the foreground, and the other shows a herd of hippos bathing in the mud. Both pictures are taken in one of Tanzania's National Parks.

The picture taken of the lake by sundown evokes nostalgic and romantic feelings of a peaceful paradise again, as was been mentioned in the rubric of Northern Safaris. A special feature that is raised in connection with the text is the notion of remoteness that has been pointed out in the previous rubric in relation to the Masai warriors that guide tourists off the beaten track into the unknown wilderness. Remoteness evolves especially from the text in this section:

¹⁴⁵ TFC 2003

The National Parks of southern Tanzania have gradually earned a reputation amongst connoisseurs as the best-kept secret on the African safari circuit, offering remote, untouched swathes of game-filled wilderness with an exclusivity borne of isolated access¹⁴⁶.

Not only the notion of remoteness, but also the untouched nature of wilderness plays a role. Untouched in this context evokes an association with authenticity as it conveys a picture of nature in its original state, as it has been and, according to the marketing material, still is in this exclusive area.

The next picture generates the feeling of wildlife again, that the readers usually know from TV only. Hippos as one of the most aggressive species to meet on a safari evoke the mix of curiosity and fear that makes people interested in travelling to Tanzania. The fear is not so overwhelming that it could hold the reader back from being interested in the country, as would possibly be the case with a country that is in civil war.

Key words in relation to this rubric are remoteness, uniqueness and the peaceful atmosphere that has been extracted from all sections up to now as well as nostalgia.

The rubric **Eastern Arc** is quite short with a description and only one picture of the trees and lianas in the rain forest. In contrast to the open plains and savannahs, the rain forest connotes fertile vegetation, humidity and spatial space. A feature that makes it difficult to access and thereby more adventurous to the tourist. The text describes the Eastern Arc Mountains and the Masai Steppe as the perfect destination for eco-tourism, which of course is associated with activities that have low impact on nature and its ecosystems. Furthermore the area and its national parks are described as an area for future tourism, which includes conservation projects and mobile camps, community-based tourism project and trekking on foot. The overall description appeals to the more adventurous tourist who wants to be close to and in harmony with nature. This type of tourist is conscious of the impact of his actions and for some associated with a romantic picture of being able to save the world and make a difference.

Key words in relation to this rubric are eco-tourism, conservation and community based projects, which are associated with sustainable development and tourism in harmony with nature.

¹⁴⁶ TFC 2003: Southern Safaris

The rubric **Western Highlands** is also quite short, with a description and a single picture of a huge primate in the rain forest. The rain forest has some other connotations than the wide open spaces of the savannah landscapes. A rainforest does not offer this open view of the land, it evokes more as mentioned above the associations with the heat of the jungle and the great variety of animals, also smaller ones, can be found.

The text explains about the crocodile and hippo populations that have their natural habitat in the bushes, „none of them are accessible by car“¹⁴⁷. Here the notion of remoteness is present again, which supposedly makes the territory worth exploring for the reader. Trekking and kayaking is mentioned again, and in connection with the impossibility of accessing the areas by car, the tourist becomes some kind of an adventurer out in the bush.

Key terms of this section are remoteness, wilderness, and adventure.

The rubric **Swahili Coast** is much more focused on culture than the previous sections. The two pictures show Swahili women with their usual colourful cloths, and the entrance to a house that is held in the typical Arabic style with a wooden door as they can be found all over Stone Town, the capital of Zanzibar island from which the Swahili culture has spread throughout Eastern Africa.

The women evoke associations with the exotic, and unknown. The picture of the door makes the spectator think of great Islamic palaces with their typical architecture.

The text is much more oriented towards story telling in this section, as the Swahili culture has a long history, e.g.:

The town Kilwa can date its authoritative Islamic architecture to the 13th Century when it was one of the principal city-states of the Shirazi Empire. Bagamoyo hosted Livingstone, Pasha and Speke, before they set off on their historical destinies and was named by the caravans of captives, who 'laid down their hearts' there before they were shipped to Zanzibar's slave market¹⁴⁸.

There is a clear cut from the wilderness-oriented sections before and the Swahili section in this rubric. The text mainly touches upon culture, and the beautiful beaches, while safaris, which are as well possible in that area, are only briefly mentioned. The reader

¹⁴⁷ TFC 2003: Western Highlands

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.: Swahili Coast

has a feeling of having much more control over his holiday is this section, as beaches and cities can be visited without security measures like Masai warriors as guards. The section evokes associations with roaming city life, Islamic architecture, and rich cultural opportunities, beside the islands of the Zanzibar archipelago.

Key terms in the context of this rubric are: roaming city life, architecture, exotic culture.

In the rubric on **Zanzibar Island**, the beach is in focus, at least with respect to the picture, which shows a lonely white-sanded beach with a palm tree and turquoise blue water. One immediately associates this picture with an idyllic place where one can find peace at the beach.

The text is more focused on culture and architecture in Stone town:

The buildings that tumble throughout the Stone Town today date back to this period, each an emblem of a rich and tumultuous history depicted through Arabian-Nights palaces, melancholic Slave markets, aromatic Spice bazaars and the two ornate cathedrals¹⁴⁹.

This special focus on history, culture and architecture adds a new component to the image the reader had about Tanzania before. The Arabic influenced Swahili culture makes it possible to obtain history in written form and in form of architecture, which is often not the case in Africa as neither written culture nor huge architecture are traditional features among African cultures.

Exotic history, culture, architecture, as well as nostalgia, romanticism, and beautiful nature are the main topics of this rubric.

The next two rubrics on **Mountains** and **Lakes**, which will be summarized in one section here, display two pictures, one of a mountain and one of a lake.

After having looked at the Swahili coast and Zanzibar sections, where nature was mainly focused on the beaches, the reader may be astonished to be confronted with even more natural spectacles in Tanzania. The Kilimanjaro is the highest peak in Africa, and we assume that most of the readers know that. The picture of this mountain can be associated with freedom, the roof of the world. Furthermore, the text mentions hiking

¹⁴⁹ TFC 2003.: Zanzibar Island

and trekking in the mountains, which evokes an association with the notion of adventure.

The picture of the lake shows a boat and fishing net, which makes the spectator associate it with fishing culture as well, and traditional techniques of fishing that stand in contrast to the huge industrial fishing boats that empty the oceans of the world. Likewise, it can be connotated with remoteness, and loneliness, as there is nothing other than the lake, the boat and the net on the picture.

The text related to the lake also engages in story telling:

The vast inland sea sits at the very heart of the continent, its 'discovery' finally solving the age-old riddle of the Source of the Nile, whose waters rise from its Northern shores¹⁵⁰.

Everybody has heard about the quest for the source of the Nile, and associations with the famous explorers arise in the mind of the reader.

Key terms in relation to these two sections are: remoteness, freedom, tradition, nature, adventure.

The rubric **Culture and People** consists of two pictures of indigenous people; one shows two Masai people sitting in front of their wooden hut in traditional clothes, the other showing Masai people in their typical cloths during some kind of ritual. Connotations with these pictures are the image of the savage living his life peacefully and untouched by modern society, close to nature and embedded in a society where tradition and rituals still play an important role:

Tanzania's ethnic diversity provides an insight into the history of a continent at a time before history was written down, a community perspective on the soul of a country¹⁵¹.

This sentence implies the notion of timelessness related to the people of Tanzania. As stated in the next paragraph of this rubric, it is possible for tourists to visit some of the ethnic groups and participate in activities such as hunting with bows and arrows. This chance to take part in such activities promises an adventurous experience.

¹⁵⁰ TFC 2003: Lakes

¹⁵¹ Ibid.: Culture and People

Key terms in connection with this rubric are timelessness, pre-modernity, adventure, peace.

Summarizing, the following connotations were conveyed to the authors by the website when looking at its pictures and reading its texts:

Table 1: Associations with the website

People, Culture Diversity Natural spectacles Traditional Exotic culture Arabic architecture Roaming city life The savage	Nature Diversity Beautiful Nature Wildlife Wilderness Beaches
The tourist feels... Adventure Peace Freedom Nostalgia Romanticism	Attributed to Tanzania are... Peace Timelessness Pre-Modernity Remoteness Uniqueness Danger, tension (positive, in the sense of thrill)

All other rubrics of the website can be considered irrelevant in the context of this thesis.

7.6.2 From sender to receiver

In this chapter, the communication between the creators of the website and its recipients will be examined further. As this chapter's content overlaps in many aspects with the preceding, it is not considered necessary to go into detail with respect to examples and quotations.

The sender of the message is in this case the Tanzanian Travel Fair Committee (TFC), which consists of the Tanzanian Tourism Board and private actors of the Tanzanian tourism industry. This means that the sender of the message is African, while the receiver is, as claimed in the official tourism policy, potential tourists from USA and Europe.¹⁵²

As described in chapter 2, it is important for a successful communication that the sender uses a code that the receiver understands. The TFC, as is evident from text and pictures on the website, uses a code that he believes to be in accordance with the receivers' expectations. They use pictures that are typically associated with Africa, especially wilderness and exoticism plays an important role in this context. This can be seen in the chapter above, where the connotation-denotation model has been applied. Of course, the code is directed to tourists and therefore excludes negative aspects like hunger, disease, political tensions and the like. Potential tourists are assumed to know about negative aspects concerning the country; the code used in the website hence points towards a silent agreement that negative aspects will not be present when travelling to Tanzania as a tourist.

