STANDARD FRONTPAGE FOR EXAMINATION PAPERS

To be filled in by the student(s). Please use capital letters.

Subjects: (tick box)	Project	Synopsis	Portfolio	Thesis (x)	Written Assignment

Study programme:	MA in Tourism		
Semester:	10th		
Exam Title:	Kandidatspeciale/ Master's thesis		
Name, Date of birth/ Names, Dates of birth of group members:	Name(s)	Study number	Date of birth (not CPR number – only 6 numbers: dd/mm/yy)
	Stephanie Knoth Hamilton	20161482	31/08/92
	Mia Lundberg Christiansen	20161481	13/11/91
Hand in date:	31/05/18		
Project title /Synopsis Title/Thesis Title	Experiences and Sustainability in Valle Las Trancas		
According to the study regulations, the maximum number of keystrokes of the paper is:	2400 x 140 = 336.000		
Number of keystrokes (one standard page = 2400 keystrokes, including spaces) (table of contents, bibliography and appendix do not count)*	247.497		
Supervisor(project/synopsis/thesis):	Helene Clausen		

I/we hereby declare that the work submitted is my/our own work. I/we understand that plagiarism is defined as presenting someone else's work as one's own without crediting the original source. I/we are aware that plagiarism is a serious offense, and that anyone committing it is liable to academic sanctions.

Rules regarding Disciplinary Measures towards Students at Aalborg University:
http://www.plagiarism.aau.dk/Rules+and+Regulations/

Date and signature(s): 30/05/18

Stephanie Hamilton   Mia Christiansen

* Please note that you are not allowed to hand in the paper if it exceeds the maximum number of keystrokes indicated in the study regulations. Handing in the paper means using an exam attempt.

5/31/2018

Experiences and Sustainability in Valle Las Trancas

How do the conditions in Valle Las Trancas, Chile, affect the tourism development, and how is the situated experience strategically used to convey values related to sustainable practices?

Mia Christiansen and Stephanie Hamilton
MASTER'S THESIS IN TOURISM, AALBORG UNIVERSITY COPENHAGEN
SUBMISSION DATE: 31. MAY 2018
SUPERVISOR: HELENE CLAUSEN

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to examine the link between the concepts of sustainability and experience by focusing on the town Valle Las Trancas in Chile. This is done by exploring how the conditions in Valle Las Trancas affect the tourism development and sustainable practices, and how the situated experience is strategically used to convey values related to sustainable practices. The study takes a qualitative approach and uses ethnographic methods. There is a theoretical gap in the literature, but we demonstrate how these two concepts interrelate and new perspectives are unfolded. This thesis analyses the overall conditions in Valle Las Trancas including the fragmented nature of the community, the presence of non-government forces, the development of a community-based policy and the RioDiguillin Libre movement. Furthermore, the situated experiences are analysed including the effect and importance of multi-sensuous outdoor experiences, signs and artefacts as well as interactions. The research shows that these have an impact on the situated experiences, and the way experiences are strategically used in an attempt to encourage sustainable practices. The role of guides as cultural brokers and facilitators of local knowledge is emphasised strategically to translate the context to make tourists more aware of the surroundings and its attraction, thereby providing a new perspective on sustainability.

In the literature, the focus on experience is to create value for tourists, but it is emphasised that situated experiences likewise can be used strategically as tools to convey values related to sustainable practices. Exploring how local knowledge is utilized is one of the contributions in this thesis as it is an overlooked perspective regarding sustainability and experiences in tourism. The research demonstrates the importance of combining these two concepts to operationalise the concept of sustainability and reframe the concept of experience - *and overall this thesis concludes the concepts of sustainability and experiences are interrelated.*

Table of Contents

Experiences and Sustainability in Valle Las Trancas

Introduction

The concept of experience and the concept of sustainability in tourism have been researched separately and given a lot of attention in academic literature. The focus in experience literature has been to provide the customers (or tourists) with good, satisfactory experiences within different industries to increase competitive advantage (Madsen, 2010). Likewise, to include experiences is also argued to be very important within the tourism sector (Hansen, 2014). On the other hand, in sustainability literature the main focus has been on suppliers (Walker and Moscardo, 2014), the destinations, policy issues or how to include communities (e.g. Jamal et al, 2013; Saayman and Giampiccoli, 2015; Saarinen, 2006). The perspective of the tourist experience therefore tends to be missing from sustainable tourism literature (Carr, 2003; Petriconi, 2016) - similarly the main focus in experience literature is on giving the tourist a good experience, but not how this can encourage sustainability or the role of sustainable practices in constructing the experience. As will be explored more in this thesis, little attention has been paid to combining the two concepts of experiences and sustainability in tourism to explore how they might have value for each other, and how new perspectives can be unfolded. We have decided to focus on the Chilean town of Valle Las Trancas in the Andes Mountains. This is because the town has worked on increasing sustainable practices over the last 10 years, but also to increase the quality and supply of activities and tourist experiences in the area. For these reasons, we found Valle Las Trancas to be the ideal point of departure to examine our research question.

To close the aforementioned gap in the literature, one of the goals of this thesis is to link the concept of sustainability to the concept of experience in tourism by focusing on Valle Las Trancas in Chile. Within this we are wondering how these concepts interrelate and can cooperate in constructing the experience and contribute to sustainable practices and development. To examine this, we will use a qualitative methodology and ethnographic methods including participation observation, interviews and visual ethnography. In the literature review, we present and access relevant literature regarding sustainability in tourism and the topic of experiences. In the analysis and discussion, we explore how these concepts work together in Valles Las Trancas to analyse how overall conditions and sustainable practices affect the rural experience and how the situated experience is strategically used to convey values related to sustainable practices.

Research Question

From our empirical data collection in Valle Las Trancas, Chile, we would like to explore the following research question:

How do the conditions in Valle Las Trancas, Chile, affect the tourism development, and how is the situated experience strategically used to convey values related to sustainable practices?

Chile and Valle Las Trancas

Chile is located in South America and is said to be one of the most stable and flourishing countries on the continent (BBC, 2018). Chile has a very unusual shape, being very long and not very wide, making the climate is unusually varied - ranging from desert at the top to snow and glaciers in the south (BBC, 2018). Since 1973 where a new economic policy towards increased trade and investment liberation was adopted, Chile has experienced economic growth (apart from two crises in 1975 and 1982-1983, respectively) (Reinecke and Torres, 2001).

Chile is one of the most visited destinations in South America (Aqueveque and Bianchi, 2017). Tourism has become a very important part of the economic activity and there are plans to increase the role of tourism in the development (de la Maza, 2017). Since 2010, tourism has been one of the strategic activities (Beltran et al., 2013). There are several reasons why Chile needs to consider sustainability as part of the development process - they have geography, landscape and natural resources which require protection and proper development (ibid). When it comes to the development of (sustainable) tourism, the role of the state is not to be excluded as government institutions and the state always play key roles (Jensen, 2014). It is important to note that the policy framework in Chile is neoliberal, and it remains one of the most market-friendly countries in the world (Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014; de la Maza, 2017). Further, Chile also has widespread experience with private land conservation (Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014). This will be elaborated on later.

Picture 1: Map of Chile, Source: Google Maps (2018)

Our focus of research, the Andes mountain destination, Valle Las Trancas (LT), is located approximately 70 km from the nearest big city, Chillán, and about 10 kilometres from the well-known hot springs (Termas de Chillán) and the ski destination, Valle Nevados (LT, 2018). The town is located in the Bio Bio region, and it is characterized by the many volcanoes and rivers bordering the valley (Verde Tour, 2018a). Please refer to picture 1. In the last decade the town has worked on increasing sustainable practices and recently was declared a "zona de interes turistico" (A2). Traditionally, it was only a winter destination, but within the last 8-10 years the destination has also become a summer destination with many activities such as hiking, biking, climbing and other mostly nature-based activities (A2; A3). The majority of tourists visiting in the summer are domestic tourists or from nearby countries - in the winter this trend is reversed (A2; A3). The town experiences seasonality as many tourists visit in the winter (and people move to work). In the summer there are fewer tourists and fewer people moving to work. These are the two main seasons (A2; A3).

There are three main tour operators in LT (Verde Tour, Rukapali and De Aventura), plus some other businesses that offer group tours and guided trips as a side-business (A2; A3). Our research mainly focusses on Verde Tour which specialises in conservation, education and tourism (Verde Tour, 2018b) and also administers the nearby Ecopark (A3). They also have a private protected area (Tierra Verde Park), regulated by a management plan - where they also take some of the tours for the purpose of doing leisure activities and environmental education in some of the public-use areas (Verde Tour, 2018b).

Methodology

The process of our research will be described in this chapter - how we have collected our data and how we have used the obtained knowledge to answer our research question. This research utilises a qualitative approach and is characterized by our standpoint in the social constructivist paradigm, as will be elaborated in this section. We have used ethnographic methods including participant observation, semi-structured interviews, informal interviews and visual ethnography to answer our research question. Our use of these methods and how they impacted our research will be presented in this chapter.

This research was a short-term ethnographic study. Excluding travel time 16 full-days was spent conducting research in Chile. We travelled in a group of three thesis students, two of which are the authors of this thesis. The other thesis student also conducted fieldwork in Chile and we travelled together, shared information and did many of the interviews and activities together. It was arranged for us to live with guides of the tour company, Verde Tour, through our gatekeeper Hanne Sørensen. The guides lived in a small *cabaña* which is a small wooden house or hut. In the house two full-time, permanent guides reside all year, and for the last few months four interns also lived there as they were doing an internship with Verde Tour as part of their tourism education. So, including the two of us, we were eight people living in the cabaña (A2).

As will be described in more detail in the section "visual ethnography", we made short videos, where we reflected on our use of methods and documented various experiences or practices - both ours and sometimes others. Throughout this methodology chapter, we have linked to some of these videos, where we find it relevant. They can be found where "(refer to video)" is indicated. The empirical data referred to in the thesis can be found in the appendices (referred to as "A" and the number of the appendix). The transcribed interviews are in appendix 1 as well as 7 to 14 and our field notes are in appendix 2 and 3.

Ontology and Epistemology

In this section we will discuss our overall scientific research approach by first discussing the concepts of ontology and epistemology. In the field of research different views exist on the world and what reality is (Hansen, 2014). Firstly, ontology "*refers to a way of looking at the world and to the nature of reality assumed by the researcher*" (Veal, 2011 in Hansen, 2014:31). Epistemology is about what can be characterized as acceptable knowledge and how the researcher recognizes reality (Langergaard, 2006). The two concepts are in a collaborative relationship, and it is necessary for us as researchers to clarify how we recognize knowledge before we can talk about reality (Langergaard, 2006).

We find our ontological and epistemological considerations important in order to explain the reasons behind our choice of methods and to reach the most suitable answers to our research questions.

Ontological Considerations

In order to choose our ontological directions, it is essential to be aware of the two perspectives within ontology: realism and relativism (Hansen, 2014). The realistic approach focuses on verifying and falsifying to confirm a reality and claims it is possible for a researcher to find an absolute truth about the real world. Relativism is seen on the other end of the scale and claims that there is no absolute truth and by this no true reality (Bryman, 2016; Holm, 2014). According to the relativistic approach many realities exist and are socially and mentally constructed (Hansen, 2014). The researchers bring their own understanding in the work of interpreting data (Hansen, 2014). We see ourselves in the relativistic approach, and as researchers we believe that reality depends on what context it is involved in.

Our relativistic approach brings us to have a standpoint in the social constructivist paradigm. One of the essential factors in social constructivist thinking is that a true reality does not exist, but it is built on interactions with people, communication and common history (Daymon and Holloway, 2002). The answers we have obtained from our interviews and participant observation, have constructed our understanding, yet we are aware of that we, as researchers, with the interviewees and the researched objects are a part of creating our final understanding in an interpreting changing process, as also argued by Olsen and Fuglsang (2004).

In relation to this, we are subjective researchers and are taking part in the making of the reality we are attempting to show, since our assumptions will cause us to leave some aspects out when collecting data. We have two different views on our research subject because of our positioning, which we believe provides a good interplay (further elaborated in the section 'Our Positioning'). We are not trying to distance ourselves from our research subject. We are a part of what is researched and need to make sure our pre-understandings are not affecting the researched negatively, as also suggested by Holm (2014). An example of this, is that we went to Chile with pre-understandings about the tourism development and the level of focus on sustainability in tourism. In some situations, this affected our research, because we found ourselves trying to make information fit with the situated knowledge. For example, we were told by one interviewee - on the first day - that hotels put up informative signs to encourage sustainability, but we did not see these ourselves and kept asking later interviewees in an attempt to confirm this understanding.

Finally, we are aware that we have not gained insight into everything, but rather made choices about what and who to focus on in our data collection based on our pre-understandings. One of the main factors in relation to this is our extensive use of gatekeepers. This has meant that we have gained insights about and from the people which we were able to get access to, primarily through our gatekeepers (see more in 'Our use of Gatekeepers').

To sum up, we are social constructivists who say that reality is a social construction, which is interpreted by individuals. As we are seeing the world in this way, it has consequences for our epistemological approach which will be explained in the next section.

Epistemological Considerations

Epistemology characterizes the relations between the researches and their use of knowledge, whereas ontology looks at the nature of the reality and how it appears to us. When doing research and obtaining knowledge about the reality, it is important to realize and consider which way is the most effective way to recognize reality (Langergaard, 2006).

Our epistemological approach is intertwined with our ontological approach, and due to this likewise based on relativism. In the epistemological perspective, realism and relativism is also seen as two counterparts (Hansen, 2014). The realistic approach claims to remain objective in the research process and stay distant - the researcher's values or opinions should not affect the search for truth (ibid). On the other hand, within the relativistic approach, knowledge is created in the interplay between the interactions between the researchers and the researched (Hansen, 2014). The researcher makes use of pre-understandings and is therefore not able to act with complete distance and objectivity (ibid). In our research, we were actively participating in the tours, as tourists and researchers, and did not only make passive observations, meaning we are not trying to be distant from our research subject. Finally, we have received knowledge through interpretations of our interviews and participant observations and the interaction between the interviewees and us, but also from visiting LT ourselves as part of situated research.

As mentioned, we will make individual interpretations which will be part of constructing our results. Since we are social constructivists and work with the importance of language in the production of knowledge, we will include hermeneutic considerations in our work. Hermeneutics perceive interpretations as human activities and the way to achieve knowledge about the social actions (Holm, 2014; van Manen, 1990). This is elaborated on by Pernecky and Jamal (2010) stating how the hermeneutic interpretation is culturally and historically mediated and occurs through relationships. According to the literature, we, as humans, can only understand the whole of the context based on the parts it consists of, and likewise, we can only understand the different parts of something based on the whole (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Holm, 2014). This means that we should involve others and the whole; we cannot look at only one part of this and get an understanding (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2009; Holm, 2014). To be able to understand sustainable tourism practices and how this affects the tourist experience in LT, it is important for us to involve this circular understanding. To create knowledge about our research subject, our different elements of data collected can be seen as the parts we have to interpret and understand. Every time we made an interview or made observations, we obtain data that we interpret and understood, which then led us to new questions to ask when we made the next interviews or observations.

For example, Antonio told us that the cables in the Ecopark were not affecting the trees, because they were protected among other things, which made the park sustainable (A3). This resulted in that the next time we went there, we observed and noticed these elements which we did not notice the first time (A3). All the time we got new information which we interpreted, and following from that we would build new understandings. By interpreting our collected data, we will get a better understanding of the parts and therefore be able to better interpret sustainable tourism practices and how this affects the tourist experience in LT as a whole. We are not aiming to use a hermeneutic approach to find an absolute truth about this, but we want to expand our horizon of understanding by continually interpreting the parts and the whole as our project progress. Also, with this we want to emphasise that we are aware that we bring along pre-understandings and prejudices (and perhaps misconceptions), which are continuously challenged, but also shape our research and how we interpret, which aligns with arguments made by Gadamer (1960 in Holm, 2014) and Pernecky and Jamal (2010).

To give a brief summary, our epistemological approach is situated in the relativistic viewpoint, and this leads to us have our standpoint in the social constructivist paradigm. Instead of trying to distance ourselves from the research subjects during our research, we are trying to engage. This is the reason we have reflected upon our pre-understandings, which we are bringing into this research. As previously discussed, the language is an important factor in social constructivism, and by this our chosen methods will be characterized. Based on our epistemological approach, we believe that we can reach an answer to our research question, which will reflect the interplay between us as researchers and our research subject.

Our Positioning

In this section we will explain our positioning in the research process, taking into consideration that we are social constructivist and are aware, that we are part of the process. As students we come from two different bachelor degrees[1] before commencing on the Master's degree in Tourism at Aalborg University, Copenhagen. On the MA we are not on the same

[1] Mia has a professional bachelor's degree from University College Zealand in Leisure Management, which focuses on experience economy. Stephanie has a Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Tourism Management from Edinburgh Napier University, which focuses on tourism management.

direction within the programme. Stephanie is on the specialisation track, which focusses on global tourism development (mobility, sustainability, etc.) and Mia is on the mainstream track, which focuses on consumption. This means that we have different competencies and interests regarding theory and topic - one is primarily interested in the tourists' experiences and the other in sustainable tourism practices. We see it as an advantage, because we have different competencies, perspectives and angles that can strengthen our work with the thesis. Because of our horizons of understanding and our two different views on our research subject, we believe that participant observation is a beneficial method to use. The two of us are as researchers, but also as tourists, looking at and for different things.

We had limited knowledge about Chile, the culture and the country before we travelled to LT. This can be an advantage as we will bring a different understanding of how the place is perceived due to our different cultural and social background. With this we also brought some misconceptions which were challenged and disputed once actually conducting fieldwork.

Regarding positioning, some researchers such as Parker-Jenkins (2018) work with the 'insider', 'outsider' elements and debate how you can become more or less of an insider. This is quite binary and so is the idea of Western/Non-Western (Parameswaran, 2001), so we will attempt to look beyond this in our discussion. Despite our different cultural and social background, we shared some attributes with the interviewees. First and foremost, we were of similar age as many of the participants of our informal interviews (e.g. Alexis, Bastian, Cristian, Jake, Consuelo). Our similar age meant that we were invited to participate in social and everyday activities. Likewise, four of the people we lived with were also university students. This means that we could talk to them about life as students and university work (A2). We therefore had some commonalities that helped us connect with them, and one might also argue that it helped us increase their acceptance of us as researchers, and as people with whom they shared a cabin with. This aligns with Parker-Jenkins (2018) claim of how personal circumstances might help the researcher gain access.

Secondly, we also made some reflections about how our gender and Western positioning played a role in the fieldwork. We were invited on unofficial tours and activities with some of the guides.

We argue that our gender might have played a role in this, as we were often the only ones invited at first. It might also have something to do with the mere fact that we, the two girls, lived with the guides from Verde Tour and therefore had a closer connection to them than, for example, the other student researcher, who lived in a hostel. But, we argue, the most important factor was our gender, since we came to know the male guides significantly better than the three female guides who did not seem to make that much of an effort or take as much of an interest in spending time with us. This aligns with Frohlich and Harrison's (2008) observation that gender can have significant impact on the research. Similarly, Barker (2012) also claims how differences in gender can shape the interview process and have an influence on the openness of an interview. Lastly, Parker-Jenkins (2018) state how gender has assisted her in gaining access. One of the reasons being female seems to open doors is, according to Gurney (1991 in Reeves, 2010), that women are stereotypically perceived as warmer and therefore pose less of a threat. However, it will likely also have some limitations, because some male-dominated environments will demand more of women in terms of professionalism and credibility according to Gurney (1991 in Reeves, 2010). This is a relevant consideration in a very patriarchal country such as Chile (Roemhildt, 2016) and it is likely linked to our experiences upon arrival where we had to assert ourselves as researchers (and independent women). We experienced some annoyance from one of the guides - he later explained to us that in the beginning he did not think we could manage staying with them, having limited space and facilities in the small cabin. We argue this is predominantly linked to our gender.

In relation to our Western background, we noticed very quickly that in this part of Chile there are not very many European tourists - at least not in the summer season. In fact, we only saw around five - visibly - Western tourists. It is safe to say that we stood out from the crowds. It also resulted in some noticeable situations where strangers would walk up to us and say things such as "what can I offer you" (refer to video 1). There might be more explanations for this experience. One being that the city is not a 'tourist city' which might have been why the contrast was so evident. It was therefore clear that we were positioned based on our Western background, blond hair and gender. The role as a Western female was also discussed by one of our interviewees, Corinne, who is British but now lives in Chile. She stated how she is still perceived a certain way due to her look and origin, and that this sometimes closes doors and other times is beneficial (see Corinne's interview in A1).

In the following section we will present and discuss our use of methods. More specifically we will present our use of ethnography as an overall approach in our use of participant observation, visual ethnography and informal interviews as methods of data collection. Furthermore, we will also discuss our use of semi-structured interviews. Lastly, we will discuss the strengths and weaknesses of our research and our method of data analysis.

Ethnography

Ethnographic research involves the application of a variation of different types of methods (O'Reilly, 2005; Konu, 2015). In the past, ethnography was traditionally most common in the field of anthropology, but is now used across the social sciences (Hannam and Knox, 2011; Knoblauch, 2005). By using ethnography as the overall research strategy, we used participant observation, ethnographic informal interviews and visual ethnography as our main methods. These will all be discussed individually in the sections to come. These methods, which aim at gaining rich descriptions, understanding and meaning from lived experiences, fit very well with our above ontological and epistemological approach (Perneckly and Jamal, 2010).

As a methodology ethnography traditionally has several underlying criteria, among others that it is iterative-inductive, involves direct contact with the culture, context and environment being studied, and that it acknowledges the role of the researcher (O'Reilly, 2005). The most important method of data collection within ethnography is fieldwork, which is especially beneficial when it comes to gathering data about social interactions, the environment and the connection between people and society and descriptions about life (Brinkmann and Tanggaard, 2010). Fieldwork always happens between people, and people act and behave according to their context, culture and history, as claimed by Brinkmann and Tanggaard (2010). This is important in our research as we are not looking for an absolute truth, but rather how knowledge is produced from interactions with other people and the environment (our social constructivist perspective). In our ethnographic research we have two different perspectives, namely the emic perspective from things we have observed or experienced (for example, during tours) and the etic perspective where we interpret situations from observation, according to Konu (2015).

The iterative-inductive nature of ethnographic work means that the research is not purely inductive, because the researcher does not go out into the field without any idea about what he or she want to consider or aim for (O'Reilly, 2005). The researcher will need to think about what they are interested in, what they think they might find, what methods they might use, what is already known about the subject and how the research is relevant (O'Reilly, 2005). We also had these considerations before embarking on our research in Chile, and also did not conduct fieldwork with no prior information as we had an overall idea. However, whilst we had a general idea and did desk research from home about the places we wanted to visit and reviewed existing literature on the subject, we remained open-minded about the possibility that everything could change once we arrived and actually got to engage with the research field. In reality, things did change many times, mostly because we were working with our gatekeeper in Chile, Hanne Sørensen (more on this later) and she ended up having an immense impact on where we ended up conducting our research.

Short-term Ethnography

Traditionally, ethnographic research has a very long timeframe, typically a year or more (Ribeiro and Foemmel, 2012). In recent years, the practice of ethnographic research with a shorter time frame has increased due to an intensification and increased productivity demands in work at universities (Hammersley, 2006; Knoblauch, 2005) as well as restrictions in time and finances (Ribeiro and Foemmel, 2012).

Our study consisted of ethnographic research in Chile with the limited duration of 16 days excluding travel time. This type of ethnography with a shorter timeframe has been called different things: short-term ethnography (Pink and Morgan, 2013), focused ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005) or quick ethnography (Handwerker, 2001; Ribeiro and Foemmel, 2012). Despite the different terminology, the underlying idea is generally the same. Still, there are some disagreements. For example, Knoblauch criticise some types of short-term ethnography for being "quick and dirty" as he argues this type of ethnography only sets out to gather information as quickly as possible without getting the complete picture of the context at hand (Pink and Morgan, 2013:353). Pink and Morgan (2013) reject this notion, arguing short-term ethnography can be very beneficial, but must be treated differently than traditional long-term ethnography. That being said, there can be some disadvantages with this type of research as the shortness of the data collection can encourage a non-historical perspective (lack of wider history and biographies) and might rise problems related to quick assumptions being made, because the researcher is not there long enough to see long-term patterns (Hammersley, 2006). So, this is something we were aware of during our research process.

It must be emphasised that short-term ethnography is not an opposite to what we might call “traditional” lengthy ethnography (Knoblauch, 2005). Instead Knoblauch (2005) argues it should be seen as complementary to traditional ethnography. However, this argument is rather invalid in our research as we did not conduct short-term ethnography as part of a longer ethnographic study. Pink and Morgan (2013) note how short-term ethnography should not be considered either superior or inferior to “traditional” ethnography, but instead one should look at what kind of research that benefits from being short-term, and the shorter duration of the research should not be the only feature to focus on (Pink and Morgan, 2013). Instead of attempting to compare these two, we will present the characteristics of short-term ethnography and how this affected our research.

According to Knoblauch (2005) short-term ethnography limits itself to certain aspects of the field. This is due to time boundaries and it makes this type of ethnography less open when defining the boundary of the field. One might argue that this is a big limitation of our research, since we can risk only looking at one thing and disregarding important observations due to silo thinking. However, as recommended by Handwerker (2001), we attempted to not let our initial understanding dictate our findings, but instead we were prepared and tried to be flexible even after finding a research topic.

Short-term ethnography has some key characteristics. Pink and Morgan (2013:355) state that it requires the researchers to be actively engaged and implicate themselves within the field and in the centre of action from the beginning. But this is not something revolutionary about short-term ethnography as all research requires engagement - Kyriakides et al (2017) even call it a methodological fact and prerequisite for conducting any research. We were actively engaged as researchers and tourists during participant observation, conversation and informal ethnographic interviews. For example, we participated in guided tours with tourists – thereby investigating the tourist experiences in our capacity as both tourists and researchers. Our roles change slightly throughout the research. In the beginning we acted (and were perceived) more as tourists than researchers, and vice versa towards the end, where we made most of our interviews and had a much more analytical mind-set, when engaging with the field.

Knoblauch (2005) also argues how this type of ethnography is more data intensive and how large amounts of data are produced in a very short period. Firstly, one might argue that this depends on the individual researchers as "traditional" ethnographic research can also be data intensive. Knoblauch (2005) claims that the use of mixed methods makes it more data intensive. In our case, we also utilised video and visual methods of data collection. We took pictures and made short video clips of activities and video-diaries with reflections. This was not due to an argument that it is more data intensive, but instead it was to avoid one-sidedness and to include more perspectives into the research, already suggested by Nietzsche back in 1969 (in O'Regan, 2015). This also aligns with our bricolage inspired research, which will be elaborated on later.

