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INTRODUCTION

This research begins with a covenant made between people who come together for the purpose of doing, hosting, facilitating and researching tourism. The covenant holds these people accountable as the main resources for accomplishing and explaining tourism. While this has become naturalised and forgotten, it is still performed as a humanist tradition in tourism research. In questioning the natural order of this covenant the thesis does not aim to address a problem without first contributing to performing one. Redrafting the humanist covenant in tourism knowledge is part of a nascent programme of research that aims to problematise ‘humanist tourism theory’ with the troublesome presence non-humans (Franklin 2003). As a heterogeneous, relational materialism both tourism and the knowledge that explains it are constituted by people, discourses and things.

To illustrate this, the first part of the research outlines tourism knowledge as a relational materialism and in doing so charts tracts of unknown territory at times. As a performance that combines discourses, people and things explanation for tourism knowledge is found to be inadequate when it is reduced to techniques of discourse, like paradigmatic shifts that see ‘tourism’ dissolved in ‘mobilities’, for example. As a relational materialism such techniques become suspicious or at least compensatory claims when they are overtaken by people and things. The first part of this research proposes a problem for humanist tourism knowledge by demonstrating it to be a performance or ordering that is first made up of heterogeneous materials. These non-humans trouble a purely humanist knowledge and also the idea of a bank of tourism knowledge that is comprised of entirely different materials to what it studies.

By redefining the substance of tourism knowledge and shifting the privilege away from discourse, doing tourism research is also redefined so that it performs both tourism and tourism knowledge alongside tourists and merry-go-rounds. Since tourism knowledge is a heterogeneous entity it is neither very different nor distant from tourism itself. Symmetrically both are orderings of heterogeneous materials that do not privilege humans despite relations that sometimes make them appear to.

The second part of the research demonstrates these symmetrical points by making another contribution to understanding tourism as an ordering (Franklin 2004). Beginning this time with the ‘real world of tourism’ an ethnographic study of a place called Sullivans Cove in Hobart, Australia provides the tools for describing a tourism development, the plan that informed it and the tourism place that is resulting as a consequence. This performance of developing, planning and ‘making place’ is facilitated through material relations that are no different ‘in kind’ to those that perform tourism knowledge. Acting in alliances, they constitute loosely structured, ‘hybrid’ tourism entities of discourses, people and things.

Re-drafting the humanist covenant in tourism knowledge

The origins of modern tourism are explained through this research as transformations of ritual and pilgrimage as well as exploration and discovery. These borrow directly from the champions, grand narratives and mythologies of what endures as most desirable in the ‘adventurous human spirit’. Tourism is first explained as part of the human condition, not only ‘broadening the mind’ but also staving off its weariness since when we ‘go away’ we “look at the world with interest and curiosity” (Urry 1990:1). Therefore in these fundamentally important ways tourism converges on humans, their practices and imaginaries so that accordingly, the effects are explained through the human sciences. In this way the makers of tourism knowledge have ‘uncritically’ adopted a humanist stance towards the world and once the subjects of tourism were identified, a humanist covenant was sealed and forgotten.

This research contributes to a recent programme that aims to redraft this covenant in two specific ways. The first is to recognise that tourism researchers are fully implicated in the covenant since they are resources for explaining tourism alongside and *just like* ‘tourists, hosts and middle people’. This proximity and likeness translates to a more equitable status generated by association and a co-performance of both tourism and tourism knowledge ‘together’. Second, the membership of the covenant is extended further so that it also includes non-human actors among the humans who were previously performing tourism ‘among themselves’ (Haldrup and Larsen 2006). A rediscovery of this covenant comes from an archaeological dig that emphasises the sparseness of tourism when it is comprised mainly of human resources. Opening the contents of the humanist covenant and sifting through the

relics shows that among the signs, language and skeletons there are few other materials to tell us how tourism ‘got along’ (Franklin 2003) and that this lack of evidence is evidence itself of a practice of neglecting non-humans. To ensure against this in the future, the less familiar and therefore strange behaviours of these actors need to be taken into account.

When the resourceful non-humans are added to the cumulative total of human resources (including the tourism researcher) they become *close to* and *like humans* after the same principle of ‘status by association’. Then, as a relational rather than humanist entity, made up of heterogeneous materials, the most ‘coherent’ way to think about tourism and tourism knowledge is as an ordering (Franklin 2004). To assist with this, the research builds upon the metaphor that tourism has been illustrative of a voyage that is a well-crewed endeavour, but has missed many of the explanatory benefits offered by non-humans. A voyage is also the outcome of a ship, for example, and to work properly a ship is supported by still ‘others’.

A properly working ship has to borrow the force of the wind, the flow of the current, the position of the stars, the energy of the members of the crew, it has to borrow all these and include them (so to speak) within itself (Law 2002:95).

It is argued that tourism is like a ship and involves energies; flows; positions; membership; borrowings; people; stars and sails that are brought together as an ordering to ‘work properly’. Like a ship, tourism is distributed as an ordering that ties multiple things together. Since neither a ship nor tourism exists before or in the absence of these heterogeneously constituted arrangements, to study tourism as an ordering is to be inclusive from the start about ‘who’ and ‘what’ actors are allowed to take part. In this metaphor is not only a simple way to think about *tourism as an ordering* (Franklin 2004), but also the ingredients and truths of conducting research ‘symmetry’ (Serres 1982/1995).

Once heterogeneity is given into it becomes obvious that in confining tourism to the actions of people tourism knowledge has performed humanism at the expense of performing a fuller account. Adopting a symmetrical approach enables a fuller account by seeking and describing material relations in all possible ‘things’. As an ordering rather than a socially coherent realm, the richness of heterogeneous relations is allowed to stand in as an explanation for tourism and tourism knowledge. This redrafted covenant begins to fill out a more ontological picture of ‘tourism in the world’ (Franklin 2004) by “extending the number of entities on the

negotiating table” (Latour 2004:454). As a research process, this not only involves the researcher more fully with their subjects but both are involved with non-human actors as well. Since tourism knowledge and tourism ‘in the real world’ are similarly heterogeneous entities that are variously intertwined and organised, they can be treated in the same way. Accordingly the first part of the research examines tourism knowledge ‘symmetrically’ as a heterogeneous entity made up of discourse, humans and non-humans organised to perform tourism knowledge ‘humanist’.

The first chapter begins by establishing the field of tourism as a discourse that is constructed around binaries or *asymmetries*. Key to organising the discourse and its continued progress is the performance of an asymmetry between ‘early tourism on the social, spatial margins’ and contemporary tourism as a more blended, global phenomenon. Since the not too distant ‘early days’ of tourism research, the problem of adequately defining tourism and the inadequacy of smoothing out its rough edges has characterised the field.¹ While tourism has been defined largely from the perspective of the tourist as a socially and spatially marginal phenomenon, this cohesion is increasingly made questionable in the face of a global, mobile world. The solution to this problem, which is sometimes like a paradox and also a characteristic of tourism research, is to lose it in a *discontinuity* that cleanly replaces the former with the latter. In a bid to unite a world once divided in two by the experiences of tourists, the ‘inseparability of tourism’ sets about replacing an older idea with a newer one, ending any possibility of coexistence. This first chapter reinstates this possibility by claiming that tourism performs both conditions describable as ‘marginal’ or ‘outside’ a social and spatial ‘norm’ as well as conditions that perform tourism as inseparable from the same. A symmetrical diagnosis of the discourse holds the progressive march of time in abeyance for long enough to recognise the “language of replacement” that contributes to it (Serres 1982/1995:76) and this opens the possibility that tourism knowledge continues to perform a ‘dynamic containment of contradictions’ (after Bailey 1989). The difference is no longer *a priori* but an outcome of ordering.

Chapter Two complicates and also smoothes out the logic of this scenario by adding humans to the discursive mix. To build on the ‘problem’ of humanist tourism theory, Chapter Two highlights just how ‘humanist’ tourism knowledge is by including bodies and a social life in

¹ See Poser 1939 in Kreisel (2004); Cohen (1974); MacCannell (1976) and Nash (1981) for examples.

its performance. The ‘proper subjects’ of tourism knowledge are firstly tourists and hosts and tourism industry people and these make up the ‘usual suspects’ of research in the field. When the researcher is added to these social gatherings they all become the ‘usual resources’ for explaining tourism and the ingredients for a humanistic voyage of tourism are in place. When the practices of tourism research are taken into account, a social life of knowledge adds to the explanation of how tourism discourse becomes asymmetrical and shows how this is always a precariously enacted asymmetry. This asymmetry that is illustrated in Chapter One is found to an outcome when the usual resources for explaining tourism are mainly humans and that this encourages asymmetry since knowledge is still confined to a discourse and humans who can agree or disagree.

To disturb this alliance Chapter Three considers the possibility of adding non-humans to socially discursive ‘tourism knowledge’ and in doing so, discusses the possibility of their inclusion. Non-humans are examined for their potential to aggravate humanist tourism theory most simply because they do not care and cannot be made to care about it. While tourism is replete with objects like souvenirs, attractions, postcards and merry-go-rounds their indifference or otherwise is rarely taken into account since they are always less important or lesser in ‘status’ than are people and discourses (Latour 1997a). When the same status is made available to any ‘thing’ in the performance of tourism, the life of a merry-go-round is as potentially ‘rich’ as is the life of a human to go ‘round and round’ because both of these potentials are evident in their relations. Hence in the “multi-species crowd” where no entity can “pre-exist their relating” (Harraway 2008:165) statuses among actors are no longer a matter of kind but are a matter of involvement and effect. Then, tourism orderings can begin to emerge.

The first three chapters are given as evidence that tourism knowledge performs a humanist *asymmetry* but has been reluctant to admit this. These chapters consider the effects of this reluctance and address them symmetrically by over-riding their differences and adding them together. This gives tourism knowledge the same heterogeneous make up as tourism itself so when the second part of the research repeats the formula on the ‘the real world’ of tourism, it underscores the symmetry between the two and that as an ordering, both tourism knowledge and tourism ‘out there’ result from relations between discourses, humans and non-humans.

Symmetrical tourism research

The middle part of the thesis takes a closer look at the role of the researcher as a resource like any other for performing tourism research. Chapter Four begins a necessary detour to illustrate what symmetrical researchers do when they produce tourism knowledge. Tourism research is conspiratorial in the performance of a cleavage between the ‘academy of science’ and the ‘real world’ it studies. This common distinction between tourism and tourism knowledge testifies to the strength of a culture that makes ‘the usual suspects’ of tourism research fundamentally unlike the researcher. The researcher extracts knowledge from the usual suspects and this requires ‘special(ist) attention’. Symmetrically, it will be shown that this practice of extraction is more realistically a matter of *adding these extractions* in the performance of a ‘common world’ (after Latour 1999). Chapter Four discusses a symmetrical methodology that bridges the divide between tourism researchers and those who perform tourism.

However, like the social-discursive covenant outlined in Chapters One and Two, this does not shift the limit of tourism knowledge beyond what is ‘socially scientific knowledge’. While tourism researchers are symmetrically less differentiated from their subjects and while they co-perform tourism research with them, the strategy is still to deal with humans *instead of* non-humans. The limit of non-human participation is a question of the ability of a social or humanist explanation to adequately replace, manage or stand in for the behaviours of non-humans (Latour 1991/1993). Chapter Five considers the implications of the ‘other Great Divide’ between ‘nature’ and ‘society’ in performing tourism research (after Latour 1991/1993). A problematic relationship is made of the status between tourism subjects and tourism objects and the privilege and burden enjoyed by the former. A solution is made available in ‘hybrids’ as a missing and perhaps unthinkable alternative to what keeps ‘them’ and ‘us’ apart.

As hybrids, both subjects and objects are first relationally ontological. Symmetrical tourism research therefore requires ‘fraternising’ with objects and subjects so that these relations can be described. This point of fraternising begins the second part of the research which takes the same symmetrical principle to the ‘streets’ or more precisely the ‘docks’ at Sullivans Cove. Chapter Six discusses how ethnography can be adapted to a symmetrical programme of

research. Already possessing the capability of alchemy, of adding any kind of actor to the state of affairs, ethnography does not *have to* neglect non-humans. Unable to discriminate first what is going to matter, where language is often problematic and systems of thinking are unknown, the skills of an ethnographer result from those who must learn what they can by relating who and what are doing something. Neither is a distance between the researcher and his/her 'field' a desirability for an ethnographer who is situated 'among', not away from, the humans and non-humans they study. Chapter Seven describes how this 'situation' is achieved in Sullivans Cove and how an ethnographic study was selected. As the most visited place in Tasmania, Sullivans Cove is first made to stand in for a tourism place. Then, a new and controversial upmarket hotel called *Zero Davey* stands in for a tourism development and a place to begin. Together they identify 'tourism planning' in the shape of an urban design laboratory that obligates or 'bends the will' of *Zero Davey* so that it comes to illustrate how tourism happens as an ordering.

Zero Davey, as a place to begin this kind of explanation is also a device for emphasising a non-human presence in performing tourism. As a relational entity *Zero Davey* becomes entangled with multiple things and these begin to describe the various orderings that take part in adding tourism to the Sullivans Cove. As new, upmarket hotel accommodation in Sullivans Cove, *Zero Davey* first acted to mark a tourism ordering because it added investment into and 'tourism stock' to this postcard image of the city. In reportedly 'doing a gateway' to Sullivans Cove, *Zero Davey* is also hooked up to an urban design laboratory and this involves a set of humans and non-humans who are variously interested and disinterested in tourism. The gateway that *Zero Davey* 'completes' in the language of the laboratory also 'competes' with other rulings within and outside the laboratory so that a scenario unfolds where *Zero Davey* is embroiled with multiple orderings only some of which have any 'concern' for tourism. The urban design laboratory acts as a means for developing a 'tourism development' end but does not anticipate a tourism place that is eventuating around it. Before drawing too hasty a conclusion from this, the final chapter includes the experiment to follow *Zero Davey*. The staging of an international design competition demonstrates how tourism is re-enrolled so that when *Zero Davey* is substituted for a 'winning design entry', tourism performs 'oppositionally' as the means to an urban design end. The competition lead to the investment of widespread local and international publicity; prize money described as 'high end' and an exhibition held to maximise public attendance. This created an atmosphere and an event that not only harnessed the carnival atmosphere of both tourism and design competitions, but also

transported visitors physically to Sullivans Cove as ‘partial tourists’ at least. These re-ordered material relations illustrate a point about tourism orderings that was not clear from examining *Zero Davey* alone: that as an ordering tourism is indeterminate insofar as it is maintained or else adapted to ongoing relations (Franklin 2004). The implication is that even the simple relation of means to ends cannot be relied upon, since depending on who, what and how it is involved, these are completely reversible.