The receivers, potential tourists from Western countries, are assumed to decode the message as expected, namely that they put the negative aspects aside when focusing on their holidays. It is assumed that by the website, their interest for adventure and wildlife, exotic culture and romantic evenings in the sunset, and so on, is triggered. The website communicates these experience possibilities by using a mixture of argumentation, information and emotion.

Argumentation is used in a rather implicit way. Words like "because" that indicate argumentation are not used. Nevertheless, it is assumed that sentences like "There is no history of civil unrest, ethnic tension, political dictatorship or religious intolerance"¹⁵³ are argumentative because they refer to the tensions in other African countries. Furthermore, it is assumed argumentative to use phrases like "the most famous National Park in the world"¹⁵⁴. At the same time, it is information given to the reader.

¹⁵² Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism - National Tourism Policy 1999: 1,3

¹⁵³ TFC (2003) Front page

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.: Northern Safaris

Information forms the greatest part of the message given on the website, while the authors of this thesis consider this information as being loaded with emotional and implicit argumentative material. In the connotation-denotation chapter above, it became clear that the website appeals to emotions such as the romantic feeling that can be evoked by watching the sundown in the wilderness.

7.6.3 Layout on the website

As it is briefly described in chapter 2.4.6 the layout on a website is important for the communication between sender and receiver. On the website www.africatanzania.com the layout is structured in a way that makes it easy for the user to get an overview and to navigate on the site. Throughout the website the message is presented on a sandy background, which could remind the reader of the savannah or the beach. The colours of both background and headlines are calm only broken by the colourful pictures. The basic structure of headlines and links is constant throughout the site; only the images and texts in the sub-pages are changing and the stable and constant structure gives the site a calm general impression.

The text and headlines are written in the same manner and letters throughout the page and the different links, which makes the reader able to navigate back and forth, are all underlined under the headline “About Tanzania”.

Practically anybody can make a website and the validity of a website is therefore based in the reliability of the sender. In this case the sender, the TFC, is present in all the different pages on the website and even though the communication must be considered one way it is possible for the receiver to contact the sender via e-mail, as well some of the different actors from the tourism industry are represented in some of the links on the website.

The overall layout of the website gives the receiver a complete general impression, but the site does not utilize the full potential space of the computer screen and the content

can therefore appear compact, especially due to the black colour chosen to form the frame for the site.

After having conducted this communicative analysis of the website, the findings will in the following part be related to the theory on travel motivation and authenticity.

7.7 Travel motivation

This section shortly relates the experiences offered on the website to chapter 4 on travel motivation; especially, the hierarchies of human and tourist needs will be in focus, while the perspective taken here is not the one of the tourists, but the one of the tourism producers/marketers. The following paragraphs therefore explain what this website is implicitly suggesting as possible travel motives, or pull factors for tourists to come to Tanzania.

With respect to the discussion of travel motivation and human needs, the possibility to obtain very unique experiences and see places that are off the beaten track could be seen as the possibility for fulfilling a need within the level of esteem.

Self-fulfilment needs as the highest level of the hierarchy of needs might be sought after by the mere act of travelling, but the possibility to experience nature and wildlife as well as foreign culture in an explorative way like offered on the website may be especially suited in the quest for self-fulfilment.

Safety needs are basic needs the fulfilment of which is touched upon in the rubric Travel Tips. Given that the basic hierarchical needs are fulfilled anyway, the website is addressed to the upper two levels of Pearce hierarchy of touristic needs. As Pearce's model is characterised by its flexible structure, tourists may seek after the fulfilment of several needs, e.g. self-fulfilment needs as well as relationship needs or esteem needs. This website is in particular directed to tourists who seek esteem and self-fulfilment.

The advertised low number of co-travellers in some areas, the spectacular natural sights, especially the thrill of a safari in the wilderness, and the exotic nature of the visited culture may provide a possibility for fulfilling esteem needs, while the adventurous

character of the offers as well appeals to the ones that seek self-realisation. This stands in harsh contrast to a the purposes that occur for a weekend trip to the summer house 30km away, just to illustrate the special character of the holiday possibilities subject to this chapter. A trip to the summer house may more likely fulfil relationship needs than esteem needs, and more likely has a recreational purpose than an adventurous one.

In Plog's typology presented in chapter 4, the website would rather attract the *venturer* than the *dependable*, and in Cohen's typology, it would rather appeal to the explorer and *drifter* type than to the *individual mass tourist* and the organized *mass tourist*. It has to be stated, however, that the website does not specify on accommodation and transport services. There are some hints, like the bush that is not accessible by car, which point towards a lower security standard in some of the areas. Tanzania as such has offers for all types of tourists, whether it is mass tourists or not. But this website is rather directed to the more independent, adventurous type. It is not everybody who dares hiking in the mountains, or going on safari with wild animals, or canoeing in the rain forest.

On the contrary, it has to be mentioned that those places presented on the website are touristic attractions, national parks or other, which mainly are reserved to tourists. Exceptions would be the possibility to visit a village, or similar activities. As for the national parks, and their canoeing, hiking and trekking offers, they are restricted to tourists.

The authentic Africa might be sought after by the extreme *venturers* and *explorers* in that sort of places that have been totally ignored by the website, like larger cities for example. These do apparently not fit in the picture of Tanzania created on the website, but may be a destination for those who seek the authentic Africa as well.

As for the quest for authenticity as a motivational factor, this website, as the headline "Authentic Africa" implies, tries to attract those tourists that seek authenticity. As authenticity on the website is related to the term Africa instead of to possible experiences or the tourist as a person, it is assumed that the website refers to the term authenticity in an objective sense, which means that the authenticity offered is inherent to the sights. This authenticity attributed to Africa or Tanzania as the authentic Africa, is meant to be a pull factor for tourists.

Summarizing, it can be stated that this website is mainly directed to tourists that seek esteem and self-realisation on their holidays. In the following part, the website will be related to the historical perspective provided the European presence on the African continent.

7.8 The website – historical perspective on travelling/exploring/colonising Africa

As mentioned in the previous chapter, authenticity in this website is interpreted from the object-related view, which means that Tanzanian nature and people are seen as authentic, i.e. original. The fact that the website focuses on hunter-gatherer clans, bushmen and other ethnic groups instead of presenting the population of the country as a whole shows that the evolutionist picture has not disappeared from the scene. If these cultures are seen as authentic, original, even though they have been subject to cultural change ever since, then it is clear that the website delivers the romantic picture of the Tanzanian people that is expected by the Western tourist. The historicity related to the ethnic diversity in the website sentence implies a somewhat static and one-sided view on the population of Tanzania. It is implied that Africa is authentic because of the fact that there „still“ are hunter-gatherer clans and ethnic groups like the Masai who wear their traditional cloths.

That this view is related to the explorer's and coloniser's view upon African cultures is proven by the fact that explorers like Livingstone and their quest for e.g. the source of the Nile are proudly mentioned on the website, just as a „romantic slave market“¹⁵⁵ on Zanzibar Island, and colonisation as such. It is therefore assumed that the marketing efforts undertaken on the website display a picture of Africa that is expected by the Western tourist. With respect to authenticity, that means that it is interpreted as antonym to modernity.

¹⁵⁵ TFC 2003: Zanzibar Island

With respect to the gazes developed in chapter 7.2, the perspective taken by the website is actually perceived as being closest to the early explorer's gaze, in which Africa has been a source of adventure and thrill. Of course, the website is created by Tanzanians and not by Europeans like the numerous travel accounts and diaries, and colonial material that has been produced. A difference is therefore the pride with which native culture and nature are presented, but as for the meaning of travelling conveyed by the website, it is perceived as being explorative, and in close relation to natural spectacles and safari.

In the following section, the concept of authenticity is related to the website.

7.9 The website and authenticity

With respect to this website, it has become clear that the type of authenticity referred to in the headline is an authenticity related to the toured objects. This is the website creators' understanding of the term, as they advertise Tanzania as the authentic Africa due to its natural and cultural resources and offers, or at least they sell their country on the basis of this understanding.

It would be easy to apply MacCannell's approach of the staging of touristic offers and events, and the staging of the website as such. Features of Tanzania that contradict the picture given on the website are not mentioned; furthermore, the perfect image of the „authentic“ hunter-gatherer clans, or Masai warriors that were mentioned on the website could probably easily be destroyed with a glance at these people's living conditions and life style outside of the touristic scene. Boorstin with his extreme view would argue for that the tourists lack any understanding for what they are seeing, whether it be staged or not, if they accept these categories.

Within the constructivist paradigm, Bruner would argue for the possibility of negotiating authenticity, in the sense that objects become authentic when the spectator himself is persuaded of their authenticity, i.e. the spectator decides upon authenticity. This means the „authentic Africa“ advertised on the website is supposed to match the

expectations of Western tourists. This is in accordance with the approach of the African philosopher Mudimbe mentioned earlier, who claimed that the image of Africa has been constructed/invented by Europeans. This implies that what is regarded authentic with respect to Africa has been invented and applied by Africans to please the tourists - at this point, the discussion turns back to the staging of authenticity. This concept implies an ever-on-going interaction between gazers and gazees who condition one another.

On the contrary, Cohen and Lindholm within their post-modern understanding of authenticity in tourism would argue that the experiences may be staged, but that this is irrelevant as the tourist knows about in-authenticity and accepts it, or is not interested in finding authentic attractions, in other words, the existence of the concept of authenticity is neglected and thereby irrelevant. Within this paradigm, the tourist would expect and accept that there for example could be a mobile phone ringing under the traditional Masai warrior's cloths.

