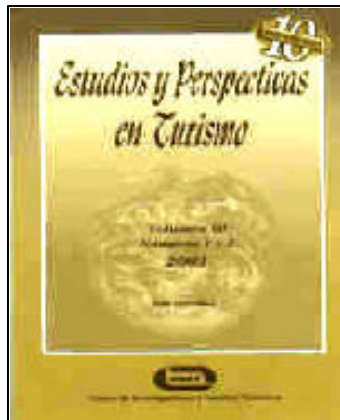




Studies and Perspectives in Tourism

E l e c t r o n i c J o u r n a l

Nº 1



Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios en Turismo

Avenida Del Libertador 774- 6º W
C 1001ABU Buenos Aires- Argentina

Tel/fax: (54-11) 4815-3222

Fax: (54-11) 4793-9639

E-mail: cietcr@sinectis.com.ar

<http://www.ciet.org.ar>

CONTENTS

The role of T-shirts in the creation of tourist destination images	4
<i>Regina G. Schlüter</i>	
Postcard as creators of images of destinations. The gaucho as Argentina's symbolic identity	15
<i>Juana Norrild</i>	
Image, safety and Risk management in tourism destinations. A case study of San Cristóbal de Las Casas – Chiapas, México	31
<i>Patricia Domínguez, Alicia Bernard and Esteban Burguete</i>	
Criminality, safety and tourism. The image of the Camboriú beach resort, Brazil, from the viewpoint of tourists and residents	45
<i>Guillermo Santana</i>	
The tourist nature of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	60
<i>Celso Castro</i>	

INTRODUCING THE JOURNAL

In the late 1980's between Latin American researches arose the need to have a referred journal reflecting the current status of the academic work in the region. In October 1990 the first issue of the Latin American Tourism Journal (January 1991) came out, as did the tradition of bringing forward the appearance of each of the issues.

The next year the publication changed its name to Studies and Perspectives in Tourism (Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo), its current name. The reason was that the papers submitted transcended a mere description of the tourist phenomena in Latin American countries, evidencing a preoccupation for more global concern and being interested also in the tourism studies of other continents.

It is certainly the case that the presence of Spanish specialists, both on the Editorial Board and in the submission of papers, has been increasingly evident. It has also resulted in the first special number (Volume 8 – numbers 3 and 4 / 1989) in collaboration with the International Master of Tourism of the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain. Also published have been articles sent from Australia, Canada, the USA, Israel, New Zealand and Turkey. The book reviews and conference reports show academic aspects of tourism around the world.

A close look at the staff evidences that, while some of the original members went on to work in other fields, others have continued to collaborate on a continuous bases. Together with specialists who have made an invaluable contribution over those years, the aforementioned professionals promoted the growth of the publication. At the same time, they achieved something almost unheard of in Latin America that an academic journal in the field of tourism has continued to last for such a long time.

In 2000 the journal was launched in a digital format onto the Internet with the objective of providing easy access of articles not any more available in Spanish. Due to the success of this initiative, and combining international demand for such articles, a certain number of papers have been translated into English and are now presented in the Internet.

Given that CIET is a forum for new ideas in the field of the Social Sciences, the editors of the English version of *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* welcome comments and suggestions. These ideas will greatly enrich the journal.

Alfredo Ascanio, Ph D
<ajascanio@cantv.net>

Regina Schlüter, Ph D
<cietcr@sinectis.com.ar>

THE ROLE OF T-SHIRTS IN THE CREATION OF TOURIST DESTINATION IMAGES

Regina G. Schlüter

Buenos Aires – Argentina

Abstract: *In the last few years T-shirts have come to play a very important role as tourist souvenirs for several reasons: they are easy to carry about and they have a practical application even after the tourism experience is over. This paper describes the designs of the images printed on T-shirts sold as a product of the "industry of memories". Finally, their role in creating tourism images is analysed.* **KEY WORDS:** *T-shirts, souvenirs, destination images, tourism.*

INTRODUCTION

During the last few decades, T-shirts have acquired great importance as a promotional element both in terms of products and services. Goss (1992:4) points out that this is due to two main factors: the extent of the application of the message; and the preference for forms of dress which are more informal, "not however implying that they are more economical or less elegant".

The use that is given to the T-shirt, both in the place of residence and when warm destinations are visited ensures that those wearing them are transformed into "walking graffiti". The printed message thus acquires a cultural and geographic diffusion that is extremely important, greatly superior to that of a brochure (Schlüter 1993). At the same time, Goss (1992:4) affirms that:

It is sufficient to visit the centre of whatever locality in question to become aware of this multifaceted promotional element that is omnipresent. If 100 brochures are sent by post, 200 people will probably see them. However, if 100 T-shirts with an agreeable design are sent, this is tantamount to 100 posters.

The T-shirts destined for tourist consumption provide the purchasers with a testimony of having visited a specific place or of having participated in a specific event, thus evoking happy moments spent during the holidays or bearing witness to solidarity for a specific cause.

It is estimated that every tourist buys at least one T-shirt for personal use or to give as a gift. Recently, T-shirt swapping has become fashionable, this consisting of the exchange of T-shirts between participants at international events.

In the design of T-shirts what has primacy is the commercial criterion of the designer/producer but this can be at odds with the criterion of tourism promotion of official organisms. For

this reason these organisms, conscious of the cost of tourist brochures and their short life-in the end they generally end up in some drawer or the nearest wastepaper basket once the trip is over-are beginning to design and commercialise their own T-shirts so as to create and diffuse the desired image of the destination. The garments are sold at economical prices in information centres where further material requested by the tourist is provided in simple photocopied sheets of paper. The T-shirts also are freely distributed as promotional material in events in which organisms of tourism promotion participate.

Despite the importance of the T-shirts as an element of communication between the visitor and the visited and its socio-cultural implications, the theme has not received much attention by students of tourism. An exception is the case of Hamilton-Smith (1987) and Shenhav-Keller (1993) who undertake a tangential approximation of the theme. The analysis of photographs (Albers and James 1983, 1988; Brown 1992; Graburn 1992; Markwell 1997), of the postcards (Albers and James 1988; Cohen 1993) and the promotional brochures (Uzzel 1984; Urbain 1989, 1993; Cohen 1993) has awakened, in their turn, a greater interest.

This work sets out to be an approximation to the theme of T-shirts as creators of images of tourism destinations. As a method of study, the analysis of content and semiotics were applied. The techniques of recollection of data were: the observation of T-shirts in tourism shops; observation of people in areas of high tourist concentration; structured and unstructured interviews of employees of shops selling souvenirs and producers of T-shirts. Approximately 2,100 T-shirts were analysed.

T - SHIRTS AS TOURIST SOUVENIRS

Graburn (1992) affirms that souvenirs are the tangible proof of having undertaken a trip but that their real function is to remember experiences. Quoting Carpenter (p. 63) he adds the following:

The relation between symbol and object derives from the fact that the symbol-word or image (or artefact)- contributes to giving the "object" its identity, its clarity, and its definition. It contributes to transforming a concrete reality into a reality that is experienced and felt and is, moreover, an indispensable part of the total experience.

The need the tourist feels of taking with him elements that perpetuate the tourist experience has given rise to an important industry of "memories" or "souvenirs", dedicated to the fabrication of products which are bought by the tourist for his own use and also given as gifts to members of the social nucleus closest to him (Schlüter 1993).

The souvenir industry encompasses both handmade objects and those produced on a massive scale. It includes products that have a practical application outside the context in which they are produced; objects which only comply with a decorative function and products that in the

society that the tourist belongs to fulfil a function different from that they fulfil in the society in which they were produced.

Garments as tourist souvenirs can be grouped according to four different categories:

- *Handcrafted textile goods with an ethnic content* These are garments which can be categorized within functional handcrafted goods and which have suffered a process of transformation due to the tourist/intermediary/craft interaction. The garments of this kind most popular in Latin America are the *poncho* and the *ruana*.

- *Clothes with an ethnic content that are produced industrially.* To this category belong Western garments, made with natural and synthetic materials, for the print of which a design with ethnic motifs was used. Examples of this kind of garment are those made by Sylvania Prints in Lima, Peru and by "La Escalera" in Mexico.

- *Garments with a designer label.* These are garments designed by the most prestigious fashion houses, the headquarters of which are to be found in the most important cities in the Western world.

T-shirts. These fall within the category of what Graburn (1984) called "souvenirs" or "trinkets". However, with the boom in "nature" tourism characterized by visits to sites whose ecosystems are extremely fragile and where it is expected that the tourist will leave his money in return for a pleasant experience, the role of the T-shirt has varied considerably. This is due to the fact that it comes to constitute a more refined element of the appropriation of the visited place and of the flora and fauna found there. For example, in the Valdes Peninsula, Argentina the tourists who undertake sightings of whales can take back with them some souvenir produced on a massive scale or opt for a T-shirt which displays the tail of a whale accompanied with an inscription with which the tourist identifies.

THE PROFILE OF THE CONSUMER

Graburn (1992) affirms that each kind of tourism has as its counterpart its own kind of souvenir. He adds that the environmentally- minded tourists inclines towards pictures or illustrations and postcards; the tourist with a preference for hunting and collection seeks out rocks and snails or archaeological pieces which include points of arrows are pieces of archaeological ruins and animal remains; and the ethnic tourist, not being able to take back home with him the society he has visited, is content with articles that symbolize the culture that has been visited.

Hamilton Smith (1987), basing his findings on the classic typology of tourists oriented to search and to escapism, points out that the consumers of souvenirs can be classified according to two main categories:

1. *Tourists with a marked preference for authentic crafts*; especially for those that are not sold in shops specializing in the sale of articles for tourist consumption. This tourist oriented to search is satisfied with the tasks that he performs on a daily basis due to the fact that this enables him to develop his creativity and skills and, at the same time, he enjoys an elevated status within the social structure he belongs to. When he decides which T-shirt to buy, it is important to him that this has a message that is committed to reality.

The theme that currently preoccupies humanity in general is environmental. Because of this, each country, in language ranging from mocking to tender, distils its main preoccupation in its T-shirts. For example, the mortality of penguins caused by oil spillages was, at the time, the theme of greatest concern in Argentina. In Brazil the burning of the tropical forests was of major concern and here the allusive inscriptions were more important than the motif. Zimbabwe had recourse to humour to raise consciousness of the dangers facing the rhinoceros, printing on the back of the T-shirts "save our horned friend" in huge letters. In Zimbabwe, as well as in South Africa and the other countries in West Africa, a marketing strategy has been adopted, announcing that a percentage of the sale of T-shirts is destined to a protection fund for the conservation of wildlife.

2. *Tourists oriented to escapism*. They generally have a profession that enjoys only a little social recognition and at the same time consider their daily routine asphyxiating. These kinds of tourists will tend to acquire as souvenirs articles of massive production that make clear that they were bought in the destination visited.

The design must incorporate elements of the place that has been visited and elements that constitute symbols that indicate "good life in the societies from which the tourists hail". The T-shirt most commonly sold in Kenya shows on the front the label of the universally known Tusker beer. To reinforce the image, on the back has been stamped the inscription "made to accompany good moments". At the same time, to satisfy tourists oriented towards escapism in Kenya, there have been launched onto the market T-shirts whose motifs reinforce "the good moments" such as, for example, anthropomorphic crocodiles sunbathing and the inscription "this is life" or two elephants with their tails intertwined and the inscription "Kenya: in love at the end of the day". In Mexican T-shirts the iguana replaces the crocodile and symbolizes those who only go in search of the sun during their holidays

There have also been designed T-shirts which have the same inscription but are sold in very different places such as Jerusalem (Israel) and Madrid (Spain). The most common inscriptions are "My sister/friend/etc. went to ... and all I got was this lousy T-shirt"; and I "I walked my feet off in ..." This last inscription is accompanied by pictures of bare feet.

THE DESIGN OF T SHIRTS

The T-shirts present a number of limitations to designers due to the fact that they are printed on fabrics and they thus cannot achieve the delicate details, which allow for their impression on paper (Goss 1992).

As is the case in a good impression on paper, the cost of the T-shirts depend on the quantity that is fabricated. For this reason, those who want to produce a limited number of T-shirts at a low price have recourse to a colour photocopier. The final product that is obtained is not only of low quality but it frequently gives a distorted image of the socio-cultural heritage of the people concerned. An example here is the structured design around motifs of the time of the Pharaohs in Egypt that is sold in South Africa with the inscription "African Rock Art". A T-shirt with the photocopy of the same design is sold with the inscription "Costa Rica" in this country that has a culture not remotely similar to that of the Egyptian.



However, the photocopier is not the only device responsible for the repetition of designs of the T-shirts. The bright colours of the parrot have been transformed into a symbol of sun and colour. The same design (colour included) can be obtained with the inscription "Mexico" and "the Canary Islands" in the shops of the respective destinations.

While in the beginning the motifs were printed on the front of the T-shirt, nowadays they appear both on the front and on the back. It is also frequent to find them on the sleeves. Exceptionally only the name of a specific place such as, for example, Bahia, Santorini and Masai Mara is to be found. In this case the sign is transformed into a symbol of prestige which can only be shared with peers when the T-shirt is used in places both very distant and culturally different from the place acquired.

RECURRENT MOTIFS

While the motif that is printed on the T-shirts occasionally responds to a market study, in general the intuitive criterion of the producer or designer has primacy. According to how people perceive the image of a country or a region as a tourist destination—sun and beach, nature, cultural—this will be the motif that predominates in the design of the T-shirts.

The Argentines in general are convinced that their country is known by virtue outstanding figures in sport and politics. It is sufficient to present an Argentine passport in a hotel in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, or mention in a cafe in a small German town that one is based in Argentina to ensure that the name Maradona is mentioned immediately. Recently the musical notes of "Don't cry for me Argentina" ensure that curious glances directed at any Argentine national finding himself abroad. Given that the face of Madonna is more attractive than that of a footballer, the official organism of tourism used the balcony scene from the "Evita" film in its promotional brochures. This provoked serious criticisms in the country as a consequence of the controversy sparked by the film. The question was deftly solved by the producers of T-shirts who made important sales by pressing into service a design based on postage stamps of the time. The sign "Evita" came to symbolize Argentina.

The inscription "a different world around the corner" which is to be observed with great frequency in the T-shirts that are sold in the east of Canada try to make clear the cultural differences that exist between the French heritage of that region-principally in the province of Quebec-and the Anglo-Saxons in the north of the USA. At the same time, Australian T-shirts repeat the inscription "the world down under".

Countries with a striking geography, such as Chile and Greece, are usually represented only with a map. However, the map is also used to show the sites of the main tourist attractions in natural, cultural and recreational terms. This can be mostly observed in the T-shirts that are sold on islands that are important tourism destinations such as Cyprus, Borneo or Easter Island. Portugal, for example, uses motifs in which the caravel is the central figure, this being an effective way of associating the present with the glorious past of King Henry the navigator.

The most important cities in the world also try to disseminate their image through T-shirts.

New York, in the USA, has come to be known as "the big apple" and this inscription in black accompanied by a bitten red apple is the motif that is to be most frequently observed. At the same time, the city attracts people from all over the world and they inevitably get lost in the most central parts of the city. This situation is reflected in T-shirts where geese symbolize the tourists and Central Park the city itself. For many people New York has a special magic and is a city associated with many fantasies. The flying cow symbolizes the exotic element that so easily blends in with the natural in this city.

São Paulo, Brazil, mainly uses signs that unite the three main components it can offer; art; culture and leisure. Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, is synonymous with the tango and the places that are mentioned in the tango have come to be the motifs that most frequently appear on the T-shirts.

The tourism destinations that basically offer sun and beach mostly have recourse to indicators of "the good life". Although it is also the case that the main attraction is referred to as happens, for instance, in a T-shirt often sold in Mexico which has the inscription "Destination SUN - Ixtapa Zihuatanejo". In some cases, with the objective of differentiating itself from the nearest competitors, the resort in question has recourse to motifs from a more aristocratic past such as can be observed in T-shirts from Benidorm in Spain.

The destinations aimed at nature tourism emphasize the elements that attract tourist currents. The motif is simple and what is most outstanding here is the message accompanying it. If there are cultural attractions in the place, these appear on a lesser scale given that they are considered secondary. This is the case, for example, with cave art in Costa Rica's national parks or the Welsh heritage in the Valdes Peninsula in Argentina.