Implications of a symmetrical covenant for tourism research

Through the consistent application of symmetrical operations each chapter builds upon the implications of the last to present less of a coherent explanation of tourism and more of an entangled, patchy set of material relations that are tourism related orderings. While the implications of this programme of research are still largely under-examined, this research shows its potential to fill out a more complete picture of how tourism and tourism knowledge perform the world. Specifically, it shows tourism to perform both a separable entity on the social margins and a distributed ordering of a globalising world and to remove from tourism researchers any obligation to choose. The performance of the present impasse sees tourism discourse caught between two polarised conditions and the subsequent requirement of a commitment to one or the other from the researcher before tourism research begins. In a crucial departure from many other critically devised accounts this symmetrical reading allows for the (still) generative practices of the usual suspects - of ‘tourists, hosts and tourism industry people’ - so that conditions now marked as more characteristic of ‘early tourism’ remain viable. However a symmetrical approach also allows for the possibility that tourism will characterise conditions considered to have contemporaneously replaced those that now belong more properly to the past.

Further implications are discovered in the effects of distributing non-humans among humans and the disturbances they import to ‘humanist tourism theory’ (Franklin 2003). Non-humans are important not only in filling out a more complete picture of the workings of tourism, but also act as a device that wards against being able to theorise it in a humanist way. As a post-human encounter, performances of tourism and tourism knowledge are not reducible to what people intend or mean them to be, nor how they are interpreted to be performed among humans. Instead these explanations become partial as they are always partially intended

outcomes of relations that form from heterogeneous materials. Symmetry therefore adds to the requirements of tourism research consistent attempts to remove the practice of human agential privilege in order to properly “extend the number of entities on the negotiating table” (Latour 2004: 454).

Extending the number of entities unleashes tourism amid relations that are fraught with the ‘promiscuous enrolment’ (Franklin 2004: 290) of others and these are found to be important to understanding what tourism does and how it does it. Noted for its impressive abilities to ‘transform margins’, interpolate the sedentary masses and as a still modernising force that procures among other things, a will towards ‘global citizenry’, it is not surprising that tourism performs indiscriminately. Since anywhere or anything is a tourism attraction *in potentia*, and since tourism is already a word to describe an inclusive phenomenon, it remains only for tourism research to develop a willingness to be as inclusive. Given such a will not only does tourism become a less determinable phenomenon, but in stringing actors together tourism ordering shows how *distributed* an item tourism is, giving agency (roles and the ability to act) to any number of human and non-human actors. As a consequence this research encourages the acquisition of a subtler appreciation of the attributes of cause, impact, cost and benefit that are attached to tourism, than those that confine this appreciation to humans (or their discourses) over-burdening them with responsibility for the behaviours of non-human participants that they cannot control.

Given the normative status of ‘humanist tourism theory’ (Franklin 2003) this research is not first bound by a problem before it contributes to building one. Each of the chapters does this by variously importing a symmetric operation that builds upon the last. While the architecture of the thesis is a simplistic one of accumulation, this leaves the research open to criticisms of attempting to do too much and then delivering too little. However, this criticism also depends upon a notion of exchange that is a rare achievement among orderings. As an ordering tourism begins without a paradigm like ‘a mobile world’ or a theory of humans among themselves and since it does not begin or end with a definition that will deliver that kind of result. Rather, such orderings provide an account of tourism in a process of defining. By extending the list of possible actors or negotiators beyond the usual ‘human’ suspects of ‘hosts, guests and middle-people’, the probability of exacting the neater kinds of accounts is significantly reduced. Consequently while there is a justifiable sense that this research does

too much and then too little, this is also a good indicator that it has achieved an illustration of symmetrical tourism research.

The following chapter begins this symmetrical investigation with a review of the literature that has attempted to define tourism. The definition of tourism is shown to have undergone the making of a one-hundred-and-eighty-degree turn that shifts it via critique from the social, spatial margins to the centre of a contemporary global world. It is suggested that this asymmetry is successfully performed because tourism knowledge is often confined to discourse and in this discursive domain a paradoxical situation is able to give rise to a battle that shows all of the signs of being decisive and decisively inaccurate.

CHAPTER ONE

Tourism discourse and the making of one-hundred-and-eighty degrees

1.0 Introduction and overview of the chapter

It is common knowledge among tourism scholars that when ‘holy days’ and ‘grand tours’ were extended to give more people the opportunity to take time away from work and to travel away from the places they lived in ‘modern tourism’ was born. Alongside this an interest in these movements for leisure began in particular why they occurred, where they occurred and what they did, and tourism as something to be understood was born. Following tourists to both locate tourism and answer these questions meant tourism held to an obvious definition as something that occurs away from the routines of work and home, and away from the central places where ‘tourists’ are produced. At the other end, these ‘away places’ produced ‘hosts’ as those who do tourism and equally those who want to understand it found that for them, the world was more distinctly now ‘two worlds’. The interest given to this new possibility of becoming a tourist also marked tourism by its difference, its separateness and marginality from what was at the same time discovered to be ‘the usual’ or the ‘everyday’ of life *sans* tourism. In attaching themselves to tourists as a method of understanding tourism, tourism came to be defined after this experience, and consequently tourism as an endeavour was characterised by the elaborate planning, execution and experience of degrees of separation.

From these beginnings in holy days and grand tours, tourism has continued to grow so that tourists are no longer such remarkable proclamations on the landscape as they were in the 19th century. Neither are they so clearly bound to specialist ‘tourist space’ as they appeared through much of the 20th century. Tourism is no longer a simple case of tourists practising tourism in places that do not also practice ‘the everyday’ because the contemporary world is far more mixed up and global than it was. This summer's tourist may be last winter's host as we meet in your destination, or mine, or theirs. It is now more widely known what it is to be a

tourist and being a tourist enables us to find ‘novelty in the familiar’ when we return (Galani-Moutafi 2000:218). The play of novelty and familiarity is a far more common experience itself since tourists now connect together significant amounts of travel or ‘mobilities’; their mindset is a paradigm for the twenty-first century (Bauman 1998:92), where “the warp of stabilities is everywhere shot through with the woof of human motion” (Appadurai 1991:192). As tourism figures have continued to grow research has continued to attempt to describe this growth and it has become an increasingly unstable claim that tourism can be defined as separable from the rest of the ‘non-tourism’ world.

We are now “tourists most of the time”, experiencing literal or simulated mobility (Lash and Urry 1994:259) and accordingly old rules of accounting tourism are suspect. This paradox presents a problem that suggests without a return to definitions that separate tourism at the outset, without the “straddling of unhelpful binaries” (Franklin 2007:139) there seems no clear path to researching tourism or maintaining an object to research. This makes of tourism not only a cultural artefact or an artefact of a mobile world, but also an artefact of structuralism (see Franklin 2004: 283) where “the end of tourism” (Rojek and Urry 1997:1) or at least ‘the end of tourism as we know it’ becomes a necessary trade-off for the greater good of accurately representing the inseparability of tourism from everything else.

While this makes historical, discursive sense, the problem that follows this characterisation of tourism is not unlike the one discovered by Galileo: that there is no one central point from which these degrees of separation unfold, and that the abstract(ed) ‘tourist’ is not therefore a good centre of the tourism researcher’s universe. This simplistic model cannot explain what happens for example when ‘hosts become guests’ (Duval 2003), when ‘liminal seaside towns’ (Shields 1992) become centres of their own and hosts find themselves too at home, also becoming tourists and escaping the ‘tourist town’ centre of their lives (Sherlock 2001). Adding support to this criticism the empirical facts showed a gradual outgrowing of the usefulness of this definition as tourism spread. Referring to a simpler world, a definition for tourism based on ‘getting away’, ‘marginality’ and ‘separateness’ from what is the usual experience of the subject, has no place in the mixed up, shifting, global landscape of the contemporary world where practices like work and play become confused. This dramatic change of scale meant tourism theory also shifted ‘up a gear’ becoming discontinuous with an earlier version of itself so that it is now an increasingly common statement that tourism *cannot* continue to be understood as an activity that is separable from an alternate ‘non-

tourism world' if tourism research is to keep up or make the best use of 'tourism' as an academic endeavour.²

Despite the increased popularity of this claim, the 'old' practice of dividing the world in two and defining tourism as separate from non-tourism continues so that the field exists in a state of paradox (Franklin 2003:26-29). Tourism is now convincingly inseparable from non-tourism or 'everything else', yet still made separate under what appears to be a continued pressure to 'define one's terms' (Franklin 2003: 27). For this reason the continued carving out of tourism occurs despite 'knowing better' and this contradiction now increasingly attracts the critical attention of tourism scholars themselves.³ Solutions to the problem have come to depend upon the uncritical acceptance of a discontinuity that separates the conditions of 'early modern tourism' from those of 'contemporary global tourism'. This interruption means that instead of privileging tourism as something separated on the margins, privilege is given to the 'inseparability thesis' encouraging new approaches and sometimes newer and bigger paradigms to explain tourism.⁴ Innovative tourism theory is dedicated to a project of making a social science of such a mixed up affair and this means getting rid of the earlier practice of separation. Such replacement ensures the 'inseparability thesis' will win in the end and the paradox will disappear as 'structural', retrospectively 'exclusive' research policies that separate tourism are gradually replaced with 'post structural', more inclusive policies that do not.⁵ While the inseparability thesis creates its own set of chaotic properties, it does settle the score on how to frame and therefore begin tourism research.

If they cannot delineate the frame that puts them in or out of the picture, then they confront the Batesonian paradox of not being able to distinguish between a nip and a bite, or play and a real fight. If Gregory Bateson is correct (1972), the effect of such confusion is schizophrenic (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:463).

² See Franklin and Crang (2001) for a concise account of this.

³ Tribe (1997); Franklin and Crang (2001); Ayikoru and Tribe (2004) and Ateljevic (2000).

⁴ See below for a fuller discussion of paradigms that are set up around the terms 'globalisation', 'mobilities', 'culture' and combinations like 'global, mobile culture' to better explain tourism at an increased scale. See Rojek and Urry (1997) for a seminal discussion in tourism studies and Favel (2001) for a criticism of the general proposition.

⁵ See Jamal and Hollinshead (2001); Jamal and Choi (2003), Jamal and Everett (2004) and Picken (2006).

This chapter argues that while there is ample evidence to support this account of the development of tourism theory, there is also evidence that the means of this replacement, the triumphant fanfare of discontinuity, is unsupported by the archives of tourism research. There is also continuity throughout the literature of simultaneously inscribing tourism on the margins of everyday society and describing tourism as inseparable from the same. The related problems of adequately defining tourism and the inadequacy of smoothing out its rough edges can be seen to have always plagued the field. Consequently the discontinuity that signals a winning thesis in the ‘inseparability of tourism’ and that sets about replacing an older idea with a newer one also masks the fact that tourism scholars have continuously grappled with both of these. This argument is made by undertaking a review of tourism literature and the discursive terrain of tourism knowledge with a specific interest in tracing the origins of this paradox and its solution that sees the lynchpin of tourism definition becoming undermined, before seeing if there is an alternative proposition that can be formulated.

1.1 Charting tourism’s inseparability

Back from his inspection of his lunar lands. Harlequin, emperor, appears on stage, for a press conference. What marvels did he see in traversing such extraordinary places? The public is hoping for wondrous eccentricities (Serres 1991/1997:viii).

When counting the ‘blessings and blights’ of the field of tourism, there was found to be an “absence of a unified biography on tourism” and a “‘scrappy’ state of the literature scattered through a range of disciplines” (Young 1973 in Crick 1989:312). Two decades later, this same characteristic was reiterated more succinctly by Tribe (1999) as the *indiscipline* of tourism studies and ‘post-disciplinarity’ was considered a possible solution (Coles et al 2004). Generally, tourism has progressed in an unevenly dispersed, inter-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary manner with no fixed methodological, epistemological or paradigmatic approaches (Botterill 2001: 199). These indefinite terms when compared to tighter disciplines and harder sciences, describe tourism knowledge as characteristically unsystematic and unstable. Regarded as an ‘ambiguous alternative’ for other forms of development, and involving an industry described as ‘deceptive’ (Turner 1976 in Crick 1989:306), tourism

itself has continued to be understood as ‘devious’ by nature (Taylor 2001:8). Consequently, it should not be surprising to find that tourism is a successful harbour of paradox and that this paradoxical nature is part of a continuous strain in tourism research and tourism ‘out there’. While the latest word in discontinuity sets up a scenario that could see this overlooked, or more precisely dealt with in such a manner that it *can* be overlooked, it can also be demonstrated that what is now claimed to be a new circumstance of tourism theory – its intimate connectedness with the everyday - was also part of the fabric of early tourism.