What is most important in the context of this chapter is the perspective provided by the tourism provider, which is, as has been claimed above, the object-related interpretation of authenticity. In the case of this website, though, it has been argued that, in the context of the long history of Western penetration and the images constructed during these periods, the authenticity presented in the website is highly intertwined with a process of the construction of an image of Africa.

By having proven the construction of the image as conveyed on that website, this thesis automatically takes a post-modern approach towards the concept of authenticity, as a construction can not be an original.

Furthermore, it has to be mentioned that the boundaries between the different approaches towards authenticity have become blurred when applying them practically. It can be argued that those who argue for an objectivist understanding of authenticity are victims of their own constructions. One could say that objectivism constitutes a naive perspective on the world due to the belief in the illusions created by others. In the case of authenticity, this has been called *staging* by MacCannell. In contrast to MacCannell, this thesis queries the existence of authenticity behind the stage.

This is what took place in the website analysis: The objectivist view conveyed by the website itself has been deconstructed by the thesis's perspective on travelling and exploration and colonisation that claims that the image conveyed is constructed. The website may convey a picture of Africa that is constructed but that nevertheless can be able to satisfy the consumer. This is due to the fact that provider and tourist may negotiate authenticity so perfectly together that the tourist is persuaded and thereby has found the authentic Africa for himself. This means that the tourist may not necessarily have a post-modern approach to travelling, which means that authentic and inauthentic are irrelevant categories, but he may as well seek authenticity.

In this context, the discussion of tourist types comes on the scene again, which may be addressed during the interviews if these can be helpful in finding different types. It could be hypothetically argued that the turn to post-modernity has just happened in history and that some tourists could be called post-modern while others are not, which would explain the existence of authenticity as it appears on the website.

It can furthermore be stated that the concept of existential authenticity developed by Wang does not deconstruct the other interpretations of authenticity, but is rather a state of being, which can be achieved regardless of the objectivist, constructivist and post-modern concepts, as it involves the subject and its inner feelings alone. A tourist may well be able to experience existential authenticity while hiking in the mountains of Africa. As the concept has been equated to Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow and Kant's concept of the exalted, it may be argued that a person can achieve this state of being without engaging in tourism activities. This is also implied by the hierarchy of travel needs, the highest level of which is congruent with the highest level of the pyramid of human needs in general. Self-fulfilment is a motivational factor for travelling, but just as much it is a motivational factor for many things in life.

7.10 Summary

This chapter has presented and analyzed the website www.africatanzania.com. The associations evoked by the website have been extracted. It has become clear that the

website mainly conveys the picture of a Tanzania, which is peaceful and timeless, whose population lives up to old traditions, and whose nature is untouched and spectacular. The *big five* that can be experienced during safaris in one of the national parks are part of the picture.

It has been argued that this image is the result of a process of the construction of a picture of Africa by the West, which has its roots in the times of early exploration.

It has furthermore been argued that Wang's concept of existential authenticity does not interfere with the other conceptions of the term that have been presented. It should be possible for tourists to be on a safari through an Africa which they perceive as totally authentic or totally inauthentic, and at the same time enjoying themselves so much that they achieve existential authenticity.

Moreover, the authors of this thesis have argued for a post-modern perspective on travelling in which the concept of the authentic is deconstructed both in its objectivist and in its constructivist meaning. The focus of this chapter has nevertheless been on the provider's perspective who sells Tanzania on the basis of an understanding of objectivist authenticity. On the website and supposedly at the destination, an image of the “authentic” is created in order to match the Western tourist's expectations.

It would be interesting to compare the construction of authenticity in the context of Africa with the image the Western world has on other places/continents, and how this image differs from the one about Africa. It is expected that the image of e.g. India would have some other connotations with respect to the notion of authenticity.

The following chapter will be concerned with the tourists' understanding of authenticity and whether it matches with what has been assumed with help of the case study.

8. OBJECTIVE 4: The tourists' understanding of travelling, authenticity and Africa: The interview study

This chapter is considered with the interview study conducted in this thesis. Firstly, the choice of interviewees and practical details of the interview study will be presented.

The most striking argument for the choice of respondents taken for this study has been the fact that each of them intends to travel to Africa within the next one and a half years, and already has made more or less concrete plans for the journey.

The respondents have been found by mouth-to-mouth propaganda around the people known to the authors, so that an information chain was established in order to find persons who are planning a journey to Africa. It has been possible to find six respondents, as one of the authors is married to a Tanzanian who is member of the association *African-Danish Network* and therefore has connections to persons who are interested in travelling to Africa.

The respondents found are all between 25 and 35, have different kinds of professions and varying travel experiences.

The interviews lasted around twenty minutes for each respondent, while the interview guide provided some general questions which were touched upon and discussed freely during the sessions. While one of the authors was leading the interview sessions, the other one documented these in form of summaries and some essential quotations and at the same time functioned as second interviewer in case of further questions or remarks. Once in a while, the interview had to be paused in order to be able to write quotations down properly. This had been clarified beforehand and had not been perceived as disturbing by neither interviewer nor interviewee.

Before starting, the authors introduced themselves and the topic of their thesis shortly to each respondent.

In the following, the interviews will be presented in form of a short summary of the main attitudes and answers of the respondents.

8.1 The interview findings

In the following section, the respondents' answers will be briefly presented.

The respondents have different professions (HR assistant, mechanical engineer, social worker, unemployed office assistant, salesman, unemployed cand.mag.) and are all between 25 and 35

With respect to the mode of travelling, respondents 1, 2 and 6 are planning with help of a guide book, and do not want to book anything in advance in order to be spontaneous and flexible. As one of them stated, these respondents will “read some guide books, and then more or less plan a route with help of those, maybe book the most important things and of course a plane ticket from here (...).One of them would like to stay with locals he meets on the way if possible. With respect to accommodation and transport in general, they want to spend as little money as possible. Respondents 3, 4 and 5 prefer package tours instead, for safety reasons (4 and 5 are a couple with children) or because they want to be free from organizing anything on their holidays:

I think it is easier to travel with a package because everything is planned and you don't have to stress yourself with organizing. Besides, it is more safe.

Regarding travel motivation, respondents 1 and 6 have an educational purpose, as they want to gain knowledge about other cultures in order to have a better understanding of them:

I want to get to know people and their culture, so I can understand their life better. I would broaden my horizon in doing so. I'm keen on exploring a totally new cultural region because it makes it easier for me to understand these countries and people's life.

The same is the case with respondent 2, who wants to get to know new landscapes and nature. He furthermore wants to “clear his mind” while on holidays and “think about life”, which goes more in the direction towards self-realisation and existential authenticity. This quest for existential authenticity may have its roots in respondent 2's

dissatisfaction with his life at home which he considers as being determined by his family and society in general instead of by himself:

They want to make me live my life like they live theirs, and make me buy all that stuff they have, like furniture and clothes. And I just want to be free of that; this is why I need holidays.

This is quite similar to respondent 3's reply, who simply wants to get away from home and mentions this as a motivational factor, and as well to number 4 and 5 who want to “get away from every-day life” in order to feel freedom.

Respondent 2 also talks about nature, mainly landscape. This interest in nature is shared by respondents 4 and 5, who are interested in safari, i.e. mainly wild animals. Respondents 3 and 6 as well mention the possibility to see wild animals as a factor for going to Africa. Number 6 who wants to visit Uganda specifically mentions gorillas as the animals he wants to see. Respondent 3 mentions Joseph Conrad's “Heart of darkness” as an inspiration for going to Africa. Respondent 6 not only wants to see animals, he also wants to meet new friends, which can be seen as a social component in his travel motivation.

With respect to the perception of Africa, respondents 1 and 6 mention cultural diversity as a striking feature in their perception of Africa:

Africa is huge and very diverse; such a journey can only open few insights.

Culture plays a very important role in all interviews. All respondents have an ambiguous relation to Africa in that they both see positive and negative aspects. Hunger, disease, poverty and war were mentioned by almost all respondents. Respondent 2 has reflected the topic more in detail, as he talks about “colonization that nowadays leads to exploitation of the natives in form of multinational corporations”. At the same time, almost all respondents expect the African people to be friendly and welcoming; they talk about colourful culture, and happy people, for example respondent 6:

The African mentality where everybody is happy puts the bad sides in the shadow.

In contrast to the rest of the respondents number 2 perceives the local population as being thieves, but she underlines that they rob because of the circumstances and do not consider them bad people. She believes that the Western World should do more to help Africa. Respondent 2 also expresses that he expects people to be after his money, which he considers “annoying, but understandable”. Several respondents associate Africa with nature and wild animals, which are also mentioned above as a motivating factor for going to Africa. Respondent 1 associates Africa with tradition and expects to experience more traditional life in Africa:

In Africa people still live their traditions. From a European standpoint, this can seem very strange, because we are not used to it.

Regarding the term authenticity only one out of the 6 respondents could answer spontaneously. Respondent 2 answered that it is only possible to experience authenticity where there are no tourists. He argued that people do not act authentically when strangers are present and would therefore go to places off the beaten track without the presence of tourists:

In general I think growth in tourism tends to make locals act inauthentic in order to make money on stereotypical images giving tourists what they expect.

All the other respondents needed additional explanation about the term before they were able to reply. Respondent 6 was like number 2 interested in going off the beaten track to places without many tourists, while respondent 1 refused to believe in authenticity with respect to culture, as she regards Africans to be “people like you and me” that are therefore neither more nor less authentic than Westerners are. She goes in the direction of the approach by Wang and therefore claims to be able to experience existential authenticity. Respondents 4 and 5 believe it is possible to get an authentic experience and get a feeling of “the real Africa”, even though they claim that there might be inauthentic attractions/things. Respondent 3 believes Africa is the only place on earth that can offer an authentic experience, due to the fact that, as she claims, it is “the only untouched place left”.