Those destinations whose attraction is principally cultural represent this heritage in the most diverse ways. The motif is the most outstanding and, in general, is not accompanied with an inscription, being limited to the name of the place where they are sold. The motif that most commonly appears is that which, according to the perception of the people, symbolizes the society to which they belong. Among those symbols that most commonly appear the following can be mentioned:

Writing. This is mainly the case in Israel (Hebrew) and Egypt (hieroglyphics).

Architecture. As examples the architecture of the Spanish period in Mexico and the typical architecture of the city of Valparaiso, Chile, can be mentioned here.

Traditional artistic manifestations

In Thailand there is a line of T-shirts with various motifs that have the inscription "Thailand-arts and crafts". Something similar occurs in Malaysia where a series of artistically elaborated motifs is accompanied by the inscription, "Malaysian art". Australia and the states of the USA, such as Arizona that has important aboriginal settlements, symbolize their culture by having recourse to mythological figures of the so-called "native" societies.

Other artistic manifestations witnessed in the T-shirts are examples of cave art and pre-Columbine art.

The latter appears with considerable frequency in T-shirts from Peru and Mexico. Malaysia has recourse to the "batik" to represent its culture and Panama to the "molas" whose designs also appear in the yokes of dresses. The "molas" are the blouses of women belonging to the Kuna culture of the Islands of San Blas. The technique of production of the "molas" consists, basically, of the superimposition of pieces of fabrics of different colours. Magrassi (1976:87) gives a more detailed description when he points out the following:

On a fabric considered as a base is placed another on which has been practiced cuts in the form of animals, birds, plants and multiple combinations, elements of the mythic world or fabulous personages and human figures. The borders of the drawing are held in place by sewing, with stitches, on the base fabric in such a way that the colour emerges as a drawing in negative, showing its design in contrast to the other.

Events also have an important place in T-shirts. In some cases, such as congresses, sporting competitions etc., they serve as testimony of having participated. In the case of "mega-

events", such as The Olympic Games or Expo Seville '92, the logotype designed is converted into the symbol of the host city.

Official tourism organisations, the organisms of culture, the associations protecting nature, etc., have started to design their own T-shirts so as to create the image of a new tourism destination, to modify the image of a destination already consolidated or promote the protection of a species that is in danger of extinction.

Lujan is the most important religious centre in the whole of Argentina. Despite being very near Buenos Aires, the capital of the country and the most important destination in terms of international tourism, Lujan receives a considerable number of pilgrims but very few foreign tourists. Aware of the valuable historical and cultural heritage of the city, the Directorate of Municipal Culture has commissioned an outstanding artist to design something exclusive for the production of T-shirts. It is hoped that this will facilitate a change of image for Lujan, thus ensuring a greater tourist interest.

The Basque Country in Spain, associated with terrorist acts committed by a separatist group, uses T-shirts to emphasize its positive aspects with the objective of modifying its image and attracting tourists.

The Peruvian government, through its Official Tourism Organism, has made a great effort to attract adventure tourism through the projection of videos of suitable sites for its practice. These efforts have been supported by the private sector that has designed allusive motifs that are printed on T-shirts made from the finest-quality cotton.

For their part, the associations of nature protection have centred their efforts on messages that raise awareness of the species that each country in question considers vulnerable. For example, the African Wildlife Society appeals to messages such as "only elephants should wear ivory" which appear in a striking form while the logotype of the association is itself hardly perceptible. It is necessary to point out here that if in Africa these associations are dedicated to protecting all species of the autochthonous fauna, each country gives importance to a species in particular. For example, in T-shirts from Kenya mostly appear the elephant and in Zimbabwe the rhinoceros.

While it is the case, that its associates originally designed the T-shirts of the Argentine Wildlife Foundation, nowadays they can be acquired in theme park gift-shops where the Institution gives technical assistance. The motifs or inscriptions ("Let us look after our roots" or "You are not the only Argentine with problems", etc.) make reference to the Argentine flora and fauna in danger of extinction.

THE T-SHIRTS AS INDIRECT SOUVENIR

The popularity acquired by T-shirts as a means of expression has led to their being produced for internal consumption, especially by the young. They are principally sold in the periphery of tourism circuits but it is also possible to find them in souvenir shops. The T-shirts reflect the sentiments and values of a more or less numerous social group. In general, the

message is constituted by affirmations about a contemporary problem-sovereignty, peace, national identity, etc. and is not necessarily interpreted in the same way by tourists who belong to a different social context.

As an example can be mentioned here T-shirts with the inscription "The Malvinas (Falklands) are Argentine". For the Argentines this implies the affirmation of sovereignty of these islands but most tourists who acquire these (mostly those from the USA) use them to tease British nationals, whether in the workplace or within a social context.

Something similar happens with the inscription "I am not a tourist, I live here" which can be observed in T-shirts produced in both Argentina and Egypt. In Argentina (Sainz 1993) this responds to the rise of a nationalism that, as opposed to other countries, is only reflected in garments. However, in both cases they are consumed by the "anti-tourists" -in the sense that Urbain (1993) gives to the term-.

The T-shirts that are sold in New York (USA) with the logotype of Pan American and the inscription "gone but not forgotten" were produced with the objective of raising funds for the creation of an association of friends for the recently expired airline, counting among its most important clients the employees of other airlines and those passengers dissatisfied with the service offered by airlines covering the former routes of Pan American Airlines. At the same time, the T-shirts reflect the dissatisfaction with flight conditions with respect to some airlines such as is the case with a Chinese company.

On other occasions the T-shirts designed for the consumption of the local population has some other element which makes them attractive for tourists, whether on account of design characteristics or because they can identify with the message.

At the beginning of the 1990's in Phoenix, Arizona the heat was so intense that for many days the airplanes could not take off. The American public was completely amazed that this did not result in fatalities among the local population, leading to their coining of the phrase "but...it was dry heat", this being printed on a commemorative T-shirt which was to become one most commonly sold in tourist shops.

The habit of smoking is constantly questioned but never abandoned. The motif with smoking dinosaurs on the front and the inscription "the main reason for the extinction of dinosaurs" on the back is worn by non-smokers as an element which promotes their convictions and which can be taken back as a souvenir of Brazil to friends and family.



CONCLUSIONS

The challenge of this study arises precisely from the lack of a bibliography concerning the theme. Taking into account the number of T-shirts analysed, it is possible to arrive at some general conclusions.

In the first place, it can be affirmed that the T-shirts are tangible souvenirs that prolong the tourist experience and, at the same time, allow for the symbolic appropriation of the place visited, evidencing the economic capacity of achieving a collective desire that is not possible for all.

Secondly, it is possible to observe that the T-shirts reinforce both the stereotyped image of the country as a tourism product (sun and beach, cultural tourism, ecotourism) as well as a cultural stereotype.

Thirdly, the design of the T-shirts replaces the brochure for the creation of images of different tourism destinations and, at the same time, has a power of penetration that is a lot more important on account of its duration and visibility.

Fourthly, the T-shirts of tourism consumption reflect the existence of a fashion which today affects humanity in general (with reference to the physical environment). In the T-shirts there is constant reference in all the countries studied to the need to save the planet but almost inexistent is an appeal to a harmonious co-existence between different populations and solidarity with one's neighbours.

Finally, it should be pointed out that T-shirts are produced for the consumption of the nationals of a country, that they reflect the feelings of a specific social group in their messages, serving as an element of communication between the members of different cultures despite the different interpretations that can be given to their original message.

REFERENCES

Albers, P. C. and W. R. James

1983 *Tourism and the changing photographic image of the Great Lakes Indians. Annals of Tourism Research* 10:123-148

1988 *Travel photography: a methodological approach. Annals of Tourism Research* 15:134-158

Brown, Graham

1992 *Tourism and symbolic consumption. Johnson P. and B. Thomas (ed.) Choice and Demand in Tourism*

Cohen, Eric

1993 *The study of touristic images of native people. Mitigating the stereotype of a stereotype.*

Pearce, D. and Butler, R. (ed.) *Tourism Research. Critiques and Challenges. Routledge and IAST, London*

Goss, Tom

1992 Introduction. *Print's Best T-shirt Promotions* pp. 2 – 5. RC Publications Inc., New York

Graburn, Nelson H.

1992 Turismo: el viaje sagrado. Smith, V, (ed.) *Anfitriones e Invitados. Antropología del Turismo*. Endimiión, Madrid

1984 The evolution of tourist arts. *Annals of Tourism Research* 11:393-419

Hamilton Smith, Elery

1987 Four kinds of tourism? *Annals of Tourism Research* 14:332-344

Magrassi, Guillermo E.

1976 Los Cuna de Panamá y sus molas. *Pueblos, Hombres y Formas en el Arte* 46:65-96. Centro Editor de América Latina

Sainz, Carola

1993 La patria está de moda. *Clarín*, Buenos Aires, April 11

Schlüter, Regina

1993 Las prendas de vestir. Su función como souvenir en el turismo. *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 2:238-256

Shenhav-Keller, Shelly

1993 The Israeli souvenir: its text and context. *Annals of Tourism Research* 20:197-215

Urbain, Jean-Didier

1989 The tourist adventure and its images. *Annals of Tourism Research* 16:106-118

1993 El idiota que viaja. *Relatos de turistas*. Endimiión, Madrid

Uzzel, David

1984 An alternative structuralist approach to the psychology of tourism marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research* 11:79-99

Published in *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* Volume 7: 5 -23, 1998

POSTCARDS AS CREATORS OF IMAGES OF DESTINATIONS

The gaucho as Argentina's symbolic identity

Juana A. Norrild

Buenos Aires - Argentina

Abstract: *The objective of this paper is to present the impact of gaucho postcards on the establishment of images of identity, showing that the original gaucho who settled in the Pampas has remained in the collective imagination, acting as a symbolic representative of the Argentine identity; and that this fact has transcended national boundaries as a result of postcards. KEY WORDS: gaucho postcards, creation of images, national identity, gaucho, rural tourism.*

INTRODUCTION

Nowadays tourism is a basic need in most industrialized countries. Authors like Graburn (1992) and Sebreli (1984) call this phenomenon "the sacred rite of modern times". As in any sacred rite, the participants must employ an object that perpetuates the experience in question. In the case of tourism the need to return to the "profane world" gave rise to a prosperous "tourism industry" (Schlüter 1998).

Tourists also show a marked preference for postcards that also fulfil the function of the "appropriation" of the visited destination; a sentiment transferred to the recipient (Brown 1992). If this transaction of sending-receiving generates the need to know, in this case, the culture of Argentine gauchos, the postcard is transformed into a provocative object of experience (Sanmartín 1993:127).

Kotler et al. (1997) sustain that the act of communication is influenced by a number of different factors among which are witnessed social considerations. These include the members of the group of belonging (family, friends etc.) the reference group (whom the consumer respects in his choices of consumption) and the group of aspirations (models of consumption). Moreover, it can be inferred those receiving an Argentine postcard from abroad will be motivated to get to know the culture which the relative, friend or acquaintance has had the privilege of experiencing. The traveller is the possessor of an advantage that the recipient of the postcard lacks. The postcard is a fragment of the completed tale and for this reason it gives rise to "a collection α series" (Sanmartín 1993:128) of postcards narrating the complete history. The postcard arriving by mail would provoke in the recipient curiosity and the desire to know the other parts of the jigsaw puzzle.

So as best to observe how the image of the gaucho -a figure considered representative of the Argentine identity (Salciccia 2001)- is transmitted, postcards with gaucho images created by Vicky and Eugenia Zavattieri were analysed. The series was initiated during the boom in

rural tourism in the province of Buenos Aires (Argentina) and shows caricaturised images of the customs and context of the gaucho. The motifs are also repeated in T-shirts and constitute the souvenir "par excellence" bought by those visiting rural establishments dedicated to tourism.

In the analysis of images, the communicative scheme of Prieto Castillo (1985) has been used. Each of the elements has been taken (social background, framework of reference, codes, sender, recipient, media and resources, message and referent) and the postcards were used to illustrate the way in which an identity was constantly developed through images.

So as best to analyse the strategies of communication and commercialisation in the tourism sector, the objectives defined by Solsona Monzonís (1999:203) have been used:

- * The creation of a coherent and effective commercial strategy
- * Increasing the market quota
- * The facilitation of distribution systems of efficient products
- * The diffusion of the name and the tourism image of the region in potential markets
- * The creation of a coherent communication system with regard to the product
- * Configuring a well-defined image in the region as a tourism product

The postcards have characteristics that enable them to be defined as hand-made products and "the hand-made strategy creates an image of tourism in a rural space" (Bote Gomez 1988:127). Based on the "environmental analysis" of Kotler et al. (1997) it can be affirmed that the commercialisation of postcards presents the following characteristics:

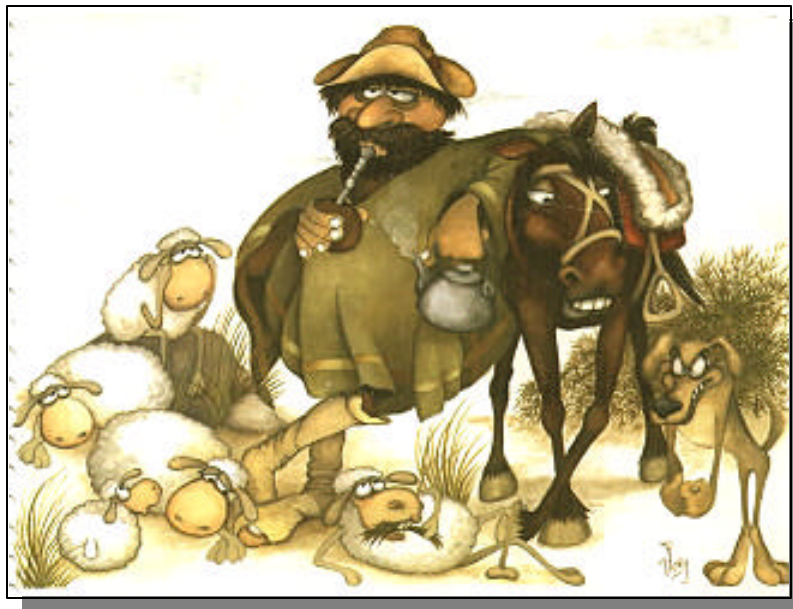
- *Environmental factors.* The characteristics of the clients and the local tourism tendency. Rural tourism is active all year round, it is not seasonal. However, the summer months - January, February, March-, long weekends and Easter are the periods attracting the greatest number of visitors (Prieto and Prieto 1997). Those choosing a site look for one that will ensure contact with nature and which has an average or higher than average earning power (Garcia Cuesta 1996).
- *Competition.* The postcards with images of gauchos do not have products competing in the same category. However, they do compete with other souvenirs from surrounding areas.
- *Market tendencies concerning rural and heritage tourism.* The saturation experienced in the large cities produced a revaluation of the countryside and its heritage. Rural tourism is presented as an activity that can potentially generate new resources for a traditional agricultural economy with serious problems of profitability.
- *Market potential.* The existing market for the "rural souvenir" product are the residents of the large urban concentrations of Argentina and those foreign tourists either seeking to get close to the life of the countryside or to get to know the Pampas (Prieto and Prieto 1997:148) In the last few years there has been a change in tourist demands, the

result of a change of mentality and the possibility of having more free time to dedicate to leisure pursuits (Peñalver Torres 1998).

- *Segmentation and selection of the market.* The exclusivity of the product as a result of a limited distribution.

THE GAUCHO IN THE ARGENTINE IDENTITY

The gaucho is part of the Argentine identity and at the present time is of primary importance in museums, national festivals, graphic humour and tourism. "The Pampas and the gaucho" is one of six macro-regions that have been established so as to attract European waves of tourists. It exists in stark counterpoint to the city of Buenos Aires that is promoted by Gardel and the tango.



Source: V. And E. Zavattieri

Saubidet (1958:178) defines the gaucho as a peasant of the River Plate, an ethnic type, and expert in horse riding and working with livestock. However, the gaucho is not only a traditional figure of Argentina and Uruguay but also of the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul.

The gaucho appeared "as a consequence of the introduction of great herds of livestock which came to run wild in half-empty spaces, almost marginal. These herds, in fact, were introduced before "man", that is before the effective and organized "official colonization" of these lands. And it is this subsequent culture which transformed the settler, Spanish and Portuguese, its Creole sons, many of the indigenous inhabitants and many others living in this environment into elements that were apparently negative for the rigid colonial structures but at the same time socially and economically necessary for its functioning, making them protagonists, real mainsprings of the same culture and society" (Assunção 1999:19).