In 1939 following an early German interest in tourism and leisure, it was stated that “recognising tourism *alongside* other physical and human elements” was the only means through which tourism with its “manifold relationships and problems” could be understood (Poser in Kreisel 2004:166, original emphasis). The 1950s saw the start of an ‘intellectual chic’ associated with studying leisure, and although this importance in the Anglo world was limited to relations with labour and economics (Urry 2009:645) the need for tourism research was being ‘advocated’ on the basis that it was becoming widespread and mass (Jafari 1990). The ‘discovery of culture’ at this time further facilitated the serious study of leisure (Bailey 1989:108) and although Boorstin (1964), echoing Durant (1938 in Franklin 2009: 69), presented tourism as a pseudo event and therefore ‘outside’ the real event of everything else, he also understood it as a process of democratisation and therefore distributive by nature (and see Galani-Moutafi 2000: 210).

By 1972 Cohen had noticed the separated ‘bubble-like’ nature of tourist experience (in Taylor 2001:8). Yet he also noted that tourism is a complex system that “[a]s it matures, attains a degree of separation from the rest of society” (in Cohen 1984:382). Tourism is reported at this time as so ‘widespread and ubiquitous’ that there is no choice but to extend its social domain to include a “periphery of partial tourist roles” (Cohen 1974:547).

Tourism is a fuzzy concept - the boundaries between the universe of tourist and non-tourist roles are vague and there exist many intermediate categories (Cohen 1974:547).

The importance of early second-home and migration research was signalled at this time anticipating work that would later be recognised as a new expanded content of tourism

studies. This theme of incompleteness was also picked up by Turner (1974) who emphasised the ‘partiality’ of analysis possible in tourism research.

Tourism has some aspects of showbiz, some of international trade in commodities; it is part innocent fun, part a devastating modernising force. Being all these things simultaneously, it tends to produce partial analysis only (Turner 1974 in Stronza 2001:261).

At the same time, MacCannell’s (1973) ‘authenticity thesis’ was expanded into *The Tourist: A new theory of the leisure class* (1976) with a focus on the place and function of tourism in modern societies. Understood as a counter-response to Boorstin’s (1964) ‘pseudo event’, MacCannell instead finds the motor for tourism in a quest for authenticity. Through this quest is a modern ‘source of cultural morale’ (Redfield 1985: 101) that is connected to a wider project of social and cultural contextualisation (Jones 1974 in Bailey 1989:115). While criticised for its recourse to ‘alienation’ theory (Van Den Abbeele 1980 and Cohen 1988) and therefore promoting the ‘separation of tourism’, MacCannell’s work was also important in first addressing the potential for tourism to be conceived as an appropriate metaphor for ‘the everyday’ and therefore inseparable from everything else.⁶

Similar observations were made in the closely related field of tourism anthropology. Turner’s (1969) elaboration of ‘ritual’, ‘threshold’ or ‘liminal’ people, experiences, places and symbols (in Turner 1995:94-97) became useful for characterising tourism as a transition, ritual or “borderland between the mundane and the extraordinary” (see Pritchard and Morgan 2006:764) produced itself of an “erasure of all that characterises the sphere of production” (Illouz 1997:143). This emphasised the ‘anti-structural’ (Turner 1995), inverted or separated character of tourism defined by a “situation of social touristic marginality” (Ryan and Martin 2001:141) that is not unlike ‘carnival’ and its characteristic “suspension of life outside it” (Bakhtin 1968 in Quinn 2006:290). However anthropology also found tourism to be a field “that may be identifiable at all levels of social complexity” and should advocate broad definitions to avoid dismissing something not yet realised as relevant (Nash 1981:461). While warning against counter intuitive definitions and working towards an empirical understanding of tourism, Nash acknowledges the difficulty as one in which “[w]e shall have to accept that

⁶ This metaphor is reinforced by Pi-Sunyer (1981), Horne (1984) and Bauman (1998) for different reasons.

in some cases we may be unable to decide whether an activity is a leisure one or not” (1981: 462) and Cohen (1979) identified the same problem.

By 1982 Jafari was confident that every community regardless of size or stage of development was influenced to varying degrees by tourism (p. 137) and two years later Cohen had reached an overview of tourism research that reinforced its nature as inseparable, existing across a ‘spectrum’ that includes qualities of ‘distribution’, ‘communicative relations’ and ‘material connection’. Tourism contributed to a period of global expansion that was likened to a second wave colonialism (1984: 374-375) suggesting that for all its exclusionary practices, tourism was also decisively inclusive by nature (and see Bendix 2002: 470). By 1988 Cohen had come to identify in tourism “modes of touristic experience” based on levels of immersion (connectedness and embeddedness) in everyday worlds (p. 376). The eclectic multi-sensory world of ‘experience’ meant that for Cohen, tourism came to constitute a method of experiencing in a field of ‘permutations, emergences and preservations’ that made tourists “the new external public” (1988: 382).

Leisure and travel became “central orienting principles” of tourism (Nash 1981:478) that alongside ideas of authenticity, ritual, liminality and often carnival were used to characterise tourism (Taylor 2001:8). These were in many ways attempts at organising this new and ‘free territory’ of leisure (Bailey 1989:120) that when added to travel made ‘tourism’. While these reinforced tourism’s separation from everything ‘not tourism’, as a pleasure periphery and a sociology of consumption, this separateness coexists with a potential to become inseparable, with an historical propensity to do so and therefore a need for some kind of maintenance to remain separate.

In the broader context social history was beginning to advise against the trend of treating leisure as a “separate and self-contained field” and against the ‘simplistic application’ of social transformation theory in determining its form (Jones 1974 in Bailey 1989:114). In tourism research this theme re-emphasised the impossibility of a tourism theory (Nash 1981:480) and it was noted that without the ability to completely rely on theory, tourism was dualistically both “a metaphor of our times and a means for understanding them” (Pi-Sunyer in Nash 1981:476). This same idea was echoed empirically so that for example ‘the proprietors of music halls’ could not be understood ‘simply’ as “transplanted industrial capitalists” (Bailey 1989:115). Perhaps most telling about this is that despite all the attempts

to categorise tourism “no one’s taxonomy ha[d] yet compelled use by others” (Hermans 1981 in Crick 1989:313).

Consequently before and up until the 1990’s despite its privilege on the margins, Poser’s (1939) observations about tourism had remained: that it could only make sense as something inseparable from everything else as well. This means despite the characterisations, attempts and even real moments of separateness associated with tourism, the problem of understanding it without excising too many things first is an old one, and since these two conditions and the paradox they perform is well established, then “none of this is new” (Franklin 2007:135).

1.2 Post 1990 and the critical turn

The gathering momentum of tourism remained the staple launch of tourism research, remaining unchanged since the ‘advocacy platform’ of the 1950’s (Jafari 1982).⁷ An ever-expanding phenomenon (see Kahn 1980 in Stormann 1989:26) justified ever-expanding research so that by the turn of the century some ‘taking stock’ was needed (Franklin and Crang 2001). This new activity described a ‘critical turn’ (Ateljevic et al. 2005; Hannam and Knox 2005, and Mavrič and Urry 2009), giving emphasis to both the existence of an archive of tourism research and to ‘critique’ as a means of dealing with it. As tourism research became more critical so the paradoxical nature of tourism as both separable and inseparable became more obvious as a problem. The ‘indisciplined’ archives supported an awareness of the increasing ‘content’ of tourism and when added to the increasing scale of tourism, simple ideas like ‘tourist space’, ‘tourist’ and ‘tourism industry’ became less easily specified as early, more easily separated tourism came to be understood as ‘overtaken’ (after Latour 2005:43) in this case by conditions of ‘globalisation’. While the separable and liminal nature of tourism continued since globalisation also supported travellers who “remain largely confined, thus immobile, inside incarcerating routes” (Soguk 2003: 48), it was also true that:

Curiously [...] this orchestration resulting in captured travel experiences is treated with silence as if the narrowed travel horizons reflect the natural limit of travel (Soguk 2003: 48).

⁷ The challenge of tourism research to be taken seriously betrays a social reluctance to study something once considered unproductive and not part of the important systems (Franklin and Crang 2001; Franklin 2003 and 2007).

The critical turn and the paradox it revealed resulted in part from adding globalisation and its subsets global culture and global mobility to tourism theory as reasons for the impossibility of researching tourism as a separated phenomenon. The breakdown of earlier phases of modernity meant various ‘de-differentiations’ (Rojek 1993:4) like ‘work and leisure’; ‘local and global’; ‘origin and impact’ and ‘tourist and environment’ became less helpful.⁸ In this contemporary world ‘tourists’ and ‘vagabonds’ (Bauman 1998) exemplify a new, global hierarchy and there is no longer any commitment to the spatial margins because the reality of these ‘enclaves’ is now ‘impossibly open’ (Hall 2005:116). Breaking free from the constrained times and spaces of the past it becomes acceptable to speak of studying “the routine of visiting a tourist attraction” (Palmer 2005:12) where tourism is a “modus operandi of the human body in the contemporary western world” (Obrador-Pons 2003:54). A situation arises where tourism had been ‘added to’ so much that the ‘ins and outs’ of it were becoming increasingly difficult to specify (after Latour 2005).

Criticism of the practices of differentiation, of separating elements used to define tourism like ‘work’ and ‘home’ eventually came to include the separation of tourism itself (Rojek and Urry 1997). Repositioned in relation to the ‘now *unremarkable* globalisation of culture’ (Edensor 2007:545, emphasis added) the possibilities for expanding tourism research and at the same time subsuming it beneath the greater object of ‘culture’ became endless. Connected across a sea of ‘cultural phenomena’ the very expansion and diffusion of tourism would enrich an already rich concept ‘culture’ at the expense of becoming another artefact of the same. In attempting to better account for tourism and as part of a serious attempt to theoretically explain tourism’s new condition of inseparability, explanations relying on culture nevertheless imported the same central dilemma of culture to tourism. Tourism now becomes either “too diverse to be of technical use” or “‘virtuous’ by way of this diversity” (after Appadurai 1991: 195).⁹ At the same time the impetus created by an infinite global alongside permission to make anything cultural (see Hollinshead 1998 and Du Gay and Pryke

⁸ See among others, respectively: Rojek (1993); Mordue (2005:181); Stronza (2001); Urry (2002) Allon (2004) and Gale and Botterill (2005).

⁹ And see Clifford’s (1988) *The Predicament of Culture* where “[c]ulture is a deeply compromised idea I cannot yet do without” (in Sørensen 2003: 864).

2002), inevitably engaged with the abiding concern for the spatial, 'travel' qualities of tourism.¹⁰

'Mobilities' became a name that is cultural or paradigmatic itself (Mavrič and Urry 2007), and that also 'mobilises culture' (Urry and Sheller 2004). Aligning the travel component of tourism with a general 'mobilities movement' made explicit links between tourism and second homes, migration, work-travel and diaspora, fulfilling those early links anticipated by Cohen's (1974) observations of the partiality of tourism. In its widest sense mobilities involves the movement of people, objects and texts or signs¹¹ however, as a global theory as opposed to an empirical reality it serves to give space the same weightlessness as culture (Favell 2001:394). This means that mobilities adds to travel what culture adds to leisure and the scale of tourism becomes recognisably global. The 'leisure explosion' of which tourism was a part became part of a 'larger cultural revolution' (Bailey 1989: 111) that is the 'modern consumer society'. Through this the global acts as both a 'transcendence' (Mavrič and Urry 2009:650) and a 'convergence' theory describing a commonality that is albeit "more varied, more generous, and more rewarding" (Golby and Purdue 1984 in Bailey 1989:117). Reworded as 'culture' and 'mobilities', both leisure and travel as the two orienting principles of tourism move into a shared, much bigger sphere of the global. It is this relocation up a level that dissolves the comparatively smaller separateness between tourism and everything left over as 'non-tourism'.

[O]n the contrary, tourism has become a widespread, protean practice that occurs in mundane settings, everyday routines and home cities as well as far-flung places (Edensor 2007: 545).

'Early tourism' now qualifies as a predecessor to postmodernism (Galani-Moutafi 2000:216) where 'the everyday world' also becomes global.¹² The forming up of this 'planetary consciousness' (Pratt 1992 in Favero 2007:51) also means old ways of thinking about tourism are replaced with new ones; old subjects like tourists are amended with new ones like 'post tourists' (Feifer in Urry 1990:100). The 'tourist gaze' itself (Urry 1990) once useful for

¹⁰ The fickleness of meaning and its realisation in our tendency to 'construct' needs to be translated to a weightless form like culture in order to be so fickle.

¹¹ See Coles et. al. (2004) and Haldrup and Larsen (2003) for people; Appadurai (1991) and Lury (1997) for objects and souvenirs and Featherstone (1991) and Rojek and Urry (1997) for texts and signs.

¹² See de Botton (2002); Urry (2001); Urry (2002) Castells (2000).

giving some unification, is to the wandering masses, now splices like so many genes into a proliferation of gazes (Urry 2001) as the tourist experience becomes indistinct from those who are not tourists. Once reborn or replaced as a constituent of global culture and mobilities tourism finally has a logical vehicle for unifying the world it once split in two.¹³ The problem is ‘tourism’ never makes it to the everyday world because it had to become something else – global culture and / or mobilities – in order to be transported there and so the question that remains for tourism research is “what exactly is that, theoretically?” (Franklin 2007:140).

These explanations are largely preoccupied with size and fit, and highlight the distributive nature of tourism that is not itself a new observation. Consequently these explanations cannot so easily be taken as causes of tourism’s inseparability from everything else because they *post-date* the inseparability thesis and are therefore more like “retrospective ways of interpreting events” (Latour 2005:39). As explanations they are added on later *as if* post structuralism dissolved the object ‘tourism’ by dissolving its structure, *as if* the broadening of content meant a migration of tourism scholarship into adjacent fields, *as if* the world simply became too mobile, too cultural and too global for tourism to remain significant.

As is often the case with the introduction of new concepts, while there is some nuance in the work of the early advocates [...] those who apply the concept after them increasingly use it mechanically (Hage 2005: 464).