Summarizing, it can be stated that there are parallels and differences in the answers of the 6 respondents. The most diverse answers have been given with respect to the question of authenticity. This could be due to the respondents' lack of knowledge with respect to the concept.

After this presentation of the interview findings, the actual analysis will be addressed in the next chapter.

8.2 Analysis

In the following, the interviews will be analyzed with respect to travel motivation, tourist typology, the respondent's perception of Africa, and the concept of authenticity. These sub-chapters are based on the theoretical part of this thesis, and are considered to be highly interrelated with each other. This is due to the fact that typology is determined by facts and personal data, and as well by motivation, perception of the host community and the understanding of authenticity. In this analysis, the interviewees will firstly be categorized into Cohen's typology on the basis of their way of travelling, i.e. what kind of a journey they are planning, and it will be examined afterwards whether this typology also works with respect to the other fields of interest. With respect to the whole analysis it can be stated that the topics of the four chapters are initially treated separately while a further chapter tries to establish the interrelations between them.

8.2.1 Typology

In this section, Cohen's typology of tourists that differentiates between the mass tourist, the individual mass tourist, the explorer and the drifter will be used. These have been presented in detail in chapter 4. In the following, each interviewee will be categorized after this typology.

Interviewee 1, who planned a journey that should last around 3-5 months, is a very flexible tourist who wants to make decisions spontaneously instead of planning everything in advance. But nevertheless interviewee 1 intends to plan a route and read several guide books in advance, which points towards a way of travelling that is very spontaneous, but not totally random. In Cohen's typology, this resembles a type of tourist in between the explorer and the drifter.

The same is the case for interviewee 2, who as well wants to gather information beforehand with help of the Lonely Planet guide books, while he nevertheless does not want to be too dependant on his plans. His journey lasts around 2 months, which also makes him quite flexible. He is therefore as well considered the explorer/drifter type of tourist, also because he wants to see places off the beaten track.

Interviewee number 6 is the most spontaneous and free of them all. He does not have a plan concerning the lengths of his travels, and would like to stay with people he meets on the way, as he stated. This is definitely the type of the drifter in Cohen's typology, as he obviously plans to be drifting around. The only more or less fixed destination he has planned with is the gorillas in the jungle he would like to see.

Interviewees 4 and 5 have decided to buy a package journey, but claim that they would be backpacking if they did not have their children with them. This means that due to the fact that they take their small children on the trip, they want to be on the safe side, but nevertheless plan on going on day trips to see the country. Of course, their journey is planned with a time limit, which is 3 weeks. They are therefore considered to be under Cohen's type of the individual mass tourist.

Interviewee 3 is considered the least flexible of the respondents, as she would like to buy a package tour. And even though she claimed that she wants to go on some trips in order to see people, she is considered to belong to the type of the mass tourist. This is due to the fact that she later in the interview said that she thinks that she will probably not have so much to do with the locals, as she considers them as being busy with their own business. This is a contradiction in that she on the one hand wants to mingle with the locals while she on the other hand does not expect them to be interested in having to

do with her. Therefore, the authors agreed that interviewee 3 seemed to be very inflexible and depending on the organization of her trip. The fact that she talked about Africa as a “country” implies that she does not have a deep knowledge of the continent she is about to visit. This is very much in contrast to, for example, interviewee 2 who in the interview showed that he had reflected on history and politics in Africa.

8.2.2 Travel motivation

This chapter will be based on the approaches by Goeldner and Richie on travel motivation and on Maslow's pyramid of human needs. These have been presented in chapter 4. The interviewees' answers will be examined one by one.

Interviewee 1 stated that his motivation for travelling to Africa was to get to know people and their cultures, which can be considered an educational purpose. In connection with the question of authenticity, she claimed to be able to achieve existential authenticity when travelling. At the same time, she claims to be satisfied with her life at home and that alienation or dissatisfaction are not the reasons for travelling. Therefore, her journey is not considered a quest for authenticity, but instead it may come naturally as a by-product. With respect to Goeldner and Richie, curiosity has to be mentioned in the first place as a motive for her to travel, because she wants to see and learn about other cultures. Thereby, she seeks to achieve higher competence, i.e. a better understanding of these cultures, which also has to do with self development. Arousal may as well play a role, because to travel to get to know other cultures is supposed to be exciting. With respect to Maslow, she does not seem to have special focus on the lower levels of the pyramid. Physiological and safety needs are supposedly taken for granted. As she intends travelling together with her boyfriend, the needs of belonging play a role. With respect to Goeldner and Richie, love would be the category relevant in this context, while in Maslow this corresponds to belonging needs. With respect to self-actualization, the authors assume that it plays a very important role in the context of such a journey, even though the respondent has not mentioned it explicitly. It is also

assumed that esteem needs play an important role for those tourists who travel as backpackers.

Interviewee 2 seeks to clear his mind in order to better be able to reflect on difficult decisions and think about life when travelling. This is clearly interpretable as a quest for self development, but also for tension reduction, as his life at home is not as he wishes it to be. Personal control also plays a role, as he wants to gain control over his life by being away from home and having the chance to think about it. In this context, experiencing nature and especially landscapes are important to him, while he is not very interested in seeing wild animals. His statements point towards a dissatisfaction he experiences at home, which makes it necessary for him to have a holiday once in a while in order to, as he stated, think about life and similar things. Apart from this escapist feature of his tourist behaviour, he is also interested in other cultures and wants to learn about people, which is educational, or as Goeldner and Richie puts it, is related to his interest in increasing his competence with respect to other cultures and peoples, while at the same time it is an expression of his curiosity. In Maslow's terms, the two highest categories of the pyramid, namely esteem and self realization, play a role with respect to interviewee number 2. Less relevant, but still mentioned, is interviewee 2's need for safety as he claimed to be afraid of civil war in the countries he travels to.

Interviewee 3 claims to travel in order to experience anything that is in contrast to every-day life, which is like interviewee 2 an escapist motive for travelling. It does not matter to her whether it is nature or culture, just that it is something other than what she is used to. This is considered to be within the field of tension reduction as a travel motive, but also curiosity and arousal play an important role, as she is curious towards the unknown, even though she does not care what exactly she will experience, and she as well uses the term "fascinating" in her answer, which points in the direction of an excitement which Goeldner and Richie would describe with the term arousal. In contrast to the previous two interviewees, she has, with respect to Maslow, mentioned safety as an important factor in her journey. The need for safety is a reason for her to buy a package tour, just as much as it is laziness, because she does not want to be bothered with organization as she stated. The argument about buying a package tour for safety

reasons is perceived as strange, considering the fact that the destination is Congo, which by the authors is assumed to be a dangerous and unsafe place because of war and conflicts.

Interviewee 4 and 5 want to experience animals in the wild, which is why they are going on safari, and at the same time they are interested in culture. This is an educational purpose, or as Goeldner and Richie would call it, they seek to enhance competence in these fields. Curiosity has of course also to be mentioned, as well as arousal, especially in connection with the wild animals they want to experience. Self development can be a factor as well, as they want to gain new knowledge. Their statement about the grass that is always greener on the other side points towards an escapist feature in their travel motivation. Together with the statement that they need a break once in a while, they can be attributed tension reduction as a purpose of travelling. As they are travelling as a family, belonging needs in Maslow's pyramid of human needs, or "love" in terms of Goeldner and Richie, are factors in their mode of travelling. As they are travelling with their children, safety needs play also an important role just as it was the case with interviewee 3, which is the reason that they are booking a package tour.

Interviewee 6 claimed to travel to Africa in order to experience the country and to get to know the culture as well as the animals and the nature in general. In terms of Goeldner and Richie, this covers the motivational factors of curiosity and arousal, but also competence and self development, as he wants to learn about the country. Interviewee 6 is, as mentioned earlier, the most independent of the 6 interviewees in his plans for travelling. He is the only one that explicitly used the term "experience" in connection with his journey, when he claimed that he considers his way of travelling as the best one for experiencing a country. His main motive is considered to be self realization, even though he did not explicitly mention it. He furthermore mentions making new friends as a reason for travelling, which fits together with his interest in staying in places of the people he meets on the way. This is a social component in his way of travelling, which is considered to be in accordance with Maslow's belonging level of the hierarchy.

In general, it can be stated that the authors have agreed that there are motives that the interviewees do not mention even though they are relevant factors concerning their

holidays. It is assumed, that travelling always involves a need for self actualization, and that a journey to a destination as exotic as Africa always involves esteem needs. Of course it differs from person to person how much need for esteem there is, and which kind, but it is obvious that it is hard for a person to say that he travels in order to gain respect. Of course, the interviewees claim that it is their special interest in cultures and nature that makes them travel. Therefore, there is no proof for the authors' claim that esteem and self realization play a role for all the interviewees. With respect to Maslow's hierarchy of needs that has been almost directly overtaken by Pearce, it could be argued that if a person is able to afford a touristic journey, then he probably does not have problems with the fulfilment with basic physiological and safety needs, and that tourism is self-realization. What could be argued then is that there is different weight on the levels of the hierarchy depending on the tourist, just as was the case in this interview study with the striking difference of the need for safety on behalf of interviewees 3, 4 and 5 in contrast to the rest who take safety more or less for granted.