The way of life that they had "made them extremely expert in managing horses. In general the gaucho is poor but free and independent because of his poverty and few necessities, he is hospitable in his ranch, endowed with subtle intelligence and astuteness, physically agile, untalkative, full of energy and prudent in his actions, reserved in his communications with foreigners, very poetic in appearance and superstitious in his beliefs and language. He is incredibly skilful in travelling alone in the immense deserts of the country, obtaining food and horses with his lasso and "boleadoras"... (Ascasubi, quoted by Saubidet 1958:180).

The gaucho defended his freedom, refusing to be submissive or servile (Ludmer 2000) and, as result, he became a controversial figure (Torres Cano 1998; Frascini et al. 1995:2001; Salaverria 1934:199). But with the arrival of immigrants who primarily dedicated themselves to agriculture; with the introduction of wire fencing, a technique of marking the boundaries in the rural sphere (Vázquez-Rial 1999); and the advent of the railways there was produced what Assunção (1999:35) called the "emasculatión of the gaucho".

The prototype of the gaucho became diluted, his essential profile and characteristics became less sharply defined, he started to be integrated into rural society, which is not new, as someone has wrongly stated but renewed or changed (the product of change) but which in its roots continues to be authentic (horses and cattle) (Assunção 1999:35).

A number of different writers who have concerned themselves with the phenomenon of immigration in Argentina recall the gaucho in the titles of their works. For example we can mention here "la pampa gringa" (the foreigners Pampas) of Ezequiel Gallo (1983) or "la pampa sin gaucho" (the Pampas without gauchos) by Gastón Gori (1986). Gerchunof (1981), when analysing the capacity for adaptation of a group of immigrants from Russia, adopted the title "gauchos judíos" (Jewish gauchos).

With the passing of the years the national memory started to concern itself with the gaucho and started to pay circumspect homage. For the foreign visitor the gaucho was transformed into the image of Argentina (v. Hahn 1943). "When the gaucho had disappeared, the task commenced of creating an hierarchic image in his memory, the founding of a myth, the arming of a legend with the virtues that adorned him and which were not given credit when he was alive (Carlino 1976:289).

However, for those who identified Argentina with Buenos Aires the gaucho, with his typical attire, was transformed into a disguised figure. When one sees gauchos, with their attire that is so different from that of a city dweller, one can come to see them as characters in a show as if their identity can only be accepted as the spectacle of their own identity (Abadi and Mileo 2000:44).

But Buenos Aires counts on a site promoted by tourism where the gaucho is protagonist. This is a square in a peripheral area of the city. Here are to be found craftsmen and artists who display the culture of the gaucho. The visitor can also visit the Creole Museum of

Corrales where aspects of the gaucho's daily life are shown, thus enabling the visitor to get to know the Creole ranch; the gaucho with his typical attire and "la china", his wife; the "catre" of leather in which the gaucho slept; his leisure pursuits; his means of transport; "la pulpería", a kind of social club where the gauchos would unite; the oven of mud; etc. Moreover there are on display the characters of the book "Martin Fierro", one of the classics of the gaucho genre. This work, written by Jose Hernandez, was a political manifesto; and, at the same time, it is considered to be the presentation "par excellence" of the gaucho and his idiosyncrasies.

Just a short distance from the city of Buenos Aires is the locality of San Antonio de Areco, which has come to be declared the National Capital of the Gaucho. Here is to be found a Museum, a "pulpería" which recreates typical scenes of the first half of the nineteenth century, etc.

The gaucho has also been made eternal through caricature. The most popular version is "Inodoro Pereyra, el renegau". Fontanarrosa, using the native dialect and jargon, exaggerating linguistic features so as to produce a stereotyped figure, created these twenty-seven years ago. With Inodoro Pereyra, Fontanarrosa was attempting to reaffirm the culture of the gaucho through humour. "The efficacy lies in a working of messages weakened by reiteration, a succession of effects that lack sense. Because parody, like caricature, only emphasizes, ...it doesn't invent". (Sasturain, quoted by Gociol 1998).

The particular features of the gaucho "Don Inodoro", is redolent of the gaucho Martin Fierro and the gauchos of well-known painter Molina Campos. Through the years Fontanarrosa has shown the social situation of the Argentine gaucho. Various chapters appear to be dedicated to the relation between this and tourists or tourist activity. The relation between visitor and visited is in general presented, marked by a number of mutual stereotypes (Schlüter 1983). For example, in one of the first sketches a group of Brazilian tourists finds itself face to face with Don Inodoro. The group of tourists says, "and now, in our tourists travel, let us indulge in the Creole party. There it is! To the right a gaucho!" One of the Brazilians noticed a mark on his face and the guide pointed out: "That scar is, without doubt, the result of some fierce struggle with the Indians. Finally the dog Mendieta, the loyal friend of Inodoro, warns, "Let us go before they realize that the scar is the impress of a pillow!" (Fontanarrosa 1998).

POSTCARDS AS CREATORS OF IMAGES

The creation of an image is dedicated to transmitting the essence and the spirit of a destiny (Morgan and Pritchard 1999). The postcards of Zavateri and Zavateri with their figures of gauchos seek to communicate the roots of the Argentine countryside, the spirit of folkloric traditions and the essence of the gaucho.

The postcards do not reinvent the identity of Argentine culture but they shape it with humour, appealing to each of the authentic elements that identify the gaucho. Through the "planetarization" of the culture achieved through the mass media, the cultural identity of countries has slowly been modified. (Delgado 1991). For this reason it is possible to point out

that tourism, in being interested in Argentine roots, collaborates in keeping them alive. It can be affirmed that the same cultural uniformity generates the need for new ideas, new images, "new configurations of meanings" (Delgado 1991). And it is here that the gaucho positions himself as a distinctive element.

"A character is transformed into the typical from the moment the artist characterizes, determines and represents him" (Eco 1999:194). The gaucho, through artistic creation motivated by tourism (postcards), is transformed into the typical." But this is a symbol more than a typical character. "The symbol can predate the work as an element in the mythological, anthropological, heraldic and magical repertory" (Eco 1999:208). The gaucho is transformed into a symbol through literature, pictorial art and museums.

Postcards with figures of gauchos seek out the exotic, the local and demonstrate a "new language" (Delgado 1991), that of caricature. This case is unique in Argentina given that now there is no other type of gaucho postcard and there are very few extant photos relating to the theme. This is so much the case that in the Mataderos Fair the vendors assure that "they live thanks to the tourists" but that they have serious problems when it comes to acquiring material they can sell. Some of them exhibit rural photographs imported from Germany.

It should be pointed out here that beyond the fact that tourist interest in the gaucho has reawakened an identity that has often run the risk of being lost, the identity has suffered modifications but these have been generated from Argentina's contact with the rest of the world, whether through television, cinema, commercial relations, migratory movements etc.

In the case of the gauchos, postcards fulfil a similar role to that of photography. On the one hand, it is an anticipation of meanings for those receiving them and, on the other hand, it is a certificate of the experience of the traveller (Albers and James 1993). The postcard creates an image beyond the country of the Argentine gaucho, and this image is more attractive than a photo because there is a creative process underlying this.

ELEMENTS COMPOSING THE COMMUNICATION OF THE IMAGE

The elements which, according to Prieto Castillo (1985), make up the communicative process include the different points of view which should be taken into account when analysing a communicative fact and the lack of whichever of these components would necessarily result in an erroneous or partial study. This scheme allows undertaking a more general and global analysis. But no one element has validity when viewed in isolation, only in interrelation with the others.

Social formation

This refers to the dominant production and the social relations that are generated from the economic, political and ideological processes of the country. Each social group within the same country experiences these instances in a different manner. From this springs their importance in the communicative process.

In the postcards, social training and the influence of culture are witnessed on three different levels. That of the gaucho who emits a message that rescues the postcards; that of the authors of the images, interpreting the gaucho in accordance with their cultural training and re-emitting it by means of the postcard. By virtue of having contact with rural space, they can create endogenous messages with respect to local socio-cultural characteristics. "The products of rural tourism should be works of the local populations themselves so that they can respect the heritage and not generate imbalances in the society" (Fourneau 1998).

Finally, there is to be taken into consideration the social training of the tourist that will inevitably bear on the decodification of the message. This aspect has not been measured in this study but it has, at least, been taken into account.

The context of reference

This corresponds to consciousness and daily life. This element is sustained by social training, which it, in turn, produces. It is the recognition of social relations in a concrete and daily plane. It is the immediate context.

It is important that the emitter has clear both the image that he wants to communicate about the country as well as those receiving the image; in this case the tourists who have their own frame of reference. At the same time, the tourist is on holiday and for this reason hopes that the message in question provokes the least effort of decodification.

With regard to the postcards, the frame of reference through the caricaturised figure of the gaucho was analysed. With this resource it was possible to fix, reinforce a model which already existed and which is thereby installed as a typical element of national identity for those buying the postcard as well as those receiving it

The codes

The codes are groups of social obligations, which enable communication in groups and between groups possessing a specific social training. Every code presupposes a group of obligations of elaboration and also a group of obligations of interpretation. These last are always much more flexible than the first.

The code of postcards that have been analysed is the caricaturised image. In this way, both those elaborating the message as well as those decodifying it have to take into account the rules of the games and consider that the image of the gaucho is not real but exaggerated, deformed, recounted with humour.

The question is, why recount a deformed history? Simply because the receivers do not want a book about Argentine history but a colourful account which is attractive with streaks of veracity in images replete with humour.

The emitter

The emitter offers cultural features in a permanent form. The creators of postcards function as "emitting spokesmen" because they transmit a culture belonging to a social group

which does not belong to them, that of the gauchos. Whether or not the emitter is conscious or not of this situation, the phase of emission has considerable force. This is exploited through the manner in which those emitting the images consider that the message should be interpreted or the gaucho should be valued; and through control of the diffusion of the postcards. It should be remembered that these are only sold on country estates where rural tourism is practiced.

The perceiver

To perceive is the capacity to collect the necessary information so as to respond effectively to one's own environment. The reading of the message is conditioned by the social status of the perceiver who evaluates, judges and at times distorts. Perception conceives the adoption of a position vis-à-vis reality, conduct.

The perceivers of the communicative fact that has been analysed are real and potential tourists: on the one hand the tourist who buys the postcard as a souvenir; and, on the other, whoever receives the postcard and becomes interested in knowing more about Argentina and the life of the gaucho.

The means and the resources

The means is the instrument through which the message arrives to the perceiver. In this case the means is the postcard.

This enables that the original message (gaucho images sometimes accompanied with an epigraph) is reinforced by a written message, that of the tourist who buys the postcard to send to a member of his family or a friend. This particularity ensures that the message is not simply one-dimensional given that the tourist can add to the image his own perception of the gauchos. The personal experience of the tourist during his travels can modify the perception of a destiny (Chon 1991).

The message

The message is a sign or a group of signs capable of having a particular meaning whether in a referential sense, which points up the content, whether in an aesthetic sense which points up the sensibility marking acceptance or rejection.

The "referential" message of the postcards is a "version" of the gauchos, which perhaps has more social weight than the gauchos themselves given that stereotypes have a strong weight in society.

The "aesthetic" message of the postcards refers to the way in which the message is recounted, to the pleasure or displeasure generated by images of the gauchos in the perceivers (tourists). Taken into account are the images, the words of the epigraphs, the gestures, the objects, the space etc. In the selection of each one of these elements, the subjectivity of the sender can be appreciated.

The referent

The referent of a message refers to the concrete reality, not to that which is imagined. However, there do exist exceptions such as is the case of characters from sketches.

In the case of postcards it can be pointed out that these are messages with high preferentiality given that they create something imagined (the stereotype of the gaucho) and that this allows for cultural recognition on the part of the tourists and a revaluation of their own culture by the Argentines themselves.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENT

It is important to highlight that in a postcard the communicative process has a twofold function, one that advertises and one that educates. Moreover, the elaboration of the message is not simple. Those drawing the postcard have to create an image, which sells the rural tourist product, convincing the tourist to buy the culture of the gaucho and creating a consciousness concerning the national identity.

The gaucho appears as a stereotype in postcards. This is well defined in the use of technique of caricature, which represents both him and his environment. But this stereotype does not arise from the contact of the gaucho with the tourists, as generally occurs within the realm of tourism. "The tourist is seen as the agent of contact between cultures and, whether in a direct or indirect form, the cause of the cultural change (Santana Talavera 1994).

In this case the tourists contribute to the preservation of the traditions by continuing to demand gaucho scenes. The gaucho is rescued from history but he is not thereby revived. The postcard is not the photo of a genuine gaucho but a caricature, a stereotype, an almost tender memory of a bygone phenomenon.

A form of alternative communication

Postcards create a form of "alternative communication". It can be affirmed here that three of the four phases of the communicative process-emission; distribution and use (Prieto Castillo 1985) are alternatives.

This manner of displaying gaucho culture was born in the work of the Argentine artist, Molina Campos. And the authors of the postcards contribute rich streaks of humour through the gestures of the characters, objects of daily use and the personification of animals. This last is a custom that is very typical of the gaucho given that in the middle of the solitude of the countryside he learns to communicate with animals, especially with horses and dogs, his loyal companions. "His horse was necessary to perform his tasks: he maintained a symbiotic relation with his animal and attained to considerable skill in the art of taming it " (Figueroa 1999:13).

Images

The analysis of the images comprehended different items: a) activities that were both productive and leisure pursuits; b) dress; c) dietary habits; d) domestic animals; and d) magic.

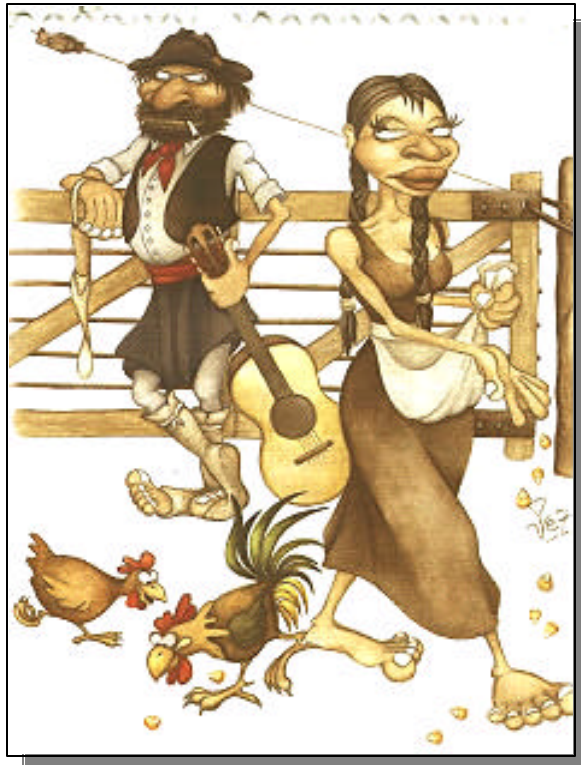
There are not to be observed in the postcards images relating to the productive activities traditionally associated with life in the countryside, such as branding and breaking-in. However, there is a representation of the gaucho using the "boleadoras" so as to hunt ñandú, that typical bird of the pampas, similar to the ostrich but of a smaller size.

The guitar is a musical instrument associated with the gaucho's spare time. It was often used as the instrument that accompanied his words when he expressed his feelings. The guitar appears on the postcard accompanying the central figure in a romantic moment.

The typical attire of the gaucho is featured on the postcards; shirt, neckerchief, poncho, chiripá (nowadays substituted by country trousers), wide trousers closed with a dagger and buttons in the ankle), boots without toes (nowadays these are only used with toes or espadrilles with soles of jute or rubber), spurs for egging on the horse, string in the waist, sheath knife, bolas (nowadays these are not used), hair-band (the inheritance of the aborigines which has now fallen into disuse) and a hat. Also in some postcards the gaucho appears with country trousers and espadrilles.

After the gaucho the most important person is "la china", the gaucho's wife. In general, the dress is tight at the waist and has a very low neckline. The young "chinas" with their tresses floating over their backs raise their jet-black eyes, with long eyelashes and heavy eyelids, towards the singer they have chosen (Elichondo 1983:90).

In addition to these characteristics, the postcards present a series of typical elements of the gauchos habitat: the tethering post (where the horses are tied), the "hornero's" (ovenbird) nest, the bones of a cow's head on which the gaucho sits down, the country side gate, the mud oven where the bread and the food are prepared, etc.



Source: V. And E. Zavattieri

The mate and the asado (barbecue) are the characteristic elements of the traditional gastronomy and for this reason they too feature in the postcards. At the same time, they are consumed today in almost every household in the country.