Our Multi-Person Research Team

According to Hughes et al (1995:61) short-term ethnography or as he calls it "Quick and Dirty Ethnography" can provide valuable knowledge in a short time, but the downside is that the researcher must accept that it is impossible to gather "a complete and detailed understanding of the setting at hand" (Hughes et al., 1995:61). To this Pink and Morgan (2013) claim short-term ethnography challenges the 'lone ethnographer' model, which offsets some of these limitations. We acknowledge the benefit of more researchers, but add that it is not the existence of short-term ethnography that can take credit for the move away from the "lone" ethnographer model. Horner (2004) stated that critical ethnographers have recommended collaboration and working with other researchers almost 10 years prior to Pink and Morgan's article from 2013.

Nonetheless, Knoblauch (2005) recommends data session groups in ethnographic work with smaller time frames. Precisely this is done in our research, where we were three thesis students travelling and researching together - even though we did not all write together. By this we could 'cover more ground' than a solitary researcher. The fact that we were more researchers also meant that we were able to split up to conduct some of the interviews. The primary reason for this was that we discovered it took a long time to set up interviews. We often ended up spending significant amounts of time waiting around for the interviewees to turn up - if they turned up at all (refer to video 2). This is an example of how our idea of time as Western researchers are very different to the idea of time among the interviewees as South Americans. This can be compared to Clausen's (2014) article, which among other things, argued how two groups, one Western (North American) and the other South American (Mexican) perceived and inhabited different timescapes.

With our Western concept of time we wanted to utilise this waiting time, so whilst waiting we prepared interview questions, made observations, reflected on our findings so far or shot reflective videos. This time was therefore used as part of our reflection process. We did also split up for efficiency purposes (in our Western perception, we felt the need for efficiency). We utilised that we were several researchers and therefore were able to conduct more than one interview at one time. Once, after coming back from conducting an interview, we meet up with the third student researcher, who went to do another interview. He had just finished the interview, but the interviewees invited us to join them for lunch and we ended up staying to chat (A2). This is an example of our different perspectives of time and how you could not always plan the interviews and the activities during the day as events like these happened.

Covert or Overt Research

Another important consideration when conducting ethnographic research is the idea of covert or overt research. Cover research has not gained full consent and is conducted undercover (Hannam and Knox, 2011; O'Reilly, 2005). The latter is the opposite, where researchers are upfront about their intent, identity and interviewees minimally have a loose idea about the intention of the research (Hannam and Knox, 2011; Taylor et al, 2016). We were overt about our purpose of staying in LT and the purpose of our fieldwork. As mentioned, we lived with six of the guides from Verde Tour and they were all very well informed about the purpose of our stay and our research focus. We also told all the interviewees why we were in LT and all the informal interviewees (guides, a few tourists) knew we were tourism student researchers. Of course, we observed many things and people and did not necessarily talk to all the people observed. For example, there were some other tourists with us on tour that did not all speak English. In the town of LT, it can be presumed that by the end of our time there, everybody knew we were student researchers. This is because it is a small town and the summer season was ending, when we were there, so by the end there were very few tourists or non-residents in town. This made us quite noticeable. Also, we came to know many people in the town, given it was relatively small and that we were there for much longer than "other tourists" - so when walking down the main street people would greet us and ask how our research was going (A2; A3).

Participant Observation

Within our ethnographic research we used participant observation as one of our methods. This is the main method within the field of ethnography (Atkinson et al, 2007 in Konu, 2015). Participant observation is not just one single method, but instead it should be treated as "*a strategy that facilitates data collection*" (Cole, 2005:85). Direct observations are very important in participant observation, but this method also includes informal conversations, informal interviews and even questionnaires (Cole, 2005). The key here is therefore not just to ask people questions as you would in an interview, but gain new knowledge from observation and participation as well (O'Reilly, 2005). Observations became especially important to us as we did not speak Spanish and therefore had to rely more on observations. But we also utilised it in situations where we would engage in conversation with people whilst participating on tours. Therefore, we also did informal conversations or interviews as part of our participant observation - however these will be discussed under the section 'Interviews'.

Overall, participant observation "*seeks to uncover, make accessible and reveal the meaning people use to make sense of their everyday lives*" (Jorgensen, 1999 in Cole, 2005:85). One of the key points within this is that the researchers play central roles in the process of the research and they are not seen as neutral (ibid). This is also concurred by Bennett (2002) in Hannam and Knox (2010).

Gaining Access and Building Trust

The first step in participant observation, just after site selection, is gaining access (Angrosino, 2007). It is a very important step in the research (Reeves, 2010). O'Reilly (2005) claims you need to consider your role in the group or place, you are trying to gain access to. This will ultimately affect how you are seen and how people act towards you. In our study we were tourists (or at least perceived as tourists) for a lot of the time, which might also be why we were perceived a certain way. Also, we participated in several tourist activities in which we were tourists and researchers at the same time - Scarles and Sanderson (2007) call this 'researcher-as-fellow-tourist'. Hannam and Knox (2010) also point out how roles can change during the research. In the beginning we participated in guided tours with tourists and got acquainted with the area. As the days went by, we started thinking more analytically and conducted more interviews. As our roles changed, so did the nature of our interactions with members of the local community, the guides and other local business owners. We became better acquainted and managed to build relationships nearing friendships (at least that is how we perceived it - refer to video 3). In relation to this is trust, which is one of the cornerstones of long-term participant observation, which usually takes a year or more (Adams, 2012). We did not have a year, but we used multiple methods to add multiple perspectives and depth - as seen in bricolage research (O'Regan, 2015) to compensate for this. The trust and friendship-like relationships that we build in a relatively short period of time - we claim, is to be seen as criteria of success with our participant observation.

Our Use of Gatekeepers

To gain access it is recommended to use gatekeepers, which can help provide access to a field (Reeves, 2010; Ribeiro and Foemmel, 2013; Taylor et al, 2016). This is primarily because it can be challenging to get access if you just walk up to a group and start asking them questions (Ribeiro and Foemmel, 2013). This is mostly because researchers often come from another context - socially and culturally - and gaining access can therefore prove to be difficult (Brinkmann and

Tanggaard, 2010). In this section we will argue that our different social and cultural contexts both opened and closed doors.

We had three gatekeepers who all helped us in different stages of the research. Our thesis supervisor, Helene Clausen, was our first gatekeeper. Her primary role was to put us in contact with our next and main gatekeeper, Hanne Sørensen, the director of the Ecotourism programme at one of the universities in Chile.

After our supervisor had facilitated the connection, we took contact to Hanne Sørensen. She helped us with practical matters before travelling to Chile, but she also participated in an informal interview (and later a semi-structured interview) as well as assisted us by suggesting people we could talk to (A2). At one point, she also introduced us to a Chilean family, who were on the first tour with us, which helped us make contact with them later (A2).

Hanne put us in contact with our third gatekeeper - her son, Antonio Sorensen, co-owner of Verde Tour. He also participated in a semi-structured interview. In his role as our gatekeeper he gave us many contacts (A2). Our connection with Antonio also meant we were able to participate in several tours, where we gained access to tourists and could examine the experience. He was also the reason that we ended up staying in the cabin with Verde Tour's guides, which opened many doors and ultimately meant that we were put in contact with even more people.

One might argue our use of gatekeepers meant we were excluding some people from our research. But as LT is a very small town and Antonio knew almost everybody, we claim this was an immense asset to our research. In Antonio's role as our gatekeeper, he was a key knowledge broker, which is the person who makes decisions on how knowledge is introduced (Phi et al, 2017), due to his connections and knowledge in and about LT. He was able to tell us who would be beneficial to talk to, who spoke English and what times potential interviewees are usually available (A2). His role as our gatekeeper also meant that we positioned ourselves in a certain way. When he facilitated the connection, we were more accepted by the interviewees and they seemed very comfortable sharing. This is likely because Antonio had negotiated a high level of social capital with the residents in town in which we were able to utilise. Similarly, Reeves (2010) also found that when someone vouches for you, you have easier access.

Gatekeepers have a great deal of power in shaping the direction of the research as they can refuse access, determine how and to which degree participants are informed about the research (Sanghera and Thapa-Bjorkert, 2008; Taylor et al, 2016). The gatekeeper also positions the researcher and might even attempt to control the research, for example, by directing researchers to a narrow range of informants (Sanghera and Thapa-Bjorkert, 2008; Reeves, 2010). This is one of the drawbacks of our research as Antonio might have (unintentionally) directed us towards a narrow selection of informants. Yet, we argue the benefit of using gatekeepers far outweighs the drawbacks - especially considering how we were positioned.

How we Participated and Observed

Once access is gained participant observation can start. There are several ways to approach the concept of participating according to O'Reilly (2005). She argues you "*need to participate to the extent that people get used to your presence and start to act naturally around you*" (O'Reilly, 2015: 96). In regards to this, we experienced how in the beginning, the atmosphere in the cabin in which we stayed was a little bit more formal and perhaps tense, because we did not know any of the people staying there and they probably felt a little bit uncomfortable with our presence. As the days past we came to know them and the atmosphere became relaxed and friendly. We would participate in group activities such as watching the TV series Game of Thrones at night (A2). This is an example of how the guides gradually became less tense about our presence.

Participant observation has two sides to it. The 'observation' part is the passive side (Taylor et al, 2016), but also the objective side where the researcher is simply present but not participating (O'Reilly, 2005). As a participant observer, the researcher is observing as well as participating, for example by taking part in the activity (Veal, 2011). However, just from being around and being present, some argue you will have an influence on the conditions of the situation and your surroundings (O'Reilly, 2005). But this is not an issue, because, we are not objective researchers and we are not trying to be detached from the situation. To get people to act as naturally around us as possible, we worked hard on establishing friendship-like relations by engaging in everyday practices or social activities (A2; A3). In this way, what would be a "waste of time" in a European context created good opportunities for us.

One could argue, we used the observation part of participant observation at all times. We observed constantly, but focused observation primarily took place during our guided tours, during informal interviews and from walking around LT. An example was during our informal interview with Hanne, where we simultaneously observed how many tourists came and left Verde Tour's office without being able to buy a tour, because the maximum number of ten people had already been reached for the following days of tours (A2).

Through participation we were able to "*become a participant in the social process being studied*" (Veal, 2011:246), and therefore we are increasingly able to relate to the actions of others as they understand themselves through interaction and interpretation (O'Reilly, 2005; Andersen, 2013). In our case, we participated in guided tours with tourists primarily to understand the tourists' experiences. Through participating we got a richer experience than if we had just observed the tourists passively, because we more easily understand their reactions and we can use our experiences as a perspective. Since we were on the tour, we were also able to conduct opportunistic interviews with the English-speaking participants or guides (refer to video 4). One of the benefits, according to O'Reilly (2005), is also that we were able to experience the tours ourselves, instead of hearing about it from the tourists afterwards, which we only could from the English-speaking ones - but no-matter the language barriers, we could always observe on tour.

Writing Fieldnotes

As seen in A2 and A3, we wrote notes during our participant observation. These notes were either from the semi-structured interviews (if it was not recorded), informal interviews or observations. We wrote notes several times a day and carried a small notebook with us in case we needed to write something down on the go. We also wrote notes on our phones, for example, if it was not appropriate to take out a notebook in clearly social situations, where we were having a meal or a drink with one of the guides or other people that we came to know. We also found this was more discrete during tours as we already had our phones out to take pictures (refer to video 5).

Visual Ethnography

In our ethnographic research, we also included some visual ethnography. The use of video and other types of visual media is very typical in a short-term ethnographic study (Pink and Morgan, 2013). It is emphasised, the use of visual ethnography does not claim to find an absolute truth, but offers versions of experiences of reality within the context (Pink, 2007). We decided to include visual ethnography to support our interviews and observations to get better insight into the experiences and tourism development in LT. We took many videos and photographs – some of these can be seen in the analysis chapter (e.g. refer to video 5 or see pictures in A4).

We used what Scarles (2010) refers to as visual autoethnography as we took pictures and made video material about our surroundings and during activities (the visual ethnography part), but we also shot video of ourselves in self-reflective videos (the "auto" part). With visual autoethnography new spaces of understanding can be opened as this method allows for increased reflection (Scarles, 2010). We, as researchers, became "the researched", which aligns well with the subjective shift in autoethnography (Scarles and Sanderson, 2007). We used the videos to express our methodological reflections and our thoughts about the research (as seen in the videos linked throughout this methodology chapter, see list in A6). We decided to do this, because it helped us reflect on our methodological process whilst in Chile. This is linked to the strengths of visual autoethnography from ethnography including, what Rafee et al (2015:400) call "self-reflective selection and interpretation". It means that we utilised the benefits of the self-reflective nature of the method to help us be more self-reflective in our use of methods and way of conducting research in Chile. As suggested by Scarles and Sanderson (2007) we used the videos to reflect, express anticipations, imaginations and experiences.

Pink and Morgan (2013) also state that through visual material we are able to re-engage with the field, even though our actual ethnographic encounter is relatively short. We argue that it is not so much about re-engaging, but instead videos and other visual material helped us visualise and remember. Watching the videos and looking at the pictures upon returning home has given us new perspectives and helped us visualize and remember what we experienced when we were there. A good example of something which we realised from the material, is the effect of non-human actors (as a sustainability problem) on the experience. These videos have also assisted in the writing of the methodological chapter as we have actual footage of a lot of the steps in the research process (e.g. footage of us conducting informal interviews or doing participant observation). This aligns with Taylor et al.'s (2016) point that visual material is useful in presenting and demonstrating results and findings.

Making the videos became much more about our reflections and our research process. It made us reflect during our entire stay and not just when actively making the video, because we knew, we had to make them. Also, because we had to put our thoughts on video, it became sort of a performance, where we became very self-conscious about our self-reflectivity - as other people 'had to' see it, we were forced to reflect more than we likely would have at that given time. Overall, the videos became a way for us to express and utilise the synergy from being two researchers – so, our synergies and reflections are also documented in a new way. This type of research is a quite unexplored technique in tourism research, but it aligns with the shift in recent years towards *''situating' the researcher through self-reflectivity"* (Scarles and Sandersson, 2007:253).

Pictures was used to support and document the objects, atmosphere and movements that the interviewees were describing or that we observed to get an understanding of the experience or sustainable practices. We find it relevant to use visual communication, because it complements the verbal and textual communication – according to Taylor et al (2016) visual material can convey things that words simply cannot. Visual material helps us analyse the material in more depth, because we have different types of data - but also in a more practical sense, we are able to explain our use of methods with more perspectives, because we can use both textual and visual ways to communicate.

Ethical Considerations

Naturally, there are some ethical considerations which need to be examined in the use of visual ethnography. According to Hirst (2017) there are three main things to address: privacy, consent and telling the truth. The two former relates to our research being overt, meaning we did not do undercover research and all the participants, including those appearing on the footage, were aware of our purpose in Las Trancas. But, to protect privacy, we primarily documented our informal interviews whilst the interviewees were facing the camera with their backs (refer to video 4). Almost all of our videos face one of the three researchers during participant observation or leisure activities or as seen in the reflective videos (as linked throughout this chapter). In most other cases the object was non-human and therefore consent is not an issue. Lastly, there is the issue of telling the truth as it is unethical to modify images or change the connotation (Hirst, 2017). This feeds into the trustworthiness of our research and therefore we have made an effort to display the material as we understand it to be true, in the proper context of the material and without making any adjustments that can change the meaning. If we did this, it is clearly bad research form. The fact that we are more than one researcher also helps us justify our research and increase our trustworthiness regarding credibility and confirmability. This will be discussed in more detail under the section "The Trustworthiness of our Research".

Analysing the Ethnographic Material

There is not one way to analyse ethnographic material (Angrosino, 2007). In most ethnographic research one would start with organizing notes, sorting data into categories, concepts, look for patterns and later explanations to understand the findings (Angrosino, 2007; O'Reilly, 2005). After this stage comes the theoretical analysis where patterns are considered in light of existing theories and literature and findings are put in relation to this (Angrosino, 2007).

Our analysis of the ethnography data started before we returned home from conducting fieldwork (refer to our fieldnotes with analytical reflections in A2 and A3). This is common with participant observation, where data analysis is an ongoing process (Rossman and Rallis, 2012 in Taylor et al, 2016). Thus, we cannot pinpoint a specific analytical stage of the research as this is mixed up with the remaining fieldwork. We analysed all the time - during interviews, participant observation and whilst writing fieldnotes. O'Reilly (2005) concurs with this and also states that this is not actually something unique to ethnographic work. Naturally, some parts of the writing up process focus more on the analysis than others, but overall the analysis of data remains an on-going process.

In the following, we will discuss our final type of data collection, namely our use of interviews - both informal and semi-structured.

Interviews

In addition to the obtained data and information gained through participant observation and visual ethnography, informal ethnographic interviews and semi-structured interviews became an important part of our empirical data. The purposes of the different interviews with various local actors were to collect empirical data about LT from members of the local community to know more about the tourism development in the area and to understand how they are working with sustainability and experiences. To get an understanding of the tourists' experiences and perspective of sustainability, we also interviewed (and observed) tourists on-site. Most of the semi-structured interviews were conducted in the end of the summer season or in the low season, and this was an advantage, because many of the interviewees were working in local businesses (or owned them) and therefore had more time to talk with us. An overview of the interviewees is shown in appendix 5.

We conducted two forms of interviews. The first is what we will call "ethnographic interviews" or sometimes "informal interviews". These are the interviews conducted 'in the field', for example, during participant observation. They are not planned and are more characterised as a conversation between people with notes mostly being written later. We also did semi-structured interviews which were planned and a loose interview guide was used to direct the interview. Most of these were recorded. In the following we will present the two types of interviews, why we decided on these and what challenges we experienced with this choice of method.

Ethnographic Informal Interviews

We used informal interviewing, also known as making interviews 'in the field' (Brinkmann and Tanggard, 2010) or '(in-depth) qualitative interviews' (Taylor et al, 2016). Using informal, conversational interviews is a common strategy in fieldwork in the classical sense (Brinkmann and Tanggard, 2010). This type of interview is "*characterized by a total lack of control structure or control*" and happens during "the course of everyday social interactions" (Barker, 2012:58).
In other words, the interview is relaxed and conservational in nature (Taylor et al, 2016). The advantage is that it allows the researcher to shape and change the questions depending on the interviewee (Brinkmann and Tanggard, 2010). We have used informal interviews to collect

empirical data, where we took notes of our findings throughout day-to-day interactions. Daily, we talked casually with people on tours (refer to video 7), in our cabin, in the restaurants etc., and later wrote findings down as fieldnotes. How useful these situations were very much depended on the context and who we were talking to. Sometimes fruitful things came up in casual conversations without prior anticipation of this. Other times we approached specific people with the anticipation of a fruitful outcome, which was not always fulfilled. This example aligns with Barker's (2012) notion how ethnographic interviews are personal in nature and the outcome depends on the relationship between the involved parties as conversations can unfold in different directions depending on the people involved.

According to Barker (2012:3) researchers use the terms e*mbeddedness* and *openness,* when talking about and understanding the dynamics of ethnographic interviews. Embeddedness is the level of which the interviews are happening in the social world or are isolated from it (Barker, 2012). Context (social, cultural and material factors) and the location of the interview can have an influence on whether the interviewers are in the social world or not (ibid). An advantage of embeddedness is that the collected data will often have more nuances and depth (Barker, 2012).

An example of how it added value for us to make informal interviews in the interviewees' own context is when we talked to one of the guides at Verde Tour, Bastian, whilst on tour with him. Here, we were able to ask him questions and he could tell and show us things in the immediate local area e.g. about the tourist development in the particular area (A3). Another example is when we talked to a German tourist, Jörgen, whilst walking up to one of the volcanoes. We interviewed him about his experiences and his view on Verde Tour's sustainability focus, while we were talking about other things as well (refer to video 4). It therefore seemed very natural, and the topic was discussed naturally within the flow of the exiting conversation (A2). One might argue that it influences the tourist - in this case Jörgen's - experience negatively that we had this conversation during the tour. For example, if he would have preferred to just walk by himself in silence or talked more with the guide or other people on the tour. However, to us it seemed like he sought out speaking to us and did not mind our questions - it is assumed, because the interview was informal and conversational in nature.

Several studies say that it is not possible to attain the appropriate level of embeddedness from only a single interview or conversation (Barker, 2012). Similarly, Taylor et al (2016) also claim how the interpretation is more assertive, when multiple interviews are conducted with people. This is why we sought to interview people as frequently as possible to get the necessary level of embeddedness and in-depth data. We conducted multiple interviews with cabaña owners, restaurants owners, tour operators and guides. We conducted these interviews continuously, and because we lived with some of the guides, we were able to ask follow-up questions in a very natural and non-intrusive manner, because we did not have to make plans to conduct scheduled interviews.

Semi-structured Interviews

We also conducted semi-structured interviews, which are based on a few guidelines in an interview guide with an overall theme (Andersen, 2010). The role of the interview guide is to thematise the interview, but the questions do not need to be taken in the exact order, but should instead go with the natural flow as stressed by Barker (2012). The aim is to get qualitative, in-depth data, which relates to the context of the interviewees (ibid). Interview guides can go from very structured to relatively loose (Qu and Dumay, 2011). We decided to have a loose interview guide, thus, our semi-structured interviews had a high level of openness, but still had a degree of interviewer control (Bernard, 1988:204). An interview can be characterized by to what degree the interview is standardized or structuralized (Andersen, 2010). If all the interviewees are being asked the same questions in the same order, it is standardized (ibid). The degree of structuralizing depends if the subject is formed during the interview, or if it is defined before the interview (Andersen, 2010). It means there are different degrees of controlling the interview, depending on the type of interview (ibid). Additionally, it is recommended by Barker (2012) to start out the interview informally and then lead the interview from there. We, too, initiated small-talk to make the interview setting as natural and comfortable as possible, and from there directed towards the prearrange interview guide.

We decided to make most of the interviews together with the third student researcher, because we wanted to disturb the interviewees as little as possible. However, we do recognize that it might be a limitation because it can be overwhelming to have three people sitting in front of you to conduct the interview, and it might have affected the interviewees' answers. Some of the interviews we split up because it was timesaving (again in our Western perception of time). We gave the third researcher the questions we wanted him to ask the interviewees, but a disadvantage was that it was not possible for us to ask follow-up questions. However, we received the recordings, so we can still engage with the materials well.

We made both recorded interviews and non-recorded interviews. We decided not to record some of the interviews, because it seemed inappropriate and it can inhibit respondents, as also claimed by Veal (2011). For instance, one of the interviewees, Felipe, seemed uncomfortable with the interview and it felt inappropriate to record it. Also, Dani and Juan Paulo spoke limited English and we were talking with them in their living room with their little baby, so we did not feel it was a situation to record. We did record most of the semi-structured interviews, because this is more accurate than writing notes, as Opdenakker (2006) suggests. These interviews were planned, and the participants properly informed. For example, we recorded Hanne's interview without any problem, because she is a professor, used to handling students and was very well informed about the topic of our research. Francisco's interview seemed very official as we were sitting at his office and it felt appropriate to record. Generally, we made all the interviewees aware that the recordings were only to be used for our thesis. We also decided that one of us took notes and the other would try to keep eye contact with interviewee to make them more comfortable and so they felt that we were properly listening.

Recording the interviews meant that we did not have to write as many notes and could be more present in the interview, but unfortunately on some of the recordings it was hard to hear what the interviewees were saying due to either children or cars interrupting (Antonio's), customers asking questions (Francisco's) or sounds from the natural environment (Hanne's). Background noise is a disadvantage of doing face-to-face interviews compared to written communication (Opdenakker, 2006). That is why one of us also took notes - also in case the recordings did not work as Opdenakker (2006) also recommends. The reason for this is linked to our choice of interview setting. In all cases, the interviewees themselves decided where we should conduct the interview. This resulted in some less than ideal places when it comes to using recording devices. Despite these disadvantages, we still feel the interviewers were more comfortable because we ended up conducting the interviews in more informal settings and/or in settings of their choice, and this compensates for the occasional missed word in the recordings. That being said, noise in recordings should not just be seen meaningless. In some studies, like Oliver et al (2005), noise can be very valuable in coding involuntary or non-verbal vocalizations – among other things.

Overall, we used Kvale's (2007) recommendations on how to generate meaning from qualitative material - we generated knowledge by noting patterns and themes, clustering, making contrasts and comparisons to finally bring together a more coherent understanding of the empirical data. We did not merely do this after the interviews were conducted or experiences we had. We continuously reflected and interpreted our interviews and observations. This, for example, meant that we were able to change some of the questions in new interviews to reflect the former interviews, but also that our analysis of the material in reality started way before we returned home from conducting our fieldwork. Whilst conducting interviews, we would attempt to actively listen, analyse and interpret for the purpose of asking follow-up questions. Our positioning helped us in the preliminary analysis of the interviews as we would focus on more elements of the interview as two individual researchers, which helped us avoid the limitation of only seeing the data from one perspective. From being more than one researcher, we are then also able to interpret from "multiple vantage points", which add more reflexivity into the research - one of the things that Hertz (1997 in Rogers, 2012:4) recommends engaging with in the qualitative research process.

Pragmatics and Challenges

There are always practical issues with any fieldwork experience in regard to the embodied issues of the research (Frohlick and Harrison, 2008). Every choice we make will have an impact on who we talk to or participate with (ibid). Also, how we look, our age, gender, race and sexuality play a role in our relation as researchers (ibid). We will discuss some of these challenges in this section of the chapter.

The Importance of Language

We find ourselves situated in the social constructivist paradigm, where language plays a big role in the making of knowledge, since we are creating our view on the world together with other people in a social convention, as Holm (2014) claims. However, there is no certain connection between the world we are situated in and the concepts we use about it – so language therefore does not depict reality in itself (Holm, 2014). The portrayed world is created in cooperation with others (ibid). In our thesis, language is important because we enter into conversations with community members, business owners and tourists in LT to get a better understanding of sustainable tourism practices and experiences.

One of our biggest challenges was related to language. Many of the community members, business owners and tourists did not speak English very well and we did not speak Spanish. This can be a critique, because misunderstandings can occur during interviews. Most of our interviewees had another mother tongue than English, and therefore there might have been some answers that were not expressed as thoroughly as it would have been in the interviewees' own mother tongue. It was noticeable in Rosa Maria's interview due to her limited command of English, and she sometimes misunderstood our questions or simply answered something else. But her interview was still useful, because she still made valid points that related to the research.

Our lack of Spanish meant that we naturally excluded some people from our research if they did not speak English well enough for us to interview or talk to them – however, we were still able to make observations. This is a limitation of our research as we might have excluded some important points of views from our data collection. However, we conducted situated research for a few weeks and the town is not very large, so we do feel that we covered the area quite extensively given we also did participant observation.