8.2.3 Perception of Africa

Interviewee 1's perception of Africa is highly connected with the continent's diversity, both cultural and natural. She associates Africa with colourful happy people, and also mentions the explorer's quest for the source of the Nile as an inspiration for her destination choice. Contrary to this positive picture, she also mentions war, HIV, and poverty, which she considers the other side of the coin. The fact that in her mind, the romantic image of the happy natives and the natural spectacles connotated with Africa exist along side the negative image of HIV, war, corruption, poverty and hunger. As she claimed, she can never see the other side of the coin, which means that in her imagination, there are two different Africas. With respect to the tourists' gaze developed in chapter 7.2, it can be stated that interviewee 1's image of the continent corresponds with it in the ways that the exotic; extraordinary is perceivable in her description of African culture. This perception of Africa as something exotic, extraordinary is perceivable in all interviews, not only with respect to interviewee 1. The fact that she

considers Africa a continent where traditions are still lived which she does not perceive is the case in the Western world can be interpreted as the described evolutionist component apparent in the tourists' gaze, as it assumes that Africans do something Westerners have done before, but do not practice anymore. In times of invention of evolutionism, this had a negative connotation connected to racist ideas of the time. This is not the case with interviewee 1's view, as her statement implies respect for the African cultures and a somewhat nostalgic attitude towards it.

Interviewee 2's perception of Africa is somewhat different in comparison with respondent 1, as he lacks the nostalgic view upon culture. He instead focuses on a victimization of the African continent, which he bases on his knowledge about colonization. He claimed that this has led to exploiting structures, which probably is an argument against globalization. He furthermore states that he believes that the Africa of Dr. Livingstone with wild animals and people living in huts made of clay belongs to the past. Like interviewee number 1, he had an association of Africa with the times of exploration. Respondent 1 considered it an inspiration, while respondent 2 considered it as being part of the past, and showed more interest in what he believed is the contemporaneous Africa. Respondent 2 also mentions that he expects people to be after his money, which he, as a consequence of his victimization of the continent, can understand. Concerning the tourist gaze developed in chapter 7.2, his views are not in accordance with it. He seems to have another image of Africa, which is mainly based on the continent's role as a victim of Western penetration and economic control.

Interviewee 3 shares interviewee 2's perspective on Africa with respect to victimization of the continent, even though her perspective is not as elaborated, and takes a different point of departure. She wants the Western world to help Africa out of the state of poverty and hunger, while respondent 2 claimed that it was the Western powers' interference with African affairs that has led to poverty and hunger. Interviewee 3 assumes thereby a Western superiority over Africa that is contrary to number 2's viewpoint who implies that these very Western powers are responsible for the state of the African continent with its poverty, hunger, war and disease. There are as well parallels with respect to the expectations towards the host cultures behaviour, as

respondent 3 also expects to be robbed while claiming to understand the thieves who, as she claimed, have to find a way to survive. Furthermore, there seems to be a lack of knowledge on behalf of the respondent, as she refers to Africa as a country, and would like to travel to the Congo. She considers the local population as being hard working and minding their own business, which is in contrast to the former statement about her expectations of being robbed unless she considers robbing to be hard work. Her perception is in contrast to interviewee 1's expectation of colourful welcoming host culture.

Interviewees 4 and 5 somehow share interviewee 1's twofold perspective upon Africa: they think of poverty and hunger as well as safari and jungle, and they mention as well their expectations of being warmly welcomed by friendly people. They claimed that they could possibly feel very "white" because of the fact that they have more money than the locals. This statement could be seen as in parallel with respondent 2's point when he stated that he does not feel very comfortable against the background of Western exploitation of Africa. Of course, they do not mention exploitation as the reason for their feeling, but the authors agree that they may have a bad conscience, not because they explicitly know or claim that they are on the exploiter's side, but because they might subconsciously feel to be the bad guys. Their feeling of being white also implies otherness. They feel different, and hence look upon the others as being different as well.

Interviewee 6's view of Africa shares interviewee 1's twofold perspective upon Africa in that he mentions both hunger, war, poverty, HIV and corruption as very negative factors, as well as the friendly host culture, generosity, a relaxed atmosphere and cultural diversity in his understanding of Africa. In difference to interviewee 1 he claimed that the African happy mentality is able to edge out the negative aspects. He considers African culture as being the richest culture in the world, and by saying so he means the great cultural diversity the continent has to offer. His point of view is quite neutral with respect to the implications of the gaze.

Summarizing, it can be stated that there are parallels in the perception of Africa among the interviewees, but also differences. It is regarded interesting to see that three

interviewees have at least mentioned early exploration or early explorers, and one of the interviewees mentioned colonization. This is regarded highly relevant with respect to hypothesis that these play an important role in today's Western understanding of Africa. This is perceived to be highly intertwined with the evolutionist understanding of these times, which was based on Western superiority and as well contemporaneous race theories. All the interviewees had a perception of culture in Africa, and one claimed that in Africa, tradition is still lived. In the understanding of the interviewee, this implies that tradition "has been lived" in Europe as well, but that it is not the case anymore. This implies that the feeling of Western superiority is changing or has been changing towards a nostalgic view upon the African continent, which means that the perception of a Europe that has moved further still exists, but the projection of Africa into the European past is connoted positively today.

8.2.4 Authenticity

In this section, the interviewee's understanding of authenticity will be examined. The section will be structured like the preceding paragraphs, which means that each interview will be separately discussed. Firstly, it has to be mentioned that only one respondent could answer without getting further explanation concerning the term authenticity, even though the authors had explained the topic and purpose of their project beforehand. This points towards the complexity of the concept of authenticity.

Interviewee 1 did not know how to answer the question concerning her understanding of authenticity, but after a short explanation, she claimed that she would not agree with the object-related view upon authenticity, as she considers Africans as "people like you and me", which means that she does not perceive a difference between them and us with respect to authenticity. On the contrary, she stated before that she perceives African culture in a way that traditions still are lived, which is somewhat contradictory to her neglect of the object-related view. By having this perspective on tradition, she agrees with it in that she implies that Africans live in a way that we do not anymore, but have

been earlier. This view upon culture is the static view of the objectivists. She herself claimed to expect to be able to come closer to both herself and her boyfriend, which means that she agrees with Wang's existentialist approach in that she expects to achieve both inter- and intra-personal authenticity.

Her statement where she expects to come closer to herself is in accordance with interviewee 2, who in comparison to interviewee 1 explicitly quests for existential authenticity, as he due to his dissatisfaction with life at home seeks to clear his mind and find answers to difficult questions in his life. There is a slight difference in the two interviewees' application of the concept, as respondent 2 is in quest for existential authenticity without mentioning it, while respondent 1 has actively reflected her possibility for achieving existential authenticity without being explicitly in quest for it. This may have to do with her satisfaction with life at home. Respondent 2 was not able to relate his quest for existential authenticity, which the authors extracted from answers that touched this concept, as for example his wish to see life from a different angle. Instead, he claimed to be able to reach authenticity by going off the beaten track, where there are less or no tourists. In his understanding, this lack of other tourists makes the locals act authentic. This view upon authenticity is in accordance with MacCannell's approach of staged authenticity. Interviewee 2 is in quest of backstage regions. But against the background of his preference of landscape and nature, this must be seen as a secondary wish. He is, hence, both in quest of object-related as well as existential authenticity.

Interviewee 3, after having heard an explanation concerning the concepts of authenticity, claimed that Africa would be the most authentic place on earth, as it in her understanding is the only untouched place left on the planet. This implies that in her perception, modern Western society touches the world in a way that makes it inauthentic. This clearly is in accordance with interviewee 1's nostalgic evolutionism around the existence of tradition in Africa. This perception of in-authenticity in the Western world is exactly what MacCannell sees as a motor for the quest for authenticity. Interviewee 3 is clearly in quest of the authenticity of the original, which means that her understanding of authenticity is object-related. This is obvious in the

way she differentiates between what she sees in the zoo or on TV with what she considers the “real” Africa. In order to see the “real” Africa, she claimed that it is necessary to go there and look for the original instead of watching it on TV.

Interviewee 4 and 5 see authenticity as a negotiable concept, which is within the paradigm of post-modernity. As soon as their own expectations are met, the attraction does not have to be authentic, as they claim that not everything they see may be authentic, while they nevertheless expect to be able to have an authentic feeling about them. The post-modern tourist is prepared that what he sees might not be authentic and he ignores it, or takes it as part of the attraction, while this perspective is as well in accordance with constructivism, as the spectators interpret the attraction as a construction.

Interviewee 6's perception of authenticity corresponds to interviewee 2's explanation: he wants to visit places off the beaten track, because he expects authenticity to be present in areas where there are not so many or no tourists. He is, hence, in quest for authenticity within the paradigm of objectivism, he expects it to be achievable in the so called back stage regions.