The persistent separating of tourism in research that appears to ignore this global problem is explained as a kind of ‘structural lag’ or a hangover, repeating the formulas (and mistakes) of a previous academic era and a ‘simpler world’.¹⁴ As such, the continued separation of tourism is a temporary aberration that is a natural part of the transition to post-structural, non-separatist policies of research where the fact of this contradiction - separability/inseparability - will disappear alongside the development of a new research agenda.¹⁵

¹³ See Rojek and Urry (1997); Urry (2000); Urry (2001); Coles, Duval and Hall (2004); Hall and Muller (2004); Hall (2005).

¹⁴ See Jamal and Hollinshead (2001); Jamal and Choi (2003); Jamal and Everett (2004) and Picken (2006).

¹⁵ These agenda’s are not only the outcome of intellectual trends, but multiple parties and practices including “mainstream publisher’s interest of new approaches to tourism research (and thus by implication an emerging market)” (Tribe 2005:5).

While some have steered this research agenda towards a radical discontinuity starting with the ‘end of tourism’ in a mobile, global culture (Rojek and Urry 1997:1), a less radical stance is nevertheless the shoring up of a discontinuity that enables the end of early tourism and the development of a new, contemporary sort. This situates tourism discourse squarely within the paradigm of globalisation, the course of which has:

[...] criss-crossed those of the other ‘deaths’ of the social (Rose 1996); of class (Pakulski and Waters 1996); of liberalism (Brands 2001); and even of the author who describes all of these (Hix 1990 in White and Sproule 2002: 318).

The moratorium then gives way to a ‘language of replacement’ (Serres 1990/1995) that is held together by the simple but powerful fact that tourism *was* separable from work, home and other ‘non-tourism’ phenomena and now is not. Contemporary tourism aims to unite tourism and the parallel ‘non-tourism world’ that it is now only artificially removed from and through this the ‘critical turn’ has steered tourism research some one-hundred-and-eighty-degrees. No longer confined to the rigid, structural limits that separated tourism, there is instead encouragement of the opposite condition. The “generation of newer, replacement, much looser” boundaries (Sangren 1988 in Hollinshead 1998:123) only emphasises how contemporary tourism is different from early tourism. It is tourism’s inseparability from everything else that is now to be taken for granted. Demanding new and different approaches for tourism research, this has held the latest word in tourism theory as growing evidence shows that the earlier practice of separating tourism can be dissolved with the right agents behind it: the ‘inseparability thesis’ will win in the end.

Disappointed, the audience cannot believe its ears: elsewhere must surely be different. Was he incapable of observing anything in the course of his voyage? (Serres 1991/1997: xiii).

1.3 After critique and ‘the dynamic containment of contradictions’

That the inseparability of tourism from everything else is an early intuition of tourism research means that while it is possible to blame ‘scale’ for making it *obvious* that tourism is inseparable by nature, scale can no longer carry all of the burden for causing this.

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Theorizing (im)mobilities: Anthropological takes on an emerging
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It is fashionable to imagine today's world as being in constant motion, with people, cultures, goods, money, businesses, diseases, images, and ideas flowing in every direction across the planet. The scholarly literature is replete with concepts and metaphors attempting to capture altered or intensified spatial and temporal realities: deterritorialization and scapes, time-space compression, the network society and its space of flows, cosmopolitanism, and the possibility of leading bi-focal and multi-focal lives in several locations simultaneously through transnational migration. Sociologists and geographers enthusiastically talk about the 'mobility turn' in the social sciences, stressing the breaching of boundaries by migration, mass communication, and trade, and suggesting the emergence of novel forms of identity, economy, and community. [...] If mobility is the new mantra to be chanted, the chorus line might be older than most scholars want to acknowledge. The idea that everything is in constant motion was already developed by the Greek philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 540-480 BCE), who became known for his doctrine that change is central to the universe and that 'all things flow'.

Dr. Noel B. Salazar, Excerpt from email, 22 December 2008.

If anything, the discovery of tourism everywhere ought to have signalled something that had *always been wrong with tourism theory* (Franklin 2007:135 original emphasis).

It is easy to see that the increasing scale of tourism has altered tourism researchers' perspectives so that tourism is now something quite different to them. However it is also plausible to suggest that since there is a continuous awareness of the 'dual nature' of tourism, as both separable and inseparable, 'scale' writes large what was *already there*, and tourism is still the paradoxical state of affairs it always was. Instead, the contemporary landscape of tourism theory confronts itself with the burden of 'no defining other' and while attending to this burden has encouraged innovative tourism thinking, in committing to a discontinuity that effectively replaces one idea (of a liminal, separable phenomenon) with another (of global inseparability), tourism research with few exceptions has been less able to advance or describe the possibility of these coexisting *without* contradiction or problem. This means considering the possibility of carrying out 'critical' or important tourism research 'without an interest in the notion of a critique' (Latour in Crawford 1993:250).

Instead of a resource, the critical spirit becomes a topic, one competence among others, the grammar of our indignations. Instead of practising a critical sociology the authors quietly begin a sociology of criticism (Latour 1991/1993:44).

The programme of debunking, exposing, avoiding being taken in, steals energy from the task that has always seemed much more important to the collective of people, things and gods, namely, the task of sorting out the 'cosmos' from an 'unruly shambles' (Latour 1999:22).

Following these arguments the effects of the critical turn in tourism research can be likened to the playing out of a battle or competition between two opposing theses.¹⁶ The metaphor of battle and competition is borrowed from Serres (1990/1995) as a way of describing arguments that are formed polemically. On one side there is early tourism with a condition defined as separated on the orderly disorder of the socio-spatial margins. The other side is contemporary tourism and its condition described as inseparable from its 'other' in a global world. The winning thesis appears to be the contemporary model for this is supported with

¹⁶ This approach sees in particularly postmodern critique a fatalism or a rushing into chaos that is intellectually uninteresting at best because it is reactionary and morally reprehensible at worst because it is despondent (see Latour 2005). It is regarded as a 'symptom' of the present order of things and not "a fresh solution" (Latour 1991/1993:46).

the weight of what is now a more advanced and global world, but the lack of definition means the usefulness of tourism is made questionable.

What has been put at stake in this battle are ‘degrees of separation’ from everything else and how important and useful these continue to be in explaining tourism. Sustained critical analysis since the 1990s has meant that what was thought to be the lynch pin of tourism definition, its social and spatial separateness, has been noticeably collapsing in the wake of a more mobile and global society. The growing disparity between how tourists’ and even researchers experience tourism as separate, and how these separations are themselves now inseparable from everything else (see Rojek 1993) has led to a makeshift solution in discontinuity. This discontinuity acts as a line in the sand dividing early tourism from contemporary tourism by suggesting they are different enough to require different research approaches. In the decisive ‘moving on’ that a discontinuity signals, there is little room for attention to be paid to the fact that claims of tourism’s increasing inseparability are overstated if they are taken to be entirely new to tourism research, and therefore entirely better gauges of contemporary tourism reality.

Since early tourism also recognised tourism as both a separable phenomenon and an inseparable phenomenon, what appears to remain durable is an “alternation between ordinary and non-ordinary states” (Graburn 1977 in Nash 1981:464). Since these “diametrically opposed doctrines” recur throughout the discourse it becomes possible to assume there is some kind of ‘complicity between them’ (Crook 1998: 537). It is therefore argued that the discontinuity that has been added to tourism research *establishes* as much as it discovers a difference between ‘first wave’ researchers (Bailey 1989:107 and Franklin 2009:70) and early tourism, and those who caught the second or ‘new wave’ (Franklin 2009:73) of critical, contemporary tourism research.¹⁷ Rather than going along with the rules of a competition that insist upon a winning thesis that irons out paradox, a symmetrical analysis resists the urge to solve tourism’s paradoxical nature and opts instead to investigate this ‘dynamic containment of contradictions’ (Bailey 1989: 120). This recognises that inventing ways to deal with tourism as an object of research has also meant finding ways of keeping it separate amid the danger it will blend in with everything else. That this problem or paradox contributes to the fabric of not only contemporary tourism research but also early tourism

¹⁷ The age of tourism studies should not be exaggerated. Many researchers have occupied both first and second wave research positions (see for example MacCannell 1976 then 1992 and Urry 1990 then 2003).

research means the current solution of discontinuity is made questionable. Reinstating the possibility of a continuity between early and contemporary tourism enables a conversation about whether this solution of discontinuity and inseparability does (or should) replace a more apparently naïve definition that separates it.¹⁸ Nash (2004) lends support to this idea where he notes the contemporary variety of tourism to be one of the enduring *exceptions to the touristic paradigm*.

[T]his centre-periphery tourism that has tended to preoccupy anthropologists is only a small part of the tourism going on in the world today, most of the international form of which involves contact between peoples of developed societies [...] and this is one of the contemporary as well as historic and prehistoric, exceptions to the touristic paradigm (Nash 2004:171).

Offering an alternative to what perhaps come to be seen as “inept or approximate ideas of yesteryear” (Latour 1991/1993:35), the critical turn combined with the necessity of a winning thesis has in part contributed to the performance of global, contemporary tourism.

Contemporary tourism wins in part because it deems itself more contemporary through the invention of an archive or discourse.¹⁹ The win gains traction by replacing the sedentary binaries once used to define and delimit tourism as separate with a more blurred landscape of global mobilities and culture and a “nomadic metaphysics” that offers an “escape from dichotomies” (Mavrič and Urry 2007: 647-650).

Instead of adding to this winning project of ‘inseparability’ and instead of fixing the problem of two opposing statements, a symmetrical diagnosis recommends that these continuities be taken seriously as the regular and proper irregularities of both tourism and tourism research. In other words, the characteristic of separation associated with earlier tourism research (which is not very distant anyway) need not be cast to a diminishing rear view anymore than the characteristic inseparability of contemporary tourism need be robbed of any longevity. To “arrest the attention of the critically inclined” (Pred and Watts, 1994 in Pred, 1995:24) means there is no ‘escape’ from dichotomies since they also have their place in the organisation of

¹⁸ Implicit in this is Foucault’s (1972) questioning of the idea that ‘knowledge advances’, stating that in effect we cannot know if one set of naïve ideas is not replaced with an equally naïve set. Latour’s (1991/1993) modern constitution similarly criticizes the notion of ‘moving forward’ and ‘evolutionary terms’ (Callon and Latour (1981). These connect to Serres’ (1982/1995) and de Landa’s (1997) diagnoses of time.

¹⁹ Foucault’s (1972) idea of a ‘constructed archive’ is recalled here.

tourism. This approach does not sympathise with the disappearance of tourism in global ‘mobilities’ and, or ‘culture’ but instead suggests that enacting a discontinuity is only one way to tackle tourism and its place in the world. This research subscribes to the belief that while this discontinuity has been very effective, this pendulum swing also distracts the eye from the other necessary workings of the clock. This is to say it distracts tourism researchers from what also remains historical and viable about tourism. This research takes the position recognition needs to be extended to a history of ‘extending and diversification’ as well as ‘compartmentalising and routine’ and that this paradoxical nature has served to reinforce a “neutral ground we may fairly call our own” (Bailey 1989:108-109).

A ‘dynamic containment of contradictions’ results from attempts to characterise “an increasingly rationalised operation” that nevertheless upholds “the relish of the feast day that comes every day of the week” (Bailey 1989:120). Since tourism itself has always ‘performed a paradox’ (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1994:436) in part through an industry that ‘routinises the production of the extraordinary’ (Hollinshead 1998:123), it is not unreasonable to convey this and to recognise the possibility in tourism that:

[N]othing is so totalising as a concept of differentiation – nor so apt to be undermined by the very play of differences it attempts to name and de-limit (Van Den Abbeele 1980:13).

A symmetrical approach allows in tourism research both a character and charter more closely connected to what it studies (after Latour 1990 and 1999). The character of tourism is given the allowance to contain the ‘early’ and ‘contemporary’ as well as conditions of ‘separation’ and ‘inseparability’, rather than holding to one or the other first. After Baudrillard (2003:37):

[C]haracter depends on this basic contrariness – the indecipherable constellation of two contradictory qualities forming a single characteristic, in the same way as two contradictory meanings are merged in a single witticism. ... It is this isomorphism of incoherent traits, this ‘idiosyncrasy’, which makes it almost impossible to correct a character.

In a rush to ‘correct’ earlier misapprehensions, or to better explain what a very different *animal* tourism is now, tourism scholarship is at risk of missing this other important debate, and one supported by its own archival evidence, about the general fabric and character of

itself. To start instead with the fact of this paradox means attempting to explain how it exists, rather than finding ways of firstly or lastly settling, dispelling or eradicating it and this means the 'rules of competition' are altered. The parallel world of 'non-tourism' is not something that needs to be 'killed off' as a fiction, or an artefact of a bygone era so much as the outcome of real situations that make and maintain this separation. At the same time tourism is also deeply involved with non-tourism so that the separation does not exist or act to any effect in other circumstances and a condition of inseparability occurs.

A practical basis to this argument is that a researcher may decide that there is no 'real' division between tourism and the everyday; that this is an outdated view and a separatist policy enacted for purposes of research. S/he will be able to prove this point in multiple ways. Yet it is also true that this will make no difference to tourism marketers who can also prove that 'getting away from the everyday' seduces their tourists, and no difference to the tourists themselves who know for certain that tourism is outside the(ir) everyday. Symmetrical analysis, in a crucial departure from many other critically devised accounts allows for both the 'real' practices of tourism marketers and experiences of tourists, and the fact that this is not *all* that is happening; neither the sum total nor conditional summary of tourism. With neither a separable nor inseparable 'condition' of tourism, the task instead becomes one of understanding if and how such conditions are made real. Neither condition explains "the meandering, ever-moving flow of negotiation, encounter and enrolment" that is evident in the discourse (Emirbayer 1997: 290) and practice.