The language challenges meant we were more aware of other types of communication or ways of expressing oneself. This can be body language, facial expressions or tone of voice when speaking. An example of this is when we went on a River tour with two Chilean tourists, who were notably less and less comfortable with the activities on the tour, which included jumping on slippery rocks near a waterfall. Despite not being able to communicate it was very evident that the two tourists did not enjoy the activity and had to be extensively assisted by the guide (A3).

Living with Verde Tour's Guides

Due to our social constructivist perspective, it is very important to consider the complexity of the researcher - researched relationship (Wang, 2012). Even though our 'researched' is not just Verde Tour's guides, they are an important part. Because we lived with the guides, it meant the perspective of that particular tour operator and their respective employees weigh heavily in our research. We were quite aware of this and utilised our connections within Verde Tour to branch out and talk to other people in town, who were not affiliated with the company. We discussed this under the section about gatekeepers. We got to know the owners of Verde Tour and the guides quite well. This meant that they invited us to participate in social engagements and to spend time with them on their days off. We saw this as good opportunities to connect and participate in activities, which we otherwise would not have had the chance to. Examples of this includes our unofficial guided tours with one of the guides, invitation to participate in social engagements, which were just for "locals" including barbeques, town celebrations or after-work drinks (A2; A3). These are examples of how our roles changed during the research (between tourist, researcher, "friend") - also noted by Wang (2012). At these events we met new people, made new relations, which we were able to utilise at later research stages. We build relationships with the guides, which made our stay in the cabaña more relaxed, but it also meant that they were more willing to help us get contacts and with our research in general (refer to video 8). That befriending interviewees can result in increased opportunities for contact was also found by Wang (2012) and Iphofen (2013). This is very important in ethnographic work, because we were then increasingly accepted and interactions were able to go beyond, what Parker-Jenkins (2008:26) calls "superficial politeness".

We went on tours with Verde Tour, and the people that we lived with, were the guides on the tour. Our relationship with the guides seemed to benefit our research. For instance, during a tour one of the guides sat down with us to talk about tourism development in LT and brought our attention to several good points. This was without us approaching him to ask questions – instead he volunteered this information, presumably because we had already built a relationship with him (A2).

The Trustworthiness of our Research

In this section, we will elaborate the alternative ways of looking at the traditional validity and reliability criteria of evaluating qualitative research. The concepts of validity and reliability is not to be used to evaluate the trustworthiness of qualitative research – it belongs to positivistic and quantitative approaches (Taylor et al, 2016; Trochim, 2016). Therefore, researchers have suggested that qualitative research needs to be evaluated using a different approach, a different set of criteria (Barker, 2012). Qualitative research should not be concerned with the idea of something being true or false in relation to an external reality, which is the main concern in measuring validity (Trochim, 2016). Guba and Lincoln (in Trochim, 2016) argue there are various ways to judge the quality of qualitative research. They present four alternative approaches to validity and reliability which are Credibility, Transferability, Dependability and Confirmability (Trochim, 2016). We will use these terms and throughout this thesis, we have tried to show transparency by including our thoughts during the process. In the following section we will discuss the application of these different criteria to our thesis.

Credibility

Credibility is equivalent to internal validity in quantitative research (Barker, 2012). When positivist researchers are trying to address the criteria of validity, they want to seek, measure or test what is actually intended (Shenton, 2004). However, Lincoln and Guba stress in qualitative studies it is important to ensure credibility to establish trustworthiness (Shenton, 2004). The credibility criterion is about whether the qualitative research is credible or believable from the perspective of the interviewee (Trochim, 2016). The purpose of evaluating credibility is to illustrate the research was done in a way that confirms the subjects have been described and understood in a detailed and correct way as seen from the interest of the interviewees (ibid). Bryman (2012) argues that the use of multiple methods gives the research more credibility, because different methods can be used for different purposes and to test whether the data analysis of research agrees with the actual situation of the phenomena (Shenton, 2004).

We used interviews, participant observation and visual ethnography to give the research more credibility as we gain knowledge from different perspectives. Interviews were primarily conducted to understand sustainable practices in local tourism businesses and participant observation when observing the tourist' experience. However, we did also interview some tourists and made observations regarding local businesses. To increase the trustworthiness of our findings, we considered utilizing various types of data collection methods. Before the interviews, the interviewees were told about the purpose of the interview and they were asked if the interview recordings could be used in our thesis, which according to Bryman (2016) is the rule of good practice. We did not go after a specific target group when doing interviews and observations, but observed all the tourists on the different tours and tried to make interviews with a broad variety of local businesses. We have the contact information from all interviewees and are therefore able, if needed, to have them evaluate the credibility of our research results.

Dependability

The traditional quantitative view on reliability is built on the assumption of whether it is possible to come up with the same results, if the research was made twice using the same methods (Trochim, 2016). Yet, Trochim (2016) argues this is not possible, because if you are measuring twice, you are measuring two different things. Qualitative research instead looks at dependability, which simply put is to evaluate how dependable the results are (Streubert and Carpenter, 2011). Instead the research is responsible for informing readers about research variations and what impact it can have on the results of the research (Trochim, 2016). As mentioned, we are aware as social constructivists that our gatekeepers from LT and participants' subjectivity might affect our collected data and has ultimately shaped the research result. We also acknowledge the impossibility of attaining an objective truth. If we had made the research during high season, the observed tourist experiences had most likely been different due to the higher number of tourists. Likewise, the local tourism businesses might have been busier and would not have had the same time to talk with us. Furthermore, if we had visited LT in the winter, there are other activities available and it likely affects the tourists' behaviours and experiences. Due to language barriers we mostly observed tourists. If we were able to talk with more tourists, the result might have been another as well. But, the research conducted is still useful as long as we are aware that these conditions might have had an impact on our research and that it will not be possible for us or other researchers to get the exact same results twice.

Even though one might not be able to recreate our results precisely, it can be argued that the dependability of the research is increased, because we used visual ethnography to document (among other things) our use of methods. This means that other researchers are able to see precisely how, for example, we conducted informal interviews whilst on tours (refer to video 4 or video 7).

Transferability

According to Baker (2012) transferability in qualitative studies parallels external validity in quantitative studies. When looking at the transferability of research results, one must evaluate the degree of generalization of the results when transferred to other situations, contexts and settings (Streubert and Carpenter, 2011; Trochim, 2016). It is important to describe the context and the use of research thoroughly to get a higher degree of transferability in qualitative studies (Trochim, 2016). It is necessary to take the degree of similarity of the study and settings into consideration, if the research is transferred and used in another research field (ibid). Since the findings of a qualitative project is specific to a small number of particular environments and individuals, it is impossible to demonstrate that the findings and conclusions are applicable to other situations and populations (Shenton, 2004). Erlandson et al (in Shenton, 2004) argue it is impossible to prove that the results are applicable to other situations and context, because qualitative research studies are often specific to a particular environment and specific individuals. In contrary to this, Stake and Dencombe (in Shenton, 2004) stress that even though each qualitative study may be unique, it is part of a wider group, and the degree of transferability should not be rejected immediately.

We are subjective researchers - in order to show transparency in the research process we have attempted to include our thoughts, challenges and other methodological considerations we had during the research process. Therefore, the reader can also assess the transferability in the section 'Our Positioning', where it is discussed how we are positioned. We believe that through our research we have been able to generate knowledge about the research problem, which can be used to draw a linkage between the theoretical fields of sustainable practices and experiences, and how they affect each other. During the research process we have attempted to make a clear structure, demonstrate clear legibility so the reader can easily comprehend our choices, our way of thinking and the idea with the thesis overall as suggested by Veal (2011). In this regard, we believe the degree of transferability is increased and therefore one might be able to transfer some part of the research to other situations. This is for example the suggestion that sustainability perspectives should be included in experience research, and vice versa – but not our actual findings, which are specific to LT. That being said, we are social constructivists and therefore do not seek to generalise research conclusions, but our findings may be applicable to other similar destinations. This is because, as suggested by Yin (2009), even though the conclusion cannot be generalised in this type of study, approaches might.

Confirmability

Lastly, we will be applying the concept of confirmability, which is the counterpart to parallels objectivity in qualitative studies (Barker, 2012). Confirmability refers to the degree in which the outcomes and process can be confirmed, verified and followed by others (Streubert and Carpenter, 2011; Trochim, 2016). In relation to the measure of this, Guba and Lincoln (1989) argue that it is not important whether people are subjective, biased or unreliable, because this is simply how people are. In qualitative research, researches bring a unique perspective to the study (Trochim, 2016). According to Bryman (2012) it is impossible to stay objective, but the researcher should make an effort not to allow personal value or feelings affect the conducted data and the findings. We are social constructivist and this is the reason that we are not trying to be objective, but that we are aware of our position throughout the whole processes. The advantages of being two researchers is that we can be reflective and critical to each other – we have had ongoing discussions and challenged each other which has helped us to understand our biases. This aligns with Angrosino's (2007) claim that multiple research teams increased confirmability, which is especially important in observation-based research (like parts of ours), because we were two or three researchers to legitimize each other's observations. In order to have a high degree of confirmability, we have attempted to explain our general methods and research processes step by step in as much detail as possible throughout this chapter. Also, understanding the positioning of ourselves, but also of other actors involved (including our gatekeepers), helps to improve the confirmability of our research.

Overall, we have demonstrated how we, as researchers, have attempted to ensure the trustworthiness of this qualitative research. In our point of view, we believe that the four criteria to measure trustworthiness in qualitative research – credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability – generally have been satisfied, primarily through the researchers' continual efforts to stay reflective of themselves and of one another.

Method of Analysis

We have discussed the method of analysis under the individual paragraphs, but with this we wish to elaborate on our research approach and method of analysis overall.

Bricolage-inspired Research

Our research collection and analysis was inspired by Kvale's (2007) bricolage research. This means using a mixture of analytical techniques and technical discourses. Kvale (2007) argues that this is a very common way to analyse, for example, interviews. In tourism this approach is relatively new territory, meaning that when applied right it can lead to innovations within methodology and diversification of research within tourism (O'Regan, 2015). With this approach, we are able to roam more unrestrained between conceptual approaches and methods to generate new knowledge (Kvale, 2007). The bricolage analysis technique is freer, but it does have some overall characteristics (ibid). The overall approach might, for example, be reading through the interview transcriptions, forming a general understanding and impression, then re-reading interesting passages, capture core understandings, visualise findings etc. to bring out our structures and connections in the data (Kvale, 2007). Therefore, this technique is to be seen as a contrast to other analytical interview tools, which - for example - use more structuralized approaches such as categorization and conversation analysis (Kvale, 2007). This was beneficial in our analysis, because we used the empirical data to adjust and add new perspectives to existing literature.

We argue that our use of bricolage as an analytical tool fits very well, because bricolage as a research method, for example, involves using multiple sources of data (Wibberley, 2017), which we also have in our research. Also, since the bricolage analysis method is multi-perspectival, as claimed by Rogers (2012), this benefits our analysis. For example, we are able to analyse the material using our preferred individual way and thereby, utilising our different perspectives to create new knowledge.

We used bricolage to engage in curious, exploratory research, in which we - more or less - would follow the stream of the potential interviewees - this meant we would engage in everyday activities, social activities or not pre-planned official or unofficial tours, depending on the day (see A2 and A3). These experiences then informed (and shaped) our research. O'Regan (2015) states how this is a way that research can be informed by the concreteness of the lived situation.

The above has presented our use of methods and how these choices affected our research. In the following chapter, we will introduce and discuss the literature concerning the concept of sustainability and experiences in order to inform our analysis and later discussion.

Literature Review

One of the goals of this thesis is to link the concept of sustainability to the concept of experience in tourism. In order to set the foundation for our thesis, this chapter will elaborate and discuss some of the central concepts in our research question: sustainability and experiences. The theoretical considerations for this thesis will be presented in the shape of a review of the existing literature. To the best of the authors' knowledge, linking sustainability and experiences is not something that has been done very much in tourism. This is also concurred by Petriconi (2016) and Higham and Carr (2003) arguing the perspective of the tourist experience in some forms of sustainable tourism has been researched very little. There is some research related to tourist experiences and how to use sensescapes to develop a competitive sustainable destination, but this is more a marketing point of view (e.g. Agapito, 2013; Prazeres and Donohoe, 2014). Further, Petriconi (2016) claims how there is a missing link between the implementation of sustainable tourism practices and how this ultimately affects the experiences of the tourist. We argue most of the existing theory focus on either sustainability or experiences, but very few combine them. Additionally, the literature on sustainability focuses on the suppliers, not the tourist, so little attention is paid to how the experience of the tourist can be relevant to sustainability (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). Budeanu et al (2016) also encourage more focus on communicating sustainable impacts to tourists, but also to acknowledge how sustainable practices does not automatically result in significant tourism experiences. With this thesis, we would like to close this gap in the literature by, first, dealing with the topic of sustainability in tourism, and secondly, the topic of experiences in this literature review. We acknowledge different approaches to these concepts exist, but by clarifying and explaining how we understand the central elements in this thesis, we can argue why we use them to answer our overall research question. Through analysis and discussion, we will explore how these concepts work together in practice in Valle Las Trancas, and what value they can have for each other.

Sustainability and Tourism

Since the 1980s, especially following the well-known Brundtland Report, several forms of sustainable tourism have been developed to become established in policies, strategies and research about tourism as part of a growing awareness related to the negative implications of mass tourism (e.g. Anderson et al., 2015; Budeanu et al., 2016; Jamal et al., 2013). In the most basic way of looking at it, the concern regarding sustainability is that human impacts pose a threat to the survival of humans and the overall ecosystem (Buckley, 2012). This is arguably too reductionist and therefore we acknowledge Mowforth and Munt's (2016) point that sustainability should be debated in a broader context, where different ideas of sustainability can be debated and used. Likewise, The Ministry of Tourism in Brazil (2007 in Diettrich et al., 2016) also warns that sustainability should not be seen as synonym of ecotourism[2] in opposition to mass tourism, but argues that the concept should be applied to all kinds and segments of tourism development. A similar argument is made by Eusebio et al (2016), who also add how the concept is especially important in many rural destinations which tend to be more environmentally fragile. How sustainability is perceived is important in our research as we, among other things, will be looking at how sustainability is perceived by some of our interviewees.

Additionally, Jamal et al (2013:4595) suggest, in a lot of the tourism research, the focus has been on defining the concept, certification schemes and "the science of tourism impacts". They argue that this is not unimportant, but the debate is missing some important dimensions, for example, relating to the perspectives of those most affected by tourism (Jamal et al., 2013). Despite many scholars studying the concept, there is still no common understanding or vision (Budeanu et al., 2016). Yet, there has been established an international consensus which recognises that sustainable development is the direction that tourism should take, which has resulted in a shift in the perception of the relationship between nature, people and development (Portet et al., 2000 in Jensen, 2014). Mowforth and Munt (2016) go on to argue that sustainability is defined, interpreted and imagined different depending on the individual, the social group or the organisation in question. Therefore, they claim, the concept is constructed socially and politically to consider the interest and value of the individuals involved (Mowforth and Munt, 2016).

[2] Ecotourism is typically defined by emphasising three features: that it is conducted in natural environments, makes positive contributions to all dimensions of sustainability in the places visited, and that is focuses on providing tourists the possibility to learn, understand and develop positive attitudes towards the sustainability of the place visited (Kerstetter et al., 2004 in Walker and Moscardo, 2014:1175).

One of the main criticisms of sustainability is that it needs to consider the wider social context - otherwise it is just a 'theoretical white elephant' (Wheeller, 2012 in Budeanu et al., 2016). Once context is taken into consideration, tourism then also have the possibility to have more positive contributions to a society (Budeanu et al., 2016). This is important because people have different ways to best manage their surroundings and environments depending on who you ask (Budeanu et al., 2016). In other words, the context in which tourism is developed will have a big influence on how sustainability is perceived - for example, Clausen and Gyimothy (2016) concluded the community members in their study had incompatible visions in relation to sustainability, which illustrate how a community should not merely be seen as a homogenous group that always agrees. It needs to be recognised, there will be contrasting interests and visions, which stem from local development politics and power structures (Clausen and Gyimothy, 2016). In our research, we are talking about sustainable development practices in the town of Las Trancas. As this is a destination, this means that there are many complexities due to the wide range of different stakeholders involved as also claimed by Mottiar and Boluk (2017).

Another problem with the concept of sustainability is that tourism businesses (and we argue other types of businesses too) have been the subject of criticism due to them only adapting sustainable tourism practices, which have benefits to their reputation (Sheldon and Park, 2011 in Budeanu et al., 2016) or simply to be in compliance with legal requirements or cut costs (Buckley, 2012). This aligns with some of the overall criticism of sustainable development, which says that it is "*an empty phase, full of contradictions, and impossible to realize*" (Jensen, 2007 in Jensen, 2014: 119).

In relation to this is the issue of who decides what is sustainable. According to Mowforth and Munt (2016) there is a very polarised and simplified discussion stemming from Western countries, which decides that it is, for example, only primitive untouched cultures and nature, which are sustainable. This notion arguably has postcolonial traits. Further, it can be linked to the claim from Jamal et al (2013) that sustainable tourism research traditionally is Eurocentric and based on Western perspectives. Much of the tourism literature is written by academics from Western countries and the problem is that even though we can get some non-Western perspectives through this research, then it is important that research is not generated enough from non-Western perspectives (Jamal et al., 2013). This is also relevant to mention, because it will likely result in that some of the literature will not be adequate to understand the context in which we are operating.

Several different branches of sustainable tourism exist (which is not to be misinterpreted as sustainable development, as this can be applied to all kinds of tourism, as mentioned above). Some of which stem from the need to have tourism contribute to development issues (e.g. ecotourism, community-based tourism and volunteer tourism) - however, plenty of criticism exists about these alternatives to mass tourism (e.g. Jänis and Timonen, 2014; Kline and Slocum, 2015; Saarinen, 2006; Saayman and Giampiccoli, 2015).

Dimensions of Sustainability in Tourism

The concept of sustainability (and tourism) is very complex, multifaceted and multidimensional (Eusebio et al., 2016; Jamal et al., 2013; Saarinen, 2006). Overall, it has proved challenging to adopt sustainability into tourism activities, and there are many different approaches and models (Saarinen, 2006). Some are resource-based, activity-based or community-based (Saarinen, 2006). And some deal with sustainability by working with the three elements: economic, socio-cultural and environmental sustainability (the three-pillar model), which more recently has been expanded with political and technological elements as well (Eusebio et al., 2016). Despite these dimensions still being used in recent tourism literature (e.g. Anderson et al., 2015; Eusebio et al., 2016; Khuntia and Mishra, 2014), then some scholars suggest other ways to approach sustainable development (e.g. Jamal et al., 2014; Holden et al., 2017).

Holden et al's (2017) article is not solely about tourism, but addresses sustainable development overall. They propose a model, which - they argue - is in direct contrast to the traditional three pillar model, but instead it revolves around three moral imperatives relating to sustainable development. These are: firstly, satisfying human needs; secondly, ensuring social equity and finally, respecting environmental limits (Holden et al., 2017:214). However, we argue these are not in direct contrast as claimed by Holden et al., as they still revolve around the same concepts, but are merely seen from a slightly different perspective. The three imperatives are seen to put constraint on individual human behaviour, instead of focusing on keeping balance (like the three-pillar way) - in Holden et al.'s model, the three imperatives are equally important and non-negotiable (Holden et al., 2017). Whereas Jamal et al. (2014) argue seeing progress as equal to economic growth is essentialist, then Holden et al (2017) go even further to claim that economic growth is not one of the primary dimensions of sustainable development. This is because, they argue economic growth can be both sustainable and unsustainable depending on the context (ibid).

Jamal et al. (2014) also suggest new approaches to sustainable development, where other dimensions are included in order to address current global tourism challenges. They argue for a health-based sustainable development in which tourism should be able to address tangible and intangible aspects of tourism (Jamal et al., 2014). They suggest for a new direction, where sustainability dimensions are more inclusive and better grounded in today's social-cultural context and where elements, such as visitor and resident health and well-being, are addressed in sustainable development approaches (Jamal et al., 2014). Additionally, Andersson and Clausen (2014) suggest how more attention has been given to tourism development with equity dimensions incorporated, such as the importance of taking an interest in the community and include local participation in the development. The importance of social equity in sustainable development is also concurred by Holden et al. (2017) as this is one of their three aforementioned imperatives. In relation to the well-being of a community as something which should be addressed in sustainability literature, Moscardo et al. (2013) summarise six different types of community capital. They are financial, natural, built, social, cultural, human and political capital (Moscardo et al., 2013).

Finally, Holden et al. (2017) emphasise the importance of context and argue how the implications of the model will vary across countries, as some countries might live up to two of the imperatives, whereas the third needs more work. That being said, naturally, it is not just that simple to live up to the imperatives as the political powers will might not be present and hard choices must be made (ibid).

Tourism, Development and Neoliberalism

Tourism development and overall development has a very political relationship (Mowforth et al., 2008), and therefore, we argue, it is important to consider this in relation to the prevailing development model in Chile. Chile is a market-driven, neoliberal country (Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014), and therefore one must consider the private sector and what the issues are in relation to tourism as a development tool. This has been widely discussed in literature (e.g. Jensen, 2014; Lenao and Saarinen, 2015). According to Scheyvens (2009 in Jensen, 2014) one of the most important issues is that the private sector tends to prioritise making money and increasing profits more than, for example, contribute to poverty alleviation and environmental conservation. In relation to ecotourism and neoliberalism, Fletcher (2011) notes how some scholars argue that ecotourism embodies elements of neoliberalism, as it has some of the same characteristics (privatization, marketization, commodification and deregulation). This is, for example, evident when nature-based sightseeing tours are seen as a "force of locally-directed development based on individual entrepreneurship through affixing monetary value to in situ natural resources and thus creating both a market and incentive for their sustainable management" (Fletcher, 2011:448). On the other hand, some researchers note how neoliberal strategies to conservation and economic development fall short due to unequal distribution of resources and unequal power relations, which leads to the promotion of economic benefits over social or environmental (Hill et al., 2016; Saarinen, 2006). Similarly, Lenao and Saarinen (2015) state how rural tourism creates unbalanced local and global-local power plays, and therefore this type of strategy needs to be implemented carefully.

Sustainability in Rural Tourism Development

The concept of rural tourism has traditionally been researched from Western countries and the research about rural tourism in other parts of the world is limited, at least in English (Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012). Overall, the concept is generally defined as "*tourism which takes place in rural areas*" (Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012:47). This broad definition has been criticised as the word "rural" is socially constructed, resulting in the meaning of the world differing depending on the context and culture (Eusebio et al., 2016; Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012). Also, some places may be considered urban when it comes to the size of the population, but when looking at functions and characteristics, it is indeed rural (Gilmore, 1980 in Barke, 2004). Yet, according to Eusebio (2016) you can talk about there being some shared attributes, which are often present in rural destinations. Some of these are the low physical denseness of the population, physical infrastructure and activities (Bramwell, 1994 in Eusebio et al., 2016), the natural landscape plays a bigger role and there is an insinuation that the social structures are more traditional (Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012) as well as less cultural, social and economic diversification (Bramwell, 1994 in Eusebio et al., 2016). Furthermore, Eusebio et al. (2014 in Eusebio et al., 2016) also argue how there tend to be nature and traditional economic activities (e.g. agriculture) and a specific "way of life" amongst the residents of the area. What the specific "rural way of life" entails are not elaborated upon by Eusebio et al. and one might argue that it is very subjective and that the 'way of life' depends very much on the individual person actually living in the rural area. Additionally, the nature of rural tourism is very much linked to countryside resources, which are vital for rural tourism businesses to survive, as they would not have any business without this, claims Garrod et al (2006).

According to Eusebio et al (2016) there are some challenges in developing sustainable tourism in rural destinations and some of these will be presented here. On a global scale, rural tourism can have both negative and positive consequences, all depending on how tourism is planned, development and managed (Eusebio et al., 2016). The potentials of rural tourism are many. It can become an important tool in places where more traditional activities, for example farming, has experienced a decline (Anderson et al., 2015; Eusebio et al., 2016). In this way, rural tourism is seen by many as a development tool in rural regions (Kastenholz et al., 2016). That being said, when talking about rural tourism development, there are some important points to be made about how the concept of development has been used in tourism. Development has traditionally been seen in relation to a Western-style modernisation perception, where economic growth was the main objective (Rostow, 1960 in Sharpley, 2000). Today, the concept is debated more in relation to social, political and cultural elements as well as economic (Sharpley, 2000). In relation to this, Higgins-Desbiolles (2006) claims tourism is seen as an industry and the social powers of tourism is often not emphasised - but, tourism can contribute more than merely economically, as there are important positive impacts relating to "individual well-being, fostering cross-cultural understanding, facilitating learning, contributing to cultural protection, supplementing development, fostering environmental protection, promoting peace and fomenting global consciousness which contributes to the formation of global society" (Cohen and Kennedy, 2000 in Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006:1196-1197). Likewise, Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) also debate how rural tourism experiences should be seen within a broader system of economic, cultural and social forces, which underline the complexity of the rural tourist experience.

Lane (1994 in Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012) overall claims how the concept of sustainability can inform rural tourism development and that a sustainable approach is vital to balance out demands relating to conservation and development, and to encourage community-based economic growth. However, there have been some problems with implementing sustainability in rural tourism contexts due to a lack of destination governance (Lane, 2016). Also, rural tourism destinations are very fragmented (as often seen within tourism), which makes is hard to collaborate to maintain and create a strong destination image (Garrod et al., 2006). In relation to rural tourism, we will present the concept of experience, including rural tourism experiences, later in this literature review.

Sustainable Practices in Latin America

Netto and Trigo (2015) present several good practice tourism development cases from Latin American countries. Overall, tourism in Latin America has some very positive examples of sustainable tourism development as well as good practice models, which consider the environment and social inclusion. But there are still some problems which need to be addressed (Netto and Trigo, 2015).

In a Latin American context some of the challenges with sustainable tourism development relate to lack of skilled labour and concern for the environment (in some places); inconsistent public policies and strategies to handle tourism as every new government make new plans; lack of clear tourism image; economic instabilities which hinder stable tourism investments to be made; big distance between Latin America and the primary source of tourists (from Europe, Asia and North

America); and a persistent stereotype that dictates that only wealthy people can get involved in tourism, effectively excluding the local community (Netto and Trigo, 2015:13).

In relation to sustainable practices, Corcuera et al (2002) argue there is an unusual phenomenon in Chile, where the creation of national parks for conservation purposes - usually a task undertaken by the government - is undertaken by private forces. When Corcuera et al's (2002) article was written, albeit in 2002, it was the slow advances of the government policies (which saw environmental concerns as impediments to economic growth) that motivated private individuals and groups to take action into their own hands. Since this began during the 1990s many private conservations areas have emerged and now cover 1.5 million hectares in more than 370 different projects (Corcuera et al., 2002; Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014). According to Tecklin and Sepulveda (2014) the growth of private parks in Chile is to be seen in relation to an overall range of environmental practices and policies, which are marked-based or market-driven. Chile is the regional leader within private conservation (MMA, 2011 in Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014).