As a final statement it can be argued that the answers and perceptions concerning authenticity in this interview study have been quite diverse, and it is therefore necessary to find a certain structure in order to categorize the concepts. The following table constitutes an attempt to organize the interview findings with respect to the concept of authenticity. In the course of the analysis, the authors became aware of the fact that authenticity is organizable with respect to what the tourists want, what they are offered, what they experience and with respect to the term itself:

Table 2: Authenticity in tourism - results of the interview study

Tourist motivation	Tourism industry	Tourist experience	Authenticity as such
quest for objectivist authenticity	construction of authenticity	no results	no results/blurred
quest for existential authenticity	advertising the construction as objectivist authenticity		
	advertising the construction as existential authenticity		

This table summarizes the interview findings with respect to authenticity. It becomes clear that due to the fact that this investigation only observed tourists before they went on holiday, it is impossible to make statements about their actual experiences. But even if it would have been done in the context of this study, it can be questioned whether the tourists could know what exactly they are talking about. They had problems in defining their travel motivation already, and, with one exception, did not know what authenticity means. Against the background of the difficulty of defining authenticity, the most logical solution to the problem seems to be the implementation of authenticity in post-modern theory. Thereby, authenticity would be deconstructed as a concept, while the actions and perceptions of people involved in tourism could still be explained by help of the other approaches towards tourism. If authenticity does not exist, it may nevertheless well exist in a certain way in the mind of a tourist, and it might nevertheless be used in a certain way in the marketing material of a tourism provider. This would mean that the fact that there are no results in the column concerning authenticity in tourism experience it equivalent with the lack of existence of authenticity in tourism experience. It would also mean that authenticity as such is a term that is impossible to define. An example that undermines the validity of approaches other than post-modernism is the interviewee 2's quest for both existential and objectivist authenticity. If in existentialism, subjectivity is the only truth, how can interviewee 2 then seek objectivist authenticity at

the same time? These two approaches should be excluding each other. It is due to this irresolvable ambiguity connected to the other approaches that the authors prefer authenticity to be deconstructed in the sense of post-modernism.

It is nevertheless possible in the understanding of authenticity by the authors to establish a typology that uses the other approaches in order to explain the actions of those involved in tourism, as their actions reflect a certain understanding of authenticity.

In the following chapter, it will be examined what kinds of interrelations there are between the different topics discussed with the interviewees, and the attempt to establish a typology based on the 6 respondents will be provided. As the number of interviewees is very limited, this can only point towards tendencies. A more detailed study would be necessary to achieve generalizability.

8.3 Interrelations

When examining the previous sections, it becomes clear that with only 6 interviewees it is not possible to extract clear tendencies from the interviews. It has not been possible to find clear interrelations between the 6 tourists' types, motives, perceptions of Africa and understandings of authenticity. There are, however, some parallels between the different types of tourists which will be illustrated in the following table:

Table 3: Types of tourists/tendencies

Type	Motivation/Needs	Perception of Africa	Understanding of authenticity
Explorer/ drifter	Curiosity, competence, self-development, self-realization, belonging, arousal, esteem	Nostalgic evolutionism/exotic and diverse culture/war, disease, hunger	Existential/objectivist authenticity
Explorer/ drifter	Self-realization, tension reduction, personal control, competence, curiosity, safety, self-realization	Victimization	Staged/existential authenticity
Mass tourist	Tension reduction, safety, belonging, curiosity, arousal, self-realization	Victimization/ nostalgic evolutionism	Objectivist authenticity
Individual mass tourist	Safety, competence, tension reduction, belonging, self-realization	Exotic culture,	post-modern authenticity
Drifter	Self-realization, arousal, curiosity, belonging, competence, self-development	Exotic, diverse culture	Staged authenticity

It has to be stated, however, that this table does not show the weight of the different motivations and associations. Some of those that are most striking will therefore be mentioned in the following.

One striking parallel is the need for safety on behalf of the respondents 3, 4 and 5, who all are going to buy a package tour. The connection between the need for safety and the package tours are obvious: a tourist who does not dare travelling on his own and is very dependent on the tourism system around him will prefer a package tour. It is, with respect to respondent 4, and 5, perceived as being a way of travelling families prefer, as the need for safety increases automatically when children are involved, or, to see it from another angle, freedom and independence decrease.

Furthermore, it is considered a striking parallel that both respondent number 2 and number 6 seek to travel off the beaten track in order to experience authentic culture.

They both are backpackers and thus have the possibility to reach places that are somewhat off the beaten track.

It is furthermore interesting, that respondents 4 and 5 who have been travelling as backpackers now perceive authenticity in a rather post-modern way. This points towards the need to examine the travellers' touristic career as well. It could be possible that relatively young backpackers perceive authenticity to be available off the beaten track while during their travel career they find out that there is always a stage behind the stage, and authenticity in this objectivist understanding is not achievable.

In general, it can be stated that the results are quite random with respect to typology. The number of interviewees has not been enough to find meaningful parallels. On the other hand, it could be claimed that it is difficult to categorize tourists on the basis of the factors relevant for this analysis. The travellers found as interviewees are three backpackers and three package tour travellers, and basic differences as the need for more safety on behalf of the package tour buyers have been extracted from the interviews.

It would be interesting to conduct a broader interview study in order to find out about tendencies. This has not been possible in the course of this project, as time and interviewee resources have been limited.

8.4 Summary

In this chapter, the interview findings have been presented. The interviewees have been categorized according to the typology by Cohen. Due to the fact that there only were 6 interviewees, generalizations can not be carried out. Nevertheless, parallels and differences between the interviewees' motivations for travelling, their perception of Africa and understanding of authenticity have been detected.

With respect to authenticity, it can be stated that there are different types of authenticity that may co-exist in the travel motivation of a tourist. The result of this chapter can be

summarized by the statement that the concept of authenticity itself remained blurred while the tourists' usages and understandings have been illuminated.

9. Inter-relations between website and interviews

In this chapter, the tourists' view upon Africa as well as their understanding of authenticity will be put in relation to the findings of the website analysis.

The TFC as the sender of the message naturally has profit-related goals behind the establishment of this website. For this purpose, the idea of authenticity is being commoditized on their website in order to be more appealing to the Western audience.

This application of the concept of authenticity in relation to Tanzania's nature and culture is a reflection of the Western perception of Africa and the Western tourists' gaze.

When looking at the interviewees' answers, it becomes clear that they, when talking about their journey, have positive expectations with respect to the host culture they are going to meet. When asked about their perception of Africa, this image is extended by negative aspects like war, hunger and disease. This implies that they do not expect to be in direct contact with these negative aspects of their journey, or that they can focus on the positive things. This corresponds with the picture drawn on the website that naturally excludes negative aspects.

There are, of course, slight differences in the perceptions of Africa with respect to the different interviewees and their expectations towards the journey, but the website is targeting a broad group. This is necessary as it is marketing a whole country. It is therefore assumed to be appealing to all 6 interviewees, as it does not go into details concerning the way of travelling; backpacking, package tours or other forms of travelling all seem possible.

The type of authenticity mentioned on the website matches especially interviewee 3's understanding of the term, as she perceives Africa as the most authentic place on earth. Culture and nature are described in the sense of "untouched" by the influence of modernity. Interviewee 1 as well matches this view, as she perceives Africa a place where, in contrast to the Western world, traditions are still present. This view is in accordance with the gaze developed in chapter 7.2. Interviewees 4 and 5, on the

contrary, would be in accordance with the post-modern tourist who sees his quest for authenticity as a game and takes it less seriously.

It would be interesting to go more in detail in the interview study in order to find out more about the interviewees' perceptions of Africa and authenticity. It could also be interesting to show the interviewees the website and ask how they perceive it, whether it is appealing to them, how and why. Furthermore, it would be interesting to interview more people or find a better mixture of interviewees in order to better be able to establish a typology with respect to both the interviewees' perceptions of Africa as well as their perceptions of authenticity. Moreover, it would be interesting to relate this to a travel career. This has not been possible in the course of this thesis.

10. The model

The model developed in this thesis draws a connection between the different scholar's understandings of authenticity, and it furthermore draws connections between the different approaches and the tourism industry with its providers and consumers.

By doing so, it leads to a solution that neglects the existence of the concept authenticity in a tourism context. It has been shown that the different approaches towards authenticity in tourism are able to explain the actors' actions, while they are not able to explain the concept of authenticity in tourism as such. Authenticity may play a role in travel motivation, and it may serve the tourism providers as a basis for their marketing material as they respond to the tourists' expectations.

It has been shown that the tourism provider in the case examined in this thesis constructs an image of objectivist authenticity, which is influenced by or based on the Western tourists' perception of Africa in order to match their expectations.

It has furthermore been shown that in order to understand the phenomenon of tourism, all approaches towards tourism are helpful, as they explain the actors' behaviours, motivations and needs. In travel motivation, different types of authenticity may co-exist, even within one person's answer. This has lead the authors of this thesis to the solution that the approaches help explaining tourist behaviour and the like, while they are not explaining the concept of authenticity as such. This is why a neglect of the existence of authenticity in a tourism context, i.e. a post-modern interpretation of the concept, seemed the only solution.

With respect to the tourists, it could be interesting to establish a travel career. It is hypothetically assumed by the authors that the more travel experience a traveller has, the more he develops along the model in direction of post-modernity. This would mean that interviewees 4 and 5 are most experienced in travelling. It has not been possible to go more into detail with respect to this travel career. But the fact that interviewees 4 and 5 have been travelling as backpackers before, i.e. have been through the stages of a travel career that the other interviewees are in now, could point towards such a travel career.

It can be argued that interviewees 4 and 5 are, with respect to their understanding of authenticity, on the highest level of the travel career ladder developed in chapter 6.

With respect to the importance of the model in the context of this thesis, it can be stated that it on the one hand illustrates a categorization of the different existing approaches towards tourism on the one hand, and shows their relations to the tourists and the tourism industry on the other. Thereby, the concept of authenticity in a tourism context along with its approaches. It moreover became clear that the logical consequence of the sequence of approaches that each deconstruct the previous one would be the establishment of a post-modern approach that neglects the existence of authenticity as such.