A symmetrical approach allows in both theses an element of truth in contrast to those *asymmetrical* readings that depend on the condition of contemporary tourism being sufficiently different to earlier tourism that it needs to be understood and treated differently by tourism research. Symmetrical analysis in this sense pushes the more inclusive policy of post-structural research two steps further to include not only the insights of the earlier, structural and exclusive policies it would otherwise be compelled to debunk but also the very discontinuity it enacts and would otherwise be compelled to never mention. Instead such 'replacement' is no longer inevitable when accounting tourism but like the making of any one-hundred and eighty degrees is an achievement to be worked at, not always successfully.

The critical turn has opened many possibilities in tourism research including the introduction of a language of replacement that invokes a radical shift in suggesting tourism *was* separable

from non-tourism and now is not. Consequently, the continued separation of tourism in research is understood as a kind of historical legacy and temporary aberration that is a natural part of the transition to more inclusive research policies. In the making of a discontinuity between ‘old and new tourism’, ideas of inseparability gradually replace ideas of separateness; post structural research replaces structural research; heterogeneous spaces replace tourist places; mobile global citizens replace tourists and (in some cases) global, mobile culture replaces tourism altogether.²⁰ In this way the critical turn points to a remarkable transition and impressive migration from separability to inseparability. However, instead of adding to this practice of replacement by supporting the claim that tourism is *now* more inseparable than it ever was; and to avoid deciding a winning thesis with as much certainty as those earlier theorists who are now accused of separating tourism, it is instead proposed that this impasse or paradox be allowed to pass as ‘the normal lot of situations’ (Serres 1991/1997: xvi). Unlike research that claims to move ‘beyond’ what *previously stood* for the tourist, tourist space and tourism as a separated phenomenon, a symmetrical approach includes what still may stand for these things and how they achieve this ‘standing’. It is not that there are not divisions because there are many, however echoing Foucault (1970) “such divisions or distinctions are understood as *effects* or *outcomes* [...] not given in the order of things” (Law 1999:3 original emphasis, and see Franklin 2004).

A symmetrical reading of tourism theory does not offer a return to earlier tourism research nor a ban on innovative research, but instead some recognition that in a bid to iron out paradox in tourism studies there is yet to be any serious attention to the possibility that this is *not a problem*, and that the character of both tourism research and tourism ‘out there’ can be used to exemplify this. In agreeing that tourism *was* defined by degrees of separation, and *then* became inseparable, tourism research starts to resemble chaos (Rojek and Urry 1997:1), or at least a rocking boat and this is usually symptomatic of something (cargo, sea) unbalanced or asymmetrical. Steadying this circumstance through a symmetrical analysis allows both old and new tourism, its separateness and inseparability, and even the idea of replacement, a continued viability as an empirical question.

²⁰ See Rojek and Urry (1997); Urry (2000); Edensor (2001) and Jamal and Everett (2004).

1.4 From tourism discourse to bodies of research

This chapter has considered tourism knowledge as a discourse that produces, constructs and deconstructs the rise and fall of ideas. This performance is partially organised around the polemic of tourism as marginal, liminal and separable from what is ‘routine’ or ‘everyday’ versus tourism as part of a global unity that is now more usual and less separable from its ‘other’. Evidence of a progressive discourse is found in a discontinuity that sees the end of early tourism and the rise of a new, contemporary kind. This chapter has asked whether in drawing such a line, tourism research is at risk of missing alternative courses for action. The proposition of tourism as a natural harbour of paradox, and tourism research as an attempt to account for these was suggested as a more symmetrical understanding of tourism.

While these theoretical debates that are reflected in the discourse are often thought to be the ‘very stuff’ of tourism knowledge (see Franklin 2004:285), less thought about is discourse’s reliance on the “material relations” (See Law 1992 and Law and Mol 1995) that perform it. The following chapter begins to redress this by claiming that tourism knowledge includes not only ideas and the relations they form, but also bodies and the relations they add to this. These social relations take part in performing the ‘durable links’ (Latour 1992: 226) that allow the discursive territory of tourism theory to hold up. Once people are brought into the discursive picture, not only are the intellectual debates better accounted for but tourism knowledge and not only tourism ‘out there’ can start to be seen as an ‘ongoing performance’ (after Law and Urry 2004). As a performance any exploration of the “strategies of those who explore the world” (Favero 2007:57) must also take account of the social life that is part of this, and this means taking account of the logic and limitation of bodies.

Therefore, the following chapter moves beyond the archives and intellectual debate of tourism theory towards the social and practical nature of tourism knowledge. Adding people and the way they go about doing tourism research adds a social dimension to knowledge so that it can be seen as performed by people and discourse like any other social phenomenon. That said, a proper sociology of tourism knowledge is yet to be done and this research is limited by too little evidence to claim anything other than the making of a symmetrical point.

CHAPTER TWO

Tourists and their Entourages: Performing tourism research as a humanist endeavour.

2.0 *Introduction and overview of the chapter*

The previous chapter paid attention to the discursive territory of tourism research and how tourism researchers have thought and written about tourism knowledge. This chapter extends this discussion by adding a social life to the discourse and therefore a social dimension to tourism knowledge. While tourism knowledge holds a fascination with the social lives of ‘tourists’, ‘hosts’ and ‘middle people’, these social lives among the ‘usual suspects’ rarely includes the tourism researcher him/herself. In adding people to the doing of tourism research, a symmetrical reading opens up the possibility of this by giving to tourism research a social life that is enmeshed with the social lives of tourists, hosts and the tourism industry. This also suggests that tourism knowledge is more than discourse and perhaps better described as ‘a state of affairs’ (after Latour 2005) that involves ideas and the relations they form as well as people and the relations they add. After the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge for every discursive movement there are people (quite literally) making these movements happen.²¹ In adding the dimension of bodies and taking notice of the more ‘mundane practices’ of doing tourism research (see Latour 1999:310), it becomes possible to understand how tourism knowledge *like tourism* is ‘performed’ (after Law and Urry 2004).

Since the researcher actively participates in this performance, his/her interest in the usual suspects is more than intellectual. In the interests of knowledge production s/he becomes physically involved with the usual suspects and together these complete the main resources for performing explanations of tourism. Through these performances routine practices like ‘becoming a tourist’ and ‘consorting with their entourages’ not only support and enable tourism discourse, but emphasise how very social tourism knowledge is. Taking notice of these social relations not only ‘adds realism’ (Latour 1999:3) to tourism theory but also gives

²¹ See Law (1975) for an example of this tradition.

material emphasis to the sealing of what is otherwise a barely visible covenant that has made Humanism the dominant philosophy (and practice) of tourism research. Since this is a legacy that is variously inherited ‘from all sides’ of its interdisciplinary sphere, tourism knowledge has always first meant a human centred understanding of tourism.

The chequered discursive history of separation and inseparability outlined in the previous chapter is an example of this because it is a ‘subjective war’ (Serres 1990/1995:10) on two counts. Intellectually the debate only makes sense in relation to people who can become complicit or not about the question of whether tourism is a separated phenomenon or not; and more practically these arguments are not only sensible to humans, but are also physically undertaken by humans – those ‘tourism scholars’ and ‘the usual suspects’. Including this social life of tourism knowledge emphasises how closely the question of tourism’s separateness and the theoretical paradox that follows is related to the question of whether these human resources in performance ‘add up’ to separateness or not. The question, problem and paradox therefore are directly linked to a humanist enterprise that interferes in a social as well as intellectual way.

Recent attempts to explain ‘contemporary, global tourism’ show few attempts to resist this enterprise since they tend to draw from the same ‘Department of Human Resources’. While the influential ‘performance turn’ and ‘performing tourism’ shows increasing promise as a way around the hard binaries and structural orientations of early tourism, in still confining these performances to people among people, tourism knowledge is still performed humanist.²² This means that despite growing evidence to support the idea that ‘tourism is increasingly central to the project of being human’ (Bendix 2002: 472), there remains little awareness of the equal importance of ‘being human to the central project of tourism’. Consequently a humanist definition of tourism appears to be the first definition and any other attempt is an attempt to define it twice. In this way performing tourism knowledge remains unmoved from its central humanist project and this chapter discusses the form and content of this project as well as some of its consequences.

2.1 The social life of tourism knowledge

²² See Veijola and Jokinen (1994) and Aitcheson (2000 and 2001).

Including a social dimension of bodies and practices to the otherwise dominant discursive territory of tourism research is a novel practice. While the implications are not well considered, anthropologists who have found themselves among tourists have made some useful observations about the entangled nature of doing tourism and doing tourism knowledge. This first discussion draws upon some of these observations to begin a discussion about the social life of tourism knowledge. The previous chapter identified that tourism studies has a short history in the human sciences, not gaining any significant recognition until the 1950s (see Jafari 1990). However, the history of the less formal relationship between travel and knowledge is much longer and this gains relevance to tourism studies when the social relations of knowledge are taken into account. Pilgrimages and the grand tours provide examples of this, alongside etymological evidence in the classical Greek *theoria* as the name for both what philosophers do and the doing of spectacle or sightseeing (Redfield 1985:102).

Such early travellers who were both ‘proto-anthropologists’ and ‘proto-tourists’ (Crick 1985 in Galani-Moutafi 2000:204), testify to a continuing drift between ‘touring’ and the ‘getting of wisdom’ and this makes an interesting question of ‘the getting of tourism knowledge’. While doing tourism and doing tourism research are not the same things, ‘tourism’ did not exist until it was understood to exist and a lot of this understanding has been undertaken by researchers who are often simultaneously doing a variation of tourism.

With the history of both tourism and tourism research entangled in this way, to talk about ‘tourism in the world’ is already to include those who talk about it. This historical link contributes to the production of tourism knowledge including “the ease with which we think we know what it is” and whether this constitutes “the greatest impediment to any study of it” (Van Den Abbeele 1980:12).

While accounting for ‘who takes part in tourism’ and ‘what they do’ has been of paramount importance in tourism research, this importance has rarely been extended to fully include tourism researchers themselves. To consider a social life of tourism knowledge includes those who talk about tourism, but does not include them only in a reflexive way.²³ A social life of knowledge is contingent upon bodies and the way they go about tourism research ‘in practice’. Knowledge is a social and political ‘construct’ but it is also enacted through the physics of bodies among others. These physical properties are added to those discursive

²³ See Phillimore and Goodson (2004); Tribe (2004), and Wang (1999) and Feighery (2006) for reflexive tourism accounts

relations where there is no ‘body’ to get in the way.²⁴ ‘Bodies’ are found to contribute in concrete ways not only to the fact of the existence of tourism knowledge but also to shaping its continued performance. The proposition that unfolds is tourism knowledge is a co-performance of discourse and people doing research.

In the introduction to the book *Travels in Paradox* (Minca and Oakes 2006) the authors provide an unorthodox and therefore rare insight into this social nature of tourism research. They introduce the themes of their book through a recollection of a two-day meeting with each other in Italy to discuss it. While this kind of practice is common enough among tourism researchers, it is not a practice that is commonly included in accounts of tourism research. In relation to the more usual accounts included in public(ation), this highlights a kind of ‘back stage’ of tourism research. Usually this backstage refers to a repository of ideas used to explain a discourse²⁵; but in this case it is also a socially and practically produced part of doing tourism research. Since these interactions are not directly related to gathering data, they are not directly part of the ‘field’ even though they belong to the practice and science of understanding tourism. Consequently without a proper place, they tend to remain under-accounted unless they appear accidentally, like in ‘unorthodox introductions’ that convey ‘laboratory moments’ highlighting the social nature of tourism research. This social nature is precarious, where the embodied intersection of being a tourist and being a tourism researcher for example, accentuates the delicate negotiations that are the outcome of doing tourism and doing tourism research *at the same time*.

Claudio Minca: I think (with some concern) about having to re-interpret ‘my’ places for an ‘outsider’, because it obviously involves both my judgement of the visitor’s background and what I want to show of Italy, Trieste, Venice, and myself in all those spaces. And in this case, it is as though a ghost is travelling with us: the ghost of self-reflexivity, the syndrome of the post-structuralist tourism scholar.

[...]

Tim Oakes: Claudio tries to show me some of the kinds of ‘backstage’ spaces of Venice (the fish market, the ship-yard where gondolas are built, alleys

²⁴ This chapter focuses on adding a more embodied social dimension to knowledge but the politics of tourism knowledge has been discussed by Tribe (2004) and Hall (2005) among others.

²⁵ See for example Foucault’s project of effectively identifying the backspaces of medical discourse (1976), penal discourse (1991) and Cheong and Miller (2000) for an application in tourism.

where tourists are seldom seen, where laundry hangs and where facades need rebuilding). But it's an ambivalent effort, because we both know that the backstage idea is a false construction.

[...]

Claudio Minca: I prepare myself to get into the right mood to experience my reading of Venice, the quintessential tourist city, aware that, after all the articles and books that we have both written on tourism, modernity and subject formation, it would not have been easy to find the 'right' way to be there together [...]. After some hesitation about what would be the right start, we decide to have lunch at the Venice airport: not a very Italian/Venetian beginning. But we are hungry and Tim is not naive, 'like we think most tourists are' (2006:4-5).

What this dialogue begins to expose is the social life of tourism knowledge that facilitates the 'doing' of tourism research including editing and publishing. It also demonstrates two actors occupying positions of tourists and researchers, and in this case a host and guide as well. In this scenario the old relationship between touring and knowledge, that extends from early philosophers to contemporary 'intelligent tourists' (see Horne 1992), re-emerges in the strange social circumstance that comes of being a tourist and being a tourism researcher together.