The asado is in general prepared with beef. The particularity of an Argentine asado is that neither plates nor cutlery are used. With respect to mate Tschieffely (1998:23) described its preparation as follows:

While we wait for the "pava" (kettle) to boil, one of the gauchos prepares the inevitable mate, a kind of green tea. When everything is ready, a small gourd with a straw inside is passed round in a circle from hand to hand, each man in his turn drinking the bitter brew.

The postcard also pays reference to the magic elements of the gaucho's world, in this case adding special herbs to the infusion. But the gaucho believes in shamans and the predictive and curative power of nature. "He does not mock witches or shamans or those who believe themselves able to cure ills, frighten off evil spirits and predict events (Carlino 1976:286).

In the postcards analysed here there have been no reference to livestock. Only the dog appears with frequency and striking an attitude that accompanies the mood of the gaucho. Also making an appearance is the horse, an animal that is extremely affectionate considering it constitutes the gaucho's tool of work and displacement, making it the gaucho's continuous companion: "for his horse the gaucho is capable of the greatest sacrifices. Even giving his "china" to another" (Carlino 1976:298). As for birds, the ovenbird, one of the species most commonly found in the Pampas area, makes an appearance

Epigraph

From the same text a number of different readings can always be extracted, this being the case both from the point of view of its production (emitor) and from its recognition or its effects on the perceiver (Verón 1987).

With respect to the epigraphs of postcards it is possible to point out that only tourists who have a sound understanding of the linguistic particularities that are used in a rural context can understand these. In communicative terms, it can be pointed out that the postcards presuppose a simple scheme of communication such as that of de Jakobson (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986) where the emitor and the recipient manage the same codes.

In one of the postcards appears the gaucho preparing mate; behind him is the china with a branch of herbs (yuyos) from which hangs a notice with the word "gualicho" (evil spell), the epigraph reading: "So that love does not get twisted, skill is better than force". While it is true that this epigraph can only be translated with some difficulty, the possibilities are not so extensive for the term "gualicho" and its lexical meaning (Kerbrat-Orecchioni) is what gives significance to the postcard.

This analysis is valid if it deals with a tourist of the masses, that is to say if the tourist "enclosed within his cultural bubble and arriving at tourist zones hopes at the same time to be far from and near his own country. He wants to see strange things but through his own culture (Jurdao Arrones 1992).

If it is attempted to communicate a message to a tourist who does not know the culture of the gaucho, the epigraph of the postcards has limitations "given that the recognition (of the perceiver) retains the conclusion isolating it from its sources, returning to place it in an

ideological context that is now new" (Verón 1987). But it has a value that is high in the solidification of the national identity

Within language itself there exist relations of power at a worldwide level and it is undeniable that the strongest language imposes itself on the weakest. Moreover, these postcards are rescuing from obscurity terms that belong to the jargon of the gaucho and are communicated in an exogenous form, beyond national limits.

If it is taken into account that the new demand of the rural medium seeks to establish different social relations and to try to integrate itself in the local culture (Bote Gomez 1988:78) it can be supposed that the tourists generate a "metacompetencia lingüística" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986) with relation to the postcards. That is to say, that they accept a different linguistic competence and try to assimilate it (so as to know the language of the gaucho and understand the epigraphs).

The gaucho uses poetic language that rhymes socially and this is reflected in postcards. Here is displayed the "linguistic competence" (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1986) of the emitter and the recipient. Even for the tourist whose native language is Spanish, it will be very difficult to understand the phrase given that the text responds to a typical gaucho argot.

The creators of the postcards show through the text the genuine identity of the gaucho. The epigraph does not respond to a "habitus lingüístico" (Bourdieu 1984:143). The "habitus" imposes that the discourse is in accordance with the linguistic market, which would imply that the text in the language of the gauchos is adapted into Spanish as it spoken today and even into English.

CONCLUSIONS

The contribution of gaucho postcards to the creation of an Argentine tourist image has been very positive, considering the current tendency of the market towards rural and heritage tourism. They show the country as an exotic product with original ethnic characteristics (the gaucho and his customs) and an attractive natural context characterized by the tranquillity of rural space.

The gaucho postcards make a valuable contribution to the consolidation of the national identity and export this local image abroad. They resuscitate the gaucho, they observe him in his daily life, respecting his idiosyncrasies and showing in considerable depth his customs. "The culture is fundamental in the formation of identity and the community should be responsible for keeping it alive" (Delgado 1991).

The gaucho is installed as a typical element of the national identity through the postcard. This is achieved with the resource of caricature that makes possible the creation of a stereotype. This stereotypic image takes two forms.

* It is a tourist attraction

* It reevaluates the national culture

Moreover, the caricature presents the gaucho tradition with humour, colour, and fluidity. It makes it unnecessary that the tourist expends a great effort of decodification given that he is on holiday and wants to enjoy "the pleasure of doing nothing". The resource of exaggerating the traits and gestures of the gaucho creates a form of alternative communication that respects the creation of tourist images.

The gaucho is transformed into a national symbol through the revaluation given to him by museums, literature and graphic humour; but the postcards give him primacy as a typical personage, they show him in a distinguished light because here they show him without euphemisms. "The work of euphemisms produces a training of commitment (Bourdieu 1984). This would be the case if the images and the epigraphs of the postcards expressed a message adapted to the social training of the tourist, to his capacity of decodification..

The gaucho is given ascendancy in the Argentine tourist image due to the need of the travellers to consume different products. Globalisation has homogenized culture and saturated the tourist market. The traveller looks for something new, different, which allows him to transport the mind and spirit, not only the body. He wants to break with the quotidian and leave behind the structure that traps him.

The behaviour of the tourists makes a contribution to the transformation of existing codes and generates the rise of new folkloric phenomena (Dupey 1998).

Postcards with gauchos exploit this new folkloric phenomenon and occupy a prime place in the souvenir market. The market is very extensive and varied (gaucho fairs, folkloric shows in rural localities) and has practically not been exploited. At the same time, it is a product that at the moment has no competition.

The postcard publicizes itself. These are destined at both real and potential tourists; both by those who buy them to send them and those who receive them and thus feel impelled to travel. To this last there arrive two messages- the image and the epigraph of the postcard, reinforced by the impressions that the tourist-emitor will inscribe in them. The postcards fulfil the objectives proposed by the Europeans for rural tourism. "To make of tourism a tool of social promotion of rural inhabitants, of appreciation of local products and protection of the cultural heritage (Garcia Cuesta 1996).

REFERENCES

Abadi, J.E. and Mileo, D.

2000 *No somos tan buena gente: un retrato de la clase media argentina*. Editorial Sudamericana, Buenos Aires

Albers, P. and James, W.

1993 *Tourism and the changing photographic image of the Great Lakes Indians*. *Annals of Tourism Research* 10:123-148

Asunção, F.

1999 *Historia del gaucho. El gaucho: ser y quehacer*. Editorial Claridad, Buenos Aires

Bote Gómez, V.

1988 *Turismo en espacio rural. Rehabilitación del patrimonio sociocultural y de la economía local.* Editorial Popular, Madrid

Bordieu, P.

1984 *Sociología y cultural.* Editorial Grijalbo, México

Brown, G.

1992 *Tourism and symbolic consumption.* Johnson, P. and Thomas, B. (ed.) *Choice and Demand in Tourism.* Mansell, London

Carlino, C.

1976 *Gaucha y gringos en la tierra ajena. Plus Ultra,* Buenos Aires

Chon, K.

1991 *Tourism destination image modifications process. Marketing implications.* *Tourism Management* 12:68-72

Delgado, E.

1991 *La perspectiva cultural en el turismo rural. El Turismo Rural en el Desarrollo Local,* Ministerio de Agricultura, Pesca y Alimentación, Madrid

Dupey, Ana María

1998 *Folclore y turismo. Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 7:24-32

Eco, U.

1999 *Apocalípticos e integrados.* Tusquets Editores, Barcelona

Elichondo, M.

1983 *La generación del '80 y el folklore.* Ediciones Culturales Argentina, Buenos Aires

Figueroa, L.

1999 *El gaucha. Sus tradiciones y costumbres en el campo argentino vistas desde mediados del siglo XIX.* Ediciones Casa Figueroa, Buenos Aires

Fontanarrosa

1998 *20 años con Inodoro Pereyra.* Ediciones de la Flor, Buenos Aires

Foumeau, F.

1998 *El turismo en espacio rural en Francia.* *Cuadernos de Turismo* 1:41-53

Franchini, A; Furgón de Fritzsche, T. and Leocata, F.

1995 *La cultura argentina.* Docencia, Buenos Aires

Gallo, E.

1983 *La pampa gringa.* Editorial Sudamericana, Buenos Aires

García Cuesta, J.L.

1996 *El turismo rural como factor diversificador de rentas en la tradicional economía agraria.* *Estudios Turísticos* 132:47-61

Gerchunoff, A.

1981 *Los gauchos judíos.* Editorial Aguilar, Buenos Aires

Gociol, J.

1998 *20 años de Inodoro Pereyra.* Ediciones de la Flor, Buenos Aires

Gori, G.

1986 *La pampa sin gaucho*. Eudeba, Buenos Aires

Graburn, N.

1992 *Turismo: el viaje sagrado*. Smith, V. (ed.) *Anfitriones e Invitados*. Antropología del Turismo. Endimión, Madrid

Hahn, B. v.

1943 *Das Herz des Gaucho. Argentinien in Sage und Geschichte*. Verlag E. Beutelspacher, Buenos Aires

Jurado Arrones, F.

1991 *Los mitos del turismo*. Endimión, Madrid

Kerbrat-Orecchioni, C.

1986 *La enunciación*. Hachette, Buenos Aires

Kotler, P; Bowen, J and Makens, J.

1997 *Mercadotecnia para hotelería y turismo*. Prentice-Hall Hispanoamericana, México

Ludmer, J.

2000 *El género gauchesco. Un tratado sobre la patria*. Perfil Libros Básicos, Buenos Aires

Morgan, N. and Pritchard, A.

1999 *La gestión de la imagen de los destinos turísticos: la promesa que plantea la técnica de promoción basada en la creación de una imagen de marca particularizada*. *Papers de Turisme* 25:35-57

Peñalver Torres, M. T.

1998 *Un turismo alternativo: reutilización de molinos y almazaras*. *Cuadernos de Turismo* 2:147-158

Prieto Castillo, D.

1985 *Diagnóstico de comunicación*. CIESPAL, Quito

Prieto, Lorena and Prieto, Maisa

1997 *Turismo rural en Argentina*. *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 6:145-156

Salaverría, J. M.

1934 *Vida de Martín Fierro*. Espasa-Calpe, Madrid

Salciccia, D.

2001 *Ecoturismo rural y desarrollo sustentable del patrimonio natural e histórico cultural*. *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 10:113-130

Sanmartín, R.

1992 *Identidad y creación*. *Horizontes culturales e interpretación antropológica*. Editorial Humanidades, Barcelona

Santana Talavera, A.

1994 *Encuentros turísticos: efectos de los estereotipos en los cambios socioculturales (Islas Canarias)*. *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 3:199-213

Saubidet, T.

1958 *Vocabulario y refranero criollo*. Editorial Guillermo Kraft Ltd, Buenos Aires

Schlüter, R.

1998 *El rol de las camisetas en la creación de imágenes de destino. Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* 7:5-23

Sebreli, J. J.

1984 *Mar del Plata, el ocio represivo. Editorial Leonardo Buschi, Buenos Aires*

Solsona Monzonís, J.

1999 *El turismo rural en la Comunidad Valenciana: análisis y planificación. Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura, España*

Torres Cano, M.

1998 *Territorios, pueblos y ciudades de la pampa bonaerense. Ciudades* 4:189-202, Valladolid

Tschiffely, A. F.

1998 *Por este camino hacia el sur. Editorial El Jagüel, Buenos Aires*

Vázquez Rial, H.

1999 *La formación del país de los argentinos. Javier Vergara Editor, Buenos Aires*

Verón, E.

1987 *La semiosis social. Fragmentos de una teoría de la discursividad. Editorial Gedisa, Barcelona*

Published in *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* Volume 10:131-151, 2001

IMAGE, SAFETY AND RISK MANAGEMENT IN TOURISM DESTINATIONS
A case study of San Cristóbal de Las Casas– Chiapas, Mexico

Patricia Domínguez
Alicia Bernard
Esteban Burguete
Cholula, Puebla– Mexico

Abstract: *The aim of this study was to investigate the image and perception of risk on the part of samples of visitors and non-visitors when considering the tourist destination of San Cristóbal de Las Casas (Chiapas, Mexico). At the same time, existing differences were identified and the fluctuations of perceptions in both samples were determined. To obtain information, a questionnaire with 32 questions was drawn up. This took the format of four different sections which evaluated the image, and perceptions of safety and risk in San Cristóbal de Las Casas. The study showed that for visitor there existed a significant correlation between image and safety. The image of this destination improved after a visit whereas those who had not visited the city considered it to be an uncertain destination. **KEY WORDS:** image, safety, risk, San Cristóbal de Las Casas.*

INTRODUCTION

In the design and maintenance of the tourism destination one constant that is important to bear in mind is the capacity of obtaining safety by those intervening in management and administration. This is particularly visible within a context that is increasingly competitive, with tourism products that emerge within a number of different specializations. The behaviour of the consumer in the purchasing process, especially with regard to tourism products, is very sensitive to themes of the perception of safety and risk.

Unfortunately, a number of tourism destinations are now targets of terrorist attacks or other kinds of aggressions. This pattern of actions on occasions not only affects one site in general but the destination in general. In Mexico, certain aggressive actions against tourists in the capital and the rise of the Zapatista movement in Chiapas generated the impression of a dangerous and insecure country.

As a result of the indigenous rebellion of 1994, the tourist flow to Chiapas went down by approximately 31% according to statistical data provided by the Secretariat of State Tourism development (SDT). This decrease bears out the importance of the tourism image. In Chiapas, San Cristóbal de Las Casas is considered to be one of the most beautiful resorts as a result of

its landscapes, inhabitants and customs and it is an excellent destination for all tourists interested in ethnic, cultural, ecological and adventure tourism. However, during the years following the Zapatista movement (1994 to 1997), tourist operators reported a considerable number of cancellations to the area due to the prevailing climate of insecurity. The SDT went to considerable pains to try to restore and increase national tourism, implementing a number of different resources that publicized the pacification of the area in question (Pitts, quoted by Sonmez 1998). In advertising terms, the themes "Mayan World" and "Chiapas the last frontier" were deployed as part of a repositioning strategy.

The need for an effective positioning strategy of all products and services is essential in the technical market and in this respect tourism destinations are no exception. The appropriate creation and management of the image of a destination are crucial for its positioning within the market (Echtner and Ritchie 1991).

In 1999 the number of visitors was 1,479,353, a considerable rise with respect to 1994. Undoubtedly this success reflected the successful nature of the marketing strategy. Many tourists, especially Europeans (from Holland, Italy, Spain and Belgium), interested in ethnic, cultural, ecological and adventure tourism as well as the Zapatista rebellion, visited the state (Kersten 1997).

So as to understand the differences existing in the perception of safety and risk among those visiting San Cristóbal de Las Casas and those who did not, so as to be able to project the effect that these perceptions have on the image of the tourism destination, a study which enables us to understand the effects and relations of these variables was carried out.

TOURISM IMAGE

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact meaning of "the tourism image" of a destination. The images are defined as the mental recreation of different sensory impressions whether they are of a visual, sonorous, olfactory and gustative nature (Garcia quoted by Romero 2000). For psychologists the term image is related to visual representations associated with impressions, emotion, values and beliefs. However, the definitions in the technical market refer to the attributes related to the behaviour of the consumer (Jenkins, 1999). The definition that is most commonly deployed is that of Crompton (quoted by Jenkins, 1999:2) who points out that "the tourism image of a destination is the sum-total of beliefs, ideas and impressions that a person has of the destiny in question". However, this description does not take into account groups, only individuals.

For the purposes of this study, the definition of Lawson and Baud Bovy (quoted by Jenkins, 1999:2) has been pressed into service. This combines the images elaborated at a personal level and the stereotypes shared by groups and points up the following:

The image of a destination is the conglomeration of knowledge, impressions, imagination and emotions that an individual or group can have of a place in particular.