As a contribution to the field of research, it paves the way to a more sophisticated approach towards authenticity in tourism. There are different purposes for which the idea of authenticity is used in tourism, and different types of tourists have different expectations towards authenticity. It is assumed in this thesis that it is possible to categorize tourists after their expectations towards authenticity; these are assumed to match with other factors such as the mode of travelling. Further research would have to be conducted in order to clarify this hypothesis, as the interview study has not been broad enough to prove or disprove the travel career ladder.

It has to be mentioned, however, that the model hardly contributes to the field of research with a totally new understanding of authenticity in a tourism context. It rather arranges the previous approaches and draws a conclusion from these, namely that authenticity as such has to be understood in a post-modern perspective. This model can not, however, contribute with a new theory on authenticity in tourism.

11. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore and analyze the concept of authenticity in a tourism context and thereby bring about new knowledge. The authors of this thesis have established a model of authenticity in tourism which integrates previous approaches towards the concept with this thesis' understanding of it, which is of course embedded in those previous approaches.

The previous scholarly approaches have been categorized and criticized on the basis of Wang's approach, which has made it necessary for the authors to briefly clarify the underlying philosophical concepts of objectivism, constructivism, existentialism and post-modernism.

On the basis of this model, the authors have drawn a career ladder that hypothetically assumes that the tourists' understanding of authenticity changes along their travel experience, while a post-modern perception is assumed to be the highest level of the ladder.

The assumptions drawn in the model have been tested with help of a website analysis and an interview study. The interview analysis is embedded in a historical view upon travelling to Africa, as the website subject to analysis presents Tanzania as a tourist destination. In this context, a tourists' gaze has been developed which is based on this historical perspective. In the course of the website's analysis, it has been shown that the image presented of Tanzania corresponds to the gaze developed before. This is due to the fact that the makers of the website naturally seek to match the tourists' expectations. Their marketing material therefore reflects the image of the potential tourist, or in other words, the Western world, has of their country. It has been argued that the Western perception of a place like Africa with its ethnic groups and their traditional lifestyles, and its untouched nature as authentic as opposed to their place of origin, is embedded in the gaze. This gaze has changed over time and is highly linked to evolutionism: While evolutionism regarded the fact that the Western world is further developed in time as a positive aspect, the nowadays' gaze has a somewhat romantic perspective on the so-called less developed cultures. In this context, several concepts that play a role in this

gaze have been extracted from the website during analysis. These are among others the idea of the *untouched*, both in relation to nature and culture, which points towards the temporal component of the evolutionist view that assumes that there are places on earth that have not been touched by modernity. This idea is highly connected to nostalgic or romantic feelings that are communicated by the website.

The creators of this website, the Tanzania Travel Fair Committee, are naturally interested in attracting as many tourists as possible to the country in order to make profit. It has therefore been argued that they want to turn the idea of authenticity connected to their country into profit, which can be called a commoditization of the idea of authenticity. As authenticity is often related to people, the authors have clarified their understanding of culture in the context of authenticity before starting the analysis chapter. In this thesis, culture has been defined broadly as *the complex whole* of a society with its rules and customs that is permanently changing over time. Due to this permanent change, there is a lack of an original, which is why authenticity is not perceived to be attributable to culture. A marketer then uses authenticity in the context of culture as a slogan or an idea in order to appeal to the tourist who has matching expectations. It is hence possible to define in what way the concept of authenticity is used in marketing, and how the target group understands the concept, while it does not enlighten the concept itself.

With respect to the model, the website analysis has shown that the tourism provider constructs an image of object-related authenticity which is influenced by the tourists' gaze.

The interview study brought about new knowledge concerning the tourists' understanding of authenticity in that it showed that tourists themselves hardly have knowledge about authenticity, and hardly mention it as a motive for travelling. Authenticity could be extracted from the interviews in one form or the other, but there were also other motives for travelling such as getting to know new cultures, recreation and the like, that were mentioned spontaneously. Furthermore, more than one type of authenticity could be attributed to one and the same tourist. This is puzzling as the authors of the different approaches had claimed to be deconstructing each other. The concepts seem to overlap each other in the mind of the tourist. It has been argued that

authenticity is a concept that can explain the tourists' motivation for travelling as well as the tourists' perceptions of their experiences, just as it is the basis for marketing materials, while the concept itself is neither definable nor achievable. The neglect of the existence of authenticity dissolves the problems connected to other approaches and can be seen as a further development of the approach by Cohen who argued that nowadays' tourists do not really seek authenticity, because as post-modern people they know that it does not exist and take part in the quest for it like in a game they are willing to play.

Not all the interviewees have, however, answered in a way that matches this statement. Actually, only interviewee 4 and 5 can be considered post-modern tourists with respect to their understanding of authenticity. At this point, the travel career ladder plays a role again, which implies that not all interviewees have climbed it to the highest level of post-modernity.

In this context, tourist typology plays a crucial role. It has not been possible to establish a typology on the basis of only 6 interviewees. It would be interesting to find more interviewees in order to better be able to find tendencies in their perception of authenticity in relation to other travel patterns. Furthermore, it would be interesting to take a closer look at authenticity and culture and the relationship of these two, which this thesis has not treated in depth. Both theoretically and with respect to the interviews, it is considered promising to take a closer look at culture.

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13. Appendices

13.1 Appendix A: Interview guide

1. Socio-demographic Data: Age, profession, gender
2. The trip:
 - a) practical data: destination(s), organization, accommodation, transport etc.
 - b) motivational factors
3. Perception of Africa: Knowledge, Associations
4. Expectations towards the trip and the host culture
5. Understanding of authenticity

13.2 Appendix B: Summaries of the interviews

Interviewee 1

Interviewee 1 is 29 years old, female and works as a HR assistant in München, Germany.

Her plans for the journey to Africa are to travel around for 3 to 5 months and see different attractions, together with her boyfriend. She wants to ride on a camel together with the nomads in the desert in the Northern part of Africa, and she would like to see the pyramids in Egypt. She has also talked about renting a jeep and drive through the desert. Furthermore, she would like to go hiking in the Mount Kenya massive in Kenya and/or in the Tanzanian Mountains, the Kilimanjaro or other summits. Another destination in her focus is the Nile, which she would like to sail on in a boat like the explorers that were in search for its source.

She claimed that she has not planned her journey properly yet, and is still reading about the attractions and possibilities the continent has to offer. Her journey, she said, would take some time, as mentioned earlier, and should not be planned in detail before departure. She would like to gather information about the continent with help of several guide books, which she has already bought, and plan a route after having gathered enough knowledge:

I'll read some guide books, and then more or less plan a route with help of those, maybe book the most important things and of course a plane ticket from here, but mainly I'd like to organize when I get there. Of course you need some more time, for that, I have planned with 3-5 month, and then I can take it easy, get used to the climate first, and travel around as a backpacker as much as possible.

She would not spend much money on accommodation and transport once she has reached the continent, hostels and the like, as well as campsites for her tent, would be okay for her if available and possible.

As for the purpose of her journey, she claims that to get to know another continent and their people, at least the ones she has time to visit and see and experience, is the main travel motivation:

I want to get to know people and their culture, so I can understand their life better. I would broaden my horizon in doing so. I'm keen on exploring a totally new cultural region because it makes it easier for me to understand these countries and people's life.

Her purpose for travelling is, hence, quite educational, as she stated. After MacCannell, a reason to travel would be that the western society and the every-day life at home is considered unsatisfying or somewhat artificial. This is not the case with this respondent. Instead, she stated that she was very happy with what she has and does:

I'm very satisfied with my life here, dissatisfaction or alienation has never been a reason for me to travel, but I'm sure that there is people who kind of flee from their every-day life.

The picture she has of Africa in general right now that she has not been there yet is characterized by its cultural and geographical diversity:

Africa is huge and very diverse; such a journey can only open few insights.

However, she explained that from the media she has learned about severe problems on the continent like hunger, poverty on the one hand, as well as civil war and refugees on the other. She furthermore associates Africa with the disease HIV.

In my perception, Africa is like two sides of a coin, where you can only see one side at a time. Colourful cultures and happy people on the one side, and war, poverty, disease on the other.

Her expectations with respect to the host cultures were hard to specify, as the diversity Africa has to offer made it difficult for her to comment on the question. She claimed that she is very much looking forward to see new cultures and their traditions, as these are much more a part of people's life than it is the case in Europe.

In Africa people still live their traditions. From a European standpoint, this can seem very strange, because we are not used to it.

With respect to the question of authenticity, she could not really find a way to answer. First of all, she claimed that she did not know what authenticity meant. After having explained the different conceptions of authenticity in a tourism context to her, which of course had a certain influence on her answer, she claimed that she could not exclude self-realisation and existential authenticity from her trip, as it might be possible for her to come closer to her real self by experiencing nature, e.g. the mountains in Kenya she has been talking about earlier. She moreover related authenticity to her relationship to her boyfriend:

I am sure that we'll have a wonderful time together, and learn a lot about each other on the trip.

However, she distanced herself from object-related authenticity, as Africans are "people like you and me" which she therefore considers neither more nor less authentic than us.

Interviewee 2

Interviewee 2 is 26 years old, male and works as a mechanical engineer at Aalborg University.

With respect to his plan on travelling to Africa, he has not yet decided whether he wants to visit South Africa or the North-East, but has a two-month holiday in summer 2009. He considers South Africa as the most Western country in Africa, and the North-East as being most influenced by Arabic culture. Because he can decide on neither one nor the other, he thinks about doing an overland trip, from North to South. The more we talked about the journey, the more respondent 2 tended to like the overland trip best. He claimed that it would be a nice idea to buy a car in Tangier and simply drive towards the South without having planned so much, "if you can avoid to go through countries with civil war".