Accounting for the social life of tourism research, puts tourism researchers into bodies that meet up with others in the course of understanding tourism and where these 'collide' it is not easy to find the 'right way to be there'. This suggests that tourism researchers 'add something' (like a poststructuralist ghost) to their doing of tourism, as well as adding something to the doing of tourism research when they are tourists (or hosts or guides). Consequently both tourism and tourism research are social activities and as social activities they make a difference. Contemporary ideas about how this difference is made suggest that social relations are performed (see below). Since this discussion belongs among a small and novel part of tourism discourse, it can be assumed that if tourism researchers have taken satisfaction from the discovery that there are no 'back stages' in tourism, we have still to discover the back stages of tourism research in quite the same way.²⁶

²⁶ See Edensor (2009) for a comprehensive critique of the 'back stage' idea of tourism.

Minca and Oakes (2006) illustrate a common research practice that sometimes makes researchers into tourists, or hosts or ‘middle people’ at the same time, and their recollections highlight while this is an intellectual ‘reflexive’ debate, it is also a social circumstance that comes of doing tourism research.²⁷ Taking account of this sociality and practical basis of knowledge shows how this is the outcome of a performance between discourse and researchers who physically produce it. However researchers are not the only people taking part in this performance but are added to those already there. Like travel brochures and signs are also part of the textual quality of tourism²⁸, other people like tourists, hosts and ‘industry’ people fill out a tourism society (and see Tribe 1999: 78) and these can be fairly called ‘the usual suspects’. When tourism researchers are added to this society together they make up ‘the usual resources’ for explaining tourism. The pooling of these resources often begins with the forming of a special relationship between tourists and researchers.

2.2 *Socialising with tourists*

This section was originally to be called ‘*The walrus and the carpenter*’ after Lewis Carroll’s (1971) imaginary to make the point that in the usual accounts of tourism, the ‘the tourist and the researcher’ are as unlikely companions. One outcome of taking account of the social relations of tourism knowledge is the relevance that comes to bear on the relationship between tourists and researchers, and in particular the double-act of performing both tourism researcher and tourist. This invents, according to circumstance a social bind, a hybrid actor or individual co-performance that leads to ambivalence or a set of negotiations that are not often made explicit in tourism discourse. This double-act occurs not only in private, ‘behind the scenes’ when editing books, it is also performed in the practice of becoming a tourist to get among tourists to understand tourism. While often anthropologists and some geographers have a special place in their thinking for ‘hosts’, and that management theorists often pay attention to ‘the industry’, it still common among all of these to practice a degree of tourism to do their work. When this basic circumstance is added to those researchers who share a

²⁷ Latour describes reflexivity as a ‘tricky term’ with “an interesting meaning when given to actors and objects and a deleterious one when taken as an epistemological virtue protecting the [social scientist] from a breach of objectivity” (2005:33).

²⁸ See Dann (2003); Garlick (2002) and Fife (2004).

fascination and special attachment to tourists, the balance starts to tilt towards the tourist.²⁹ Consequently:

One of the amazing things about tourism is being ‘stuck in a lift’ isn’t about tourism until somebody says they’re on holiday.³⁰

An enduring, and well-liked practice among tourism researchers is the travel to where tourists go, to locate and research tourism.³¹ This practice first enabled and still underpins the discovery of tourism as something separated on the margins of work and home-life, and of making tourists the ‘obvious subjects’ of tourism. To be able to speak of centres and margins, there must be a *perspective-centre* from which to locate a margin and as Chapter One has identified, this perspective-centre is historically ‘tourists’ whose sense of inversion and travel away came to constitute a distribution outwards or ‘escape’ from a more routinised, tourist producing centre. What is often missing from this logically grounded argument is that this same practice of being a tourist also came to define the experience of researching tourism (see Picken 2006). In becoming a tourist to both locate and understand what tourism is, the researcher highlights the practical as well as historical ease with which tourism came to be known as something ‘outside’ the usual experience of the tourist.

From this point of view our task is to think of tourism in terms of the motives and preferences of the type of human being who, according to Boyer (1972:7), first emerged in the Western world in the 18th century (Nash 1981: 460).³²

To understand how this practicality came about conventional wisdom about ‘catching thieves’ is helpful. ‘To catch a thief’ it is necessary to become one and this ontological basis for knowing that still motivates detective work has had a similar kind of use in tourism research. For tourism researchers, like catchers-of-thieves the subject is ‘out there’ on the move and not particularly amenable to being caught. So the tourism researcher often takes to the world in much the same way as a tourist does to both locate and better know about them.

²⁹ See Smith’s (1977) edited volume and see Chan (2000) for a geographical review of this.

³⁰ A field trip observation made after confronting this possibility (Hobart 2007).

³¹ Some have been frank enough to make the seemingly ‘less scientific’ observation that travel to places of leisure and pleasure is part of what attracts tourism scholarship (Hall 2005).

³² There are also Eurocentric and Western-centric themes involved in this (see Harraway 1991 in Humberstone 2004: 119) that are only recently being addressed in the field of tourism (see Cohen 1988:372 and Franklin 2009:66).

Through this shared practice comes a tacit agreement or ‘knowing’ between the tourist and researcher - that the world is now more distinctly two worlds, divided by degrees of separation from what is usual. This ‘working relationship’ helps to ‘tilt the balance’ by establishing and maintaining a link between ‘what tourism is and does’ which is the domain of the researcher, and ‘what tourists are and do’ which is the domain of the tourist.

MacCannell (1976:177) perhaps unwittingly exposes this relationship in *The Tourist* where he notes that the researcher and tourist:

[...] stare at each other across the human community, each one copying the methods of the other as he attempts to synthesise modern and traditional elements in a new holistic understanding of the human community and its place in the modern world.

This illustrates not only a ‘visible relation’ between the researcher and the tourist, but also a clear proximity between the world the researcher sees and the world the tourist sees (after Pred, 1995:17).³³ MacCannell describes the methods of the tourist who is seeking authenticity as though they legitimise or at least mutually reinforce the methods of the researcher who has been interpreted to be:

[...] as much of a sightseer as the tourist in his desire to make present to himself a conceptual schema which would give him immediate access to a certain authenticity (the ‘real nature’ of his object of study) (Van Den Abbeele 1980:13).

While this is not to suggest that the kind of “unsystematic travellers’ reports” of the tourist are the same as the reports of those who research them (Redfield 1985: 98), it is to suggest that an overlap in the methods of each means the experience of being a tourist is often inseparable from the experience of researching tourism.

³³ This will develop into two related arguments. The first that tourism research is both performed itself and performs tourism, and the second that there has always been an ontological component to tourism knowledge.

Likened to the “same restless Western spirit with which the founders of the social sciences were concerned” (Carroll 1980 in Crick 1989:310), both constructive and critical accounts of tourism make oblique references to this. Constructive accounts carry a sense of the tourist as a “social theorist *avant la lettre*” (Van Den Abbeele 1980:9) and critical accounts regard tourism theory as simply “mirroring popular ideas about the subject” (Pearce 1982: 147). In either case the tourism researcher assimilates to varying degrees the “perspectival seeing of a tourist” (Favero 2007: 52) and this produces perhaps a more primitive ‘tourist gaze’ than the one so convincingly added later (Urry 1990). Both tourist and researcher are accused of using ‘representations of the Other’ as a “context for the mediation and experience of modernity” (Galani-Moutafi 2000:215) and even the antipathy noted among some researchers towards tourists has been interpreted as a reaction “to protect their own brand of tourism” (Van Den Abbeele 1980:12). As ‘distant relatives’ and even a “sub-category of the tourist” (Crick 2002: 27) they are often categorised together by locals (Nunez 1978 in Crick 1989:311), and some have even been proposed as “tourists *par excellence*” (Van Den Abbeele 1980:13). The hyphen has been noted and the difference between the two has been one of “degree, not kind” (Strain 2003: 213).

Taking notice of the embodied dimension of tourism research makes apparent that there are shared practices between researchers and tourists and from these a shared ontology, or at least a *communitas* is able to exist between them without very much ‘thought’. This shared ontology makes it less controversial, or more plainly evident to claim that when tourism is away-from-home, it is the *tourists' home* that is referred to; when tourism is outside the everyday, it is the *tourists' everyday* that determines this and when tourism is considered leisure it is the *tourists' leisure* that is signified (Franklin 2003: 27). It follows that tourist places are constituted in places easily understood as ‘abroad’, or ‘elsewhere’ and that these are inhabited by ‘hosts’ (who host researchers as well). These margins not only differentiate the landscape, but also facilitate experiences that are like rituals and inversions so that tourist places are also constituted ‘liminal’. Characterised as a “variable and mobile cluster of elements experienced as absent” (Nava, 2002:90), this absenteeism is to be located in the being of tourist who’s experience is partly shared by tourism researchers. In this manner:

How could such experiences as these, especially when they are repeated every day for weeks, fail to leave him [*either of them*] the conviction that there really

exist two heterogeneous and mutually incomparable worlds (Durkheim 1976: 218 in Franklin 2003: 134).

The relationship between tourist and researcher is bound to a set of commonalities that involve a common conviction or impression of the world and a common way of making sense of it. When the body is added to this there are also common practices and these are identifiable in processes like ‘tourist skilling’ (Franklin 2003: 70-72). Emphasising the skills that are required to become a tourist points to the question of ‘doing’ and this removes the inevitability of the ‘inevitability’ of becoming a tourist or an inherent ‘travel urge’ (see Clifford 1986). The need to ‘learn how to be a tourist’ and before this, to learn to be *willing* to learn how to be a tourist means that ‘becoming a tourist’ and ‘becoming a good one’ involves ‘interpellation’ and ‘work’, or ‘willingly learning the skills’ (Franklin 2003 and 2004). These “repertoires of performance” (Franklin 2009:76) give evidence of the social labour of tourism, where even becoming something so ‘obviously becoming’ as a tourist is an outcome of variously organised social engineering.³⁴ Since research often involves the same practices of travelling, being accommodated and negotiating strangeness for example, these ‘repertoires of performance’ are not escaped by researchers but are also part of the deal of researching tourism.

This double-sided world that makes practical sense and is shared by this group of people is both the cause and effect of theories “grounded in the theorising of tourists” (Van Den Abbeele 1980:12) and “typologies and dynamic models that fit tourist behaviour perhaps all too well” (MacCannell 2001:23). This characterisation of tourism comes at least in part of the social and practical relations between bodies that have the effect of ‘splitting the world in two’. Through this both researchers and tourists are drawn into the reality that at the core of tourism is the planning, execution and experience of degrees of separation. Consequently, when the mythical Harlequin Emperor returns from his journeys away, he reports that:

Elsewhere, then, is never like here, no part resembles any other, no province could be compared to this or that one, and all cultures are different (Serres 1997: xiv).

³⁴ See Thomas Cook for an example of very successful engineering (Franklin 2004).

Taking serious note of the practices associated with discourse brings to light the relationship tourism researchers have formed with tourists and how this influences what counts as tourism knowledge. Tourists are privileged insofar as they hold the subject position from which a definition for tourism develops and accordingly tourism is the outgrowth of the travelling masses. From this advantageous position of tourists on the margins the more transformative and transitory characteristics of tourism have emerged.³⁵ However, while tourists identify most with this definition of tourism, tourists and researchers alone do not make tourism happen.

2.3 *Other social engagements*

While becoming a tourist is an invaluable practice of researching tourism, tourists have never been the only subjects involved (Nash 1981: 465) which means there are other members in this society. There are also 'hosts' and those who make up the 'tourism industry' to act as 'intermediaries', 'producers' or 'brokers'. These subjects are said to exist with tourists in a 'tripartite' (Cheong and Miller 2000) or 'transactional' (Nash 1981:465) relationship before the eyes of tourism research and this, alongside the researcher forms a makeshift society, the members of which can be assumed to variously subscribe to something held common.³⁶ In this way they make up 'the usual suspects' of tourism discourse and comprise the main resources for explaining tourism, and they do this because when they engage with tourism they learn to variously 'go along' with a common idea about what tourism is.

The phrase 'go along' does not mean agreement about the experiences of tourism and its effects. It is rather as though hosts and the tourism industry are added to the contract between tourists and tourism researchers and this 'touristic encounter' (Nash 1981: 461) serves to actively 'perform a definition' of tourism. These performances negotiate agreement about what tourism is and this provides a basis for what each relevant group is in various ways dealing with while providing the grounds for plentiful disagreement or 'plural meanings' about what tourism does (Stronza 2001: 263). This provides the practical and intellectual conditions for a productive field of social scientific investigation (see Latour 1999 and 2005)

³⁵ This is a deliberate suggestion that margins are also privileged spaces. See Bailey (1989) for a similar argument concerning leisure.

³⁶ See Hollinshead (1998) on intermediaries; see Ateljevic (2000) and Shaw and Williams (2004) on producers and Cheong and Miller (2000) on brokerage.

where the formation of a society that supports a common understanding of what tourism is enables comment to be made on tourism behaviour, tourism effects and how these are produced (see Stronza 2001:262-265).³⁷ It is in this sense that there is a partially designed ‘collusion’ among tourists, hosts, industry people and researchers that assists in performing not only tourism, but also explanations of tourism by endorsing a ‘tautology’ (Franklin 2004: 281) or ‘circular structure of referentiality’ (Van Den Abbeele 1980:9).

These social relations and practical arrangements enrol tourists, hosts, the industry and researchers together and these allow both the formation of ‘early tourism’ and its giving way to ‘contemporary tourism’. Tourism performs a break between the mainstay of an everyday life and a temporary life elsewhere (see Urry 1995: 4) and also performs the eventuality of this mainstay becoming unhinged. In a vastly expanded landscape that now looks ‘global’ the tourist and his/her entourage are ‘decentred’ and networked to multiple ‘horizontal and vertical integrations’ that more aptly stretch tourism across time and space to include those working-for-travel, travelling-for-work and those involved in a more general touristic way of life.³⁸

Without a condition of separateness to rely upon, with less purely liminal experiences or complete production of ‘otherness’, attention shifts to the steadier ground that concedes tourism can happen ‘anywhere and anytime’. As a consequence there is less ‘confusion’ between the way “tourists see the world, and the way the world (or tourism in the world) really is or came about” (Franklin 2004:288). The extent to which this confusion is cleared up by the further enactment of a discontinuity is made questionable not only through the archives (Chapter One) but also through the inability of a discontinuity to make the social arrangements that constitute ‘early tourism’ quite disappear. Amid the haste, motion and strangeness of contemporary lives, and even when university campuses themselves now offer guided tours, sell postcards of themselves and compete to host international events (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 211), the old fashioned way of performing tourism knowledge by travelling away to where tourists are still holds appeal and this is part of the stranger explanation for a ‘structural lag’ in the discourse. What has happened in response to contemporary, global

³⁷ Even hosts, in many ways counter positioned in tourism definition, do not redefine what tourism is so much as respond to it or add to its consequences (see Smith’s 1977 collection for a clear example of this).