The formation of an image

Gunn (1972) in his book "Vacationscape: Designing Tourist Regions" proposes a model so as to analyse the relations between the traveller's purchasing process and the image of the destination. He considers that the traveller's purchasing behaviour can be explained in accordance with the following seven phases:

1. The accumulation of images through life.
2. The modification of images in conducting research prior to the decision to travel.
3. The decision to travel based on images of efficiency of an experience anticipated within a context of time, money and other limitations.
4. The trip to the selected attraction can condition the forming of images of routes, landscapes etc.
5. The participation in or experience of the destination, activities, accommodation and other services can condition the image.
6. The return from the trip allows for reflection and evaluation, including a discussion of the experience with other travelling companions.
7. After the visit there is a new accumulation of images given that the process is circular, the final image can be the same or different from the original.

In accordance with this theory, the forming of images can be subjected to a number of modifications during the process. Fakeye and Crompton (quoted by MacKay and Fesenmaier 1997) affirm that the image passes through three different stages:

ORGANIC: it is formed by the awareness of the destination by means of tourism promotions of the place.

INDUCED: it is formed when the said promotions are revised and evaluated on the basis of the organic image that has previously been formed.

COMPLEX: it is the result of contact with the destination and experience deriving from this.

A similar study undertaken by Stabler (quoted by Jenkins 1999) divides the factors that affect the formation of the image on the part of the consumer into factors of demand, "person" and offer, "destination". The factors of demand correspond to the organic training of the image and the offer to induced training.

Components of an image

Chon (quoted by Lubbe 1998) points out that, from the moment in which an individual is motivated to travel, a primary image of the destination is created and this is constructed on the basis of two kinds of factors: the push factors and the pull factors. The push factors consist of a cognitive process and travel motivations such as the need to escape, socialization, the search for novelties, adventure and the discovery of oneself. In contrast, the pull factors are tangible or intangible resources or images of a specific destination that enable the tourists to become aware of their travel needs. These factors can take three forms:

STATIC FACTORS: these include the natural and cultivated landscape, climate, cultural and historic attractions and the means of transport from region to region.

DYNAMIC FACTORS: These include lodging, food and drinks, attention and services, sports and leisure facilities, political conditions and tourism tendencies.

FACTORS IN THE DECISION: These include the technical market of the place and the prices of the destination and the country in general.

Dimensions of the tourism image

Echtner and Ritchie (quoted by Mackay and Fesenmaier 1997) point out that the image is composed of three dimensions:

The *characteristic-totalise* dimension which refers to the contribution of the individual elements to the general impression.

The *functional-psychological* dimension which isolates the characteristics that can easily be separated such as prices and the beauty of a landscape.

The *communal-unique* dimension which recognizes the similarities and differences between two destinations.

Methods for the measurement of the image of a tourism destination

There are two kinds of methods that are employed in research into tourism images:

The structured method: this consists of incorporating a series of attributes of the image to a standardized instrument of measurement, in such a way that the person questioned in the survey can characterize the destination on the basis of these attributes, thus creating a profile of the image itself.

The non-structured method: the person questioned in the survey has complete freedom to express his impressions with respect to a destination in particular. Later the information is ordered and classified, thereby obtaining the dimensions of the image. It is appropriate to start an investigation with non-structured methods so as to establish the relevant perceptions of the examined group. Later it is appropriate to use quantitative methods so as to measure the image based on attributes qualitatively determined during the first phase (Jenkins 1999).

Risk

For Kurtz and Clow (quoted by Fuentes 2000) risk is the perception, on the part of the consumer, of the possibility of suffering some danger or loss as the result of the purchasing decision.

The perception of risk is defined as an individual evaluation when the person finds itself in a situation with a high degree of uncertainty (Mitchell and Greatedorex 1993). Sitkin (1992) defines risk as the degree of interaction existing between a person and a situation, relating it directly to the possibility that in taking a decision either a successful result is obtained or the contrary.

Components of risk

Seth and Venkatesan (1968) reveal that risk is perceived in different forms during the purchasing process. This is due to the very nature of the risk components, enumerated as follows:

UNCERTAINTY: for the consumer this is the probability that a particular result or consequence can occur.

CONSEQUENCE: This is the degree of importance or danger perceived by the consumer with regard to the result (Kurtz and Clow quoted by Fuentes 2000).

In both situations there is a relation between the two risk components. However, no matter how individual the situation, the factor of consequence is always evident. However, the degree of uncertainty can be reduced and, to this end, the consumer should choose a brand and inform himself about this as well as drawing on personal experience from past travels (Seth and Venkatesan 1968).

Types of risk

When risk is perceived there are a number of different attitudes about the measures which should be taken with regard to the choice and purchase of a destination based on the existing type of risk (Asembri 1986).

Sonmez and Graefe (1998) identified two kinds of risk that are bound up with the process of selection and purchase of a tourism destination:

- * *Time risk*: this is the possibility that the travel experience will require a considerable amount of time and that this time will be wasted.

- * *Terrorism risk*: this is the possibility of being caught up in a violent situation.

- * *Social risk*: this is the possibility that when choosing a trip other factors will affect the personal opinion of the consumer.

- * *Satisfaction risk*: this is the possibility that the travel experience will not fulfil the expectations of the traveller.

- * *Psychological risk*: this is the possibility that the trip will not suit the personality of the consumer.

- * *Risk of political instability*: this is the possibility that the traveller may get embroiled in the potential political instability of the country he is visiting.

- * *Physical risk*: this is the possibility of suffering some physical harm or some personal accident.

- * *Health risk*: this is the possibility that the consumer might fall ill during the trip or while staying at the destination in question.

- * *Financial risk*: this is the possibility that during the trip the consumer will be faced with more expenses than he anticipated.

* *Team and functional risk*: this is the possibility that there will be some mechanical failure during the trip or at the destination.

Perception of safety

The selection of a tourism destination depends directly on the degree of safety that is associated with the country. The perception of safety and the risk factor are intimately bound up, thus generating the image of the destiny in the mind of the consumer. There come into play here factors such as politics and criminal acts committed in the selected destination (Johansson and Nyberg 1996).

Demos (1992) indicate that the perception of safety is relative and directly depends on the purpose of the trip, the image of the destination, the number of inhabitants and the level of education.

The high incidence of criminal acts, violence, political instability and impunity in general can inflict great damage on the image of a destination in particular (Bloom 1996). If the destination in question is characterized as an unsafe place for those tourists visiting it there thus exists the considerable likelihood that tourists will lose interest and prefer not to visit it (Prideaux 1998).

Armed conflicts and terrorism directed at the tourist are disastrous for the resort and lead, without any doubt, to a crisis in tourism (Sonmez, Apostolopoulos and Tarlow 1999). Over the years the press has covered these events, often exaggerating the negative aspects of a given situation with terrible consequences for the so-called "industry without chimneys".

METHOD

Given the importance of image and the safety/risk relation associated with a destination, it is attempted here to analyse how these factors bear on decision-making when considering whether or not to visit the destination in question.

Taken as a sample here were the inhabitants of the cities of Puebla and Mexico City (without considering the city of origin) and other national and foreign tourists visiting the destination being studied. In this case, a questionnaire with 32 questions divided into four sections was used:

- *Section A*: this enabled the determining of perception with reference to the tourism image of San Cristóbal de Las Casas.
- *Section B*: The perception of safety.
- *Section C*: Risk perception.
- *Section D*: this recollected demographic information from those involved in the survey.

Used here were 100 questionnaires in Mexico City and Puebla for non-visitors and 110 questionnaires in San Cristóbal de Las Casas, Chiapas. In the case of visitors the factor of origin was not taken into account.

The statistical package Statistical Analysis Systems (SAS) was used to process the information collected. The measurements of frequency of image, risk, safety and the socio-demographic data of those involved in the survey were calculated.

As a result, simple correlations between the variables of image, risk and safety were effected. These variables were correlated with the perception of the inhabitants of San Cristóbal de Las Casas, the historical and cultural attractions, safety and politics, the beauty of the attractions and the travel experience.

Finally, a canonical correlation between image and safety and image and risk was effected with the end-objective of finding significant differences between the selected samples.

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

Of the 210 people interviewed 100 were non-visitors and the other 110 were those living in the destination.

Sociodemographic data relating to non-visitors

The age range here varied from 18 to 46. 52% were residents of the city of Puebla, 37% of Mexico City and the other 11% came from Mexicali, Monterrey, Tlaxcala, Sinaloa and Veracruz.

Sociodemographic data relating to visitors

59.1% of the sample was male and 40.9% female. As in the earlier group the ages ranged from 18 to 46. As for their origins, 55.4% were foreigners. They came from the following countries: Germany; Belgium; Denmark; Slovenia; Spain; France; Guatemala; Holland; England; Israel; Italy and Switzerland. 23.7% resided in Mexico outside the Federal District; 11.8% in the Federal District; and 9.1% came from the USA.

Variables of image, safety and risk in non-visitors

- *Section A* measured the perception of image through 14 variables. Questions 1 and 2 indicated the perception that the visitors had of the population of San Cristóbal de Las Casas. 57% of those questioned in the survey opined that they saw themselves as friendly and receptive to tourists, ranging here from those fairly in agreement to those completely in agreement. In questions 3, 4 and 5 historical and cultural attractions were evaluated. 56% of the visitors said that they were completely in agreement with the opinion that San Cristóbal de Las

Casas has a diversity of historical and cultural attractions. The following five questions referred to the perception of safety and its relation to the political situation.

Question 6 tried to measure specifically if there is a relation between the political situation of the area and a desire to visit San Cristóbal de Las Casas. 70% opined that they were either fairly in agreement or totally in agreement with the fact that there is indeed a relation between these variables.

Question 7 asked whether, in the opinion of non-visitors, the destination was safe for visitors. 84% of respondents either agreed to a considerable extent or were completely in agreement.

In question 8 references were made to safety in transport. 72.5% more or less agreed that transport was safe. Question 9 looked at whether there was political stability and 66.3% of the replies fell within the range of fairly in agreement to completely in agreement, this showing the most marked tendency to disagreement. In question 10 it was considered whether the destination had a good reputation and 79% said they agreed.

Questions 11 and 12 aimed to gauge opinions with respect to the beauty of attractions. 67% said they were completely in agreement with the fact that San Cristóbal counted on very attractive tourism attractions.

Questions 13 and 14 were oriented to the travel experience. Question 13 asked whether the destination in question was a naturally beautiful site. 85.5% completely agreed. Question 14 asked whether San Cristóbal had many disadvantages as a tourism destination. The results (73%) oscillated between fairly to completely in agreement with some degree of disagreement here.

55% saw San Cristóbal as a cultural destination and 38% as an adventure destination.

- *Section B* measured safety using 10 variables. Question 1 referred to safety during the trip using the plane as the means of transport. 69% of the replies fell within the range of safe to fairly safe.

In the remaining questions relating to safety during travel by motorway, stays at hotels, visiting tourism attractions, going to leisure establishments, visiting the surrounding and communicating with the native population, replies ranged from 78% and 83% within a range of fairly safe to fairly unsafe. More marked in all questions was a tendency to perceive safety except when visiting the outskirts.

The replies to questions about shopping and the consumption of foods were in the highest range of the scale. 83% believed these to be safe and 78% very safe.

- *Section C* measured risk using 7 variables. These measured social, physical, meteorological, terrorism, satisfaction, political instability and health risks. Only 10% to 16% of those questioned in the survey opined that the possibility of suffering the said risks was very high.

Variables of image, safety and risk in visitors

- *Section A* measured the image of those tourists visiting San Cristóbal de Las Casas using 20 variables.

78.2% opined that the inhabitants of San Cristóbal were friendly; 67.8% were either fairly in agreement or totally in agreement with the fact that they were receptive to tourists; 83.4% of the replies were within the range of fairly in agreement to completely in agreement with the fact that the cultural legacy of San Cristóbal is one of the richest in Mexico. 90.56% of the replies fell within the range of fairly in agreement to totally in agreement with the fact that this destination counts on historical and cultural attractions; 53.2% were completely in agreement with the fact that the political situation has little influence on the travel decision; 79.4% affirmed that nowadays there is an atmosphere of safety for tourists.

77.36% of the replies fell within the range of fairly in agreement to totally in agreement when asked whether local transport is safe. Approximately 50% said that they were fairly in agreement to completely in agreement with the fact that there is political stability and that this city has a good reputation as a tourism destination.

59.2% opined that they were fairly in agreement to totally in agreement with the fact that the image of this destination changed considerably after 1994 as a result of the Zapatista movement.

A little more than half of those questioned in the survey agreed with the fact that San Cristóbal has beautiful landscapes. 67% said that they agreed with the fact that there are not many problems for tourists; 58% said they completely agreed that San Cristóbal is a beautiful place as is reflected in tourism advertisements. 58% were totally in agreement that everything associated with San Cristóbal was to their taste; 69% were fairly to completely in agreement that they would return on another opportunity to San Cristóbal; 28.58% were fairly to completely in agreement that San Cristóbal is better than other destinations in South East Mexico. 43% said that they disagreed that the trip to San Cristóbal was more expensive than anticipated. 65.35% were completely in agreement in recommending San Cristóbal to their friends. 89.9% considered San Cristóbal a cultural destination.

- *Section B* measured the perception of safety and here 10 variables were used. The replies obtained with reference to air or motorway travel and visiting surrounding areas fell within the range of safe to very safe with averages of 84 to 89%. The perceptions of stays in hotels, visiting tourism attractions and leisure sites, striking up communication with the population, making purchases and consuming food in San Cristóbal fell within the range between safe to very safe with averages ranging from 69 to 85%.

- *Section C* quantified the percentages of risk perceived through 7 variables. Indicated values corresponded to moderately low and very low. The question relating to time risk achieved the lowest percentage, with 43%. The other values corresponded to the perception of

risk related to social terrorism, satisfaction, political instability, physical or health concerns and these were located within the range of 66 to 73%.

Analysis of correlations

Correlations were made between the variables of image, safety and risk. The level of significance was 0.05.

- Non-visitors

In the sections that are related with the correlation between variables, the variables that are mentioned are the perceptions of those interviewed. That is to say, the designation "to be friendly" in reality refers to the perception of the visitor with regard to the friendly behaviour of the local population. At the same time, on occasions a variable will be mentioned which has simple correlations with a number of variables at the same time. When necessary, canonical correlations between groups of variables will be mentioned.

The fact that the cultural legacy of San Cristóbal was one of the richest in Mexico has a correlation with the visiting of tourism attractions and the surrounding area and the consumption of food. That which has an atmosphere of safety for visitors has a correlation with safety on the route and the visiting of leisure sites. The perception of political stability correlates with safety on the route.

The perception that the inhabitants of San Cristóbal are friendly and that the political situation is good has a significant canonical relation with low physical risk, risk of terrorism and social risk.

The positive perception of the beautiful landscapes and natural beauties of San Cristóbal has a correlation with the satisfaction of non-visitors.

In general the perception of the amiability of the inhabitants of San Cristóbal was correlated significantly with tourism activities, establishing communication with the local community, making purchases and a low physical risk. The perception of historical and cultural attractions was correlated with tourism activities, the visiting of the surrounding area, making purchases, consuming food and a low health risk. The perception of safety and politics was correlated with the safety of road travel and low terrorism, physical and health risk. As for the perception of the experience of the trip there was found to be a correlation between satisfaction and health risk.

- Visitors

The results here indicated a significant correlation between the decision to travel with the safety of road travel and the atmosphere of safety in the city has a correlation with visiting tourism attractions and the surrounding areas. Safe transport and the new image of San Cristóbal have a correlation with tourism activity, visiting attractions, attending leisure sites, visiting the outskirts and making purchases.

The perception of the amiability of the people has a correlation with a low time risk, satisfaction and health. A safe atmosphere for tourists has a correlation with a low risk of terrorism and political instability. Safe transport has a correlation with a low risk of social terrorism, political instability and physical risk as well as high satisfaction. The fact that San Cristóbal de Las Casas has one of the richest cultural legacies in Mexico and a great natural beauty with outstanding landscapes has a positive correlation with satisfaction risk.

With respect to the perception of people, there was found to be a correlation with risk satisfaction and health risk. As for the perception of historical and cultural attractions, these were positively correlated with satisfaction risk. In the perception of safety and politics there existed a significant canonical correlation with safety during the trip in terms of air and road transportation, visiting tourism attractions and leisure sites as well as the risk of terrorism and political instability. The perception of the beauty of the attractions was correlated positively with tourism activity, visiting local attractions, attending leisure sites and making purchases. The perception of the experience of the trip was positively correlated with the amiability of the people and historical attractions.

For non-visitors there is not a significant correlation between image and safety given that the p-value is greater than 0.05. For visitors however there does exist a significant correlation on account of having a p-value of 0,0304.