Some of the drawbacks of this way of managing conservation are that the conservation practices vary when it comes to efficiency, results and environmental practices, and some also have insufficient management plans or staff (Corcuera et al., 2002). Also, there is no specific legal framework for private parks (PPAs) (Tecklin and Sepulveda, 2014). Some of this land is also bought by ecotourism developers, which have seen the financial reward of being able to offers tourists their area of land. These differ from private parks (PPA) and conservation communities[3] (CCs) as conservation is not the main purpose. They are mostly to be found in the Southern parts of Chile (ibid).

The motivation to buy private parks is usually for leisure purposes, idealistic intentions, profit or a mixture of these three (Corcuera et al., 2002). Some also buy parks for their personal enjoyment, which is called 'personal-benefit-idealism', but either way the PPAs have big benefits to the Chilean society such as scenic protection (which benefits tourism), biodiversity conservation and that it is not costing the government anything (ibid). Yet, one of the biggest

[3] The main concept of a conservation community (CC) is the purchase of an area of land, which is equally shared by a group of people. The intention is mainly to use it for conservation and recreational purposes (Corcuera et al., 2002).

disadvantages is the uncertainty regarding continuity as the existence of the parks relies only on the desire and resources of the owners (Corcuera et al., 2002).

Even when the government is the formal owner of land, it is often the non-government actors who are responsible for managing the area and delivering services (Pagiola et al., 2002). These parks are relevant to the study of sustainable tourism practices as many of them, for example, the Valdivian Coastal Reserve, offer tourism activities within the park (Sanzana et al., 2015).

How the Concept of Sustainability Relates to the Concept of Experience

In the next section, we will present the concept of experience, and therefore we find it relevant to briefly contemplate over the relation between sustainability and the concept of experience. It is important to note that we are looking at rural, mostly nature-based, tourism in LT, which makes the relationship between experiences and sustainability more complicated. This is because nature-based tourism can create tension between the business model of tourism as an industry and the desire for conservation and natural resource management (Shultis and Way, 2006 in Coghlan, 2011). That being said, we wish to now emphasise where the two concepts relate and intertwine.

Overall, sustainability in tourism has been introduced as part of an acknowledgement of the social dimensions of tourism (Mowforth et al., 2008). Some of the social dimensions in relation to the tourist experiences are, for example, delivery of effective interpretation, conservation advocacy, raising awareness of issues (Higham and Carr, 2003). The importance of having knowledgeable and skilled guides in order to make sure the interpretation of the (sustainable) tourist experience is well communicated (ibid). In Higham and Carr's (2003) study the role of delivering these social dimensions of the sustainable tourist experience is held by the tour guide. However, we argue that this can also be delivered by tour operators overall or members of the local community as knowledge and awareness about sustainability does not just come from being on a guided tour, but can come from many different sources (and through many different situated experiences). That being said, so far the literature on whether or not increased interpretation (and hence knowledge) has resulted in changed attitudes and behaviour of the tourist, is not conclusive (Powell and Ham, 2008). However, this is outside the scope of this research, as we do not study behaviour after the initial situated experience.

Another central element in Higham and Carr's study is the ecological dimensions of the sustainable tourist experience. They state that elements such as low impact operations, contributions to conservation and ecological restoration all impact the tourist experience (Higham and Carr, 2003). Arguably, these are all elements of sustainable tourism practices that affects the experience whereas the above social dimensions are elements of the tourist experience which (ideally and theoretically) affects the sustainable practices.

In relation to this, we argue, this is one of the reasons that sustainability and experiences relate well to one another: Sustainable tourism should not be seen as something abstract and unrelated to the tourists' situated experiences. The guide, the communication, the interpretation and other elements in the tourist experience are affected by the underlying sustainable practices, and vice versa regarding the experience.

Another important consideration is that, in our thesis, we will include more elements of the experience than mentioned above in an attempt to broaden the link between sustainability and experiences. In the literature reviewed, the link is mostly based on knowledge and interpretation about sustainability and tourism (e.g. Powell and Ham, 2008; Higham and Car, 2003).

The Concept of Experience

The concept of experience is well used in the tourism context, and the concept is broad (Hansen, 2014; Lindberg et al, 2014; Mossberg, 2007; Uriely, 2005). There the focus has been on how to make a valuable experience for the customers and the necessity of creating long term economic sustainability for many different actors (Hansen, 2014; Mossberg, 2007). The concept of experience is complex, and the term is defined in different ways by various theoreticians (e.g. Hansen, 2014; Lindberg et al, 2014). We will therefore start of by discussing the different approaches to experiences.

Pine and Gilmore (1999) are broadly viewed as the pioneers, possibly even the founders, of experience economy (Boswijk et al., 2012; Poulsson and Kale, 2004). For this reason, their work appears to create a valuable point for an analytical examination of the predominant theory within the area of marketing, and a lot of theories are arising from this. On the other hand, it can be questioned whether studying experiences is new specifically in the tourism context, where all activities are based on experiences (Zhang et al., 2017, Mei, 2014; Walker and Moscardo, 2014; Otto and Ritchie, 1996). To this Mei (2014) argues that experience has been present in tourism decades before the concept of experience economy was introduced.

However, Pine and Gilmore are defending the paradigm shift towards experiences economy in which the focus has shifted from tangible products, over services to concentrating on experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Schmitt, 1999). Experience economy refers to when services or products provides extra value to the customer and in this way the customers are willing to pay more for received extra value and enjoyment (Chang, 2018; Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Pine and Gilmore (1999) argue that an experience is something a business can provide to their customers and by this they can 'touch' people better than with products or services. However, it is important to understand that experiences are personal and that two persons can be involved in the same activity or see the same thing and yet experience it in completely different ways (Pine and Gilmore, 1999; Hird and Kvistgaard, 2010). They argue that a business has created a successful experience when the customer is engaged, because the connection between customer and business is shaped in a memorable way (Pine and Gilmore, 2009). This means that it is no longer enough for businesses to offer only goods and services. According to Pine and Gilmore they have to produce and supply experiences in order to create economic value and differentiate themselves from others (ibid). Also, Pizam (2010 in Loureiro, 2014) argues that the quality of experiences plays a bigger role than the quality of the product or service as it creates satisfaction and willingness to pay a higher price. "*Staging experiences is not about entertaining customers but engaging them*" (Pine and Gilmore, 1999:30) – they argue, the experiences can be determined by how high the degree of participation is, but it also dependent on the degree of absorption or immersion in the experiences settings (ibid).

Pine and Gilmore (1999) suggest four 'experience realms' in their research. In the same year, Schmitt (1999) also published a multidimensional perspective on experiences within a marketing context, but the dimensions are different from Pine and Gilmore's (1999) well-known 'experience realms'. Schmitt's (1999) dimensions are; *Sense, Feel, Think, Act* and *Relate.* The dimension of *sense* refers to multisensory experiences: sight, sound, touch, taste and smell. *Feel* appeals to the feelings and emotions related to the feelings triggered by consumption of products. The dimension of *think* is about the cognitive experiences that engage customers creatively. *Act* refers to the consumption of activities and behavioural. The last dimensions *relate* contains aspects of the four other elements, but it appeals to the social identity through consumption (Schmitt, 1999).

On the other hand, Pine and Gilmore (1999) perceive an experience as created within one or more of the four 'experience realms': *Entertainment, Aesthetic, Educational and Escapism* (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Entertainment is passively absorbed through one's senses, generally when reading, viewing, or listening for pleasure. Educational experiences include active participation from the customer by mind or body to increase the knowledge and skills of the customer, for example during ski lessons (ibid). Escapist experiences are the opposite of purely entertaining experiences: the participant in an escapist experience is active and completely immersed in it, for example when visiting a theme park (ibid). The last realm is aesthetic experiences that immerse the customers into an environment, for example arts, nature and music (Pine and Gilmore, 1999).

Pine and Gilmores approach is criticized subsequently (Hansen, 2014; Jantzen and Jensen, 2005; Lund et al., 2005). One of the criticisms is that they are portraying consumers as passive actors in staged experiences (Hansen, 2014). The theory is good because it is possible to come up with a detailed indication on how to design an experience, but the approach is criticized by Jantzen and Jensen (2005) to have a very mechanical view of people, where the human actions are affected solely from how a company affects them (Jantzen and Jensen, 2005). This makes the theory weak because people have unpredictable behaviours, reasons and actions, which is not a part of the theory (ibid). Similarly, Tone and Moore (2007 in Coghlan, 2011) argue how nature-based tourism emphasises this point even more as you cannot control nature. Overall, Pine and Gilmore's view on experiences which is something that an organization can produce and give to their guests, also does not align with our aforementioned ontological and epistemological approach, which says there is no such thing as an absolute truth, but instead numerous truths that depend on the context it is in.

So far, the literature reviewed talks about experiences overall and not specifically in relation to tourism (even though tourism is said to be based on experiences as already mentioned), however, Moscardo and Walker (2014) have worked with tourism, experiences and the concept of sustainability. In relation to experiences and sustainability there is the notion of interpretation, as argued by Moscardo (2010) – a link between stories, themes and sustainability because they can impact a more positive tourist experience through effective interpretation. They argue how using certain stories and themes are essential in motivating tourists to engage in more sustainable behaviour and to have a more sustainable attitude as a tourist (Moscardo, 2010). Moscardo (2010 in Walker and Moscardo, 2014) suggests how there are a number of characteristics linked to perceived effectiveness in a tourist experience when it comes to interpretation. Some of these characteristics are: active participation, novelty, surprise, multisensory components, choice and control over elements in the experience, personal interaction, relevance, and possibility to explore and learn (Moscardo, 2010 in Walker and Moscardo, 2014:1177).

Further, Walker and Moscardo (2014) explore how ecotourism can contribute to sustainability by focusing on interpretation. In their research they formulated a Value Model of Interpretation and Implications in which they identify "*the most common interpretive and experiential elements that facilitate participants'* identification of personally significant values", and also to which degree this ultimately influences the tourists' behaviours (which feeds into increased sustainability) (Walker and Moscardo, 2014:1189). In relation to the experience they found some characteristics, which were deemed essential by their respondents. These are staff expertise, staff dedication, experiential activities and facilitation (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). These can be related to the aforementioned social dimensions of sustainability as argued by Higham and Carr (2003), which are delivery of effective interpretation, conservation advocacy, raising awareness of issues. Thus, they are also related to the delivery of knowledge and interpretation

- here by focusing on the role of the guide in the experience. Further, Walker and Moscardo (2014) claim how the experience had some benefits. These were: environmental awareness, learning, enjoyment, experiential enhancement and environmental immersion. Their research also identified some different values that were associated with the experience, however, only the value 'appreciation' showed a strong enough relative connection (ibid). In the end, their research concludes among other things how guides need to not only facilitate the sharing of information, but it is important to have reflective engagement (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). However, a big limitation of this research is that it does not study actual behaviour, but merely intentional behaviour (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). This is also one of the limitations in our research as we, similarly, did not research actual behaviour of the tourist, but we studied the characteristics of the tourist experience, and what the benefits were in relation to the concept of sustainability. In reality, we do not know how or if this will affect the tourist in later holidays in terms of travel behaviour and increased awareness about sustainable practices.

Another focus in relation to experiences is seen in Lindberg et al's (2014) research. They are not merely seeing experiences as something shaped and handed to the guests as Pine and Gilmore (1999) suggest. They see experiences as situated, multi-relational and dynamic. According to Lindberg et al (2014) the experience is always taking place within a certain context and in relation to several concepts, and through the process an experience is repeatedly changing. They define "*experiences can be understood and studied through the intertwined components related to interaction, body, time, and context*" (Lindberg et al., 2014:488). As seen in the quote, Lindberg et al. claim, experiences are happening in relation to the four concepts. This is similar to Bouchet et al. (2011) who argue that because experiences differ from person to person, it is very difficult to create experiences that would be perceived as valuable to everybody (Bouchet et al., 2011). A good experience is one that gives the person who experiences something a physical and psychological reaction (ibid). However, it can be difficult to expose how a person is situated within these four concepts during an experience and it might cause problems in practice, because some of the concepts are tacit. In relation to sustainability, this is for example that we do not know whether the experience has caused an actual change in behaviour due to a psychological reaction, but we only look at the experience while it is happening.

That being said, it is important to keep in mind that most tourist products are intangible and that tourists are not only consuming experiences, but they are also producing them simultaneously (Hall and Williams, 2008; Dickson and Ford, 2012). It is therefore important to include the tourists in some way, because they play central roles in creating the experience (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009). Actors operating in the tourism industry, in recent years, are focusing even more on experience creation to their customer and are working on them (Fernandez et al., 2016), which leads us to the next section*: Co-creation*.

Co-creation Experiences

The concept of co-creation in the context of tourism is increasingly popular and many scholars contribute to undercover the process of co-creation in tourism experiences (Li and Petrick, 2008; Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009; Bertella, 2014; Mathisen, 2013; Scott et al., 2009, Campos et al., 2016). However, one must note, just like other tourism research, studies from the western world dominate the literature. This means that we are likely to find that some of the literature is not able to encompass the Chilean context, we are working with. Yet, we argue that this is the case with any model or framework, as context is always a consideration. In this section, we will focus on that tourists do not only want to be passive spectators, but want to participate and engage in the experiences, meaning that the tourists wish to interact with the destination or experience – being active co-creators (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009; Hansen, 2014). The term of co-creation is studied in both the specific tourism experience context (Bertella, 2014) and in the broader context as destinations analysis (Eraqi, 2011 in Campos et al., 2015). Earlier studies have focussed on managerial perspectives rethinking the business (Füller and Matzle, 2007 in Agapito et al., 2016), product development or the delivery of good customer service and experiences (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Co-creation is also used in many areas in tourism including overall destination experiences, new approaches to marketing and consumer behaviour and in specific tourism contexts as in holiday packages and with tourism in natural areas (Campos et al., 2015). It underpins the concepts of experience economy. However, despite these many uses of co-creation, there is no consensus regarding what co-creation actually is, and definitions are vague and elusive despite the popularity of the word in the literature (Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018). We conceptualise co-creation by utilising Kastenholz et al's (2016) framework, which state that co-creation happens between the rural destination, the tourist and the rural community – which, we argue, are affected by sustainable practices and values of the destination and community, and should therefore also be considered.

Co-creation in tourism is created by complex environments concerning all actors in tourism, which all contribute to the tourist's experiences (Bertella, 2014; Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009). When a person is travelling to a destination, he or she is participating in activities (Edensor, 2000). It is claimed by Mossberg (2007) that these activities are in sharp contrast or directly opposite to routines - however, in our thesis, we recognise that this is perhaps a too narrow way to look at activities as tourism activities can be similar to everyday activities at home, however, in a different context and involving other people (for example, when cooking with members of the local community). This view is also shared by Edensor (2007 in Moscardo et al (2013:536) who states how tourism should instead be seen as a "necessary element of modern social life". Previously, in the so-called mass conception of tourism, experiences have mostly been about activities that include sightseeing and visual perception (Urry, 1990). Now, this point of view has been developed, and co-creation can be seen as a process of interrelated interactions and activities that links the tourist and other actors (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009; Mossberg, 2007; O'Dell and Billing, 2015). Those interaction activities arise in the context of an experience and they generate value from the customer (Campos et al., 2015). The tourists want to interact, actively learn, and get knowledge more than just look at other people, and tourists are beginning to be seen as experiencers, creators and actors instead of observers (O'Dell, 2010). Co-creation includes 'outer interactions' with the experience environment, people and activities (Campos et al., 2016), and co-creation can occur before, during and after the experience has taken place (Buonincontri and Micera, 2016; Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009). By using co-creation, the consumer is able to take part in the process of generating their own unique and personal experiences (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009; Prahalad and Ramaswamy, 2004). It is about tourists' interaction with the organization (or other actor), but also their need to share the experience with other tourists and residents at the destination or with relatives, friends and unknown individuals on the internet and via. social media (Buonincontri and Micera, 2016). The latter we will not be focusing on in this thesis.

It is important to involve the tourists in activities that meet their interests and capture their attention as claimed by Campos et al. (2015). Mathisen (2013) discusses the natural environment as a space where dimensions of exploration, play and learning are staged, and it is important that actors are involving the tourist in the activities and facilitating co-creation. According to Zouni and Kouremenos (2008) it is a good idea for a tour operator to increase interactions with customers in order to inspire their contribution to design, production and consumption. In co-creation, the tourist should participate in creating their experiences and the tourist should be included in generating initiatives visiting the destination (Hird and Kvistgaard, 2010). A similar perspective is that it is possible to have successful co-creation experiences in a tourism context by being open to innovation, new concepts and new experiences proposed by the tourist included in the co-creation process, as claimed by Correia et al. (2017). Similarly, social interactions are also essential parts of co-creation (Campos et al., 2016). It can be an encounter between the tourist and the guide, but also with other tourists in the particular place (Lindberg et al. 2014; Mossberg, 2007; Campos et al., 2016).

However, we wish to emphasise that - despite a lot of literature making this division between tourist (demand) and locals residents/businesses (supply) - co-creation can be between all stakeholders who are involved in the creation of tourism experiences (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009). This is an important consideration when attempting to stimulate sustainable tourism development (ibid). Tourism should not be seen as a separate industry where the tourist experience is only experienced in a vacuum - there are many different perspectives and influences from other kinds of activities (e.g. work, sports, culture, events) (Binkhorst and Dekker, 2009).

In this thesis, co-creation is used as a tool that can influence how LT (the community members, local businesses etc.) can encourage sustainability by engaging tourists in the experience. We will attempt to include different perspectives to go beyond supply and demand. It allows to increase the knowledge about sustainability to the tourist, but on the same time make sure the tourist have the best experience possible by the tourist to be co-creators, instead of purely passive service consumers.

Co-creation in Rural Tourist Experiences

As mentioned above, there are many different points of views on experiences, but there are still only a few studies analysing the features and dimensions of tourists' rural tourism experiences (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). The natural and rural landscape is one of the main elements when discussing rural tourist experiences, due to the excessive amounts of sensory appeals (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). The servicescape as conceptualised by Bitner (1992) or the parallel experiencescape (Mossberg 2007; O'Dell 2005) is the environmental context, where a service is provided and "*a space of pleasure, enjoyment and entertainment, as well as the meeting ground in which diverse groups move about and come in contact with each other*" (Mossberg, 2007:62). In other words, and more simplified, it is the place where an experience takes place. Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) argue the experiencescape has a significant role to play in the rural tourist experience, which is composed of natural and cultural factors, such as: the rural, man-shaped landscape, the biodiversity of flora and fauna, historical buildings, rural settlements. Actors can strategically try to create a specific environment in which the tourist can consume and experience (Mossberg, 2007). However, it also includes the intangible components of customs and traditions (ibid). The word 'scape' is relevant, because, as mentioned, tourism literature is often linked to visual perception and sightseeing, and simply ignores the senses of the body - the sensescapes according to Urry (1990).

Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) stress that rural tourism contains some special elements – for example, it consists of small size communities, companies and buildings that can improve opportunities for interpersonal relationships for tourists with communities. According to Dissart and Marcouiller (2012 in Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016) a rural experience is co-created with the traditional tourism sectors such as accommodation and transportation suppliers. However, it is also co-created with recreations services such as rural parks and ski areas, and the supporting services, e.g. rental equipment. Another part is the indirect join producers and the experiencescape surrounding the tourist (ibid).

Kastenholz et al. (2016) present an approach concerning the co-creation of visitors' rural tourism experiences. They claim there are three factors that shape a rural tourism experience: *the rural* *destination* with its tangible and intangible dimensions, *the local community* (both the suppliers and other residents) and *the visitors.* In this approach, they suggest the rural tourism experience consists of numerous of dimensions, which will be elaborated in the next section (ibid).

Dimensions of the Rural Tourist Experience

Kastenholz and Carneiro's (2016) approach concerning co-creation of visitors' rural tourism experiences introduce several dimensions that link to the main sides of a rural tourism experiences. However, the rural tourist experience is individual, and two tourists may not experience the same according to the type of visitor, the purpose and the context of the trip. Their approach contains elements from Schmitt's (1999) multidimensional concept, however Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) use the terminology *affective*, *sensory, thinking, act and relate (*Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). Their approach also contains some of the elements suggested from Pine and Gilmore.

In the rural context, Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) argue that the dimension *affective* refers to the pleasure and relaxation that the tourists are feeling. *Sensory* is related to the appreciation of the rural environment through the five senses; *sight, sound, touch, taste and smell.* The sensory dimension is discussed by many scholars (Lindberg et al., 2014; Joy and Sherry, 2003; Schmitt, 1999; Bitner, 1992), and we also find it very relevant in our thesis.

The dimension of think in this context refers to the opportunities to learn about the rural areas in an active way – it is similar to the educational dimension suggested by Pine and Gilmore (1999). In the framework they also see thinking connected to rural experiences, because it tends to raise memories from the past (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). However, in our research we are limiting us form this part, because it is very tacit.

In the rural experiences the dimension of *relate* refers to the social interactions – within the travel group*,* but also with other tourist at the destination and bonding with residents (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016; Lindberg et al., 2014). According to Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) the *act* dimension corresponds to different behaviours being reflected in the domain of escaping the stress of daily life. These behaviours are abstaining from or interaction with others or by participating in outdoor activities. This is in connection to Pine and Gilmore's (1999) active dimensions: education and escapism permitting the tourist to immerse in the rural way of life. All these dimensions are important factors in Kastenholz and Carneiro's (2016) framework. A deeper discussion of the concept of the framework will be collaborated next.

According to experience literature, the rural environment is ideal to escape from the routine of one's every day, generally urban life, a stressful lifestyle and polluted and noisy areas (Mossberg, 2007; Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016; Lane 2009). As previously stated, we do not recognise the 'escape from routines' argument in our research. The literature further states how the rural environment is generally calm and uncrowded and therefore the ideal setting for relaxing outside (Dissart and Marcouiller, 2012 in Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016) by participating actively in outdoor activities such as hiking, horseback riding and mountain biking. Many tourists are positively triggered by bodily challenges during such activities according to Lindberg et al. (2014). However, it can also be through passive nature activities like appreciating the aesthetics of natural scenery (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). We use this to analyse how LT is a rural destination. According to literature, the tourist can have both a low-arousal experience by relaxing, but definitely also a high arousal and escaping experience (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) or by being immersed into local culture with both nature and cultural context (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). In this way, it leads to stimulating highly emotional and - now and then - even spiritual nature-based experiences (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). However, we disagree with this point of view, because we believe that as a tourist it is impossible to be immersed into the local culture completely. We will always be strangers and perhaps even look or talk differently, as mentioned before in the methodology section about our positioning. Chile is a very different social and cultural context, and we, as tourists, will never be immersed. In rural tourist experience tourists are not happy about being only passive observers in attractive settings. They also want to actively expand their knowledge of the nature and the culture in an educational manner (Pine and Gilmore, 1999).

Previous tourism studies focus on the visual elements of tourism experiences (Adler, 1989 in Agapito et al., 2016), but according to several studies multisensory experiences are important for managing (and marketing) tourist' experiences by "stimulating the senses, in order to reach the hearts and minds of the tourists" (Mossberg, 2007; Schmitt, 1999 in Agapito, 2013:26). This dimension has been overlooked in the literature about rural tourism, claims Agapito (2013). However, the impressions of multisensory experiences are also highly connected to nature experiences (Agapito et al. 2014; Musa et al., 2010; Hansen, 2010). It can be the sounds of birds and rivers, the view of the landscape, the smell of wild flowers, tasting local gastronomy. These senses, for example sounds, can stimulate a more attractive experience (Bernat, 2014). How an experience is evaluated depends on the multi-sensuous aspects and it is highly valued by the visitors according to Lindberg et al. (2014). In our research we will also link multi-sensuous aspects to the concept of sustainability, but not in regards to memories (or as in some literature, marketing or competitiveness). Bernat (2014) concludes how sound has great potential within tourism and in developing a sustainable destination, as sounds can increase the attractiveness and public awareness of environmentally valuable or culturally distinct areas. Senses can be addressed as environmental factors, which are shaping the physical settings in which the consumption of tangibles and intangible products takes place (Bitner, 1992). Senses design the experiencescape and it leads to tourists' showing positive emotions, satisfaction, long-term memory and loyalty, according to Agapito et al. (2016). This awareness is expanding in relation to involving the tourist in experiences with a high degree of active participation, but the local community within the rural destination should also be involved in the process of co-creating sensory-rich experiences by utilizing flora, landscapes, handcraft and gastronomy (Agapito et al., 2016). Mossberg (2007) also states how senses affect the tourist's way of feeling, responding and thinking. In her framework she presents senses as part of the 'physical environment' as one of the influencing factors of the tourist experience. The physical environment is how the atmosphere is able to create positive (or negative) tourist experiences (Bitner, 1992 in Mossberg, 2007). It is made up of several things - part of which is signs, symbols and artefacts (Mossberg, 2007), which Bitner (1992) presented in her servicescape. Mossberg (2007) also includes other elements in her definition of the physical environment, but these are not relevant in our context, so we have decided to exclude that part of her framework. Our empirical research shows the importance of including signs, symbols and artefacts, which include labels or signs for directional purposes, but also the communicative behaviour overall (Mossberg, 2007) - in other words, elements made by people, is also something that affects the rural tourists' experiences.

The concept of socialising covers interaction with human beings - within the travel group, other tourist or local residents (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). Social interaction is argued to be one of the most essential elements in how tourists examine, involve and make sense of the experiencescape (Lehn, 2006; Lindberg et al., 2014). The experiences also differ depending on whether they are shared with friends, families or perhaps a child (ibid). Also, group dynamics, how long a group is spending together and how they are bonding during the experience are important factors that might play a role in affecting the experience (Lindberg et al., 2014). Another factor Kastenholz and Carneiro is not focusing on, which we find important to include based on our empirical data, is the interaction with non-human actors. This has been widely overlooked in most literature about co-creation (Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018). Here the interaction is less verbal and more embodied e.g. with animals, but the connection can still be weighty (Lindberg et al., 2014). The interaction with domestic tame or wild animals can function as "social lubricants" which stimulate social interactions (Hunt et al., 1992 in Lindberg et al., 2014). We find this very relevant to include as humans are not merely interacting with other humans, but are also impacted by non-human forces and affective relationships with entities, which are non-human (Bowden, 2015 in Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018).