Either way of travelling, he claimed that he:

Would probably end up buying a plane ticket and a guide book and try to do some internet research before leaving home. I would probably try to keep accommodation as cheap as possible and tend to use public transport.

However, he stated that he is willing to spend the amount necessary on accommodation and transport at the destinations he wants to visit:

If there is no possibility for cheap transportation and accommodation, more expensive means must be considered.

With respect to his motivation for travelling to Africa, he claimed that by travelling he has a possibility to look upon life from another angle:

It is easier to find out about myself and my life when I'm away from home. If there are difficult decisions to make, I like to be away to clear my mind.

Later on, he specified what exactly he wants to see and learn about people:

I'm more interested in how things are nowadays, than how they used to be. I refuse to believe that everybody lives in little huts of clay and palm leaves. Also, I'm more interested in landscapes in general like mountains and the jungle than to go on safari to see animals.

The fact that he is more interested in landscapes and nature has, as he stated, to do with the fact that it is more quiet and one "can be oneself and think about life".

With respect to the question whether he wanted to travel due to his dissatisfaction with life at home, he stated that this was one reason. He felt social pressure to do things he does not want to do, e.g. by his family, and pressure at work.

They want to make me live my life like they live theirs, and make me buy all that stuff they have, like furniture and clothes. And I just want to be free of that; this is why I need holidays.

With respect to his perception of Africa, he claimed that his first association was European colonization and slave trade, which, as he stated, "nowadays leads to exploitation of the natives in form of multinational corporations". According to respondent 2, these interfere with African internal affairs in order to get the right to mine natural resources like gold, diamonds, or oil.

This is, of course, not making me very proud to be a Westerner.

Respondent 2 talked about exploitation for a while, before he shifted to wild animals and early explorers which he believes are part of a picture of Africa of the past:

In relation to Africa I think of animals from children's books and Doctor Livingstone fooling around. This is an Africa I strongly believe is part of the past.

With respect to his expectations concerning the host culture, he stated that he expects Africans to be "friendly" and possibly after his money, which he regards "annoying, but understandable".

As to the question concerning his understanding of authenticity in a tourism context, respondent 2 talked about the dichotomy of fake and real, and identified the natives to

be authentic "if they show up looking like they always do". He makes clear that in order to avoid inauthentic performances on behalf of the locals, he seeks to visit destinations or places off the beaten track, where there seldom are any tourists, and he expects the locals to be more authentic in these places:

In general I think growth in tourism tends to make locals act inauthentic in order to make money on stereotypical images giving tourists what they expect.

Interviewee 3

Interviewee 3 is 28 years old and works as a social worker.

The interviewee 3 would like to visit Congo, even though she realizes the country is dangerous and unstable:

I always had a dream to visit the Congo ever since we by chance had talked about the 'Heart of Darkness' in school. Unfortunately, both my own and the Congo's situation do not allow a visit right now.

Due to the fact that she has small children, under the age of three, she now would have to wait until they are grownups and have moved from home or would like to save the money and give them the chance of experiencing Africa.

If she was to go herself she would buy a package-tour for 2 to 3 weeks, where she had the trip planned beforehand, but in as an authentic manner as possible, to experience the "real thing":

I think it is easier to travel with a package because everything is planned and you don't have to stress yourself with organizing. Besides, it's more safe. But it has to be one of those tours where you also get in touch with the locals and see how they live. I don't want to spend my money on a trip to Africa and then be locked in the resort. It has to be something special.

The interviewee has always travelled as a mass-tourist, going on charter tours and would therefore like to experience something else. She describes herself as "easy to

impress” and is easily fascinated by anything different from what she is used to. She would like to experience nature and animals and anything else that is in contrast to her daily life.

The interviewee’s perception of Africa is that the majority lives in extreme poverty and that the rest of the world (meaning the Western world) makes it impossible for the continent to develop itself.

The rest of the world should help the Africans to help themselves, not just giving money, because it is a shame that these people are so poor.

She believes that the rest of the world should contribute to help Africa help itself. The interviewee refers to Africa as one country, in stead of one continent:

Africa is such a big country, with so many different cities.

She would expect to be robbed if travelling in Africa and refers to the local population as thieves:

Of course as a tourist I have to be prepared to be robbed, this is just what happens in those countries. But I don't see these people as evil or cruel, they do what they have to do in life, in the situation they are in it is maybe necessary to survive, and we have so much more.

Furthermore, she perceives the local population as hard working and reserved, minding their own business.

I don't think they would be interested in much more than my money. Well, I don't know, but I don't think that I would have so much to do with the local population.

With respect to the question about authenticity, the interviewee hesitated and asked for further explanation. After clarifying the concept she said that she considers Africa “the most authentic place on earth, since it is the only untouched place left”. She believes that Africa can offer an authenticity you cannot find anywhere else. She used the example of for example a zoo:

Animals can be taken from Africa and put in a park or zoo somewhere else, but no matter how good the scenery is, the experience will never be the same, because the smells, humidity and sounds of the jungle are missing.

She believes that it is possible to experience authenticity, due to the fact that she considers anything she could experience there authentic compared to what she is used to at home.

No matter how many programmes you can see on TV and no matter how much you prepare yourself before your trip, being there will be something unique.

Interviewees 4 and 5

Interviewee 4 is 32 years old, female and unemployed office assistant, while interviewee 5 is 32 years old, male and working as a salesman. The interviewees are a couple with children.

The interviewees are going to Kenya and Tanzania for three weeks. As they want to go on a safari, these destinations have been chosen, and also partly because they have small children and it therefore would be nice to experience animals in the wild and partly because they believe these countries can give them some memorable cultural experiences. They would avoid South Africa, due to violence and (un)safety experienced by friends. During the planning of the trip they decided to buy a package tour that includes transportation and hotel and some tours, but they also want to find a local company that can plan some small trips after arrival:

We have heard so many awful stories about South Africa that we would not go there. Safety is one very important factor for us because we have children. It is also therefore that we need to have a package tour; we can not plan our trip ourselves, because we are afraid of making mistakes. It is for the children's sake, if it was the two of us, we could imagine go backpacking, even though we need some higher standard now than we would have said 10 years ago.

The interviewees describe travelling as living: "at rejse er at leve" and as part of the dream that "the grass is always greener on the other side".

The motivations for travelling are experiencing new cultures and have experiences different from what can be experienced at home. Furthermore they travel to get away from the daily life and experience joy and freedom. They are satisfied with the life they

currently live, but express the need to get away from the daily routines every once and a while:

Of course, we want to go on holidays because we need to have a break once in a while. But it's not like we're unhappy with our lives.

On the questions about thoughts and perceptions of Africa, the interviewees associate Africa with hunger and poverty, but also with safari and jungle. They express that their expectations to the host culture is positive:

I believe the host culture will be friendly and welcoming, but I could also imagine that we would at times feel “white” in the sense that we have money.

Their perceptions are based on presentations and programmes from TV and personal experiences from similar poor places elsewhere.

Concerning the questions about authenticity a talk about the concept lead the interviewees to believe it is possible to have authentic experiences and that by going to Africa it would be possible to experience “the real Africa”:

I don't know if all the things we will see will be natural or authentic, but I believe that we will be able to at least feel that what we see is real.

The interviewees argue that the expectations for a trip will be determining for the outcome. If one has certain expectations due to catalogues, websites and TV-programs the expectations might not live up to reality and thereby result in a negative experience.

Interviewee 6

Interviewee 6 is unemployed cand.mag. in German and is 28 years old.

He is planning to travel to Uganda as soon as he has gathered some money for the plane ticket and for travelling, and has no concrete plans on how long his journey will last: “Until I run out of money”, he said laughing, and claimed that he could buy a plane ticket that is valid for one year where he can decide spontaneously when to travel home.

With respect to the organization, he would like to organize as much as possible during travelling, and just gathers information beforehand. What he is looking for, is, as he

claimed, “nothing fancy for a backpacker, just basic stuff like water, food and a place to sleep”. He mentioned the Lonely Planet as his favourite source for information about accommodation and transport. He would like to keep transport as cheap as possible,

As I feel this is the best way to experience a country. If possible, I would like to stay with people I meet instead of booking accommodation”

He was also talking about the possibility to rent a car in order to be able to have access to places public transport does not reach.

However, respondent 6 assumes that his journey will be quite “random” with respect to transport and accommodation:

The possibilities are so very different in bigger cities as compared to rural areas.

Therefore I will just wait and see what happens and be spontaneous.

With respect to the question after the motivation for going and the expected experiences, he answered that he wants to get to know “the richest culture of the world.” He claimed also that he wants to “expand his knowledge and understanding of different people” and “gain new friends”.

He furthermore wants to have experiences including animals and nature, for example to visit gorillas in the jungle.

With respect to his associations concerning Africa, he mentions the great cultural diversity that he considers a very unique feature of the African continent. Furthermore, he talked about hunger, war, corruption, poverty and HIV, which one learns about in the news, but for him, this is only a minor aspect of his perception of Africa:

The African mentality where everybody is happy puts the bad sides in the shadow.

Furthermore, he associates “heat” with the African continent.

He expects the host culture to be friendly, generous, welcoming and especially relaxed, “no stress, no hectic”. He was as well talking about the African's optimistic mentality. He is also expecting them to be very interested in him as person and in the things he has at home.

With respect to them term authenticity, he at first did not know what the word means. When we explained about the different possibilities of understanding authenticity, and

the website we are analysing, he claimed the he would really like to experience “the authentic Africa” which is why he seeks to travel to places where there are no or only few other tourists.