With reference to the sample of non-visitors there was not found to be a significant correlation between image and risk, only giving a result of 0.05. At the same time, with regard to visitors there was not found to be a significant correlation.

CONCLUSIONS

In contrasting the results of the samples of visitors and non-visitors, the results show an improvement in the perception of tourists who have visited San Cristóbal de Las Casas. They found that the local population is friendlier and that the destination counts on historical and cultural attractions. It is interesting to highlight that the non-visitors classified the destination as a cultural and adventure site while the visitors classified it as a cultural destination.

It can be observed here that the perception of safety is better in the sample of visitors than that of non-visitors. As for risk perception, the visitors in general terms did not perceive a high degree of risk in comparison with the sample of non-visitors.

The results that were obtained demonstrate that the sample of non-visitors perceives the political situation as a factor influencing the decision of whether or not to visit the destination. Moreover, they expressed that there are many problems besetting the pursuit of tourism and perceive a certain level of risk in health, political instability, satisfaction and physical categories while in the sample of visitors there only exist the risk of satisfaction and health as implicit preoccupations. It is probable that the differences revealed by these two groups are due to the fact that the group of non-visitors finds the composition of the image of San Cristóbal de Las Casas to be in the organic stage, thus creating a primary image of the destination, while

visitors transcended this to arrive at a complex stage which allowed for a series of objective evaluations with respect to the destination.

As for risk components such as "uncertainty" and "consequence", it is interesting to highlight how these two elements are reduced to a considerable extent in the sample of visitors, above all in terms of the consequences of terrorist acts. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the visitor designated San Cristóbal de Las Casa as a cultural or adventure destination, not one of risk.

These findings allow for the confirmation that there are differences in the perceptions of visitors and non-visitors with respect to image, safety and risk.

For two years Chiapas has been considered as one of the three most dangerous states in Mexico. However, the findings of this study indicate that the situation and the image of San Cristóbal de Las Casa have changed considerably and are now positive. These changes can be attributed to the enormous efforts to boost tourism in this state made by the SDT and the National System of Safety.

REFERENCES

Asembri, C.A.

1986 *The effects of consumers' planned product-holding time on risk perception and acceptability*. Ph D Thesis. City University of New York

Bloom, J.

1996 *A South African perspective of the effects of crime and violence on the tourism industry* (91-102). *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issue*. A. Pizam and Y. Mansfeld (eds.), Jon Wiley & Sons Ltd, Chichester, New York

Demos, E.

1992 *Concern for safety: a potential problem in the tourist industry*. *Journal of Travel and Tourism Marketing* 1(1):81-88

Etchner, Ch. And Ritchie, B.

1991 *The meaning and measurement of destination image*. *Journal of Tourism Studies* 2(2):2-12

Fuentes, E.

2000 *Evaluación de riesgo y seguridad en el proceso de compra de tres regiones turísticas de la República Mexicana*. Unpublished Thesis, Universidad de las Américas-Puebla

Gunn, A.

1972 *Vacationscape: designing tourist regions*. University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas

Jenkins, H.

1999 *Understanding and measuring tourist destination images*. *International Journal of Tourism Research* 1:11-15

Johansson, A. and Nyberg, L.

1996 *Security and risks in travel and tourism*. *Journal of Travel Research* 34(4):80-81

Kersten, A.

1997 *Tourism and regional development in Mexico and Chiapas after NAFTA*. Online <http://www.planeta.com/mader/planeta/0597/lacandon2.html>

Lubbe, B.

1998 *Primary image as a dimension of destination image: an empirical assessment*. *Journal of Travel Marketing* 7(4):21-26

Mackay, K. and Fesenmaier, D.

1997 *Pictorial element of destination in image formation*. *Annals of Tourism Research* 24(3):538-540

Priedeaux, B.

1996 *The tourism crime cycle: a beach destination case study (59-75)*. *Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues*. A. Pizam and Y. Mansfeld (eds.), John Wiley & Sons Ltd., Chichester, New York

Romero, M.

2000 *Imagen de la ciudad de Puebla como destino turístico. Una perspectiva del visitante de la ciudad de México*. Unpublished Thesis, Universidad de las Américas, Puebla

Seth, J. and Venkatesan, M.

1968 *Determining future travel behaviour from past travel experience and perceptions of risk and safety*. *Journal of Travel Research* 37(2):171-177

Sonmez, S., Apostolopoulos, Y. and Tarlow, P.

1999 *Tourism in crisis: managing the effects of terrorism*. *Journal of Travel Research* 38(1):13-19

Published in *Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo* Volume 10:251-266, 2001

CRIMINALITY, SAFETY AND TOURISM

The image of the Camboriú beach resort, Brazil, from the viewpoint of tourists and residents

Guillermo Santana

Itajaí, Brazil

Abstract: *This paper analyses the image of the Camboriú beach resort, looking at the concepts of safety and tourism from the perspective of residents and tourists alike. The results suggest that there are no great differences with regard to the perceptions subjects have of the destiny in question, thus allowing for generalisations about the results. It has been possible to highlight a number of points, which provide an abundant source of material regarding decision-making by official tourism and public safety organizations. KEY WORDS: safety, criminality, tourism, image of destiny, perception.*

INTRODUCTION

Independent of the many attributes that are part of tourism experience and motivations, safety is without any doubt one of the most important factors. Many destinations, such as Rio de Janeiro, Moscow, Rome, Pretoria, Florida and Egypt suffered a significant decline in tourist numbers when they gained notoriety for not being able to provide safety to their visitors. Studies developed by Sonmez and Tarlow (1997), Weiermair and Gasser (1995), Pizam and Mansfeld (1996), Lankford (1996), Ryan (1993), Ambider (1992), Brayshaw (1995), Chesney-Lind and Lind (1986), Cristal (1993) and others show that safety is one of the factors that bear most decisively on the choice of a destination. Most tourists choose destinations based on considerations related to their personal safety and not only on factors such as price or other characteristics proper to the destination.

The concept of tourism is related to safety, entertainment, relaxation and pleasure. The number and kind of crimes against tourists is increasing all over the world. The reasons for this increase are many and depend on the specific variables of each context. The kind of crimes directed at tourists is multifarious and range from white-collar crimes within tourism companies to terrorist attacks on tourism installations. However, the crimes that most affect the sector are those in which the tourist is the victim-direct or indirect. It could be an attack, an armed attack-a threat to the physical well being of the tourist -or deceptive propaganda- an ethical crime. In some locations the tourist is a passive victim-he is in the wrong place at the wrong time-and in other circumstances is deliberately the target of criminal actions. The tourists are victims of crimes for a number of different reasons.

- They are very attractive targets. They carry money and other things of value such as photographic equipment, jewellery, credit cards etc.

- Their behavior is risky. For example, they visit nocturnal clubs and bars until late, they travel through remote and little-known regions, they venture into areas that are not very safe or consume alcohol and drugs.
- They are not acquainted with the language, dialects, signals and local customs.
- They do not have at their disposition groups of local support or other resources (consulates, associations).
- Sometimes the local populations consider the tourists to be hostile to the indigenous culture and insensitive to local habits and customs.
- They possess knowledge of safety and the role of the authorities (police etc) only in relation to the reality of their country of origin or residence.
- They are easily identifiable. They move about in groups, they look foreign (clothes, hair etc).

Violence and crime can bring in tow serious consequences both for the tourists and travelers and for the destinations. The dissemination of these incidents in daily newspapers, especially if these events happen at the time in which reservations are being made, can adversely affect businesses in tourism locations. In extreme cases, such as war and terrorism, the tourism potential of a country perhaps does not develop for an indeterminable period of time.

According to Pizam et al (1997:24) crime in a community can also produce socio-economic impacts such as:

- Increase of costs in police custody and other services during the tourism seasons.
- Loss of money due to robberies, fraud, evasion of taxes, the black market in products and services, vandalism to properties and public and private goods.
- An increase in tension.
- The presence of agents of public safety can give a false impression of safety (Mathieson and Wall 1982).

A recounting of events by the mass media, and especially by the victims of crime, has a great impact on the perception of tourism potential with regard to a specific destination and, as a result, is highly influential in the decision to travel. Tourism destinations can also suffer a crisis of perception when perception is transformed into reality. Studies carried out by Cassedy (1992), Brayshaw (1995), Pizam et al (1997) and Cristal (1993) reveal that the crisis of perception can be as, or even more, devastating than crises that cause physical harm such as terrorism or natural disasters or those that affect tourists physically, psychologically or emotionally (crimes, violence etc).

In a study of crime, public safety and the perception of Florida, USA, Brayshaw (1995) discovered that the real risks were considerably less than those suggested by public perception. This "bad perception" or negative image (Cristal 1993; Schiebler et al. 1996) is attributed to the distortion and the extensive cover given by the mass media to crime and violence against tourists.

Despite the fact that statistics indicated the contrary, the tourists lost faith in the destiny and considered trips to Florida to be risky. This destination declined for more than a year (Schiebler et al. 1996). In general, criminality affects the greatest strength that a tourism destination has : its image vis-à-vis the consuming public.

Moving on from the principle that the image of a destination fulfils a fundamental role in the purchasing decision of touristy products, this study seeks to identify the perception, with regard to safety and criminality, that tourists have of the Camboriu beach resort in Santa Catarina, Brazil.

The same instrument of analysis was applied to the residents of the Camboriu spa. The results of both samples were compared with the objective of observing the differences existing, with regard to safety and criminality, between the perception of the destination held by the tourists and the residents. To this end, a revision of the bibliography with reference to the themes treated was undertaken. A number of different methods including the analysis of factors were used to analyze this data.

IMAGE OF DESTINATION

The image of a destination is a decisive factor in the purchasing behavior of tourists. Pearce (1982); Woodside and Lyonski (1990); and Goodrich (1978) showed that there is a clear relation between a positive perception of a destination and positive purchasing decisions. The negative image of the destination alienates potential tourists and creates negative purchasing decisions.

Studies about images of destinations are relatively new and started attracting the interest of researchers from the 1970's. Some of the best-known specialists in this field are Hunt (1975), Crompton (1979), Mayo (1973) and Pearce (1982). In the bibliography about marketing the image of the product is seen as an abstract concept that incorporates the influence of promotions, reputation and the valuation of alternative or competitive products. In this case the image reflects the expectation of a potential user (Alhemoud and Armstrong 1996).

In the literary about tourism the image has the same connotation: a series of expectations in relation to a place or an activity that are voluntary or arise from suggestions and /or stimuli that precede the travel experience. The concept of image is more complex and incorporates other elements.

The term "image" has a number of different meanings including an artificial imitation of the apparent shape of an object, for example a painting; a design; or an idea or conception. The image distils the ideas or conceptions that people have, either individually or collectively, of a

tourist destination. The image consists of elements that are cognitive or of valuation (Embacher and Buttler 1989).

Researchers such as Selby and Morgan (1996) demonstrated that the studies of image of destination are effective vehicles in the valuation of strong or weak points; particularly with respect to the perceptions tourists have of the destination-“re-evaluated image”. They are also important because they serve as a base so that marketing policies can be developed or implemented.

Considering that the perception is a reality in the tourism industry, the study of the images of tourism has been transformed into an essential tool for those involved in decision-making- public organisms and businessmen in general.

The theory of images of destination is an area of knowledge that is being developed with considerable rapidity (Selby and Morgan 1996). The comparison of the image of a destination in the different phases of the decision making process contributes an important development to the theory. In each situation the tourist can have a different image of the destination, which is formed in accordance with the quantity, origin and objectivity of the available information. This variety of images is known as "hierarchy of images of destination" which ranges from initial perception based on organic sources to the image modified or re-valued after or during the visit to the destination. This modified or revalued image results in a more realistic image, one that is differentiated and complex (Echtner and Ritchie 1991).

The image of destination is formed through a mental process based on a select number of impressions chosen from complex and voluminous information (Alhemoud and Armstong 1996). The image derives from a variety of sources which are characterized as images that are projected and organic. The official organisms of tourism are responsible for the projected images while the organic images come from different sources.

Thus, the "projected" images include commercial sources such as information and diffusion, tourism guides, the opinions of tourism operators and travel agents. The "organic" images include popular culture, mass media, education and literature (Gunn 1972). The recounting by friends and relatives and the experience of individuals themselves are also considered a source of "organic" information (Alhemoud and Armstrong 1996).

There are significant discrepancies between the "projected" images-those that the tourists have of a destination before visiting it-and the "organic" images, that is to say the revalued image which is formed after visiting he destination. While a person can have an image of a destination without having visited it, due to the fact that he has been exposed to commercial information about the said destination, studies show that the images formed after visiting the destination tend to be more realistic, complex and differentiated (Pearce 1982, Chon 1987).

This research was centred on the revalued image. The knowledge of the different images that tourists and residents have of a destination is of essential importance. At the same time, it allows for the formation of a series of attributes worthy of consideration and incorporation into the planning policies of a tourism destination.

The relation between perception and preference for a given destination, jointly with the possibility of separating the innocent images from the revalued ones, allows for the undertaking of a study composed of images. This indicates the most advisable course of action for official tourism organisms, giving advice that can be used in the marketing of a destination. The periodic evaluation of perceptions can point up the organic images that most require attention. It also allows for an analysis of projected images, the evaluation of the degree of satisfaction and many other aspects of the product in question.

At the same time, the resources available for tourism can be better exploited to create favorable conditions for the development of tourism (Ashworth and Goodall 1990).

The objective of this study is to identify and compare the perception (image) held by tourists and residents of the Camboriu beach resort. An additional objective is the characterization of the tourist of Camboriu and the identification of the principal kinds of crime that affect the city and consequently tourism activity.

Camboriu was chosen because it is a mature destination and depends almost exclusively on tourism activity for its subsistence. For the purposes of this research, 200 tourists and 100 residents were interviewed. The secondary data was used to characterize the context of the research and give support to the theme approached. To ensure that the results are representative the tasks with the tourists were divided proportionately between the months of the 1999 summer season. In this way it was possible to scrutinize all the markets that constitute the Camboriu spa demand (family in December; family and children in January and February; and the retired in March). For sample selection the random sampling method was used.

As a research instrument a structured questionnaire using the Likert scale was chosen. This technique is that which is most commonly used in studies of images of destination (Echtner and Ritchie 1993; Alhemoud and Armsrtong 1996). The questions were formulated in the form of rationalizations. The measuring of safety and criminality in terms of rationalization does not mean the reduction of the same to this phenomenon. Rationalisations represent one of main instruments through which the dimensions of these factors are manifested (Chanlat and Bedart 1990; Moscovici 1984 quoted by Pauchant and Mitroff 1992).

THE CAMBORIU BEACH RESORT AND CRIMINALITY: TOURISM TENDENCIES

Camboriu is located in the central-northern shore of Santa Catarina. It is a city that really lives from tourism. In the season of 1998 there was verified a reduction in tourism inflow of 41.41% in relation to 1997 (SANTUR 1999). In 1997 the cities of Camboriu and Itajai appeared in the national and international mass media, mainly in Latin American countries, as Brazil's drugs capitals and also as the centres with the greatest incidence of AIDS in South America. Also highlighted was the rise of criminality, especially cases related to drugs trafficking. Documents and reports of the Delegation of Civil Police of Balneario Camboriú (1999) reveal that criminality in Camboriu has continued to increase. In 1994 10,642 police incidents were registered. This figure rose by 23% in 1998, a year in which 13,776 police

incidents were reported. A more scrupulous analysis reveals that the greatest incidence occurred between the months of January and February, this corresponding to the high season. These figures fell considerably between March and November, the low season.

May 1998 witnessed almost twice the number of incidents compared with the same month of 1997. At the same time as criminality followed an ascending curve, if compared the data with that of previous years it can be said that in the months of low season crime increased. The high level of incidents registered in January 1998 (2,053), the month of the greatest number of tourists in the city, tends to decrease in parallel with tourism demand.

In February 1,302 police incidents were recorded; 1,166 in March; 1,082 in April; 1,051 in May; and 832 in June. A slight increase was observed with effect from July with 860 police incidents. In August there were 863 incidents, 904 in September and 1,132 in October when the city received an important number of tourists attracted by the October Festival. In November were recorded 1,119 police incidents, a figure rising to 1,433 incidents in December.

In addition to the increase of police incidents during the high season it can be said that in Camboriu a growing tendency in levels of criminality has been witnessed.

Crimes that witnessed the greatest increase in 1998 were, among others, general incidents (25%), diverse thefts (21%), property (6%), vehicles (6%), robberies (1%), theft of documents (22%), traffic accidents with victims (2%) and without victims (10%).

ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Seeking to identify and compare the differences between the perception of criminality and safety on the part of the receptive community of Camboriu; and by the tourists, exploratory quantitative research was carried out with a sample of 300 cases, 100 residents of the town and 200 tourists. Within this latter group four different sub-groups could be observed, encompassing a global vision of those who frequented the city; the young, families and the retired. In the analysis of data multiple methods of analysis were used. The data was inserted in the statistical programme "Statistical Package for Social Science-SPSS-version 9.0" and various kinds of analysis were carried out.

Studied here was the internal consistence of the variables (rationalizations) developed so as to establish the relation between the perception of safety and criminality by residents and tourists. The High Coefficient of Cronbach-Reliability Test was used. The Reliability Test or Test of the Truth took into account in the answers a proportion of variation attributed to error. The measure obtained for this research is very satisfactory once it exceeds the acceptable minimum of coefficient alpha suggested by Nunnally (1978) of 0.50. The Alpha Coefficient for the variables used was 0.6825, indicating a strong internal consistency of the items and proving the value in this case of the instrument used. In other words, the instrument of research developed for this study is solid and trustworthy in terms of the measurement of the proposed variables.

Results

For 70% of the residents interviewed safety was not a decisive factor for residing in the city. Most of the residents argued that the lack of safety in other Brazilian localities ensured that this aspect was less important.

This claim has some sense given that 31% of those interviewed were the victims of some kind of crime in the city, especially assaults and thefts generally in one's own home or concerning vehicles.

The services supplied by the public organisms of safety most used by residents were basic information, complaints and denunciations. 35 individuals replied that they did not use any kind of service. For 43% of the sample the police were indifferent in their attitude.

The leisure time of the residents also was taken into account by this study given that in general recreational activities have a degree of risk. Residents enjoyed themselves on the beach or with nocturnal activities. An interesting phenomenon observed in this study is that 88% of the residents interviewed affirmed that they still followed leisure activities even when they knew these to be unsafe.

The analysis of the profile of the tourists point to a differentiated profile. The band determines the kind of service, relating to the young, adults and the retired; being an average of 25% in each of the totals of the sample.

Most of those interviewed (46.5%) had completed their secondary education; 20.5% was represented by students, another 20.5% corresponded to the retired and the remaining 59% belonged to diverse professional categories such as public civil servants, administrative auxiliaries, lawyers, doctors etc.

The tourist community of the city mostly came from the State of Santa Cristina itself (38%), Paraná (20%), Rio Grande do Sul (10%), São Paulo (8%) and 4% from other localities.

It is necessary to identify in the theme of the image of the destination the elements that constitute the attraction and how these bear on the travel decision. Those interviewed had the option of choosing more than one item in this category. It is obvious that for tourists the possibility of being able to reside with relatives and friends played an important role in the choice of Camboriu as a holiday destination. This explains why 36% of the tourists interviewed have visited the city over the last 5 years and 24% over the last 5 to 10 years.

Only 6% of those interviewed had arrived for the first time. Generally the residents of Camboriu looked for beach activities and nocturnal life. On the other hand, for 52% of tourists, safety was a decisive factor when choosing a destination. This percentage was quite significant if considered that 12% of the total of tourists interviewed were victims of some kind of crime in Camboriu. The most common crimes committed against tourists were thefts and assaults. For 38% of the tourists the police of Camboriu did not inspire confidence.

The services provided by the organisms of public safety most commonly used by tourists were basic information (43%), complaints (7%) and denunciations (7%). 32% of those interviewed replied that they did not use any kind of service.

This quantitative analysis of tourists and residents, giving a profile of factors relating to safety and criminality, will serve as a support for the diverse analysis of the data in question.

The analysis of frequency

This was used as an initial analysis of the data obtained from tourists and residents. The results show some points of convergence between the opinions of the groups analysed. 85% of those interviewed said that, despite the increase in criminality and the absence of an efficient system of prevention and control, and despite their lack of conviction with respect to the resolution of the problems of criminality, it is important to continue to be concerned about this social phenomenon and look for solutions. 75% of those interviewed considered that the crimes are not isolated and that they affect them directly in some manner. At the same time, 79% of those who participated in this study felt affected by crimes that were committed in other regions, not only when they themselves were direct victims or the crime was directed at some person within their circle. This fact is important because it shows that the so-called "generalizing effect" is applied to this market. When a crime occurs in another locality, people perceive that in the neighboring regions neighbors have the same problems as they do. In this way, these regions are indirectly affected.

With regard to safety, lighting was a cause of concern for 69% of those interviewed. These interviewees showed scepticism with regard to the capacity of the system to solve crimes: 70% said that crimes were not investigated or solved. Drugs, both trafficking and use, and the incidence of AIDS in tourist destinations were considered to be factors that had a negative influence on people's perception of safety. The results were 65% and 62% respectively. 61% of those interviewed considered that prevention was a fundamental factor in a tourism destination and that what was needed was a greater degree of investment in that area. For 60% of the sample the mass media had a decisive influence on the reputation of the destination, disseminating acts of criminality.

Perhaps one of the most important pieces of information in this research referred to the trust that those interviewed deposited in organs responsible for safety. Only 0.7% of those interviewed trusted these institutions.

Crossed tabulation

One of the objectives of this research was to compare the perception of criminality and safety among visitors and residents of the Camboriu spa. For this analysis the "Cross Tabulation Analysis" was applied. This demonstrated that there are no significant differences between the perceptions of tourists and residents.

Here are some examples that do demonstrate differences between the perceptions of one group and the other.

- With regard to infrastructure, lighting as an instrument in the prevention of crime was more important for tourists than for the residents.
- The tourists believed that recourse to the organisms of public safety was worthwhile whereas the residents considered that it was of little help.
- For tourists safety was the responsibility of the organisms of public safety while residents said that a great part of the responsibility lay with every individual.

The general data obtained as a result of crossed tabulation were the following:

- Despite the fact that safety was considered a determining factor in the choice of a destination, tourists pointed out that they did not always have this option. This, in part, justified the fact that a small number of those interviewed affirmed that they did not consider safety to be a significant factor in the choice of a destination. But the great majority stated that safety was an extremely important factor in the choice of a destination and that they took this into account before planning their trip.
- The fact that families visited it did not mean that the destination was thereby safer. Nor did the presence of retired tourists ensure greater safety.
- Tourists had scant knowledge about the safety of the place where they were staying and they did not feel completely safe.
- Both tourists and residents considered that it was not necessary to be exposed to situations of risk to be victims of crime.
- The crimes that occurred in other regions concerned tourists and residents alike because these could also occur in Camborui.
- The great majority of those interviewed stated that crimes could cause permanent trauma.
- Both groups and adversely affected people's perception considered environmental pollution a safety factor.

- The quantity and quality of the infrastructure of communication (telephones etc) was a factor that conjured up safety for most of the visitors and residents of Camboriu.
- Public cleanliness was considered to be a safety factor by both tourists and residents.
- The two groups perceived police presence as a factor that inhibited crime and guaranteed safety.

Images of Camboriu according to the vision of the tourists and the residents. A general focus

Negative aspects

- ☐ The increase in crime.
- ☐ Systemic problem - Absence of an effective system of prevention and control of criminality. Only 0.7% of those interviewed trusted in the public safety systems.
- ☐ In general, crimes were not solved.
- ☐ A high incidence of drugs-use.
- ☐ A high incidence of AIDS infectivity.
- ☐ The fact of being a destination characterised as suitable for the family and for retired people did not ensure that the city was thereby safer.
- ☐ The crimes were not isolated factors: although they were not understood as such, people felt themselves to be victims of crime.
- ☐ The "generalising effect" was applied to the tourism market of Camboriu: the crimes that occurred in the region affected the image of the city.
- ☐ There was little institutional information available about safety, prevention etc.

Positive aspects

- ☐ Balneario Camboriu was a city that was relatively safe.
- ☐ It was a clean and agreeable city.
- ☐ Police presence was evident and acted as an inhibitor of crime.
- ☐ There was a good tourist infrastructure.
- ☐ There were many activities and options for leisure time.

In general, there were not great differences between the images given by the two groups vis-à-vis the Camboriu beach resort. For both the city seemed not to hold great risks beyond those inherent in the main leisure activities (beach and night life). Most stated that during the

tourist season there was an increase in the police force and that this police presence inhibited criminal activity. Prevention, both in personal terms and with regard to properties, was important for the two groups.

The data obtained in these analyses allows for the creation of a typology of attributes with reference to the aspects of safety and criminality considered by those interviewed.

THE ANALYSIS OF FACTORS

The analysis carried out until now reflects the objective side of the opinions of people with regard to the studied theme. While the analysis of frequency indicates the patterns and tendencies in the results obtained, "cross tabulation analysis" supplies replies for those who group together to compare. However, these analyses are not suitable for studying the motives or reasons for the replies themselves. This research seeks to understand the logic of the opinions and, to this end, relations or "underlying dimensions" were established. To observe the dimensions that affect the replies, the analysis of factors was used. For this kind of analysis "Principal Component Analysis" was used as a method of extraction and "Orthogonal Rotation Methods" for rotations.

Many kinds of "rotations" were experienced. These are more specific and subjective methods. This means that for those interviewed safety encompasses other factors besides the objective and evident points such as police control and the general infrastructure of the destination. Health is also a factor that is related to safety.

Perhaps the most important factor to take into account here is the need to invest in the prevention of crime. This arises from the lack of credibility with regard to the public organisms of safety on the part of those interviewed.

There are similarities between the second and third factors with regard to content. The environmental questions were considered to be a prime safety factor as was the scope and use of drugs in the tourism destination. This factor is very important on account of its relation to criminality. In general crime is seen as an agent that causes trauma and permanent effects.

CONCLUSION

The knowledge and understanding of the different images that tourists and residents have of a destination is an essential factor in the elaboration of planning policies for a tourism destination. The studies about the image of destination contributed significantly to this.

This article seeks to discover and compare the images that tourists and residents had of Camboríu during the 1998-1999 season. To comply with the objectives of the research a specific method and other diverse methods of analysis, the analysis of factors were used.

The general results mark an increasing indication of rotations and "Varimax" was the most satisfactory. Other kinds of "rotations" that were applied were "Equimax Rotation and Quartimax Rotations". "Varimax Rotation" has been used successfully in the analysis, most

specifically with the objective of obtaining an “orthogonal” rotation of the factors (Hair et al 1987). The bibliography that refers to the analysis of factors indicated that “factor loading” greater than 0.30 is significant. This is considered to be a rigorous criterion. For this research 0.50 “factor loading” was used. In other words, when the absolute size of the “factor loading” is greater, the importance of “loading” will be greater in the interpretation of the factor.

Other “factor loadings” were used such as 0.30 and 0.40 but the number of factors extracted was the same and only a few variables were included which did not bear significantly on the interpretation of the factors. In this sense, and considering the uncertainty with regard to the valuation of error in the analysis of factors, the use of a more rigorous value assured a greater level of significance relative to the factor.

Despite the fact that 10 factors were extracted, only the first three were used. One of the reasons was that the rest of the factors only had two significant “loading” variables. The “Eigenvalue” for factor 1 was 13,231% of variation. The accumulative percentage of variation of the 10 factors represented 64% of the whole quantity.

The factorial result was obtained through the “Principal Component Analysis” with a “Varimax” rotation of the 28 original variables. Factor 1 suggests “Fatalism”. In this is evidenced the total lack of trust by those interviewed with regard to the systematic structure of prevention and the administration of the problems related to safety and criminality. The mass media here appear to play an important role in influencing the behaviour of people vis-à-vis perception in relation to the theme.

Factor 2 shows clearly that the concept of safety must be treated in relation to criminality in the Camboriu spa. Criminal actions increased with the rise in tourism demand, indicating the existence of a strong relationship between both. Through the analysis of frequency of the whole sample some ideas and beliefs that those interviewed had of the locality in question could be identified. A typology of these characteristics was presented and this was essential for the development of policies designed for this sector.

The “Cross tabulation Analysis” technique was used to compare the options of those interviewed with respect to the theme being treated. The results indicated that a significant difference did not exist between the perception of Camboriu, with regard to safety and criminality, between the tourists and residents. The greatest difference to be found referred to the role of organisms of public safety. For the tourists the public organisms should be responsible for safety. On the other hand, residents believed that a considerable part of the responsibility for this resided in the individual. This highlighted the importance of the safety factor in the development of tourism activity.

The interpretation of the factors also suggested that safety comprehended other aspects, not only that which concerned the police. These factors were health, the environment and the infrastructure of a tourism destination. Also considered was the influence of the mass media on the perception of image with regard to safety, confirming the studies made by other researchers.

Studies in the field of safety and criminality have only recently been undertaken. The results of this research confirm the data obtained in other countries throughout the world and highlights other data that calls for more detailed research.

For tourism destinations such as the Camboriu beach resort, the information obtained is of the greatest value for tourism planning and the development of public and private policies directed at the tourism sector.

REFERENCES

Alhemoud, A. and Armstrong, E.

1996 Image of tourism attractions in Kuwait. *Journal of Tourism Research* 34(4):76-80

Ambinder, E.

1992 Urban violence raises safety fears, *Corporate Travel* 9(6):10

Ashworth, G. and Goodal, B.

1990 *Marketing tourist places*. Routledge, London

Brayshaw, D.

1995 Negative publicity about tourism destination – a Florida case study. *Travel and Tourism Analyst* 5:62-71

Cassedy, K.

1992 Preparedness in the face of crisis: an examination of crisis management planning in the travel and tourism industry. *World Travel and Tourism Review* 2:169-174

Chesney-Lind, M. and Lind, I.

1986 Visitors as victims. Crimes against tourists in Hawaii. *Annals of Tourism Research* 13(2):167-191

Chon, Kye-Sung

1987 An assessment of images of Korea as a tourist destination by American tourists. *Hotel and Tourism Management Review* 3:155-170

Crompton, J.L.

1979 An assessment of the image of Mexico as a vacation destination and the influence of geographical location upon that image. *Journal of Travel Research* 17:18-23

Crystal, S.

1993 Welcome to downtown. *USA Meetings and Convention* 28(3):42-59

Delegación de la Policía Civil de la Ca. da Policía de Camboriú

1999 Estadísticas policiales, Camboriú

Echtner, C. and Ritchie, B.

1991 The meaning and measurement of tourism destination image. *Journal of Tourism Studies* 2(2):2-12

Embacher, J. and Buttle, F.

1989 Repertory grid analysis of Austria's image as a summer vacation destination. *Journal of Travel Research* 27:3-5

Goodrich, J.

1978 *The relationship between preferences for and perceptions of vacation destinations: application of a choice model. Journal of Travel Research* Fall:8-13

Gunn, C.

1972 *Vacationscapes: designing tourist regions. Van Nostrand, New York*

Hair, Jr; Anderson, R and Tathan, R.

1987 *Multivariate data analysis with readings. MacMillan Publishing Company, New York*

Hunt, J.D.

1975 *Image as a factor in tourism development. Journal of Travel Research* 13:1-7

Lankford, S.

1996 *Crime and tourism: a study of perceptions in the Pacific Northwest (51-58) Pizam, A.: and Mansfeld, Y. (eds.), Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues. John Wiley and Sons, London*

Mathieson, A. and Wall, G.

1982 *Tourism: economic, physical and social impacts. Longman, London*

Mayo, E.J.

1973 *Regional images and regional travel behaviour. Proceedings of the Travel Research Association. Fourth Annual Conference (211-217) Sun Valley, Idaho*

Nunally, J.C.

1978 *Psychometric theory. McGraw-Hill, New York*

Pauchant, T. and Mitroff, I.

1992 *Transforming the crisis-prone organization: preventing individual, organizational, and environmental tragedies. Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco*

Pearce, P.L.

1982 *Perceived changes in holiday destinations. Annals of Tourism Research* 9(2):145-164

Pizam, A; Tarlow, P. and Bloom, J.

1997 *Making tourists feel safe: whose responsibility is it? Journal of Travel Research* 36:23-28

Ryan, C.

1993 *Crime, violence, terrorism and tourism. An accidental or intrinsic relationship? Tourism Management* 14(3):173-183

SANTUR

1999 *Tourism statistics. Balneario Camboriú*

Schielber, S.A; Crotts, J. and Hollinger, R.C.

1996 *Florida tourist vulnerability to crime (37-50) Pizam, A. and Mansfeld, Y. (eds.) Tourism, Crime and International Security Issues. John Wiley and Sons, London*

Selby, M. and Morgan, N.