³⁸ Coles, Duval and Hall (2004); Dikeç (2002); Franklin (2003); Picken (2007) and Mavrič and Urry (2009).

tourism society is that the kind and number of relations that are allowed to happen have changed.

2.4 *Performers of tourism*

These relations are increasingly being interpreted as ‘performances’ and tourism is not exception to this. Performance theory is part of a post structural turn and a materialist turn, as well as being linked with the cultural and mobilities turns.³⁹ Theories are traceable to social philosophy and linguistics (see Deleuze 1988 and Norris 2004), and not only social theory but also those at work in human geography and linguistic anthropology have been influenced by ‘performativity’.⁴⁰ In the face of these ‘turns’ or revolutions, performance becomes a way to give access to social lives and processes that are always embodied, unfolding and becoming. In the field of tourism performance is traced to MacCannell’s (1976) Goffmanesque account of ‘staged authenticity’ (Edensor 2007: 543) emphasising the ‘putting on’ and later ‘putting upon’ that tourism production became noted for.⁴¹ However its re-emergence this century as both a metaphor and a theory sees the utility of ‘performance’ in connecting tourism theory and theorists to the mixed-up contemporary world it is now dealing with. It is usual that ‘performance’ is reserved in this way for interpreting what people ‘out there’ do. They perform their genders; they perform a ‘tribal ceremony’; a ‘sixties village’; a ‘tourist’ and so on.⁴² What is less usual is to extend this interpretation so that it includes the researcher performing explanations of in this case, tourism performance. If tourism knowledge is social; if it is constituted by members of an albeit ‘loosely configured’ society and if it has a practical, embodied nature then tourism knowledge can also be added to the list of social phenomena to have received some benefit from ‘the performance turn’.

Performance theory challenges theories of representation that are beholden to a mind/body dualism. The social is a social body and not therefore resultant from rules, regulations, beliefs and other useful ideas but is physically ‘constructed’ as well. Shifting the emphasis to action and practice destabilises the “suzerainty of the visible” (Foucault 1976: 166), and ‘sensory atrophy’ (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998: 57) whereby a more whole ‘body and mind’ is needed

³⁹ See Coles et al. (2004); Saarinen (2004); Pritchard and Morgan (2006) and Ateljevic and Hannam (2008).

⁴⁰ Hubbard et al. (2002) and Minca and Oakes (2006)

⁴¹ Smith 1977.

⁴² See Butler (1993); Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994); Mordue (2001) and Edensor (2001).

to convey social relations. The questioning of dominant visual philosophies (see Jay 1993) troubles for example ‘the gazing tourist’ (Urry 1990) who’s gaze is not privileged in performance because the limit to it is found in the body’s ability to perform the world and how this cannot be worked out through seeing and thinking alone. Bodies of tourists encounter other bodies in social settings that are not ‘already there’ waiting to be seen, but are always being performed.⁴³ The material emphasis of performance mobilises the ideas that have built society and ‘fleshes out’ the human who used to be dominated by his ability to think.⁴⁴

These body parts add weight to the idea of human agency and intrude upon it so that it is less given, more negotiated, less a thing and more a process that is worked out through thinking *and* doing.⁴⁵ The subject identity takes on the nature of ‘becoming’ through enactment and once enduring structures, like roles and identity, become composites of construction and deconstruction. Stability becomes a requirement of ‘maintenance’ and this accentuates ‘the importance of iteration’ as well as ‘disruptive effects’ (Urry 2003:99). Effective in undermining static models of power and the structural influence in tourism theory ‘performance’ is among the latest ideas about tourism. In a bid to make sense of the contemporary, less well defined conditions of tourism, a grounding in the doing of tourism has enabled relations to be recast so that for example the tourist’s ‘home’ is not completely absent from tourism because tourists often take their domestic relations away with them (Edensor 2007: 546); and while tourism is a time ‘without work’ there is still a lot to be done in performing the tourist both before and during the experience (Franklin 2003: 74-82).

While the performance turn has re-engaged minds with bodies, disengaged structures from their rigid authority and loosened identity into a *fashioning* more than a *fastening* thing, it still leaves the impression that tourism starts and ends with people.⁴⁶ This is in part because performance theory as a social theory is most often tied to identity and therefore it has no reason to argue with a human centred understanding of tourism.

⁴³ See edited collection by Coleman and Crang (2002).

⁴⁴ ‘his’ referring to Descartes.

⁴⁵ Although performance theory has also been criticised for emphasising either the habitual, iterative and unreflexive ‘acting out’ of identities so that human agency is *undermined* or the ‘front stage’ strategising that *exaggerates* agency (Edensor 2007:544).

⁴⁶ See for a good example Swain (2004).

Identities are always performed in the production of a tourist attraction; for instance, tourism workers are trained to enact certain roles, conveying attitudes regulated by the institutions of employers, the host culture and clients (Gibson and Connell 2005:151).

Subjects are embodied actors who interact and perform their experiences, as much as they plan, understand and recount them, so the key to this kind of research is to be found in the world of experience and practice where “at the most intimate level, tourism is a relational effect generated by the encounter of different facets of our personal self” (Obrador-Pons 2003:60).⁴⁷ The emphasis given to relational effects remains largely within either ‘facets of a personal self’ or the circle of ‘usual suspects’ so that the research has produced a more nuanced understanding of encounters between tourists; with and between hosts and the tourism industry⁴⁸.

By attending more completely to humans - the minutiae of their bodies and minds, their movements, gestures, routines and improvisations - tourism performance claims a more complete picture of cotemporary tourism in the world. By attending more completely to humans tourism performance is able to add to the visual world, dispel the clarity that belongs to a logical world and better appreciate the ongoing, ‘structuring’ (Law 1992) and ‘negotiative’ (after Butler 1993) nature of social life. These are all complicit with a symmetrical understanding of tourism however the ‘performance turn’ stops short of turning far enough on two counts. First, while the social life of tourism research remains largely undisturbed, the performance turn will continue to make more use of tourists and their entourages than include researchers who are the other main resource for explaining tourism. The completeness to be found in performance still tends to discount the co-performance of the researcher who as a social actor has as much right to perform as tourists and their entourages. As demonstrated by Law and Urry (2004), performance theory opens the possibility for a more explicit liaison to occur between the researcher and the usual suspects who make up tourism and its knowledge.

⁴⁷ At a minimum, performance is used as a metaphor that reinstates explicitly or otherwise, Goffman’s theory (Shakespeare’s explanation?) of life after the dramaturgical model (see Shaw and Williams 2004 for an example of this in tourism and its application to the service encounter).

⁴⁸ See Edensor (2001); Coleman and Crang (eds.) (2002); Sladanha (2002); Gibson and Connell (2005); Chronos (2006) and Minca and Oakes (2006) to name a few.

Second in emphasising an embodied as well as thinking person, performance theory does not claim that too much attention has been paid to humans in trying to understand tourism, but rather that there has been too little attention paid to them. People are still privileged only they are far more interesting than when they were reduced to a mind. Tourism now involves “lumpy, fragile, aged, gendered, racialised bodies” encountering the world ‘multi-sensuously’ (Mavrič and Urry 2007: 648) and so performance theory conveys a more ‘complete’ explanation of tourism because it has better equipped humans to deal with. Consequently by remaining the ‘proper subjects’ of the field, the performance turn has yet to extend to tourism research the possibility of discovering itself as a ‘Humanist endeavour’. Since this cannot happen until “humans are no longer the centre of analysis, human models of agency are no longer privileged and subjects are no more ‘properly’ the subject of history than objects are” (Franklin 2003:104), the performance turn needs to be extended further if it is to better consider and then address the implications of drawing knowledge on the basis that tourism is “a purely human accomplishment” (Haldrup and Larsen 2006:276).

2.5 *Humanism*

Tourism research has grown out of the human sciences and this means it has been natural to attempt to understand tourism by giving privilege to humans, and in particular to the very human that tourism cannot exist without - the tourist. This socialisation has been extended to hosts and the people who mediate between them and these have become the usual suspects used for explaining tourism. Tourism discourse is focussed on these human resources and this is because as part of the human sciences, its strength lies in a human centred understanding of the world.

For this reason, the main interest in [tourism] has come from those developing social and cultural theories of change [...] and more recently, consumption itself, the interest in the body, contemporary forms of social identity construction and global ordering (Franklin 2009: 66).

The social life of tourism and tourism research supports the humanist project because the undertaking of tourism research involves a loose society that comes of physicality, proximity and enacted relations between researchers and their subjects. What this begins to add up to is

a circumstance where ‘tourism knowledge’ exists in the wake of a more primitive notion that the ‘subjectness’ of tourism does much more than the ‘objectness’ does; with what “intentional people (mainly tourists) do” (Franklin 2003:104). It is in this respect that the recent project of performing tourism has tended to go along with this because it has mainly been concerned with “making the *subject* dynamic in its resonance with the contemporary world” (Crouch 2006: 20 emphasis added). While the emphasis is on the ‘doing of tourism’ it is with a view to eliciting what tourism does to the doing subject.⁴⁹ Consequently, while performance has facilitated a more concrete explanation through more embodied subjects, while these are ‘mainly’ subjects this ‘concreteness’ remains a partial or ‘misplaced’ (Latour 2005:61).

These kinds of ideas along with the term ‘humanism’ have become more talked about in the past decade although they have been identified in French post-structuralist social theory since the 1970’s (Crook 1998: 535). Humanism results from the study of “a world of humans among themselves” (Pickering 2000 in Franklin 2003:105), described as a celebration of humans as the ‘privileged creative force’ by virtue of the attributes of ‘reason and freedom’ (Seidman 2008:153-156). While the philosophical tradition has a long heritage, one of the modern enactments is through the human sciences of which tourism is a part. In this modern form humanism originally served as a critique to naturalist models of human science, where humanistic modes of thinking refuted the assumption that humans could be understood in the same way as the natural world (Hubbard et al. 2002:37). This split deemed it inappropriate to emulate the methods developed for understanding the natural world in the human world (Botterill 1989:282) and humanism became part of both the legitimisation and outcome of the development of more completely alternative human sciences (and see Foucault 1970).

The term ‘humanism’ then disappeared when it became natural for the human sciences to take a human centred view of the world and to be accountable for their language, intentions, actions and interpretations. This enlisted an anthropocentric or ideocentric (Latour 2005) model of agency that was strongly identified with the ‘self activated human will’ (Emirbayer 1997: 294-296). Humans, including the sum of their interactions are the sole agents in a ‘*world-for-a-human-consciousness*’ (Latour 1999: 9, original emphasis) and this replaced

⁴⁹ See Crouch, Aronsson and Wahlstrom (2001) and Harvey and Lorenzen (2006).

more ‘abstract, high level theorizations’ of behaviour like those of the spatial sciences and positivist traditions (Hubbard et al. 2002: 39).

The humanist perspective [...] places humanity at the centre of analysis and privileges humanity in models of agency. Humans in this account are both the most important object of analysis and the proper subjects of history. [...] Humanist concepts and theories such as nationalism and nation formation and tourism only seem to call forth or require the activity and agency of humans (Franklin 2003: 104).

This follows a general theory of social action that nevertheless excludes the possibility of non-human actors:

Action is social in so far as, by virtue of the subjective meaning attached to it by the acting individual (or individuals), it takes account of the behaviour of others, and is thereby oriented in its course (Weber 1947:88 in Keat and Urry 1987:145).

The statement that humans have been privileged in tourism research means privileged in ‘kind’, but not necessarily kindly or in ways that can be regarded as complimentary. The tourist encounter has evoked the ‘cultural dupe’ discourse, as well as the discourse of second-wave colonialism, equating tourists with qualities narcissism and abundant ignorance.⁵⁰

Thus, for many, a *hula*-dancing, Irish waiter suffices for an authentic Hawai’i experience (Soguk 2003: 30).

Still lingering among hosts is the discourse of the noble (if not-quite-so) savage as well as the politics and playing out of exoticism, and the tourism industry often comprises people who disregard things of value to hosts in the single-minded pursuit of profit.⁵¹ In these ways humanism does not necessarily refer to the privilege that comes from a love of humans and there is enough misanthropic humanism to dispel this myth.

⁵⁰ See Horne (1992); MacCannell (2001) and Franklin (2003) on the cultural dupe, and MacCannell (1992) and Hall and Tucker (2004) on neo-colonialism.

⁵¹ See Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblet (1994); Aramberri (2001) on hosts; Cheong and Miller (2000) on the tourism industry, and Stronza (2001: 273) on the duping or ‘toying with tourists’ undertaken by hosts.

The term 'privilege' instead conveys less of an honour and more of an automatic assumption that sees humans brought into relief as a privileged kind of being in the world. The hierarchy of nature as below and culture as above with progress as the means of advancing from one to the other gives to humans the rewards and encumbrances of the 'progressive state' of all these things including ice-cream and fairground attractions, 'colonialism and globalisation' (Seidman 2008: 253) and an 'an ecological crisis' as well (Latour 2004b). Yet in the statement 'privileging humans' is the contrary statement 'they do not have to be privileged' and this opens the door to a 'post-human' (Pickering 1999) alternative to both humanism and emulating the natural sciences. In post-humanism is an opportunity that comes from redressing a 'chauvinism' (de Landa 1997: 103) or exaggerated sense of what humans are by questioning 'what humans are more realistically' when their limited capacity for performing, thinking, doing and being 'among themselves' is taken into account (after Latour 2005:75).