Residents and hosts in rural tourism destination play central roles because they often act as 'cultural brokers' (Cohen 1988), which is defined by Salazar as "*someone who flattens cultural differences*" (Salazar, 2012:15). Cultural brokers are an essential part of giving the tourist a richer experience as they can help build bridges and close the distance between the tourist and destination stakeholders (Kastenholz et al., 2012; Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). This can result in better access and a more nuanced tourist experience (Kastenholz et al., 2012). It can be from socially engaging experiences where destination actors engage tourists, for example, in traditional cooking states Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016). Co-creative experiences should be built on the resources valued by several tourists, such as the characteristic rural landscapes, cultural performances or local products that express something about the area, according to

Dong et al. (2008). Another element of co-creation is that the tourist may also want to remember the destination and the good experience through a tangible symbol that they can take with them home (Mossberg, 2007; Onderwater et al., 2000). The thing might be produced by the tourists themselves or purchased from local residents as souvenirs, and by this stimulate the local economy (Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). However, this is not something that we will focus on in this research.

To sum up, Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) state how the tourist experience is a complex whole in a particular context – unique local resources are clearly desired, nature is a major attractor in this contrasting environment, and it is important to stimulate sensory-rich experience. The social dimension of the experience is enriching and here the concept of cultural brokers is central (ibid).

Walker and Moscardo's attributes

Walker and Moscardo (2014) define four types of experiences attributes, which are important in creating benefits related to sustainability from experiences within ecotourism: *staff expertise, staff dedication, experiential activities* and *facilitation.* From these attributes sustainability benefits related to environmental awareness, learning and enjoyment are gained (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). As seen, their focus is on staff expertise and dedication, whereas Kastenholz and Carneiro's (2016) aforementioned framework is not focusing on this. They do stress that it is important to socialise with a significant other, but not specifically that the guide needs to be an expert or dedicated - and it is not related to the concept of sustainability. We want to include Walker and Moscardo's elements because our research also showed the importance of the expertise and dedication regarding experiences and sustainability. Walker and Moscardo (2014) claim it is essential that the staff has expertise in various aspect of the ecological but also cultural setting of the destination, which Hansen (2013) notes helps staff to be more informative and entertaining. The recognition of the staff's enthusiasm is something that can affect the experiences positively – it can be helpful to make tourist participate, learn and understand according to Walker and Moscardo (2014). Further, an enthusiastic, energetic and knowledgeable guide makes a better speaker and more interesting according to Lindberg et al. (2014). Having dedicated and expertise staff can help contributing to a positive ecotourism experiences, since they have the ability to provide security, to assist people to make personal connections and to gain participant trust, which is essential (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). It aligns with Yamada (2011) who argues that the guide is increasing tourist's curiosity in nature and the local culture, which can prompt them to develop environmentally responsible behaviours. The guide is acting as a role model on-site and plays an essential role in conservation and improving the tourist experiences and eco-tour efficiency (Yamada, 2011). Moscardo and Walker's third element is experiential activities, which is linked to Kastenholz and Carneiro's framework, and refers to being in a natural environment and features of the activities provided (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). Another point of view on expertise or knowledge is what Nakashima calls "local knowledge" or also called "indigenous knowledge". Local knowledge is about the area you live in and how to live there in a sustainable manner (Nakashima et al., 2000 in UNESCO, 2018). According to Camacho et al. (2015) it broadly encompasses cultural values, skills, know-how, practises, beliefs, processes and knowledge about biodiversity, natural resources and traditional ways of life. According to Butler (2007) the use of local knowledge can be very useful when looking at knowledge about how to use and navigate nature and how to best manage the impacts of human interaction with the ecosystems. This will be dealt with more in the analysis.

Walker and Moscardo's (2014) fourth attribute, *facilitation,* is also something that Kastenholz and Carneiro do not focus on, and that we find important in researching experiences. This includes the increased expectations, for example, that the tour operators should provide the structure, activities and support to facilitate tourist experiences (Woodside et al., 2008 in Walker and Moscardo, 2014). The tourists want to enjoy and feel comfortable, and the right facilitations can help with this (Walker and Moscardo, 2014). We argue this is important especially in a rural tourist destination, which has limited physical infrastructure (Bramwell, 1994 in Eusebio et al., 2016), but also because when doing activities around LT there is limited access to facilities, and therefore facilitation from the tour operator (or other actors) is arguably important. However, we argue this attribute is usually combined with other elements and therefore we have incorporated it into the analysis throughout.

Our approach

We are going to make use of Kastenholz and Carneiro's (2016) approach concerning co-creation of tourists' rural experience as elements to research how the tourist' experience in LT is. We have added some elements that Kastenholz and Carneiro do not focus on, which we find relevant. We have added three of the experience attributes related to sustainable tourism, presented by Walker and Moscardo (2014) as discussed above. Additionally, we want to encompass Mossberg's (2007) signs, symbols, artefacts and sensory dimensions in our analysis. We find this more appropriate and relevant to take into consideration in our particular context based on our empirical data. We also argue that these elements are not researched much in relation to experiences and sustainability together.

Based on the above literature review and different models, we will analyse the rural tourism experience as something that is co-created with the tourist, the local community and the rural destination and ultimately, relate these to the concept of sustainability. The experience is affected by participating in outdoor activities, interaction with humans and non-human actors, education and the physical environment that are present, when the experience takes place. We also highlight expertise, dedication and facilitation, which all contribute to the experience and its relationship with sustainability - as also stated by Walker and Moscardo (2014). Our take on experience is therefore centred around the social and physical factors that an organisation (or destination) can strategically have influence on, and how actors use them strategically in relation to sustainable practices and the construction of experiences. Lastly, the literature on sustainability is traditionally very Eurocentric (Jamel et al., 2013), and this means that we are likely to find that not all the literature on sustainability, but also experiences, can encompass the context we are working with. We believe these two overall concepts, sustainability and experience, can contribute to our analysis and discussion about how these concepts work together in practice in Valle Las Trancas, Chile, and what value they can have for each other. By using these theoretical concepts, combined with our empirical data, we can analyse the overall conditions in LT, including sustainable practices and development, which ultimately affects the experience, and how the tourist experience is used as a strategy to encourage sustainable development.

Analysis

Firstly, we wish to analyse the overall condition present in in Valle Las Trancas (LT) regarding a number of selected issues or challenges in relation to tourism development and sustainable practices in the area. These relate to LT as a rural destination, the fragmented local community, the effect of non-government forces and the *RioDiguillin Libre* movement. Secondly, we will analyse the strategic use of situated experiences primarily by the tour operator, Verde Tour, to convey values related to sustainability. The analysis of the situated experience will revolve around the dimensions of the rural experience, as presented in the literature review.

Overall, the analysis will argue that there is an interrelation between the two concepts: sustainability and experiences, and that they can provide value to each other – including how this is the case by using examples from LT. Firstly, we will analyse the conditions present in LT and how these have an influence on how tourism is developed - and ultimately the situated tourist experience. The conditions we analyse are the fragmented local community, the presence of absentee landlords and different perspectives on sustainability within the community. Secondly, we will also look at the effect of non-government forces. Thirdly, we wish to add to the existing literature by analysing on-site experiences and observations, which go beyond the existing literature (e.g. Higham and Carr, 2003) regarding how tourism experiences have educational components and can encourage sustainable values. Fourthly, we will also look at how situated experiences are affected by sustainable practices in LT in relation to senses, signs and artefacts as well as interactions. Finally, we will analyse how these are used strategically, among other things, by utilizing indigenous knowledge. These situated experiences are used as strategic tools to include the tourist in sustainable development or convey knowledge about sustainability.

Conditions in Valle Las Trancas

In this initial part of the analysis, we will analyse conditions within the rural destination Valle Las Trancas and how these affect sustainable practices and development procedures. Likewise, we will analyse how these overall conditions and sustainable practices ultimately affect the experience. Overall these conditions heavily influence the environment in which the situated experiences take place – and therefore the conditions affect the nature of the situated experience. The situated experience will be analysed in the second part of the analysis.

A Rural Destination

As stated in the literature review, it is difficult to define a 'rural destination', but often it entails some shared attributes. We also find some of the attributes to be present in Valle Las Trancas, which is the focus of our research. One of the first things mentioned in the literature, is the important role of the natural landscape for tourism development in rural areas as stated by Ghaderi and Henderson (2012). In LT, this is also stated as one of the main motivations for why tourists like to visit, as Chopo (owner of Onai Hostel) states: *"Because of the mountains, because of termas, because of nature. So, we're lucky because we already have that. That came with the place, we didn't put it there"* (Chopo, A13). It is evident from Chopo's last comment "we didn't put it there" that the tourism sector is mainly based on the attractiveness of the existing natural resources. Due to this, the main activities in LT relates to *"ski, mountaineers, backcountry bike, mountain bike downhill, hiking, long hikes"* as Francisco (owner of Cabañas Entre-Rocas) notes (in A8).

Picture 2 - Water problems

The infrastructure in LT is rather limited, there are almost no pavement, most of the roads consist of dirt roads (A1; A3; A15), and just recently they had the road asphalted as stated by Michaila, the owner of Oliva's Restaurant; *"A good road! [..] Five years ago it was without asphalt"* (Michaila, A15). Also, some of the interviews with local residents state how a high service level is not sufficient, if there are not enough basic facilities like an ATM, a pharmacy, a supermarket (Cecil in A2). This aligns with the literature, which claims how the physical denseness and infrastructure is relatively low in rural areas (see Bramwell, 1994 in Eusebio et al, 2016). However, these needed basic facilities mentioned by Cecil, a local resident, will also benefit them as residents (and not just the tourists), because an ATM or warm water are not only important or useful for the temporary tourist in LT. This can therefore be linked to the importance of the built capital in community well-being, which is important in contributing to sustainability in tourism development, as claimed by Moscardo et al., (2013). One of the main facility problems is the lack of a central water distribution system. This means that residents and local businesses need to connect their own hoses to the nearby waterfalls in order to get water (refer to video 6 or A1). This means that there is no consistent distribution of water (Hanne and Cristobal in A3), because the hoses often burst or the water simply dries out (A1; A2; A3). Refer to picture 2, which illustrates the bursting of many water pipes in the rural landscape.

Some of the residents stated how the lack of a central water distribution system sometimes created water wars when there is not enough water, and that it generally requires a lot of upkeep because air gets trapped inside the pipes causing them to burst (Hanne in A2; Corinne in A1). Owner of Basecamp Cabañas, Corinne (in A1) comments how all the pipes and wasted water is "*shocking*", which shows her negative emotions in regard to this.

The water challenges also affect the experience, as some tourists noted with annoyance how they were not able to wash dishes or take showers due to the water problems (tourists in A3). The literature (e.g. Walker and Moscardo, 2014) also claim that the right facilitation is important to make the tourist enjoy and feel comfortable, for example, by being able to take a shower. In relation to our analysis later regarding the situated experiences, and how Verde Tour used these strategically to convey sustainability messages, then one might also argue here that the burst pipes and lack of water also has a positive effect in relation to sustainability messages. In LT, the burst water pipes are very much present in town and the surrounding rural, natural landscape. This likely reminds tourists and other visitors of the fragility of the system, and might probe moral reflections in relation to this. We argue this, because we experienced that many tourists seemed very surprised and mentioned the pipes to us, when seeing the burst water pipes or when they lost their water supply (A2).

The Fragmented Local Community

The small size of the community in LT influences how tourism is developed, as some of the community members (we argue mainly people, who live permanently in town) take each other into consideration before making new tourism businesses. As an example, Chopo states, he would never incorporate bike rentals to his business as "*my friend has bike for rents. So, I won't do that, you know*?" (Chopo, A13). Additionally, the three travel operators also have different focus areas; water sports, mountain techniques and eco/nature (Cristobal in A3). This is because they do not want to compete with each other, as claimed by Cristobal, the owner of the tour operator Rukapali (in A3). These examples show elements of social capital in community well-being as some of the features of this are reciprocity and cooperation according to Moscardo et al. (2013). Similarly, having a better and more varied selection of experiences and activities is also beneficial for the tourists, likewise stated in the literature (e.g. Benur and Bramwell, 2015; Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016). Also, it arguably shows dimensions of social equity, which is one of the elements that needs more focus in sustainable development according to the literature (e.g. Holden et al, 2017).

Absentee Landlords and Conflicting Development Practices

The importance of social capital and reciprocity is not present in the entire community overall. The community is very fragmented, and the above argument about not wanting to compete internally only applied to the members of the community who are friends. This is evident as some argue, there are standardization and copying of tourism products as there are proportionately many cabins in LT in relation to activities (A12; Hanne in A2), because *"In Chile everybody just copies, everybody"* (Cecil in A2). A guide at Verde Tour Bastian further claims how "*the private sector has a lot of power*" (Bastian in A2) and some people in LT have just been building large amounts of generic cabins with the sole purpose of making money, whilst they do not live in the town themselves (Rosa Maria, the owner of the accommodation Ecobox, in A2). This is concurred by Michaila stating *"They don't live for work, so they work to live. Yeah?"* (Michaila, A15) and Corinne; *"They only care about their incomes"* (Corinne, A1). This shows how attempting social equity in sustainable development can be challenging in a country, such as Chile, which is ruled by a market- and capitalist-driven orientation, as also suggested by Bastian (in A2). This also shows how the community is very fragmented, as Chopo elaborates:

"This kind of business is to have the... [...] more benefits as possible and it doesn't matter if you already reach the, the level of lifestyle of living you wanna have, you wanna just keep making money. And that's the most destructive way of economy. Because they already forgot their real necessities, the basic necessities and they're all about making more money [...] And they don't even live here!" (Chopo, A13)

In the above quote, Chopo is talking about people, who come to LT to make money, build a lot of cabins and then live somewhere else. Someone constructing their businesses, but living elsewhere, is called 'absentee landlords', according to Moscardo et al (2013). According to Moscardo, this kind of mobility of financial capital is often outside the control of the rest of the community, whilst it can still have big impacts. In LT, the impact is related to the constructing of many generic cabins, which clash with the development procedures of many of the residents, who live in the town permanently. This is, for example, the owner of Ecobox, who lives right next to one of the 'absentee landlords', and comments: *"it's awful, it's a project for the city, not for here. He cuts all the trees, I cut nothing"* (Rosa Maria, A11). The contrast between the two places can be seen in picture 3 and 4 (the first being Rosa Maria's place).

Picture 3 – Ecobox

Picture 4 - Neighbouring Cabañas

The above shows how the community in LT is fragmented, and that the members of the community who live in the town permanently, have a different idea of how the town should be developed than the 'absentee landlords'. Chopo even comments how the absentee landlords are not part of the community, as he claims: *"So, they came here, bought a land and built ten cabañas, but they're not community... the community, actually. They're just guys, enterprises, no?"* (Chopo, A13). Chopo is then claiming that the community does not include the people, who merely come to LT to buy land and conduct business. This shows how Chopo's definition of the community is bound to locality, to physically being present or living in LT. However, there are many different types of community definitions, and in recent literature, the idea of community as locally bound has been critiqued for being too narrow (e.g. Andersson and Clausen, 2014). As we did not speak to the owners of these many cabañas ('absentee landlords'), we do not know whether they consider themselves a part of the same community as Chopo, but they likely do not share the same idea of the community as Chopo in which they are excluded. Instead, we argue that they are part of another community based on a different idea of belonging. These examples show how LT is divided between the members of the community, who lives in town, and the members, who we refer to as 'absentee landlords'. The members of the community, who lives in town, are characterised by the importance of social capital, social equity, reciprocity and not wanting to compete with each other. On the other hand, they do not mind challenging the absentee landlords and claim that they are not a part of their community – mostly because they have a different way of conducting business, do not live in the town, and seemingly do not share the same idea of how LT should be developed. These elements are the important indicators of whether you belong to their community or not, according the interviewees. As argued, the absentee landlords to not align with this and are said not be part of their community. We therefore argue that there are more communities within LT - this being one of them. This community has defined itself based on certain elements and as a group they respect these social practices (e.g. to respect nature, the environment, one another etc.) to develop a sense of belonging. The notion of the community defined by social practices formed by the group to create a feeling of belonging is also concurred by Garcia (2014). Further, the above argument, that the ones outside the community or who belongs to other communities do not share the same idea of how LT should be developed also shows how the community is constructed based on a moral standpoint (e.g. environmentally friendly construction). The idea of a community being constructed based on a moral standpoint is also claimed by Andersson (2014).

The community in LT consists of indigenous people, but many of the (all-year) residents come from the surrounding cities, Santiago or even some from other countries such as Denmark, UK or Italy (A2). Due to the number of people coming from other cities or countries, then this does not align with the literature, stating how rural tourism destinations have less cultural and social diversification (e.g. Bramwell, 1994 in Eusebio et al, 2016). People move to LT because of the ruralness, nature and relaxation (Corinne in A1: Antonio in A7). As the co-owner of Verde Tour Antonio claims; *"One of the reasons, people move here. It is that there is, it is not all made, it is not a city. Not a lot of people are coming. They want a relaxed life, right?"*[4] *(Antonio, A7).*

The fact that many people have moved to LT for these motivations might also influence their view on how the town should be developed, because they came for the ruralness, relaxation and nature - therefore, they might be more keen to keep it that way. Their development rationale is therefore based on their perception and image about the town as a small, rural place, which they do not want to change. This explains some of the challenges stated above regarding how the different groups or communities believe the town should be developed.

How Sustainability is Perceived

Another example regarding the fragmented community relates to how sustainability is perceived by our interviewees depending on their cultural and social background. As mentioned above there is a division between the community members, who resides in the town and the absentee landlords. Yet, there are also conflicts within the residing community, who do not all perceive sustainability the same way. Overall, we observed how most interviewees and people, who we talked with about sustainability and tourism, often only focused on environmental sustainability (A2). Issues of waste management, water usage and wild dogs were the recurring themes brought up to us, when asking about sustainable practices in LT (A1; A2; A3; A7; A8; A9; A11; A12; A13;

[4] Danish: En af grundene til at folk flytter hertil. Det er at der er sådan, det hele er ikke lavet, det er ikke en by. Der kommer heller ikke så mange mennesker. De vil have et afslappet liv, ikke? (Antonio, 8)

A15). Antonio also states how town planning and lack of proper building laws is a problem. He argues: "*The biggest problem there is in Chile, it works like this that the municipalities, they have [...] a plan which states where you would build, where not to build, where the roads should be [...] and stuff like that, you know? We don't have that in this municipalit*y"[5] (Antonio, A7).

Naturally, this view on sustainability has had implications for our findings, as the interviewees focused on environmental sustainability. However, as sustainability is socially constructed, this might be why the interviewees would focus on this dimension, which is physically and perhaps mentally nearest to them in a rural destination such as LT. Further, Corinne states how the view of nature as something needed to be protected is very different in Chile compared to her home country, England, where there is very little wild forest left (A1). She claims: *"We [i.e. Europeans] got a lot more developed concept of caring of the environment [...] Because it is so abundant here"* (Corinne, A1). This view is also concurred by Cecil, who is from France, but now lives in Chile permanently. She says; *"I think Chile is way behind other countries"* (Cecil in A2). However, these views are challenged by Francisco from Chile, who among other things claims Chileans *"understands [nature, taking care of nature], but not in an academic way"* (Francisco, A8). In his view, the Chilean understanding is non-academic but instead more tacit, indirect, simply knowing that it is important to care for one's surroundings (Francisco in A2; A8). Here it is interesting that Corinne and Cecil (European) and Francisco (Chilean) have different views on this. Francisco is talking about what Nakashima calls "local knowledge" of the area you live in and how to live there in a sustainable manner (Nakashima et al., 2000 in UNESCO, 2018). According to Camacho et al (2015), it broadly encompasses cultural values, skills, know-how, practices, beliefs, processes and knowledge about biodiversity, natural resources and traditional ways of life. Thus, Corinne claims that the Western idea of how to best conduct sustainable practices are superior to the 'local knowledge' present in Chile. This can be related to how Butler (2007) claims that the Western idea of knowledge is generally more scientific - which is likely what Corinne means by "more developed concept". Also, Butler (2007) suggests the concept of power is essential here,

[5] Danish: "Det største problem, altså, der er mange. Men altså, det største problem det er at her i Chile fungerer det sådan, at kommunerne de har [...] en plan, der siger, hvor du kan bygge, hvor du ikke kan bygge, hvor veje skal være, [...] og sådan noget, ikke? Det har vi ikke i denne her kommune" (Antonio, A7)

because who has the power to define what is the 'right' kind of knowledge - often, this is the Westerners. However, as Francisco claims, recycling might be a rather new concept in Chile and so is studying tourism academically, but Chileans understand and cares about nature using more tacit knowledge (Francisco in A2; A8). According to Butler (2007) the use of local knowledge (also called indigenous knowledge) can be very useful when looking at knowledge about how to use and navigate nature and how to best manage the impacts of human interaction with the ecosystems.

This shows how the different socio-cultural groups within the community in LT have contradicting views - whether they see the Chilean understanding of sustainability as developed or not depends on where they are from. Again, this shows how sustainability is socially constructed. Corinne has a socially constructed idea of sustainability, constructed from her European background. This does not align with the Chilean way of seeing sustainability or the relationship with nature, and this is why she claims the European perception is "more developed". Later in this analysis - under the Situated Experience - we will analyse how one of the tour operators in LT uses local knowledge strategically to affect the experience and convey messages related to sustainable practices.

Educating the Tourist

The link between experiences and sustainability in regard to increasing knowledge has already been discussed in some literature (e.g. Higham and Carr, 2003; Walker and Moscardo, 2014). This is therefore not our sole focus in this thesis, but we still find it important to include. This section of the analysis will therefore mainly confirm existing literature. Yet, knowledge and learning is indirectly emphasised in other parts of the analysis as well, for example, throughout the thesis the focus is on signs, artefacts, senses, interaction but also how this relates to knowledge. Firstly, it must be noted the idea that the community should educate the tourist was expressed by many of our interviewees, as will be analysed below. However, one must take into consideration the fragmented community and the presence of several socially constructed communities with different ideas of belonging. The idea that the community should educate is therefore only an expression of a characteristic of one of the communities or parts of communities.

In relation to this, one of the accommodation providers, Chopo, claims how LT as a community is responsible for changing people's mind. He claims in the two quotes below:

"As a community we must teach and we have... we have this opportunity to change people's mind. Because we, we are the filter! The people come here with a city filter or whatever... whatever mood they come, but we teach them. And we tell them the way to be here is like this and, and people will... people will take it!" (Chopo, A13)

"We separate the trash [...] People get that, understand [...] People think they are stupid, but they are not stupid! They understand! [...] We have a very good and a very important mission here in Las Trancas. So... Because, if fifty thousand people visit us every year we can, we can change fifty thousand minds every year!" (Chopo, A13).

Apart from the above quotes showing how the community members are cultural brokers (which will be elaborated on later), as they "are the filters", it also shows Chopo's mentality. He sees tourism as an opportunity to change minds. This shows how he sees tourism to be much more than merely an exchange of services, money or goods. But tourism can also be used to facilitate learning or have other social benefits. Chopo's comment aligns with Higgins-Desbiolles' (2006) study which notes the important social forces of tourism, which go beyond economic benefits, which is often the only and main focus.

Chopo claims how they, for example, should use informative signs to educate tourists about the place and how to behave e.g. to inform tourists not to start a fire or throw trash. He argues: *"All these things we can teach the people with guides, for example. With signs, like lots of signs, with also [n.a.]... Paper work with graphics and..."* (Chopo, A13). Bitner (1992) also claims that signs can be used to communicate rules of behaviour. Likewise, another accommodation provider wants to inform the tourist; *"In my webpage I wrote about that concept. [...] In the rooms also. [...] I say that we separate the garbage. Take care of the environment" (*Rosa Maria, A11). Rosa Maria is the owner of one of the accommodations, Ecobox, and this is the concept, she is referring to. Rosa Maria is a former architect and has designed the cabañas herself (Rosa Maria in A3). She has worked with a sustainable city programme and wanted to work with her own project about sustainable practices (A11). The environmental concepts are for example that the cabanas are made of used materials from containers or solar panels and the walking path is over the ground not to destroy vegetation. Also, she uses organic waste to make compost for a little garden (A11).

The educational aspect of tourism is also emphasised by Corinne, who stated:

> "*So, whenever a guest checks in, I explain to them, you know, this is a native woodland. This is the bugs. [...] There is a little form, which has some photos of the local bugs here, which I do have in the guest booklet. Because you now. They just [...] squish them, or scream. Spray with fly spray. You need to explain to them that they are not dangerous. Just let them just go past you on the way. But yeah, I do it in person. Because we have quite a lot of protected species (Corinne, A1)*

Even though Corinne is not a local, Chilean-born, resident of LT, she uses the opportunity to share some indigenous knowledge about LT in terms of projected species. She shares information about the natural resources and animals, where she informs and interprets the natural environments for the tourists. According to Higham and Carr (2003) this kind of interpretation of the ecology is one of the social dimensions of sustainable tourism experiences.

Non-government Forces

> "*[...] it is public 9 meters, from highest water level. Yeah that is public. Fishing. So, people who want to fish, whatever, they can come with the river. But as we own the [pointing] up there. They can't go up there. And they have to ask permission to cross from the road to the river. From our place"* (Hanne, A9)

As seen in the quote, Hanne states how there are both private and public areas of land in Las Trancas, in which most of the surrounding land is owned by private actors, but the volcanos, rivers etc. are public - but often, the way you get there is through private areas of land (A7; A9; A10). This is also something that the tourists are noticing. Relating to the private areas, the tourist, Jake, remarks:

> *"then you have reserves, which are quite often privately owned areas of land that either have been bought by one person to look after a certain area of land, or there is one near Valdivia*

where they had, like, a petition to raise money and they got people from local community and tourists to try and donate money, and then they are using that money to buy an area of land, that they then have as a private reserve, that's protecting the wildlife and everything."
(Jake, A10).

The remark made by Jake concurs with Tecklin and Sepulveda (2014), who state how there are many environmental practices and policies, which are market-based in Chile - making the country, the regional leader within private conservation. One of the ways in which the private areas are bought, is either by private individuals or groups of people, who buy it together - for example, a private mountain association, who owns some of the land around LT (Antonio, A7). However, one of the problems with this particular private area of land, this is that nobody is responsible or employed to clean or manage the area, so *"nobody keeps an eye on it"*[6] according to Antonio (in A7). We experienced this ourselves, as this particular area had a significant amount of waste (refer to picture 1 in A4). This is an example of how the management of areas is inconsistent, as there are significant amounts of trash in one place, yet nothing in other places. This problem with private conservation is also noted by Corcuera et al (2002), stating this management form has implications due to the varying degrees of how well the reserves and parks are managed.

Due to this, and because two out of five tourists throw trash in nature (not always intentionally) according to Daniella, guide at Verde Tour (in A3) there is a problem with trash in Las Trancas. Francisco states this to be one of the main sustainability problems in the town, he argues:

"*But for these places, like Las Trancas, I think it's very hard to have a sustainable business. One point is the trash. The garbage bags. 'Cause there is no system in this community. In Pinto. That helps you to separate the trash"* (Francisco, A8).