1996 *Reconstructing place image – a case study of its role in destination market research. Tourism Management* 17(4):287-294

Sónmez, S. and Tarlow, P.

1996 *Managing tourism crises resulting from terrorism and crime. Paper presented at the International Conference on War, Terrorism. Tourism: Times of Crises and Recovery. Dubrovnik, Croatia*

Temme, B; Klein, A; Carvalho, J.L. and Diehl, F.L.

1997 *Morphologic behaviour of the beach of Balneario Camboriú: preliminary results. Notas Técnicas da FACIMAR 1:49-65*

Weiermair, K. And Gasser, R.

1995 *Safety and risk in tourism – the case of winter sport resorts. Security and risks in travel and tourism – proceedings of the talk at the top international conference (134-147) Mid Sweden University, Ostersund*

Woodside, A. and Lyonski, S.

1990 *General model of traveller destination choice. Annals of Tourism Research 17:432-448*

Published in Estudios y Perspectivas en Turismo Volume 10:267-280, 2001

THE TOURIST NATURE OF RIO DE JANEIRO, BRAZIL

Celso Castro
Rio de Janeiro – RJ, Brazil

Abstract: *During the first decades of the 20th century, in the infancy of Brazilian tourism, Rio de Janeiro became the most important destination. To this day, it continues to be Brazil's most frequently visited city. This article adopts both an anthropological and historical focus and its objective is to reflect on the historical background to the inclusion of Rio de Janeiro in international tourist routes. This article sets out to place the development of tourism in Rio de Janeiro within a wider historical and cultural context (for example the popularisation of summer holidays and the appreciation of beaches). At the same time, it discusses the construction of "the nature of tourism" within the city. **KEY WORDS:** tourism; Rio de Janeiro; the anthropology of tourism; the history of tourism.*

INTRODUCTION

It has become something of a cliché to say that Rio de Janeiro is a city with a tourist "vocation", that it is "naturally" predisposed to attracting those tourists who are keen to enjoy its "attractions". These images appear in travel guides, in travel advertisements, daily newspapers and magazines both at home and abroad.

This article takes as a premise the fact that these elements-the vocational, natural and tourism attractions of Rio-are historical and cultural attractions. It sets out to show how these have changed throughout time, through the characterization of different stages of tourism, each with a pre-dominant view of the city.

As follows, the development of research about the history of tourism in Rio de Janeiro will be presented (Castro 1999; 2000). The objective here is to highlight the main ideas that orient the researcher and also to look at some of the sources of the approaches used. It is important to stress that the research has a multi-disciplinary nature, developed within both the anthropological and historical fields. In the study of tourism the attempt to establish boundaries between different disciplinary approaches can only lead to an impoverishment of the analysis itself. The best solution then is to think in terms of an all-encompassing social science that allows for the integration of the historical and cultural dimensions of the study.

Organised tourism is both complex and recent. In the sense used here, it started developing in the mid 20th century when there arose, in the United States and in Europe, the first undertakings dedicated to tourism as a mass activity. This led to the creation of tourist agencies, hotels, official organisms and other public or private initiatives that were principally designed to receive tourists.

This development can be understood within the extensive historical and cultural context that led to the genesis of a new social type, the modern tourist. This phenomenon is dependent on factors such as the development of individualism, urbanisation, industrialisation and changes in working conditions. Transcending this, so that the idea of travelling for pleasure could be reinforced in the Western imagination, it was necessary that a series of aesthetic or intellectual changes be generated such as the appreciation of nature, landscapes, new forms of working with the body and the notion of pleasure as a way of relieving the stresses of modern life. From the confluence of these multiple social processes was developed what is known today as the "industry" of tourism (Boyer 1996; Feifer 1985; Löfgren 1999; Withey 1997; MacCannel 1989; Nash 1996; Smith 1989; Urry 1996).



In this connection, research into the history of tourism should take into account the interplay of a number of different historical and cultural processes. On the one hand it is necessary to consider international processes that characterize the moment in which Rio de Janeiro started to be inserted in the tourist "circuit". On the other hand, we have national and local processes that interacted with the international context and had a bearing on the "tourist nature" of the city. These are interpreted in this essay as historical and cultural construction, not as an eternal fact. This process involves the creation of a system made up of meanings through which the tourist reality of a place is established, maintained and negotiated and has as its result the creation of "narratives" with respect to interests that the city has as a tourism destination. These narratives, which are modified through time, to some extent anticipate the kind of experience that the tourist should have and necessarily affect the process of selection. While some elements are illuminated, others remain in the shadow.

BETWEEN THE EXOTIC AND THE GLAMOROUS

It is possible to establish a provisional chronology of tourism, in its modern sense, organised in Rio de Janeiro. Here can be distinguished three phases based on the following periods:

1. From the 1920's until the 2nd World War.
2. From the end of the 2nd World War until the 1970's.
3. From the mid 1970's until the present time.

Research, until the present time, has mainly focused on the first phase. In the first phase Rio started participating, in a peripheral way, in international tourism. A tourist infrastructure started to be developed. In 1923, the Copacabana Palace Hotel was inaugurated and the Brazilian Society of Tourism that, from 1926 started to be called the Touring Club of Brazil, was founded. At the end of the decade the first international flights to Brazil were undertaken but the most important means of transport was by ship. The construction of the statue of the Redemptive Christ (in 1931) and the beginning of the Carnival processions (in 1932) became important landmarks in the tourism of Rio de Janeiro.

In this period Rio was the tourist destination "par excellence"; this centrality coincided, in the national plane, with the importance the city acquired from being the capital, not only as a centre of political power and administration (from 1763) but also as a result of being a pole of irradiation for the whole of the national territory with respect to the ideals of "civilisation and modernity" (Neves 1991).

At the beginning of the 20th century Rio underwent a number of urban reforms that altered its physiognomy.

Among these were the "improvements" to the city during the management of Pereira Passos, who was mayor between 1903 and 1906. Here can be mentioned the Canal de Mangue, the port and the Beira-Mar and Central venues (now known as Rio Branco). The main idea behind these reforms was to modernise the city, taking as a model the great European cities. Rio was transformed into a metropolis in the tropics, a great part of its colonial aspect being substituted by the "belle époque" appearance of the most important European cities.

The tourist guidebooks of that phase constitute an interesting source for research because, through the "attractions" described and the narratives constructed with respect to the city, they orient the view of the tourist. They give some liberty to construct the own narrative, the appreciation the tourist will always be shaped by what he/she read about the city. The repetition of these narratives and images are crystallized and serve to disseminate a "common tourist sense" with respect to Rio.

During this phase these guidebooks directed the attention of the tourists towards the Bay of Guanabara where boats, bringing most of the visitors to the city, entered. The guidebooks "Rio de Janeiro and its suburbs" published in 1928 by the Anonymous Society of International Tours and, written in English, the "South American Handbook" in its 1932 edition take as principal theme the centre of the city, especially the beauty of the squares and modern gardens with their fountains and statues and the cafes in the open air.

A "tourist map" published by the government in the 1930's portrays this nascent phase of tourism in the city. When compared with any other tourist map what captures the attention is the scant importance given to the beaches in the Southern Zone that appear at a distance, in the north-west. The geographic orientation is different from what is habitual to us today. As opposed to contemporary maps, importance is given not to the Southern Zone but to the centre of the city that appears in the lower part of the map, from which the city was "entered" by boat.

Literary narratives and accounts by travellers to the city at this time are marked by "exoticism", a mixture here of nature and culture, the primitive and the urban (Souza 1995). Rio, however, maintained certain "glamour" accorded by the happiness and cordiality of its residents.

Films made abroad at that time, portraying Rio de Janeiro, are also marked by a glamorous exoticism. Many scenes are set in elegant hotels such as the Copacabana Palace and casinos such as the Urca. Also portrayed are many cafes in the open air, mostly in the centre of the city, endowing the city with an elegant, Parisian air. The beach and sea bathing practically do not appear. Music is constantly present but the Samba is not yet Rio's rhythm "par excellence". Danced are a combination of Latin rhythms: mambo; rumba; maxixe, etc. This hybrid rhythm appears in the film "Flying Down to Rio" of 1933. It is called the "carioca" and is danced with the heads together. While sensuality is already a strong component in the films of the time-an American in the same film asks a female friend, "What is it that Brazilians have that other people do not have?" the eroticism that characterises more recent periods is not yet present.

FROM SENSUALITY TO EROTICISM

The United States' policy of being a good neighbour to Latin America, especially to Brazil, consolidated during the war is the background to the end of a phase and the beginning of another. International tourism is interrupted during the whole of this period and, when it is re-established, it now has to endure the impact that the political and cultural onslaught of the USA caused to the image of Brazil abroad. This transition is evidenced by two symbols: "Ze Carioca", who appeared in 1942 for the first time in Walt Disney's "Alô, amigos" and Carmen Miranda with the fantastic basket of fruits on her head.

The balance between nature and culture so characteristic of the earlier period now tilts decisively to the side of nature. The ethnic motifs portray not only natural beauties-orchids, exotic birds, bushes, waterfalls. They also portray human figures, which are now more popular than in the earlier period-the bohemian scoundrel the young bootblack, the frenzied figures dancing to the rhythm of the samba, now transformed into the national music. Sensuality is

transformed here into eroticism and the beaches, with their women in sensual bikinis, become the centre of attention. This coincides with a more extensive historical process that culminates in the worship of the body, the bikini and sunbathing. As a result, those cities with beaches- among them, Rio de Janeiro- become important tourism destinations (Lencek and Bosker 1999). The carnival, with its happy musical eroticism, also comes into its own.

At this time there occurred a fundamental transformation of international tourism: the decline of boat transportation and the increasing ascendancy of air transport. Immediately after the war, the boat was still the most important means of transport in tourism but, by the beginning of the 1970's, there were scarcely any cruises at all. Air travel cut distances, attracting the middle class and leading to a heady increase of tourism (Hudson and Pettifer 1979).

To the foreigner, Rio de Janeiro continued to be the mirror of Brazil and the main tourist attraction in the country. Meanwhile, in the national plane, it finished this phase threatened by the loss of its prestige. In 1960 Brasilia became the capital. The historic weight of having been the capital of the nation for two centuries still survived and Rio continued to be the "heart" of Brazil as sung in the hymn of the Marvellous City. Moreover, in 1975 there took place its fusion with the State of Rio de Janeiro, this event increasing even further the loss of its political and economic importance. There was a growing fear that the city might become provincial and that the representation of Rio as the synthesis of Brazil might lose its potency.

THE VIOLENT CITY

As for the city, its authorities and tourism promoters struggled to maintain its cosmopolitan character and universal values, not succumbing to regional concerns. A number of social phenomena heralded the advent of a new phase of tourism in the city. The vision of the city has been marked, from the mid 1970's, by the perception of serious social problems: disordered growth; urban disorganization; the rapid rise of shantytowns: and, most importantly, the problem of violence.

Official data from EMBRATUR show that, in 1988, 800 thousand foreigners arrived in Rio; in 1991 hardly 400 thousand arrived. This disparity is even sharper if we consider that in the whole world the tourism movement increased during the same period. The collapse of tourism in the city was the direct consequence of the perception of the increase of violence (Teixeira 1994; 1995; 1996). Interviews conducted with important businessmen in the world of tourism in Rio confirm the immediate and lasting impact that revelations about crime in Rio (especially towards tourists) had on the arrival of foreigners. In the mid 1990's the official promoters of tourism in the city made an effort to revert a negative image but this is still far from having been achieved.

The image of Rio in films produced abroad during this period is an excellent means of access to the image being consolidated of the city. Violence is everywhere, the shantytowns start to be inhabited by drugs-traffickers and the rogue of the earlier period gives way to the

dangerous criminal. The glamorous and sensual exoticism degenerates into a violent and deranged exoticism. Sensual eroticism is transformed into nudity and transgressions, all kinds of promiscuity being permitted. In "Blame it on Rio" 1984, the beach is the scenario of hundreds of topless women, generating an erotic climate that transforms people for the worse. An adolescent visiting Rio on holiday has a passionate romance with her father's best friend. The friend explains to the father of the girl what happened: "Music, beach, dances, drums, the spell of Rio, you know?" In "Orquidea Selvagem" of 1990 a naive American is scandalised and irremediably affected by scenes of black indulging in violent group sex.



CONCLUSIONS

From the confluence of these diverse historical processes-some local, others regional, others international- the history of the tourism of Rio de Janeiro can be constructed. To know this story is important not only because, at the moment, the development of tourism is regarded as a priority by public and private organizations who are interested in the economic potential of this activity but also because the idea of being a city "naturally" destined for tourism has, for some time, been part of the cultural construction of the identity of this city.

What can be observed is the existence of different narratives with respect to the tourist quality of the city: the glamorous Rio, the exotic Rio, the sensual Rio, the violent Rio. If in different periods one or other of these narratives predominated, they should not be seen as succeeding in a linear way, through time. In reality, all of these, to a certain extent, cohabit with

the others and become concurrent readings of reality, performed by a number of different social actors.

An anthropological or historical vision should also avoid the mistake of taking one of the possible narratives or experiences about the tourism of Rio as the most "truthful" or "authentic". Or attributing to these symbolic constructions as a whole, a character of falsification of reality as if the tourist is somehow their prisoner. A way of thinking that transcends the question of the authenticity or otherwise of the tourism experience is to see the event happening within a specific "province of meaning", to use an expression of the philosopher Alfred Schutz. The idea is that the tourist travels in a plane of reality that is not false, inauthentic or dishonest: it is hardly different, like a special cognitive style that distinguishes it from the reality of daily life. This plane is made up of narratives and images that are often distorted and in conflict with each other. At the same time, each tourist appropriates these in a different way. Also important to remember in this connection is that there is not one tourist experience that is better than others, there is no one privileged way of viewing tourist attractions. Whatever way of travelling is worthwhile.

Note: This on-going research has been enriched by the dedicated and expert collaboration of Ana Luiza Beraba, a grant holder of the Institutional Programme of Grants of Scientific Initiation/CNPq.

REFERENCES

Boyer, Marc

1996 *L'invention du tourisme. Découvertes/Gallimard, Paris*

Castro, Celso

2000 *Uma viagem pelos mapas do Rio, En: Do Cosmógrafo ao Satélite. Mapas da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Banco do Brasil/ Prefeitura do Rio, pp. 8-15, Rio de Janeiro*

1999 *Narrativas e imagens do turismo no Rio de Janeiro. En: Antropologia urbana. Cultura e sociedade no Brasil e em Portugal. Gilberto Velho (coordinador), Jorge Zahar Editor, pp. 80-87, Rio de Janeiro*

Feifer, Maxine

1985 *Tourism in History: From Imperial Rome to the present. Stein and Day, New York*

Hudson, Kenneth and Pettifer, Julian

1979 *Diamonds in the sky. A social history of air travel. Bodley Head/BBC, London*

Lencek, Lena and Bosker, Gideon

1999 *The beach. The history of paradise on earth. Pimlico, Londres*

Löfgren, Orvar

1999 *On holiday: a history of vacationing. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles*

MacCannell, Dean

1989 *The Tourist. A new theory of the leisure class.* Schocken Books, New York

Nash, Dennison

1996 *Anthropology of Tourism.* Pergamon, New York

Neves, Margarida de Souza

1991 *Brasil, acertai vossos ponteiros.* Museu de Astronomia e Ciências Afins, Rio de Janeiro

Silva, Adriano Rosa da

1995 *Rio de Janeiro – Cidade Alma: o relato de uma construção simbólica.* Master Theses in Social Sciences, IFCS/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro

Souza, A. Gomes de

1995 *O estrangeiro e a cidade. O Rio de Janeiro e o imaginário da cidade na primeira metade do século XX.* Disertación de Maestría en Historia, PUC-Rio, Rio de Janeiro.

Smith, Valene (coordinadora)

1989 *Hosts and guests. The Anthropology of Tourism,* The University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia

Teixeira, Ib

1994 *Os dólares que o Brasil perde com a violencia.* Conjuntura Econômica (FGV) pp. 59-61

1995 *O colapso do turismo e a violência no Brasil.* Conjuntura Económica (FGV) pp. 63-64

1996 *O fantástico colapso do turismo no Brasil.* Conjuntura Económica (FGV) pp. 42-43

Urry, John

1996 *O olhar do turista: lazer e viagens nas sociedades contemporâneas.* Studio Nobel, São Paulo

Withey, Lynne

1996 *Grand tours and Cook's tours: a history of leisure travel, 1750 to 1915.* Morrow, New York