[6] Danish: "Ja, det er ikke kommunen, eller offentligheden. Så der er ingen der holder øje med det" (Antonio, A7)

Picture 5 - Poster for cleaning campaign

Hanne and Cecil elaborate that this is a problem both because the tourists are not taking the trash with them home e.g. plastic bags, plastic bottles, etc. (Hanne in A3), but also because the garbage truck is only coming twice a week, and the trucks are not big enough (Cecil in A2). To cope with this, the community comes together to clean the areas several times a year (see poster in picture 5). Thus, the private actors take responsibility to managing the areas (even the public ones), which is also noted by Pagiola et al (2002) in the literature review. Three times a year some members of the local community as well as tourists, who want to participate, go to pick up trash by the Refugio, nearby parks, near the rivers, private and public areas, campsites etc. (A7; A9). In this way, some members of the community are trying to make the tourists take more ownership of protecting the environment, because the tourists are then actively involved in cleaning up. We argue that by actively participating, the tourists are likely to get more in-depth knowledge of the issues and its ecological and human implications, and in this way, they are more likely to engage in more responsible behaviour, as stated by Hungerford and Volk (2013).

Another way the areas are kept clean is when the Verde Tour guides pick up trash throughout the tour (A2; A3). They do this both because the environment needed to be kept clean, but also as part of a strategy in trying to make the observers very aware of the need to protect the environment. This is part of a desire to diminish what Hanne calls the "Tourist Right", where tourists disregard waste management, biodiversity and nature for their own individual benefits (Hanne in A2). The guide has an important role in conservation as situated role models for the tourists as claimed by Yamada (2011) - this is what Hanne is referring to, when she claims that this is part of a strategy to diminish the negative consequences of 'The Tourist Right" to discard waste in the area. This point is rather well-documented in the literature (e.g. Higham and Carr, 2003), which state how, for example, ecotourism is theoretically well placed to prompt values and behaviours, which are more environmentally friendly.

In relation to this, Hanne states how:

"We are little not really keen of copying Europeans. Because there is. Like... How do you control how many people go? We talk about that. So, what they are trying to at least in this area... And some other... The idea is to certificate the tourist guides and the tour operator. So, in every area the tour operator has a responsibility." (Hanne, A9).

In the above quote, Hanne says how they, in the area, do not want to copy the European way of managing parks, where most of it is public and tourist can just go there. However, to make some consistency in how they are managed, they are trying to make the tour operators be responsible for cleaning and protecting the area. We also observed this as all the tour guides in Verde Tour would pick up trash in the area whilst conducting the tours (A2; A3). That being said, this also means that areas, which are more remote or where tour operators do not take their guests (such as the Refugio), are not properly managed in terms of waste management (refer to picture 1 in A4). So even though Hanne claims that they have this strategy in "this area", then we did not hear about this strategy from other tour operators, and we could clearly see that some areas were not being managed properly. This, once again, shows the fragmented nature of the local community, who have different strategies and sustainability values. The tour operator, who is trying to implement this "rule" is only a very small part of the overall community with not even 10 employees. It is therefore unlikely that they can manage this big responsibility by themselves. So even within the private sector, there is a great deal of fragmentation and conflicting ideas of how to manage in a sustainable manner.

In Hanne's above quote, she also claims how Chileans do not want to copy the European way of managing natural resources, because "*How do you control how many people go?"* (Hanne, A9). By this, she is referring to the overall strategy in Chile, whether it is public or private. She is referring to the fact that in private areas of land, you can control who goes, because you will need to make arrangements with the owners or in some manner get permission. The public (CONAF) areas *"are designated national parks, where they have proper trails and people at the trail that's* *running the park and making sure that things are ok and it's all monitored quite closely"* (Jake, A10). Jake goes on to argue that the public areas of land have a "*park ranger sort of things, who sat there and signs people in, what time they go in, and give you leaflets, tell you not to drop any litter, they tell you, if you see any litter, to pick it up and bring it with you back*" (Jake, A10). This person probably does not limit how many people go, but because there is a person employed, they have the capacity to check how many people go to keep track, Jake argues (in A10).

That being said, despite Hanne's comment about not wanting to copy the European way, then the way that the national parks are managed now, and the idea that the tour operators should take responsibility results in some inconsistency, which is a result of the already fragmented community, who have different ideas of how to be sustainable. Corceura et al. (2002) also note how some Chilean private parks have challenges with efficiency and insufficient management plans due to inconsistency. The people at Verde Tour are trying to compensate for the way things are managed by having very dedicated tour guides, who pick up trash, but this does not seem to solve the overall problem of waste management in the area, because it is only a small group of people who are doing this. All these overall procedures and ideas of sustainability can be seen mirrored in the situated experiences, which will be dealt with later in our analysis.

Community-based Policy Development

Another element to the non-government way to management the development of an area is seen with the application of a new bylaw in the area around LT (which is mostly privately owned land). One of our interviewees, Corinne, who used to be a lawyer in the UK, produced, initiated and got a bylaw approved, which made it a requirement for hikers to first report to the police before taking hikes (A1). Members of the community helped to gather signatures for the agreement to be approved (Felipe, the co-owner of Verde Tour, in A2). The bylaw was made because a significant number of hikers do hikes without knowing the area or the local weather conditions, which can shift rapidly (A1). Corinne states how *"We actually had a girl die in the week after I presented the bylaw to the local council" (Corinne, A1)*, because before the bylaw was approved there was no registration with officials, and you could take hikes without people knowing you were there (A1). Besides getting registered, the mountain police is able to:

"check what gear the guys take with them. How they are dressed. Have they got the proper footwear? Have they got the right clothes for the change of weather? Make sure that they check the forecast. Ehm. They know the route they are taking. They get their emergency numbers. Ehm. If the people don't come back the time they say they come back, then they activate their rescue" (Corinne, A1).

If you do not register you will get a large fine (A1). This shows how some of the local community members (i.e. non-government forces) take over, when the state or the local council does not provide the needed governance. The implementation of the policy is community-based, and an example of sustainable tourism development policies, which is initiated and developed by the local community (or some members hereof). This kind of collaboration between stakeholders is an important element in developing a sustainable tourism destination according to Chiappa et al. (2016). Additionally, political capital to influence governance is one of the important contributions to community well-being and sustainable tourism as noted by Moscardo et al. (2013).

The application of this new policy to the experience is that as a visitor, there is a greater sense of security and management once there are some official guide lines. We make this argument, because one of the tourists argues having officials, park rangers and official requirements as the best option over uncontrolled parks and hiking trails, where there tend to be more trash (A10). He presents an example of a Chilean park about which he comments: *"But instead of chopping it down, they have kind of just left it there and looked after it, which is quite good"* (Jake, A10). Meaning, as a tourist, he acknowledges the benefit of proper management of natural places, even if it means, he was not allowed to go there because, as he elaborates: *"They leave a lot of space for wildlife and trees and everything to grow undisturbed completely"* (Jake, A10). The literature about the link between the experience and conservation is not conclusive, but it states that they are in a co-dependent relationship (e.g. Coghlan, 2011). In terms of safety, the mere fact that someone died recently (A1) and that tourists often have to be rescued (A9) are important considerations when it comes to the experience in regard to proper facilitation and security. This is also concurred by Walker and Moscardo (2014) claiming that one of the abilities of a guide is to provide a sense of security to the tourist. That being said, to argue whether or not the tourists feel safer in controlled natural parks over uncontrolled is outside the scope of this thesis.

Free the Diguillin River Movement

In LT, there is currently the *RioDiguillin Libre* movement (Free the Diguillin River Movement) working against the development of a hydroelectric power station by a big shareholder company in the nearby river. Some of the community members in LT and the nearby valleys are working against the hydro power station in the movement, because it is seen as unsustainable, damaging to the environment and will have negative impacts to the tourist's experience in terms of aesthetics (Corinne in A1; Hanne in A2, Cristobal in A3; Hanne in A3).

Corinne states how: *"I think it would have knock on effect [on tourism]. Because it is a huge construction over a number of years. And obviously the road – the quality of the road is good now. But when you get heavy machines. It will be affected" (Corinne, A1).* Corinne's argument revolves around the power station's consequence to the environment, which is a resource for the tourism in the area. This aligns with the literature stating how one of the attractions of a rural tourism destination is the landscape and natural resources, which Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) suggest. The tour operators in LT also rely heavily on utilising the natural resources, when conducting tours, and if there is a big hydroelectric dam, then this negatively changes the experience (Cristobal in A3). Likewise, Valentine (1992) argues that man-made elements also reduced aesthetic values for the tourist. The aesthetic values are a part of the tour operator's strategies, which we will elaborate later in the section about sensory experiences.

The fight against the power station shows several things. Firstly, there is the narrative about the 'powerful' external company and the little 'powerless' community. Bastian, Corinne and Chopo all state how this types firm has a lot of power and connections (A1; Bastian in A2; A13). For example, Chopo says: *"And this guy, who's the owner of the company, he has like crazy, very good contacts"* (Chopo, A13). And as a contrast the community is framed as "*these guys that live here... live there that are a very small community, they don't have like much political power or communication power and they're weak in those areas, so they claim for help*" (Chopo, A13). The reason behind this narrative might be found in Cristobal's comment about there being nothing the community can do, and the decision *"it is over them"* - meaning they have no power, when a big company wants to build (Cristobal in A2). Likewise, Corinne claims how many local community members think it will go ahead anyway, and therefore enter into negotiations to get benefits out of the situation (Corinne, A1). However, she claims, she would not enter into negotiations and distances herself from the people that do. This might be because she has not lived in LT or Chile for a very long time (only since 2011), and therefore do not have the same historical background, perhaps of other big companies doing similar projects in the past. Instead Corinne states: *"You just sold your soul to the devil. I will not enter negotiations. It is not worth it"* (Corinne, A1). This again shows how the community members are not speaking in 'one voice' as some want to negotiate, and others not - in this case, it seems to depend on their socio-cultural background and past experiences. This aligns with the literature claiming how the community is a heterogeneous group (Clausen and Gyimothy, 2016) and that there are issues with destination governance and the fragmented nature of the rural tourism development as claimed in the reviewed literature (Lane, 2016; Garrod et al, 2006).

Picture 6 - Diguillin River Movement collection jar

Secondly, the narrative about the "powerful" company is linked to how the community is trying to engage and involve the tourists around town. We argue that the use of this narrative is to make the tourists and other people more inclined to help. The 'fight' against the power station is very evident around town, as you see posters and money collection jars (see picture 6), and it is generally very talked about around town and by our interviewees (e.g. A1; A7; A11; A13; A2; A3). The communities around the River also made at least one demonstration against the power station. Here the staff at Verde Tour were given a whole day off to go to Concepción, a coastal city in central Chile, to demonstrate against it. To this Bastian noted how they were also given money for gas from Verde Tour (Bastian in A3), which arguably show dedication from the side of the company, which aligns with some of the other observations about picking up trash on tours. Further, as seen in the picture, the tourists were continuously encouraged to donate money and take part in the demonstrations against the hydropower station. There were also benefit parties hosted to unite people, where everybody in LT was invited, including tourists (A13).

The 'fight' against the power station becomes part of the tourist experience in LT. In this way, the values within many members of the community are illustrated and influences the experience, because you are reminded about this all the time. This is due to the presence of posters, the collection jars and that the issue is continually addressed, and the tourists are encouraged to take part (A2). By encouraging and including the tourist in co-creation, it can create value for the experience (as also remarked by Campos et al., 2015), in this case - partly because sustainability is included as an aspect and important consideration in a very concrete and easily understood manner (limited to the hydropower station). It is not just sustainability as an abstract concept, but this illustrates a very concrete and action-oriented manner in which the community is trying to develop the destination more sustainably by not wanting a hydropower station. In this example, co-creation exists because the tourists are invited to be included in community initiatives (here regarding local politics). This aligns with O'Dell (2010), who notes how tourists wants to actively learn, interact and get knowledge – in this case about local politics relating to sustainable development. To sum up, this is an example where the experience is co-created together with the destination, the tourist and the rural community, and where the concept of sustainability is central. Additionally, the 'fight' against the power station shows how the tourists are included strategically in the co-created experience to take part in activist-related actions. The tourists are included in the political community resistance against the private company – and are then not only engaged in rural experiences such as hiking, biking, etc. which the tourist come to LT for (as previously mentioned). This is seen in the narrative about the 'powerful' company, the jars, posters, benefit parties and general why the power station is continually articulated by many of the community members to the visitors. The fact that almost all the people we talked to mentioned this as an example of unsustainable development, shows how sustainability is seen from their perspective. The 'fight' exposes the tourists to activities (benefit party, demonstration) as well as signs and artefacts (posters, jars) that put them in situations and positions, which they are likely not used to. This is done in the name of sustainability and activism. The reason why the tourists are likely not used to this, is that tourism is traditionally associated with leisure, relaxation, consumption and is seen as very unpolitical by nature - yet in recent literature this notion is challenged, as suggested by Jong (2017).

We have now analysed selected conditions within the rural destination Valle Las Trancas and how these affect the sustainable practices and development. Likewise, we have also looked at how these overall conditions and sustainable practices ultimately affect the experience. However, now we want to analyse the situated experience more in-depth, to analyse how the members of the local community (with special emphasis on one of the local tour operators) strategically use the situated experience in an attempt to encourage sustainable practices.

The Situated Experience

"Experiences are like ... it means something. Meaningful." (Hanne, A9)

In this part of the analysis, we will analyse the situated, sensuous and material dimensions of the experiences. Likewise, we will explore how Verde Tour and some members of the community convey values related to sustainability by their strategic use of situated experiences. This part of the analysis is especially based on experiences whilst on guided tours with the tour company, Verde Tour, but also includes other situated experiences.

The Effect of Sensory Experiences

Firstly, we wish to look at the importance of sensory experiences as the senses are really something that affected the experiences in LT. It is clear that the tourists are coming to LT for the rural and scenic landscape. The sight senses are evidently stimulated, when walking around in LT and going on the tours in the surroundings areas. At the time the research took place it was summer and the weather conditions were warm and sunny, so it was possible to explore the surrounding rural a nature (refer to picture 7 and picture 8). The view of the landscape is impressive with the colour combination of the green trees, the very blue sky and the black stones and sand (A3). However, it is not only the sight sense that is affected in LT, there are many multisensory experiences. We will examine how these are used strategically.

Close to LT is a river called the Diguillin River, which is the focus point of several guided tours and independent tourist trips. It is also the most popular attraction as argued by Felipe (in A3). The affection of the hearing sense was especially noticeable by the Diguillin River Tour. We walked

Picture 7 - The Volcano

Picture 8 - The Waterfall

for one hour in a quiet forest only with the sounds of the birds and our own footsteps breaking the dry twigs underneath (A3). As we walked out of the forest, and as soon we got closer to the river, we could hear the strong sounds from the waterfall below (refer to video 9 or video 10). The sudden sound was remarked by several of the tourists on the tour. As we got closer to the river and got used to the sounds, it became a pleasant background sound. It created a very idyllic atmosphere with the background sounds from the waterfall as the participants would swim in the water or sunbathe on the hot stones by the riverbank. This is an example of how sounds can help enliven a specific place and encourage relaxation (A3), as also claimed by Bernat (2014). According to Antonio, the co-owner of Verde Tour, they plan tours with the soundscape in mind: *"We plan the tours, so we are most sure that something will happen. For example, the time we conduct the tours are very important [...]"*[7] (Antonio, A7). He goes on to argue that, for example, the location of the sun, the temperature of the water and the presence (and sounds) of birds are all considerations depending on the tour (A7), as seen in the quote below.

[7] Danish: "Vi planlægger turene sådan at vi, så vi er mest sikre på, at der kan komme til at ske nogle ting. For eksempel, tidspunkterne vi laver turene på er meget vigtige" (A7)

"For example [...] the day, where you were down at the River, right? It has to be a special time, because how the sun is, the temperature of the water [...] it is not unimportant whether you are doing it at 7 o'clock in the morning, at 10 or at 3. It depends. It is different each time. If you want to look at birds, or for example, when we do those kayak trips, it has to be a specific time of day, so you can better see the nature. On those times, there are more birds that come to feed, or sing"[8] (Antonio, A7).

It shows that the tour operator is aware that the different senses need to be stimulated in the nature experience as argued in experience literature (e.g. Agapito et al., 2014; Hansen, 2010). The fact that Antonio says that you need to be on a tour at a specific time to hear the birds sing or feed, shows his local knowledge. If he did not have local knowledge, he would not be able to know the ideal time and place to best stimulate the senses (in this case the hearing sense). In other words, Verde Tour is using the senses intentionally on their tours, which will be elaborated more in the following.

In regard to the sense of touch, this was also evident in the experience. On every single tour, the tour guides encouraged us to touch and engage with nature (the fauna and flora) (A3). One example is how we were given an aromatic leaf to touch, but to engage us in the experience, we were told to press it together in order to release the scents within the leaf (refer to video 11). In this way, the smell and touch sense was activated and became a part of the overall experience, which was co-created together with destination (the nature), the tourist(s) and the local community (here the guide). Another way we engaged with nature was that the guides continuously wanted the participants on tours to pick local berries to taste (A3). They made us stick out our tongues to show how the berries coloured the tongue, which made it a part of the overall experience (A2).

[8] Danish: "For eksempel [...], den dag hvor I var nede ved floden, ikke? Det skal være et specielt tidspunkt fordi hvordan solen ligger, vandets temperatur. [...] det er ikke lige meget om du laver det kl. 7 om morgenen, kl. 10 eller kl. 3. Det er forskelligt. Det er anderledes hver gang. Også hvis du gerne vil se fugle, eller for eksempel, når vi laver de der kajakture, det skal være på et bestemt tidspunkt fordi kan man bedre se naturen. På de tider, så er der flere fugle der kommer derhen og spiser, eller synger" (Antonio, A7)

According to the co-owner of Verde Tour, they use the sensescapes in an attempt to teach tourists about nature, customs and traditions. This is clear when Antonio was asked whether or not the above experiences (touching, smelling, tasting the fauna and flora) were part of an overall strategy, or just spontaneous decisions from the specific guide. To this question he answers:

"It is important to us that the tourists learn something on their trip. About nature, or about the local [area and community], or about traditions [...] And that the guide should be [...] the centre between what is around you and the client or tourist. So, he can show them things that they otherwise would not see" (Antonio, A7)[9]

Through these experiences, the sensescapes were activated through embodied experience by negotiating with the rural destination. Also, the guide functioned as a cultural broker, as he told us what to do and why in relation to local customs or local ways of using the environment. This is also evident in the above quote, where Antonio states how the guide is "*the centre between what is around you and the client or tourist" (in A7).* The guide as a cultural broker will be elaborated later.

Through the activation of the sensescapes, Verde Tour invited the tourists to see, touch, smell, taste and hear, which had an impact on the embodied experience as analysed above. As also seen in Mossberg (2007) all these multisensory strategies are used to stimulate physical environments and associate the tourists to nature. Using the physical environment, Verde Tour attempts to educate the tourists using local knowledge (e.g. smelling aromatic leaves). We argue how the situated experiences with the environment are tactically planned by Verde Tour to make the tourist more aware of their surroundings and its attraction. The tactical use of senses is also suggested by Madsen (2010), who notes how the tourists use the senses to interpret surroundings and from there derive an interpretation from the experience. Verde Tour is aware of the fact that senses play an important part in the rural tourist experiences and is trying to emphasize all the senses. They want to provide the tourist with a multisensory experience, and

[9] Danish: *"Det er vigtigt for os, at turisterne de lærer noget på rejserne. Om naturen, eller om det lokale, eller om traditioner [...] Og at guiden skal være [...] et midtpunkt mellem hvad det er omkring dig og selve kunden eller turisten. Så han kan vise dem ting, som de ellers ikke vil se" (Antonio, A7)*

use it as a tool to educate them about nature. Here, it is important to note how Verde Tour attempts to educate using local knowledge and a more indigenous orientation towards nature, where the education part of the experience revolves around touching, smelling and hearing during situated experiences. The local knowledge and its educational processes are conflicting with Western ideas of education, which revolves around formal schooling and has a different world view, as Kawagley and Barnhardt (1998) also note. Thus, the multisensory experience is used strategically to design an environment to convey reflections relation to sustainable practices. This aligns with Bernat's (2014) claim that one can increase the public awareness of the attractiveness of tranquillity in nature, through the sound, smell, taste and touch, to influence sustainability values. Due to the above, we are therefore able to argue how experience economy and the concept experiences (as Western concepts) are ideal to understand nature and associate tourist with nature - and this is used by Verde Tour to translate the context and thereby provide a new perspective on sustainability through situated experiences and the use of local knowledge.

In the above, we have argued that through activation of the senses, Verde Tour is attempting to increase awareness and educate through local knowledge and connecting the tourist with nature. Another way of using the senses are when Verde Tour is strategically activating the taste sense by making sure the guides bring along local sandwiches and snacks on the tours, for example, from the local bakery (A3). In this way, the activation of the senses has an economic benefit. According to Felipe (in A2) they do this because it is a "win-win for everybody" in terms of advertisement for the local businesses and spreading out the economic activities in tourism. Verde Tour is using the experience dimension, the taste sense, to tactically encourage a more sustainable practice. By discreetly stimulating the taste sense from eating local food on tours, this meant that more of the tourists asked about the bakery (A3). In other words, the stimulated taste sense reached the tourist's mind (as also claimed by Mossberg, 2007). Even days after our fellow student researcher mentioned several times that he wanted to go and eat at the bakery - as a direct result of having the sandwich on the tour (A3). In this way, the local community within Las Trancas are involved in the process of co-creating sensory-rich experiences through their attempt to conduct and encourage sustainable tourism practices.

The Effect of Signs and Artefacts

In Las Trancas, there are not many signs and artefacts in town or the surrounding nature - for example where Verde Tour conducts guided trips. The community seems to disagree whether or not there should be signs to guide the tourist or facilitate the experience. According to Mossberg (2007) signage plays an important role in a physical environment and affects the experience, whether it is used as directional purposes or to communicate rules of behaviour. Francisco understands the importance of this and claims it is a big problem in terms of tourism development that there is very little signage, as seen in the quote below:

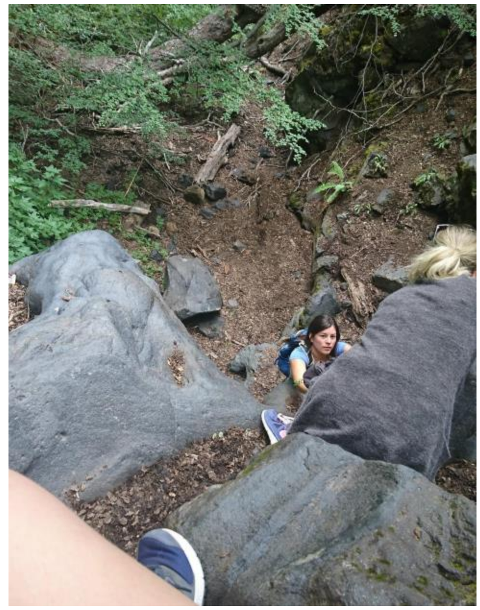
"Maybe one thing Senatur doesn't understand, I think. They understand, but they don't do in that way or don't have the money, is the this place is like [inaudible] Las Trancas, who has ski, mountaineers, backcountry bike, mountain bike downhill, hiking, long hikes like Austria but we don't have signs or systems of hike, no hikes. That is a problem investment we need here."
(Francisco, A8)

However, according to Hanne, the addition of man-made elements in nature, for example paint, is not wanted. She argues:

Picture 9 - Pile of Rocks

"And that is why you didn't see any [signs], and like here they have been talking. Because there have been some people that was painting on the rocks. They were like talking, we don't want you to paint on the rocks. [...] they make a little tower of rocks" (Hanne, A9).

As seen in the quote, Hanne states how "they" (i.e. the community) do not want signs or paint on the trees, and instead uses stacks of rocks to make a little tower to indicate the path (refer to picture 9). This is seen as a more sustainable wayfinding method according to Hanne, and which is more accepted amongst the community members. The use of the pile of rocks to indicate a path is an example, where local knowledge about wayfinding is used - as stated by Hanne: *"Pile. A little pile. Everybody knows. Because that is traditionally where the arderius [Spanish word] went" (Hanne, A9).* This shows another, indigenous, orientation towards nature and how to navigate it, than the one suggested by Francisco, where he is comparing LT to other countries with clearly marked hiking trails.


Picture 10 – Obstacles on the route

Hanne and Francisco therefore do not agree on how to best use signs to navigate in nature. An explanation for the difference might explain how Francisco is looking at the lack of signs and wayfinding from the perspective of the tourist. This is seen, when he states how LT should develop like other successful international tourism destination, because they know how to attract tourists. He says:

"I think this vision of do the same products or try to get close to the same products that the world is selling is important for the international tourism" (Francisco, A8).

On the other hand, Hanne focuses more on the local perspective, for example, by stating "*we don't want you to paint on the rocks*" (Hanne, A9). This again shows the fragmented nature of the community, who does not agree. We argue Hanne is primarily thinking about the benefit of the community, who do not want painted rocks. Also, the pile-of-rocks method is an example, where existing resources in the environment is used - instead of introducing external elements such as paint. In this way, it, too, becomes a way to utilise local knowledge. Also, this is an example of how rural tourism is often fragmented and it can be difficult to collaborate (in this case agree on signs), which makes it challenging to implement sustainability in tourism, as both Lane (2016) and Garrod et al (2006) claim.

The concept of sustainability and experiences work together in constructing the experience in LT, when it comes to the lack of signs and artefacts (rope, fence etc.) in the natural rural surroundings. We observed how there generally was very limited man-made elements to direct, help or assist the tourists - as also stated in the quote above by Francisco (A2; A3; A8). Some parts of the guided tours proved very challenging for the participating tourists, because there were, for example, no rope to assist them, when having to climb a big rocky hill, which was in the middle of the path (A2). Refer to picture 10. One of the tourists, a German tourists named Jörgen, remarked how this was very unusual compared to other rural tours, he had done (Tourist in A3). That being said, he seemed to very much enjoy the ruralness of the experience, which was evident when he, alone, continued walking all the way around the volcano after the rest of the tour had stopped once getting to the top (A2). Sometimes the lack of signs and artefacts influenced the tourists so much that they had physical reactions due to the stress and challenge of the experience. We went on a tour which involved climbing on big, wet, slippery rocks, several meters from the ground next to a waterfall and river - for several hours. A woman and her daughter were also participating on the tour. The climb increased in difficulty as we got closer and closer to the waterfall, and about halfway there the woman started crying and showed other negative bodily expressions because she found the experience too difficult due to the lack of assistance from man-made elements. Ultimately the tour guide had to help her, holding her hand all the way (A2; A3). Refer to picture 11, which shows the guide assisting one of the tourists, holding her hand. This can be linked to Walker and Moscardo's attribute facilitation, which is when the tour operator facilitates and supports the experience (Woodside et al., 2008 in Walker and Moscardo, 2014). In this example, the experience was not sufficiently facilitated and supported, and the female tourist did not feel comfortable or safe, which proper facilitation can help with according to Walker and Moscardo (2014). The set-up of the tour emphasised being in nature, not taking the path most travelled, which is why we took the most difficult way to get to the waterfall. There was also a more obvious dirt road, which could have taken us straight there. However, the climb on the rocks was part of the nature experience to align with the eco-focus of Verde Tour. They use

Picture 11 – guide assisting one of the tourists embodied experiences to encourage the tourists to get in contact with the natural elements (balancing and jumping from rock to rock, direct contact with the water, the waterfall, the moss, bushes). This is part of their overall strategy, which aligns with the before-mentioned comment made by Felipe that tourists should be "in nature" to learn about sustainable practices. In the end, it must be noted that after finishing the tour the woman and her daughter seemed very proud and accomplished, which was evident from them giving each other high fives, and all negative emotions were seemingly gone (A2).

The Effect of Interactions

In the experience literature (e.g. Kastenholz and Carneiro, 2016; Lindberg et al, 2014), socializing and interactions, for example with the local residents, are seen to have a big influence on the experience. The importance of this was also noted by one of the tourists, who states: "*It is the first time on my trip, I have talked with the locals"* (Tourist in A3) - in the interview, we conducted with him later, he elaborates: *"So it means we get to places and do things that normal tourists didn't get to go. Which I really like"* (Jake, A10). So, this has improved his experience and is one of the reasons why he has particularly enjoyed his time in LT. He claims this as the main reason why he ended up staying in the town for three times longer than he had initially planned (from two to seven days) (tourist in A2).

In this part of the analysis we want to argue how Verde Tour and some of the other community members are using these interactions strategically to influence behaviours or attitudes. An example of this is how one of the tourists remarked that the initial contact with his accommodation provider was used to socialise, but also to influence behaviours. He claims:

"*They like, when they walk you around the hostel at the beginning, they are like "try and use as little water as possible", "clean empty dishes quickly", "turn the tap off when you are not using it", and "have shorter showers"* (Jake, A10)

So, in the above quote, the initial contact with the tourist is used to inform and address do and don'ts related to (environmental) sustainability. Corinne also states how she uses interactions to address sustainability issues, because passive signs are not effective:

“I got a don’t pick the flowers and the orchid sign. (Laughing) So we have everything in a little booklet. It is also in the website. with all the conditions. But we... I like to do it in persons with the people, when I speak to them. Because.. When they read things. They look at the sign, and they. They just see the sign. They actually not take time to read the sign […] So, whenever a guest checks in, I explain to them, you know, this is a native woodland” (Corinne, A1)

All the guides at Verde Tour seem really dedicated towards ecotourism, nature, the area and ecology. They are well-educated and all have degrees in either biology, ecotourism administration or ecotourism in general (A2; A3). The dedication is, for example, seen by one of the guides going to the Volcano in his spare time just to relax, even though he is going there with the tourists almost every day (A2). In general, it was easy to observe that they were dedicated and they love telling about their area, and the tourists were listening to them, seemingly very interested. Instead of only using scientific knowledge about sustainable practices, they are using their dedication and local knowledge to encourage the tourist to engage, as mentioned before. One of the other guides has been working some years in Patagonia, which is in the south of Chile, but came back to LT, because it is the place he is dedicated about; “*This is my place*”, he proudly claims. This is despite there being more tourists in Patagonia and that the salary was higher (Bastian in A3). In relation to contributing knowledge, there is the importance of staff expertise, which Walker and Moscardo (2014) state influences the tourist experience to be more informative and entertaining, because the guide can provide increased security. Hanne (in A9) talks about the need for more skilled tour operators and tour guides, and one of the solutions is to certify the guides, for example that they take a Wilderness First Rescue Certificate. She states: “*There is something that is called wilderness first rescue. Which is a certificate that every guide needs”* (Hanne, A9). Because Verde Tour only employs dedicated, certified and well-educated guides, we argue this is part of their strategy to convey values related to sustainability. This is because these values and local knowledge are communicated better, because increased enthusiasm often makes the guides better speakers, more informative and entertaining, because the tourist can feel their passion as Walker and Moscardo (2014) suggest. Also, their dedication, expertise, local knowledge and interaction with the tourist have a clear effect on the experience as one of the interviewees said:

"He was definitely, very friendly tour guide. Very entertaining, talking to you all the time, whereas... I don't really like it when you are on a tour and the tour guide does not really say anything apart from like "follow me, off we go". It was really boring. But if you get talking to the tour guide, it's much better. most of the time and he is really friendly, so makes it easier" (Jake, A10).

Verde Tour plans their tours beforehand, as they plan what they guide should cover, talk about and where he should make stops. However, according to Antonio, the tours are still flexible, as things outside the control of the guide might happen, as he claims:

*"Yes, which is planned, what do you say, where do you stop, what do you show, what do you talk about [...] every time we go out, a lot of things happen that you cannot imagine. So, of course, we try to emphasize that[10]" (*Antonio, A7).

In the above quote Antonio state how "things happen that you cannot control". This is true with any experience as experiences are perceived in different ways depending on the person doing the experiencing, and also people are unpredictable and so is their behaviour and actions, as stated by Jantzen and Jensen (2005). However, this is even more the case with nature experiences as companies, such as Verde Tour, have even less control over the unpredictable natural environment than, for example, an attraction, note Tone and Moore (2007 in Coghlan, 2011). This tells us that despite attempts to strategically use the experience to convey messages and to use the natural environment, then you cannot control experiences and you cannot control nature - however, we can see how an attempt was made, for example, by using local knowledge.

The aforementioned River Tour is an example of a tour, where you cannot plan everything and need to be flexible as a guide. Here the premise was to walk on rocks, next to the river, ultimately, to get to the waterfall. Instead of leading the group, one of the guides told us how he would always let the tourists guide their own way, when jumping from rock to rock (Bastian in A2; A3). He said: *"Just choose the way. I normally let the tourist decide which stones to jump on. This is*

[10] Danish: "Ja, som er planlagt, hvad siger man, hvor stopper man, hvad viser man, hvad snakker man om. [...] *hver gang vi går ud, så sker der en masse ting, som man ikke kan forestille. Så det prøver vi jo selvfølgelig at lægge vægt på " (Antonio, A7)*

more exciting for them" (Bastian in A3). The tourists are therefore part of co-creating their own experience, because they, quite literally, get to design their own way (and experience). This is an example, where the lack of interaction impacted the experience, because the participants did not have to interact with the guide, because they could walk by themselves, in their own pace. Verde Tour wants the tourist to engage, and to co-create the experience together with the guide and the destination, because by this the tourist is much more than just a passive observer.

Cultural Brokers

We also argue that the guide functions as facilitator of knowledge and cultural broker. A cultural broker is someone who flattens cultural differences (Salazar, 2012). Because we were on tours with mostly Chilean tourists, the guide functioned as a cultural broker, because he would quite literally translate and interpret between the two languages and cultures.

On the tours we participated in, we experienced how some of the tourists asked many questions and generally showed interest and curiosity about the area, nature and culture (A3). The local guide also informed the tourist about dos and don'ts (A2). We observed, how the guides made an effort to engage the tourists in local customs, for example, to greet a particular kind of tree, which some people are allergic to. This is because some Chileans believe that if you greet the tree, you will not get an allergic reaction (A3). It was not just a story which was told, but we were told to greet the tree ourselves (i.e. physically engage). This is an example where the tree is personified - the tree is greeted as if it was a human being. This also shows the aforementioned local knowledge and another orientation towards nature, because greeting a tree shows respect and acknowledgement. Also, it is a local "*legend"* according to Antonio (in A7)*,* which again confirms the use of local knowledge by Verde Tour. By personifying nature, it is contributing to the experience, but it is also used as a strategy to stimulate the development of more sustainable practices. Together with the local guide and the destination, the tourist co-creates the experience by interacting and actively learning, resulting in a better experience, as also claimed by O'Dell (2010).

Verde Tour is very aware of their role as a cultural broker between the tourist and the surroundings, which can be seen in Antonio's statement:

"It is important to us that the tourists learn something on their trip. About nature, or about the local [area and community], or about traditions [...] And that the guide should be [...] the centre between what is around you and the client or tourist. So, he can show them things that they otherwise would not see" (Antonio, A7)[11]

As seen in the above quote, Antonio sees the guide as the centre or link between the tourist and the local area, surroundings, traditions. This is the function of a cultural broker. He also states how the guide as a cultural broker should teach the tourists something about the nature and area. Thus, the guides' role as a cultural broker is emphasised and used strategically by Verde Tour. This was also evident during the tours, where the focus was mostly on the environment and natural resources in which the guide would convey knowledge through interactions with the tourists (A2; A3). However, as stated in the above quote, much emphasis was put on friendly interactions and dialogue, rather than monologue from the guide. This is something Verde Tour has planned and are aware of, because as stated by one of the owners; *"People starts remembering, when they are told different things in the nature"* (Felipe in A3). Thus, the focus on interaction during the nature experience is part of the strategy to encourage remembrance.

Felipe explicitly states how Verde Tour is purposely using the presence of the tourists "in nature" to emphasise the guide's role as a cultural broker and facilitator of knowledge. As stated also in the section above, Verde Tour tactically uses the senses and emphasises the guide's role as a cultural in an attempt to provide knowledge about sustainable practices. The tourists, we engaged with on the tours, also acted as cultural brokers - however, this was not planned or used as a strategy by the tour operator. Rather it was a condition of the particular tour, because we were participants from different socio-cultural contexts. An example of this is our interactions with one of the Chilean tourists, Carlos. He taught us Spanish phrases, told us about the use of natural materials in the forest, and we would tell him how the natural landscape is different in Denmark, teach him some Danish phrases, etc. (A2).

[11] Danish: *"Det er vigtigt for os, at turisterne de lærer noget på rejserne. Om naturen, eller om det lokale, eller om traditioner [...] Og at guiden skal være [...] et midtpunkt mellem hvad det er omkring dig og selve kunden eller turisten. Så han kan vise dem ting, som de ellers ikke vil se" (Antonio, A7)*

Low Impact Operation

"Until now, they have [...] not more than 10 people on one tour" (Hanne, A9)

Verde Tour only conducts tours with maximum 10 people. One might think, this is merely because LT is a small town. But we observed how many people were coming to the tour operator's office to book a tour, but were declined, because the tours were fully booked (A2). One of the owners, Felipe, argues, there are two reasons for this maximum amount: to increase the quality of the experience and to be more environmentally sustainable (Felipe in A2).

We also did not meet tourists from other tours, because they are trying to have tours on different times than other companies, and do not take more tour groups to the same place in one day (Daniella in A2). More tourists on the tours, or from other tours could affect the experiences in a negative way - as suggested by Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016). Interactions with the few people going on the tour were also much more intimate, and in this way the group dynamics had an important role of influencing the experience, as Kastenholz and Carneiro (2016) also note. An example of how it influenced the experience is when one of the participants on the tour felt insecure going down a steep Volcanic mountain due to improper footwear and hiking experience, another tourist offered one of his hiking sticks as well as some tips and tricks (A3). The group dynamics can then also be used to comfort and help each other.

Likewise, we observed how the absence of other sounds (from the lack of other people), affected the experience (A3). This was a general remark made by some of the tourists as a characteristic of the experience in LT (Simon, Irina and Dukan in A2). One of the reasons for this remark might be linked to issues with noise pollution in many places, as Bernat (2014) suggests. Thus, we argue, the minimal number of other tourists also enhanced the natural multi-sensory, because you did not get distracted as much from other people - thereby, likely making one more aware of nature in the situated experience. It also helped to have a greater focus on what the guide was telling and showing as well as that the guide could engage more with individual tourists (Felipe in A3). However, considerations relating to the experience is not the only reason why Verde Tour have a maximum of 10 people on a tour. Felipe explicitly stated sustainability as a key factor for these decisions (small groups, less impact), which shows how they are also aware of the importance of these two concepts together. This therefore aligns with Higham and Carr's (2003) study, which claims how low impact operation as a sustainable practice has big impacts on the tourist experience, but also that interpretation and the act of raising awareness as part of the experience can theoretically be used to change attitudes (and ideally sustainable practices). This therefore shows how these two concepts, sustainability and experiences, are linked in the situated experience.

Interaction with Non-Human Actors

"Lot of streets dog running around. And that is a problem" (Hanne, A9)

Almost all the interviewees mentioned roaming dogs as one of the main problems in relation to sustainable tourism development in LT (e.g. A1; A2; A3; A7; A9; A12; A13). This is an example where unsustainable development affects the experience of the tourist, which will be analysed in this section. This section therefore has a slightly different perspective than the other parts of the analysis. We find this important as we have analysed how Verde Tour is trying to strategically affect the situated experience of the tourist, and also how the conditions within Las Trancas affect the experience and the behaviour of the community. This section is an example, where there are some conditions (the presence of roaming dogs) in LT, which is more difficult to control by individual local businesses. It is therefore not an example of something, which is planned to affect the experience, but merely a condition of life in LT.

The roaming dogs are a problem in LT for several reasons. Firstly, they eat the garbage and destroy the bags, which means trash is spread all over town (A1; Cristobal in A3). Secondly, they eat other animals, such as rabbits and foxes (Cristobal in A3; A7). Antonio states how people dump their dogs in LT, and they *"eat, eat all other nature, birds, foxes and mice, frogs. Everything. It is also a problem*"[12] (Antonio, A7). Cristobal (in A3) also state how, in some places in Chile, people have been killed by roaming dogs.

When speaking about the dogs, the fragmented nature of the community and the different socio-cultural perspectives are evident. This is because Corinne, who is from the UK, speaks about the

[12] *"og så kommer de med deres hunde og katte, de spiser, æder al andet natur, fugle, ræve og mus, frøer. Det hele. Det er et problem også (Antonio, A7).*

dogs as more than just problems. She emphasises - in the quote below - that they are hungry as a reason for why they act this way and talks about them needing a vet - a more empathic, western perspective on this problem, because she likely still sees dogs as pets.

"Yes, they are hungry. They don't have anyone giving them food on daily basis. [...] People come and dump the dogs here. It happens. It is very common in Chile. [...]On the road out to the countryside to the mountains, people going to dumb dogs. But now there is a new law - as from this month. The local council has to take the responsibility for the wild dogs in the area. So, we will see. [...] They should have a vet surgery. In Chillán they have one. And the kennels where they take all the street dogs in and treat them and try to get them away*"*

(Corinne, A1)

Even though Corinne also sees this as a problem, she emphasises how the dogs should be taken care of and taken to a vet. We argue that this is because she is from the UK, where dogs are seen as pets and there are no problems with roaming dogs. In Chile this is not the case and roaming are very much a part of daily life as dogs are not seen as pets in the same way - they are animals and treated as animals. This is why all the other interviewees did not take the same point of view as Corinne. They saw the dogs as problems and an annoyance.

On the other hand, tourists did not seem so bothered by the dogs being there. In fact, we will argue the presence of the dogs sometimes had a positive influence on the experience. The fact that the tourists did not mind roaming dogs as much as the locals has already been studied in the literature (e.g. Plumridge and Fielding, 2003), however, we wish to focus on how the dogs affected the experience of the western tourists.

Picture 12 - Non-human actors in LT

One of the western tourists noted how two dogs followed him for an entire day up the mountain and down again, when he was hiking (Tourist in A3). He stressed how it was very pleasant and nice with some company on his long hike. Also, there were especially two dogs, which “live” on the same street as the location of his hostel (refer to picture 12). He would talk about how he liked one dog more than the other - it was his friend and the other dog was just annoying and needy. He talked about the dogs as if they were human beings and in this way, he is personifying them, which shows he had made a connection with them. This aligns with Lindberg et al.’s (2014) comment that interactions and embodied experiences with animals are essential too. This is because we, as humans, are also impacted by non-human entities (here dogs) and forces all the time (Ramaswamy and Ozcan, 2018). The dogs became his hiking companions, and in that way, the experience is co-created between him, the rural destination and the non-human actors, the dogs.

Another example of how the dogs affected the embodied experiences is how we observed that one particular dog followed us all the way home. We played with it by tossing rocks that the dog would go to pick up and bring back. When we woke up the next morning, the dog was sleeping outside our cabin and ended up following us to the bus. When we approached the bus stop, we met our two travel companions, who were being followed by two dogs - the dogs, who ‘lived’ on the same street. We made jokes about how it was “their” dogs and “our” dog (A2) - which is an example of how interactions with non-human actors can stimulate social interactions, as Hunt et al., (1992) in Lindberg et al. (2014) also suggest. The dogs also functioned as a sort of security and comfort for some of the tourists, as they would walk you home along the pitch-black dirt roads in LT. To this, tourists noted how it was comforting and they did not mind walking home alone, because the dogs walked them home and this had become a nightly ritual (tourists in A2).

The non-human actors, the dogs, are therefore examples of something which is stated by the local community as a nuisance, but to the tourists they did not seem to be much of a problem. According to Uriely (2005 in Moscardo et al., 2013) the separation between tourist and the members of the local community are blurring, because tourists increasingly engage in similar activities as the residents. Then this is an example, where there is seemingly still a distinction in regard to perceptions of the two. This is likely because the tourists are only in LT for a limited amount of time, and therefore they are not likely to see many of the long-term problems that the dogs are causing. At the very least, we were in LT for several weeks and did not notice any dogs going into the garbage etc. as stated by Cristobal to be a big problem (in A2; A3). Also, as stated, the western tourists see dogs as pets and the local community does not. So, the perspectives of the two 'sides' in relation to whether or not the roaming dogs were a problem depended on the socio-cultural context that the tourists were from. Likewise, the fact that the tourists do not live in the town and experience the problems the dogs cause in the same way. Due to these differences, the idea of roaming dogs as an unsustainable development problem is socially constructed. As mentioned, sustainability as socially constructed is also suggested by Mowforth and Munt (2016), which is why context is important to consider.

The roaming dogs' problem is therefore an example of unsustainable development (as seen by the local community), which has an (positive) influence on the experience of the western tourist, which shows how these two have different perspectives on sustainability.

Discussion

One of the goals of this thesis is to link the concept of sustainability to the concept of experience in tourism. In our literature review, we have reviewed the existing literature about the two concepts in order to discover where the two concepts align and where they do not. Following this review, we have argued that the literature on sustainability mostly focuses on the suppliers (as also concurred by Walker and Moscardo, 2014), and the literature on experiences mostly focuses on the tourist. For example, the rural destination from a sustainability point of view focuses on elements such as problem with destination governance, fragmented communities and power relations (e.g. Ghaderi and Henderson, 2012; Lane, 2016). However, the experience part is more about the experiencescape, sensory appeals, active participation and dimension of the rural experience (e.g. Kastenholz and Carnerio, 2016; Lindberg et al., 2014). Little attention is paid to combining these two, and exploring how they work together in constructing the experience and encouraging sustainable practices - overall, what value they have for each other. The two theoretical approaches focus on two different sides of tourism and because of this, it can be discussed whether or not they sometimes work against each other. For example, optimizing the experience of the tourist is the focus in experience economy by emphasizing satisfaction and memorable experiences (e.g. Mossberg, 2007; Pine and Gilmore, 1998; Hansen, 2014). The experience literature is focusing on giving the individual a valuable experience - with the ultimate goal of increasing economic benefits, the marketing potential and to create value, often for an organisation (e.g. Hansen, 2014; Pine and Gilmore, 1998; Kastenholz and Carnerio, 2016; Schmitt, 1999). Often this does not mean that it is the most optimal experience in terms of encouraging sustainable development - in fact, this generally is not considered as a dimension in the literature. Similarly, this is the case with sustainability literature, where the perspective of the tourist experience is not considered. Despite these different approaches, it can be discussed how they can interrelate. In our research, we have attempted to show how experiences can be used strategically to create an environment for situated tourist experiences that can encourage sustainable practices. Some of these situated experiences are co-created with the local community, the destination and the tourist. In this way, sustainability is not just an abstract concept, but sustainable development and practices are operationalised through situated experiences as we have analysed. By introducing sustainability into the conceptual framework of experiences, we have also re-framed the experience.

As presented in the literature review, there are many different frameworks to understand experiences and elements or 'tools' to create good experiences. In our analysis, it is exemplified how experience economy is ideal to understand nature using these different experience elements, and this is used by Verde Tour to translate the context and thereby provide a new perspective on sustainability through situated experiences and the use of local knowledge. We argue how experience economy is well placed as a mostly Western concept in translating local knowledge and perspectives about sustainability. One of the contributions of this thesis is the analysis of how indigenous knowledge (instead of scientific, western knowledge) is used intentionally. Within tourism studies this is an overlooked perspective, especially regarding sustainability and experiences in tourism. Local knowledge has another orientation towards nature, which is used with the intention to educate tourists by personifying natural elements, based on local traditions. So, in a practical sense, the combination of sustainability and experiences have implications for destinations and local tourism business e.g. tour operators or accommodation providers. This is because our findings show how the situated experiences are employed as a way to assist in the development of a more sustainable destination by educating, increasing awareness and involving tourists through multi-sensuous outdoor experiences, using signs and artefacts as well as interactions. The inclusion of rural experience dimensions into the analysis of sustainable practices is also something, which we contribute within our thesis. These dimensions are signs and artefacts, interactions, facilitation, dedication and multi-sensory experiences. We use these dimensions to analyse how sustainable practices affect the experience. By using our analysis in LT as a point of departure, we have argued these are very important considerations, and should therefore be included in the debate about the relationship between sustainability and experiences. This is because it can help broaden the discussion about the two concepts by making the literature about experiences consider sustainability, and vice versa - sustainability include the role of the experience.

Conclusion

Through our methodological approach, characterized by our standpoint in the social constructivist paradigm, we have used a qualitative methodology and ethnographic methods including participation observation, interviews and visual ethnography to answer our overall research question:

How do the conditions in Valle Las Trancas, Chile, affect the tourism development, and how is the situated experience strategically used to convey values related to sustainable practices?

We have argued that there is a theoretical gap in the literature regarding the link between the concept of sustainability and experience in tourism. Through analysis and discussion, we have demonstrated how the two concepts interrelate, can provide value to each other and how new perspectives are unfolded. We have used examples from the rural destination Valle Las Trancas (LT) in Chile to show how this is the case. We have analysed the overall conditions present in LT and how they have an influence on sustainable tourism practices, tourism development, and ultimately the situated experience.

We have analysed how the community is fragmented and characterised by the presence of absentee landlords, conflicting development practices and clashing ideas of sustainability. The communities in LT have different ideas of belonging, among other, based on different development ideologies - this is also something that influences the experience. Development in Valle Las Trancas is characterised by the presence of non-government forces, which take over, when the needed governance is not provided by the state. As analysed, this has many implications, among others, the development of community-based policy initiatives and local waste management initiatives. The conditions in Valle Las Trancas have an influence on the tourism development and therefore the experience. One of the current problems in Valle Las Trancas is the upcoming development of a power station - resulting in the development of the *RioDiguillin Libre* movement. The movement shows the fragmented nature of the community and is an example of a co-created experience, where tourists are strategically included in activist-related actions.

After analysing selected conditions within LT and how these affect sustainable practices and development, we have analysed the situated experiences. It is important to understand on-site experiences in LT in order to show how members of the local community (with special emphasis on one of the local tour operators) strategically use situated experiences in an attempt to encourage sustainable practices. Our research showed that the activation of the sensescapes and the effect of signs and artefacts have an impact on the situated experiences. We have analysed how the embodied, situated experience and the use of local knowledge are used by Verde Tour to translate the context to make tourists more aware of the surroundings and its attraction - thereby providing a new perspective on sustainability. Verde Tour attempts to educate the tourist using local knowledge and a more indigenous orientation including the personification of nature. Similarly, Verde Tour is purposely using the presence of tourists situated in nature to emphasise the role of guides as cultural brokers and facilitators of knowledge. We wish to emphasise how an experience cannot be controlled, in particular one that tends to be nature-based, so we stress how Verde Tour is attempting to impact the experience. Lastly, we have looked at how an unsustainable development practice, roaming dogs as non-human actors, affect the experience of western tourists - but also how they exemplify the fragmented nature of the community as different socio-cultural perspectives are seen. In the literature, the focus of the concept of experience is to create value for the tourist, but we emphasise that situated experiences likewise can be used strategically as tools to convey values related to sustainable practices, for example, through utilizing local knowledge. The latter is one of the contributions of this thesis as local knowledge is an overlooked perspective regarding sustainability and experiences in tourism. Our findings show situated experiences can be used as ways to assist in the development of more sustainable practices by educating, increasing awareness and involving tourists through multi-sensuous outdoor experiences, using signs and artefacts as well as interactions. Through our thesis we have demonstrated the importance of combining these two concepts to operationalise the concept of sustainability and reframe the concept of experience - *and overall, we found the two concepts, sustainability and experiences, to be interrelated.*

References

Adams, K. M. (2012) "Ethnographic methods" in Dwyer, L., Gill, A. and Seetarum, N. (eds) *Handbook of Research Methods in Tourism,* Glos, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 339-352

Agapito, D. L. M. (2013) "The Role of Sensescapes in Tourist Experiences in Rural Areas", Universidade do Algarve, PhD in Tourism, Portugal

Agapito, D., Almeida, H. and Campos, A. C. (2016) "Sensations, perception, and co-creation in rural tourism experiences" in Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusebio, C. and Figueiredo, E. (eds) *Meeting Challenges for Rural Tourism through Co-creation of Sustainable Tourism Experiences,* UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 39-52

Agapito, D., Valle, P., and Mendes, J. (2014) "The sensory dimension of tourist experiences: Capturing meaningful sensory-informed themes in Southwest Portugal", *Tourism Management*, vol. 42, (n.n), pp. 224-237

Alvesson, M. and Sköldberg, K. (2009) *Reflexive Methodology. New Vistas for Qualitative Research*. 2nd edition, London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Andersen, I. (2010) *Den skinbarlige virkelig*, Frederiksberg: samfundslitteratur.

Anderson, E., Bakir, A. and Wickens, E. (2015) "Rural Tourism Development in Connemara Ireland", *Tourism Planning and Development,* vol. 12, (1), pp. 73-86

Andersson, V. (2014) "Governing Mobility and Tourism" in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 151-169

Andersson, V. and Clausen, H. B. (2014) "Community, Development and Tourism in the 21st Century", in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 5-17

Angrosino, M. (2007) *Qualitative Research kit: Doing ethnographic and observational research*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd

Aqueveque, C. and Bianchi, C. (2017) "Tourism Destination Competitiveness of Chile: A Stakeholder Perspective", *Tourism Planning and Development,* vol. 14, (4), pp. 447-466

Barke, M. (2004) "Rural Tourism in Spain", *International Journal of Tourism Research,* vol. 6, (3), pp. 137-149

Barker, J. (2012) "The Ethnographic Interview in an Age of Globalization" In Fardon, R., Harris, O., Marchand, T. H. J., Nuttall, M., Shore, C., Strang, V. and Wilson, R. A. (eds) *The SAGE Handbook of Social Anthropology*, pp. 54-68, London: Sage Publications

BBC (2018) "Chile country profile" [Online] Available at: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-19357497 (Assessed: 21. April 2018)

Beltran, D. G., Clark, L., Daley, G., Farrell, M., Gordon, N., Hassan II, S., Howard, L. S., Miller, S., Moon, J. and Steel, S. (2013) "Chile's sustainable tourism program - hotel and lodging sector", Columbia University [Online] Available at: http://www.earth.columbia.edu/sitefiles/file/education/capstone/spring2013/Chile-Tourism.pdf (Assessed: 20. April 2018).

Benur, A. M. and Bramwell, B. (2015) "Tourism product development and product diversification in destinations", *Tourism Management,* vol. 50, (n.n.), pp. 213 - 224

Bernard, H. R. (1988) *Research Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, London: Sage

Bernat, S. (2014) "Soundscapes and tourism - towards sustainable tourism", *Problems of Sustainable Development,* vol. 9, (1), pp. 107-117

Bertella, G. (2014) "The co-creation of animal-based tourism experience", *Tourism Recreation Research*, vol. 39, (1), pp. 115–125.

Binkhorst, E., and Den Dekker, T. (2009) "Agenda for co-creation tourism experience research*",* *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*, vol. 18, (2), pp. 311–327

Bitner, M. (1992) "The Impact of Physical Surroundings on Customers and Employees", *The Journal of Marketing,* vol. 56, (2), pp. 57 - 71

Boswijk, A., Peelen, E., and Olthof, S. (2012) *Economy of Experiences*, Amsterdam: European Centre for the Experience and Transformation Economy

Bouchet, J. Jantzen, C. and Vetner, M. (2011) *Oplevelsesdesign*. Samfundslitteratur

Brinkmann, S. (2014) *Det kvalitative interview*, København: Hans Reitzels Forlag.

Brinkmann, S. and Tanggaard, L. (2010) *Kvalitative Metoder,* Viborg: Hans Reitzels Forlag

Bryman, A. (2012) *Social Research Methods*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bryman, A. (2016) *Social research methods*, Oxford University Press

Buckley, R. (2012) "Sustainable tourism: research and reality", *Annals of Tourism Research,* vol. 39, (2), pp. 528-546

Budeanu, A., Miller, G., Moscardo, G. and Ooi, C. (2016) "Sustainable tourism, progress, challenges and opportunities: an introduction", *Journal of Cleaner Production,* vol. 111, (Part B), pp. 285-294

Buonincontri, P., and Micera, R. (2016) *The experience co-creation in smart tourism destinations: a multiple case analysis of European destinations*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag Berlin Heidelberg

Butler, R. (2007) *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples: Issues and Implications*, Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann

Chang, S. (2018) "Experience economy in hospitality and tourism: Gain and loss values for service and experience", *Tourism Management* vol. 64, (n.n), pp. 55-63

Chiappa, G., Atzeni, M. and Ghasemi, V. (2016) "Community-based collaborative tourism planning in islands: A cluster analysis in the context of Costa Smeralda" [Online] Available at: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jdmm.2016.10.005 (Assessed: 10. May 2018)

Clausen (2014) "Mobilities, Tourism and Development: The Politics of Time in a Mexican Community" in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 45-73

Clausen, H. B. and Gyimothy, S. (2016) "Seizing community participation in sustainable development: pueblos Magicos of Mexico", *Journal of Cleaner Production,* vol. 111, (part B), pp. 318-326

Coghlan, A. (2011) "Linking natural resource management to tourist satisfaction: a study of Australia's Great Barrier Reef", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 20, (1), pp. 41-58

Cohen, E. (1988) "Authenticity and commoditization in Tourism", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 15, (3), pp. 371-386

Cole, S. (2005) "Action Ethnography: Using Participant Observation" in Ritchie, B. W., Burns, P. and Palmer, C. *Integrating Theory with Practice,* Oxfordshire: CABI Publishing, pp. 84-96

Corcuera, E., Sepulveda, C. and Geisse, G. (2002) "Conserving Land Privately: Spontaneous Markets for Land Conservation in Chile" in Pagiola, S., Bishop, J. and Landell-Mills, N. *Selling Forest Environmental Services - Market-based Mechanisms for Conservation and Development,* Oxon; Earthscan Publications Limited, pp. 127-151

Correia, A., Gnoth, J., Fyall, A. and Kozak, M. (2017) *Co-creation and Well-Being in Tourism*. Switzerland: Springer International Publishing

De la Maza, F. (2018) "Tourism in indigenous territories: the impact of public policies and tourism value of indigenous culture", *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies,* vol. 13, (1), pp. 94-111

Dickson, D. R., and Ford, R. C. (2012) "Enhancing customer self-efficacy in co-producing service experiences", *Business Horizons*, vol. 55, (2), pp. 179-188

Diettrich, L. C., Oliveira, A. K. M. and Garcia, D. S. (2016) "The relationship between Environmental Education and Tourist Activity in Accordance with the Brazilian Laws", *Athens Journal of Tourism,* vol. 3, (2), pp. 139-154

Dong, D., Evans, K. R., and Zou, S. (2008) "The effects of Customer Participation in Co-Created Service Recovery", *Journal of the Academy of Marketing Science*, vol. 36, pp. 123-137

Edensor, T. (2000) "Staging tourism: tourists as performers", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 27, (2), pp. 322-344

Eusebio, C., Kastenholz, E. and Breda, Z. (2016) "Tourism and Sustainable Development of Rural Destinations" in Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusebio, C. and Figueiredo, E. (eds) *Meeting Challenges for Rural Tourism through Co-creation of Sustainable Tourism Experiences,* UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 329-351

Fletcher, R. (2011) "Sustaining Tourism, Sustaining Capitalism? The Tourism Industry's Role in Global Capitalist Expansion", *Tourism Geographies*, vol. 13 (3), pp. 443-461

Frohlick, S. and Harrison, J. (2008) "Engaging ethnography in tourist research - An introduction", *tourist studies,* vol. 8, (1), pp. 5-18

Camacho, L. D., Gevaña, D. T., Carandang, A. P. and Camacho, S. C (2015) "Indigenous knowledge and practices for the sustainable management of Ifugao forests in Cordillera, Philippines", International Journal of Biodiversity Science - Ecosystem Services and Management, vol. 12, (1-2), pp. 5-13

Garcia, M. (2014) "Community-Based Tourism development. An Evaluation of the National Tourism Policy Pueblos Magicos" in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 73-93

Garrod, B., Wornell, R. and Youell, R. (2006) "Re-conceptualising rural resources as a countryside capital - the case of rural tourism", *Journal of Rural Studies,* vol. 22, (1), pp. 117-128

Ghaderi, Z. and Henderson, J. (2012) "Sustainable rural tourism in Iran: A perspective from Huwraman Village", *Tourism Management Perspectives,* vol. 2-3, pp. 47-54

Google Maps (2018) "Valle Las Trancas" [Online] Available at: https://goo.gl/maps/rxHZfFhLEh42 (Assessed: 21. April 2018)

Guba, E. G., and Lincoln, Y. S. (1989) *Fourth Generation Evaluation*, London: Sage Publications

Hall, C. M and Williams A. M. (2008) *Tourism and Innovation*, London: Routledge

Handwerker, W. P. (2001) *Quick Ethnography,* Plymouth: Altamira Press

Hannam, K. and Knox, D. (2010) *Understanding Tourism: A Critical Introduction,* SAGE Publications

Hansen, A. H. (2014) *Memorable Moments. Consumer immersion in nature based tourist experiences.* Bodø.

Hansen, R. H. (2010) "The Narrative Nature of Place Branding", *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, vol. 6, (4), pp. 268-279.

Higham, J. E. S. and Carr, A. M. (2003) "Sustainable Wildlife Tourism in New Zealand: An Analysis of Visitor Experiences", *Human Dimensions of Wildlife,* vol. 8, (1), pp. 25-36

Hill, W., Byrne, J. and Pegas, F. V. (2016) "The ecotourism-extraction nexus and its implications for long-term sustainability of protected areas: what is being sustained and who decided?", *Journal of Political Ecology,* vol. 23, (n.n), pp. 308-327

Hird, J., and Kvistgaard, P. (2010). *Oplevelsesrum, turisme, kulturarv og oplevelser - et krydsfelt*. Århus: Academica.

Hirst, K. K. (2017) "An Introduction to Visual Anthropology", (16. October 2017), *ThoughtCo* [Online] Available at: https://www.thoughtco.com/visual-anthropology-introduction-4153066 (Assessed: 26. March 2018)

Holden, E., Linnerud, K. and Banister, D. (2017) "The Imperatives of Sustainable Development", *Sustainable Development,* vol. 25, (n.n.), pp. 213-226

Holm, A. B. (2014) *Videnskab i virkeligheden,* Frederiksberg C: Samfundslitteratur

Hughes, J., King, V., Rodden, T. and Andersen, H. (1995) "The Role of Ethnography in interactive Systems Design", Interactions, vol. 2, (2), pp. 56-65

Hungerford, R. H., and Volk, L. T. (2013) "Changing Learner Behavior Through Environmental Education", *The Journal of Environmental Education,* vol. 21 (3), pp. 8-21

IOR (2018) "Chile" [Online] Available at: https://www.iorworld.com/resources/chile/ (Assessed: 11. May 2018)

Iphofen, R. (2013) "Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology", European Commission [Online] Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/research/participants/data/ref/h2020/other/hi/ethics-guide-ethnog-anthrop_en.pdf (Assessed: 21. April 2018)

Jamal, T., Budke, C. M. and Bribiesca, I. B. (2014) "Health and Sustainable Development: New Directions Forward" in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 169-196

Jamal, T., Camargo, B. A. and Wilson, E. (2013) “Critical Omissions and New Directions for Sustainable Tourism: A Situated Macro-Micro Approach”, *Sustainability,* vol. 5, (n.n), pp. 4594-4613

Jänis, J. and Timonen, O. (2014) “Encounters in Volunteer Tourism. A case Study from Zambia” in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 93-113

Jantzen, C., and Jensen, J. F. (2005) *Oplevelser: Koblinger og transformationer. Aalborg Universitetsforlag*, Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag

Jensen, S. (2014) “Is Ecotourism Good News for the Poor?” in Clausen, H.B., Andersson, V., and Gyimothy, S. (eds) *Global Mobilities and Tourism Development: a community Perspective*, Clausen, Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, pp. 113-151

Jong, A. (2016) "Rethinking activism: tourism, mobilities and emotion", Social and Cultural Geography, vol. 18, (6), pp. 851-868

Joy, A., and Sherry, J. E. (2003) “Speaking of art as embodied imagination: A multisensory approach to understanding aesthetic experience”*, Journal of Consumer Research*, vol. 30, (2), pp. 259-282

Kastenholz, E. and Carneiro, M. J. (2016) “Rural Tourist Experiences” in Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusebio, C. and Figueiredo, E. (eds) *Meeting Challenges for Rural Tourism through Co-creation of Sustainable Tourism Experiences,* UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 21-32

Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusebio, C. and Figueiredo, E. (2016) *Meeting Challenges for Rural Tourism through Co-creation of Sustainable Tourism Experiences,* UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Marques, C. P. and Lima, J. (2012) “Understanding and managing the rural tourism experience - the case of a historical village in Portugal”, *Tourism Management Perspectives,* vol. 4, (n.n.), pp. 207-214

Kawagley, A. O. and Barnhardt, R. (1998) “Education Indigenous to Place: Western Science Meets Native Reality” [Online] Available at: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED426823 (Assessed: 19. May 2018)

Khuntia, N. and Mishra, M. J. (2014) “Economic and Environmental Aspects of Sustainable Tourism Development - A Conceptual Study”, *Atna J. Tour Stud,* vol. 9, (1), pp. 15-28

Kline, C. S. and Slocum, S. L. (2015) “Neoliberalism in ecotourism? The new development paradigm of multinational projects in Africa”, *Journal of Ecotourism,* vol. 14, (2-3), pp. 99-112

Knoblauch, H. (2005) “Focused Ethnography”, *Forum: Qualitative Social Research Sozialforschung,* vol. 6, (3), Art 44, no page numbers

Konu, H. (2015) ”Developing a forest-based wellbeing tourism product together with customers – An ethnographic approach”, *Tourism Management*, vol. 49, pp. 1-16

Kvale, S. (2007) *Doing Interviews,* London: the SAGE Qualitative Research

Kyriakides, T., Clarke, H. and Zhou, X. (2017) “Anthropology and the politics of engagement”, *Anthropology matters,* vol. 17, (1) [Online] Available at:

https://www.anthropologymatters.com/index.php/anth_matters/article/view/472/613 (Assessed: 6. April 2018)

Lane, B. (2016) “Implementing Sustainable Rural Tourism: Lessons from Rural Rail-based Slow Tourism” in Kastenholz, E., Carneiro, M. J., Eusebio, C. and Figueiredo, E. (eds) *Meeting Challenges for Rural Tourism through Co-creation of Sustainable Tourism Experiences,* UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 441-459

Langergaard, E. A. (2006) *Viden, videnskab og virkelighed*, Frederiksberg C: Forlaget Samfundslitteratur.

Lenao, M. and Saarinen, J. (2015) “Integrated rural tourism as a tool for community tourism development: exploring culture and heritage projects in the North-East District of Botswana”, *South African Geographical Journal,* vol. 97, (2), pp. 203-216

Li, X., and Petrick, J. F. (2008) “Tourism marketing in an era of paradigm shift”, *Journal of Travel Research*, vol. 46, (3), pp. 235–244.

Lindberg, F., Hansen, A. H., and Eide, D. (2014). “A Multi Relational Approach for Understanding Consumer Experiences Within Tourism”, *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*, vol. 23, (5), pp. 487-512

Madsen, J. H. (2010) *Oplevelsesøkonomi,* Århus C: Systime

Mathisen, L. (2013) "Staging Natural Environments: A Performance Perspective", *Advances in Hospitality and Leisure*, vol. 9, pp. 163-183

Lehn, D. V. (2006) “Embodying experience. A video-based examination of visitors’ conduct and interaction in museums”, *European Journal of Marketing*, vol. 40, (11/12), pp. 1340–1359.

Loureiro, S. M. C. (2014) “The role of the rural tourism experience economy in place attachment and behavioral intentions”, *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, vol. 40, pp. 1–9

LT (2018) “Valle Las Trancas” [Online] Available at: https://www.vallelastrancas.net/es/ (Assessed: 20. April 2018).

Lund, J. M., Nielsen, A. P., Goldschmidt, L., Dahl, H. and Martinsen, T. (2005) *Følelsesfabrikken – Oplevelsesøkonomi på dansk*, København: Børsens Forlag.

Mei, X. Y. (2014) “Boring and expensive: The challenge of developing experience-based tourism in the Inland region, Norway”, *Tourism Management Perspectives*, vol. 12, pp. 71–80

Moscardo, G. (2010) “The Shaping of Tourist Experiences: The Importance of Stories and Themes” in Morgan, M., Lugosi, P., Ritchie, J.R.B (eds) *The Tourism and Leisure Experience: Consumer and Managerial Perspectives,* Bristol: Channel View Publications, pp. 43-59

Moscardo, G., Konovalov, E., Murphy, L. and McGehee, N. (2013) “Mobilities, community well-being and sustainable tourism”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* vol. 21, (4), pp. 532-556

Mossberg, L. (2007) “A marketing approach to the tourist experience”, *Scandinavian Journal of Hospitality and Tourism*, vol. 7, (1), pp. 59–74

Mottiar, Z. and Boluk, K. (2017) “Understanding How Social Entrepreneurs Fit into the Tourism Discourse” in P. J. Sheldon and Fesenmaier, D. R. (eds) *Social Entrepreneurship and Tourism,* Springer International Publishing, pp. 117-135

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2016) *Tourism and Sustainability - Development, globalisation and new tourism in the third world,* 4th edition, Oxon: Routledge (ebook with no page numbers)

Mowforth, M., Charlton, C. and Munt, I. (2008) *Tourism and Responsibility: Perspectives from Latin America and the Caribbean*, Oxon: Routledge

Musa, G., Kayat, K. and Thirumoorthi, T. (2010) “The experiential aspect of rural home-stay among Chinish And Malay students using diary methods”, *Tourism and Hospitality research*, vol. 10, pp. 25-41

Netto, A. P. and Trigo, L. G. G. (eds) (2015) *Tourism in Latin America - Cases of Success*, Brazil; Springer

O'Dell, T. (2005) *Experiencescape: Tourism, Culture and Economy*. Copenhagen Business School Press

O’Dell, T. (2010) “Experiencescapes” In P. O’Dell and T. Billing (Eds.), *Experiencescapes: Tourism, culture, and economy*. Copenhagen Business School Press, pp. 11–33

O’Regan, M. (2015) “Methodological bricolage: a journey on the road less travelled in tourism studies”, Tourism Analysis, vol. 20, (n.n), n.p

O’Reilly, K. (2005) *Ethnographic Methods*, London and New York: Routledge

Oliver, D. G., Serovich, J. M. and Mason, T. L. (2005) “Constraints and Opportunities with Interview Transcription: Towards Reflections in Qualitative Research”, *Social Force*, vol. 84, (2), pp. 1273-1289

Onderwater, L., Richards, G. and Stam, S. (2000) “Why tourists buy textile souvenirs: European evidence”, *Tourism, Culture and Communication*, vol. 2, pp. 39–48.

Otto, J.E. and Ritchie, J. (1996) “The Service Experience in Tourism”. *Tourism Management*, vol. 17, pp. 165-174

Pagiola, S., Bishop, J. and Landell-Mills, N. (2002) *Selling Forest Environmental Services - Market-based Mechanisms for Conservation and Development,* Oxon; Earthscan Publications Limited

Parameswaran, R. (2001) “Feminist Media Ethnography in India: Exploring Power, Gender, and Culture in the Field”, *Qualitative Inquiry*, vol. 7, (1), pp. 69-103

Parker-Jenkins, M. (2018) “Problematising ethnography and case study: reflections on using ethnographic techniques and researcher positioning”, *Ethnography and Education*, vol. 13, (1), pp. 18-33

Pernecky, T. and Jamal, T. (2010) “(Hermeneutic) Phenomenology in tourism studies”, *Annals of Tourism Research,* vol. 37, (4), pp. 1055-1075

Petriconi, L. M. (2016) “Sustainability and Travel Experience” [Online] Available at: http://essay.utwente.nl/70931/1/Petriconi_BA_BMS.pdf (Assessed: 8. April 2018)’

Phi, G. T., Whitford, M. and Dregde, D. (2017) “Knowledge Dynamics in the Tourism-Social Entrepreneurship Nexus” in Sheldon, P. J. and Daniele, R. (eds) Social Entrepreneurship and Tourism – Philisophy and Practice, Tourism on the Verge, Springer International Publishing, pp. 155-173

Pine, B. J., and Gilmore, J. H. (1999) *The experience economy: Work is theatre and every business a stage*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School.

Pink, S. (2007) *Doing Visual Ethnography*, London: Sage Publications.

Pink, S. and Morgan, J. (2013) “Short-Term Ethnography: Intense Routes to Knowing”, *Symbolic Interaction*, vol. 36, (3), pp. 351-361

Plumridge, S. and Fielding, W. J. (2003) “Reactions of American tourists to roaming dogs in New providence, The Bahamas”, *anthrozoos,* vol. 16, (4), pp. 360-366

Poulsson, S., and Kale, S. H. (2004) “The Experience Economy and Commercial Experiences”, *The Marketing Review*, vol. 4, pp. 267-277

Powell, R. B. and Ham, S. H. (2008) “Can Ecotourism interpretation Really Lead to Pro-Conservation Knowledge, Attitudes and Behaviour? Evidence from the Galapagos Islands”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* vol. 16, (4), pp. 467-489

Prahalad, C. K., and Ramaswamy, V. (2004) “Co-creation experiences: The next practice in value creation”, *Journal of Interactive Marketing*, vol. 18, (3), pp. 5–14

Prazeres, L. and Donohoe, H. (2014) “The Visitor Scenescape in Kluane National Park and Reserve, Canada”, *Journal of Unconventional Parks,* vol. 5, (2), pp. 2-9

Rafee, Y. M., Arshad, H. A., Dim, A. B., Siri, H. and Samaroon, M. J. (2015) "Visual Ethnography and Its Application in Ethnographic Painting", *Procedia - Social and Behavioural Sciences*, vol. 211, (n.n.), pp. 399-406

Ramaswamy, V. and Ozcan, K. (2018) "What is co-creation? An interactional creation framework and its implications for value creation", *Journal of Business Research,* vol. 84, pp. 196-205

Reeves, C. L. (2010) "A difficult negotiation: fieldwork relations with gatekeepers", *Qualitative Research*, vol. 10, (3), pp. 315-331

Reinecke, G. and Torres, R. (2001) *Chile - Studies on the Social Dimensions of Globalization*, Geneva: International Labour Office

Ribeiro, N. F and Foemmel, E. W. (2012) "Participant observation" in Dwyer, L., Gill, A. and Seetarum, N. (eds) *Handbook of Research Methods in Tourism*, Glos, UK: Edward Elgar, pp. 377-392

Roemhildt, L. (2016) "Understanding Women's Representation in Chile", *Journal of Undergraduate Research* [Online] Available at: https://www.uwlax.edu/urc/jur-online/PDF/2016/Roemhildt.Lisa.POL.pdf (Assessed: 6. April 2018)

Rogers, M. (2012) "Contextualizing Theories and Practices of Bricolage Research", *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 17, (48), pp. 1-17

Saarinen, J. (2006) "Traditions of Sustainability in Tourism Studies", *Annals of Tourism Research,* vol. 33, (4), pp. 1121-1140

Saayman, M. and Giampiccoli, A. (2015) "Community-based and pro-poor tourism: Initial assessment of their relation to community development", *European Journal of Tourism Research,* vol. 12, (n.n.), pp. 145-190

Salazar, Noel B. (2012) "Community-based cultural tourism: issues, threats and opportunities", Journal of Sustainable Tourism, vol. 20 (1), pp. 9-22,

Sanghera, G. S. and Thapar-Bjorkert, S. (2008) "Methodological dilemmas: gatekeepers and positionality in Bradford", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 31, (3), pp. 543-562

Sanzana, H. C., Almonacid, A. and Mendez, E. O. (2015) "Good Practices in Private Parks. Valdivian Coastal Reservation" in Netto, A. P. and Trigo, L. G. G. (eds) *Tourism in Latin America - Cases of Success*, Brazil; Springer, pp. 85-105

Scarles, C. (2010) "Where words fail, visuals ignite: Opportunities for Visual Autoethnography in Tourism Research", *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 37, (4), pp. 905-926

Scarles, C. and Sanderson, E. (2007) "Becoming Researched: The Opportunities of Autoethnography in Tourism Research" [Online] Available at:

https://scholarworks.umass.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1370andcontext=ttra (Assessed: 12. April 2018)

Schmitt, B. (1999) “Experiential marketing”, *Journal of Marketing Management*, vol. 15, (1–3), pp. 53–67

Scott, N., Laws, E., and Boksberger, P. (2009) “The marketing of hospitality and leisure experiences”, *Journal of Hospitality Marketing and Management*, vol. 18, (2–3), pp. 99–110

Sharpley, R. (2000) “Tourism and Sustainable Development: Exploring the Theoretical Divide”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* vol. 8, (1), pp. 1-19

Shenton, A. K. (2004) “Strategies for Ensuring Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research Projects”, *Education for information*, vol. 22, (2), pp. 63-75

Streubert, H. and Carpenter, R. (2011) Qualitative Research in Nursing, 5th edition, Lippincott Williams and Wilkins

Swartz, D. (1989) “Visual Ethnography: Using Photography in Qualitative Research”, *Qualitative Sociology*, vol, 12, (2), pp. 119-154

Taylor, S. J, Bodgan, R. and DeVault, M. (2016) Introduction to Qualitative Methods: A Guidebook and Resource, Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

Tecklin, D. R. and Sepulveda, C. (2014) “The Diverse Properties of Private Land Conservation in Chile: Growth and Barriers to Private Protected Areas in a Market-friendly Context”, *Conservation and Society,* vol. 12, (2), pp. 203-217

Trochim, W. M. (2016) “Qualitative Validity”, (20. October 2016), *Research Methods Knowledge Base* [Online] available at: https://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/qualval.php (Assessed: March 22, 2018)

UNESCO (2018) “Indigenous knowledge and sustainability” [Online] Available at: http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/mods/theme_c/mod11.html (Assessed: 10. May 2018)

Uriely, N. (2005) ”The Tourist Experience. Conceptual developments”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 32, pp. 199-216

Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Valentine, P. (1992) *Nature-based tourism*, Belhaven Press

Van Manen, M. (1990) *Researching lived experience: Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy*, New York: State University of New York Press

Veal, A. J. (2011) *Research Methods for Leisure and Tourism: A practical guide*, Harlow: Prentice Hall

Verde Tour (2018a) “Destinations” [Online] Available at: https://verdetour.com/en/destinos/ (Assessed: 21. April 2018)

Verde Tour (2018b) “About us [Online] Available at: https://verdetour.com/en/nosotros/ (Assessed: 21. April 2018)

Walker, K and Moscardo, G (2014) “Encouraging sustainability beyond the tourist experience: ecotourism, interpretation and values”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, vol. 22 (8), pp. 1175-1196

Wang, X. (2012) “The construction of researcher - researched relationships in school ethnography: doing research, participating in the field and reflection on ethical dilemmas”, *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, vol. 26, (7), pp. 763-779

Wibberley, C. (2017) “Bricolage Research Methods”, In E. A. Glasper and C. Rees (Eds.) *Health Care Research: at a glance*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 106-1071 [Online] Available at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/307888252_Bricolage_Research_Methods (Assessed: 27. March 2018)

Yamada, N. (2011) “Why Tour Guiding is Important for Ecotourism: Enhancing Guiding Quality with the Ecotourism Promotion Policy in Japan”, *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research,* vol. 16, (2), pp. 139-152

Yin, R., (2009) *Case study research: Design and methods*, 4th edition, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage

Zhang, H., Buhalis, Y. and Wu, D. (2017) “A model of perceived image, memorable tourism experiences and revisit intention”, *Journal of Destination Marketing and Management*, (Available online July, 10, 2017)

Zouni, G., and Kouremenos, A. (2008) “Do tourism providers know their visitors? An investigation of tourism experience at a destination”, *Tourism and Hospitality Research*, vol. 8, (4), pp. 282-297