2.6 From human endeavours to adding non-humans

This chapter has discussed some of the implications of adding bodies and a social life to tourism discourse and by doing this, to begin to chart a largely deserted course across the sociology of tourism knowledge. Giving real bodies to the more abstract 'body of knowledge' not only 'fleshes out' tourism knowledge as a relational materialism so that it is not fully the property of 'discourse', but opens the possibility that tourism knowledge is like other social phenomena and that it might then be said to be 'performed' (after Law and Urry 2004).

As a social phenomenon tourism, knowledge involves researchers, tourists, hosts and industry people who comprise the 'usual suspects' or main resources for explaining tourism in a makeshift society. In this society researchers form alliances, often with tourists who are then become the central meaning-makers for what tourism is. Hosts and 'middlemen' conspire to varying degrees and this encourages both a fertile field of social enquiry and a humanist understanding of tourism. Becoming a tourist and mixing with their entourages has assisted in locating and understanding tourism in much the same way as 'becoming a thief' and mixing with their accomplices works well for detectives. While these practices make intellectual, practical and historical sense, they do little to explain what happens, nor what should happen when tourism eventually achieves a scale that makes it obvious that it is beyond the tourist

and therefore ‘beyond itself’. Neither of these strategies explains ‘who to become’ nor ‘where to go’ to fully appreciate the phenomena ‘thievery’ and ‘tourism’, and this shortcoming becomes even more pronounced when it is learned that we are all tourists to varying extents in the contemporary world. In this way tourism knowledge as a discursive and peopled voyage has come to define tourism against a backdrop of the ‘everyday’, to provide the risky conditions for their recently rediscovered merger, and also to define the experience of researching tourism.

This voyage made up of discourses and people is also a voyage that is about people, and tourism is accordingly performed as a humanist endeavour. The following chapter considers what happens when the voyage is taken to also include the accomplishments made possible by non-humans as a post-human opportunity begins to redress the humanist impulse. A post-human voyage concedes that people and discourse are only part of the picture and proposes that a fuller picture of tourism knowledge is to be found by including the adventures of non-humans. This involves the subtle and precarious notion that it is possible to do tourism research that includes humans *as* humans without necessarily being *humanist*. The following chapter allows the ‘conceit’ that non-humans or ‘things’ just “like persons, have social lives” (Appadurai 1992:3).

CHAPTER THREE

Voyages of the Non-Humans

3.0 Introduction and overview of the chapter

At the beginning of this research the symmetry of a ship was used to show how heterogeneous assemblies comprise the ‘things’ we take for granted (Law 2002). Both tourism knowledge and tourism ‘out there’ were then proposed to be similar to this ship, and this meant that to work properly both needed to ‘borrow’ from discursive materials, people and also those ‘other things’ that can be loosely tied together as ‘non-human’. The previous chapter made the claim that tourists set off on voyages and that tourism researchers often followed them in order to get to where tourism, or in some cases ‘hosting tourism’ happens. In doing so researchers mixed with tourists and those who encounter tourists and these became the proper subjects and main resources for explaining tourism. By adding ‘people’ to the discourse a social life of tourism knowledge was allowed to exist and so the ‘members of the crew’ and some ‘know how’ are now in place.

As more than a purely human endeavour however this crew of ‘tourists’, ‘hosts’ and ‘middle people’ along with ‘researchers’ become actors who contribute to the making of tourism, but are no longer the only actors. In giving consideration to the relationships that form up the ‘usual tourism suspects’ the previous chapter helped to recognise and unpack the resultant humanism and this is to dispel any ‘confusion’ not only among tourists but among *any* “worldview[s] with the way tourism in the world really is or came about” (Franklin 2004: 288). What is required to do this, in simple terms is a detailed log of the simultaneous voyages of non-humans in the doing of tourism.

This means there is the mast, the sails and the hull of the ship to take into account and this chapter considers the prospect of adding to the discursive and social terrains of tourism knowledge all those things that are made ‘residual’ (Latour 2000a) by these - the ‘non-humans’. Where this chapter starts to diverge from the previous two is that it does not recount a history of inclusion that would generate a discourse (Chapter One) and neither does it

recount a history of too much inclusion that has meant the routine social practices of tourism research have disappeared (Chapter Two). Instead this chapter explores the ‘possibility of inclusion’ by which is meant including non-humans in accounts of tourism.

While the recent performance turn has enlightened us to performing subjects, performing discourses and even on some occasions performing objects, rarely are all three matters deployed in the same performance or in performing.⁵² This leads to situations like when monkeys perform everyone is silent; when discourse performs everyone is asleep and when people perform they may command discourse, but when they hurl a candlestick and murder the butler in the dining room, in their togetherness they are not of much interest to any particular *science*.⁵³ This chapter shows how things like candlesticks, discourse and butlers can be made to comply or to ‘share the same analytical space’ when tourism is taken to be a ‘post-human’ endeavour (after Pickering 1999).

Post-humanism is a device for recognising the implications of ‘humanist tourism theory’ (see Franklin 2003: 100-108) and taking a more sensitive appreciation of things like coastlines; beach-houses; shark-nets; surf-breakers and jellyfish in the performance of tourism and tourism knowledge (see Mavric and Urry 2009). Having developed a notion of tourism research as something discursive and social and having seen from this a decidedly humanist bent, the post-human move is to begin to diffuse the situation by adding non-humans to this state of affairs.

Adding non-humans does not render all actors equal but rather gives any kind of actor the theoretical potential to ‘equally act’. In this way post-humanism does not dismiss the importance of ‘being human’ whether as tourists, their entourages or researchers themselves but acknowledges that these are ‘humanist times’ and to pretend otherwise is to be *like* a humanist and ignore the very real effects of this ‘time of privileging humans’. Consequently if humans occupy the most important place in tourism research then this is because quite often they do occupy this place by doing ‘a lot of the shifting around’ (Latour 2000a). The

⁵² See Chapter Two for performing subjects; Baerenholdt et al. (2004) for performing discourses and see below for performing objects.

⁵³ Latour (2005) asks ‘who is specialist at studying specialists?’.

post-humanist point is that there are not only humans acting out tourism and not only human resources to draw from in explaining it (after Franklin 2003).⁵⁴

The birth of the human subject distributes humanism and a history to humans without also deploying non-humanism and a birth and a history to things, objects and beasts (Latour 1991/1993:13).

Franklin has gone furthest in outlining the theoretical implications of the outcome of symmetrical, rather than humanist analysis in tourism (2007); in illustrating the emergence of tourism ontogenically through the nature of an ordering (2004) and in arguing for a more serious consideration of the open-endedness of tourism and the non-human entourages that complete it (2003; 2004; 2007; 2009 and related 2008). This chapter leads to the adoption of this position and explains how a post-human theoretical position opens up the possibility for increasing the vocabulary of actions afforded to ‘things’.

3.1 Posting Humanism

The implications of humanism have been explored by an intellectual movement called post-humanism (after Pickering 1999) that responds to a perceived need to ‘get beyond it’. At the same time in this research ‘getting beyond humanism’ does not mean enacting a discontinuity that sees humanism giving way to a new post-human condition, although some have interpreted it this way (see for example Pepperell 2003). Rather post-humanism is to be understood as a way of taking the effects of humanism into account and in this way the term is an unfortunate shortening of ‘posting humanism’ as in posting humanism on the wall, or in the text, or to our colleagues more than a replacement meta-narrative. The movement in one of making explicit the role humanism plays in explaining social phenomena, not least of which is the longstanding and far reaching distinction between humans and nature (non-humans).⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Despite its humanist legacy tourism research has rarely looked very closely at individual humans, but rather concentrated on groups of humans. See for an exception Franklin (2003 and 2004) on Thomas Cook.

⁵⁵ The re-emergence of the term humanism in the social sciences can be linked to the emergence of ‘the environment’ on the social scene, opening the possibility and some would argue necessity of a post-human understanding of human-nature relations (see Latour 2004b for more on this).

Post-humanism is based on an alternative philosophy that humans and nature are co-emergent entities that do not first exist in separated states (Feenberg 2000:152) despite being well organised to exist in that way. Nature and humans are instead outcomes made up of the same ‘common pool’ of things (Latour 1999) that might at some point become ‘animals, vegetables and minerals’, at another times ‘cultural heritage’ and others a ‘natural wilderness’. Like states of separation and inseparability emerge through performing tourism and tourism knowledge, states of nature and culture are not conditions preceding all explanation (see Latour 1999) but are organised to perform conditions only *then* describable as ‘liminal’ or ‘globally united’; ‘human’ or ‘non-human’; ‘social’ and ‘natural’.

In operating against the common notion in tourism that people alone constitute or perform their ‘own pure dynamics’ (Pickering 1999: 1) humanist accounts of tourism are interpreted as missing out on the intellectual and social benefits and challenges that non-humankind can bring, as well as leaving the empirical field too sparsely furnished.⁵⁶ In continuing to privilege the symbolic over the practical, the intellectual over the material and the human over the non-human, social science including tourism research have continued to cast non-humans into roles that have them endlessly mute to, and therefore overly determined by what we say they are.

If it is determined it excludes much, it denies, the symbol fits no one, the key is almost of no use (Serres 1982/1995: 29).

The inclusion of non-humans, in addition to its realistic and practical basis, serves as a technique for disturbing humanism and underscoring the performative nature of tourism.⁵⁷ When they are included in accounts of tourism, the discursive webs and social alliances that perform tourism and tourism knowledge become more obvious as discursive and social alliances, in part because they are ‘broken up’ and disturbed by the presence of more ‘indifferent actors’. Unlike tourists, hosts, the tourism industry and tourism researchers, non-humans have no allegiance to a definition of tourism and without this allegiance the actions

⁵⁶ See Latour (1984/1993).

⁵⁷ Some helpful approaches can also be found in the work of ‘Organisation Studies’ including Czarniaskwa (2004), Jones et al. (2004) and Thrift (2004). Pred’s analysis of the Stockholm exhibitions (1995) and many anthropological approaches including Appadurai’s (1986) edited collection and Fox’s (1991) ‘anthropology of the present’ and Augé’s (1995) conception of near, elsewhere, place and non-place, are also useful places to start.

of an object and the orderings it takes part in more naively ‘give up’ the fractured nature of, for example ‘tourism and non-tourism’ or ‘liminal states and global unity’. In their blissful ignorance of these foundational dilemmas non-humans can assist humans to understand that these are outcomes and empirical questions that are transferable to ‘the doing of tourism’ (see Franklin 2004: 283).⁵⁸ In this way the indifference of these actors, like spanners in the works, find a way around a humanist scientific inheritance that has constrained a better understanding of at least the unintended consequences of tourism, a spectre that might excite and concern adventurous tourism scholars.

This simplification of tourism theory (Franklin 2007) gives preference to a closer focus on the ‘mundane practicalities of how’ (Latour 1992) and a more open-ended ontology for tourism (Franklin 2004). Accounting for behaviours this extended list of actors offers as much certainty about tourism as all the theoretical, ‘conceptual callisthenics’ we have already devised (Latour 2005:51). Discursive strategies and social alliances that play such important roles in performing tourism research become subject to interruption, not by theoretical advancements, but by non-humans that if not entirely indifferent to alliances, care little for the meanings that humans attach to them, nor their consequences (Latour 1991/1993: 119).⁵⁹ Post-humanist philosophy sees these meanings act as ‘circuit-breakers’ (Pickering 1999:2) between ‘them’ (the non-humans) and ‘us’ (the meaning humans) and this can only be amended if meaning is instead regarded as one part of what happens among relations that involve humans. While humanism has effectively explored the outcomes of relations between those who care, post-humanism explores the outcomes of caring actors who cannot escape actors who do not care, who we do not yet ‘properly know’, and whose actions need a wider set of descriptors if they are to avoid continuous neglect.

3.2 *Tourism Things*

The second part of this research will investigate tourism objects in a tourism place and part of the reason for this is that while tourism research has always been a humanist endeavour it has also been ‘teeming with things’ (Franklin 2003:97). Things provide the technologies that

⁵⁸Technology Studies illustrated this well in “the fact that one can never know in advance what a new machine, or an old machine in novel circumstances will do; one just has to find out” (Pickering 2000: 310).

⁵⁹ These alliances are considered integral for example in developing touring route strategies. See Brunori and Rossi (2000) for an example of this through wine routes.

enable people to travel. Things attract people to places and these then come to be defined by them. Tourism also ruins things; produces new things; adds to things that are already there; adapts things; connects things and shifts them around in other things like suitcases and aircraft. It is not that humanist tourism theory has ignored all the things associated with tourism so much as it hasn't been able to give them much serious attention. This is because humanist accounts give almost all of the agency to humans and the meanings, values and uses they attach to non-humans. Non-humans are treated as duller or less than people who are by contrast *as if* in permanent relief (Latour 2005).⁶⁰ Consequently the non-human background acts to dislocate and define the human (and human sciences) in the same way that a non-tourism background acts to dislocate and define tourism (and tourism knowledge).

Disputing this accusation of neglect, social constructivism implies that humans do not reduce non-humans to a limited potential but rather increase their potential with every social encounter. Each 'subject-object' encounter brings with it its own meanings since every subject has the potential to add a different meaning to an object, or a new subtlety to what it is. These 'plural meanings' are what testify that a non-human is never limited by associations with humans. Born in part from a will to avoid 'castrating the intellect with an unthinkable eye' (Nietzsche *On the Genealogy of Morals* 1998: 85), 'pluralism' has given non-humans more potential in their relations with humans. As subjects and subject positions multiply, at the other end objects have also become plural or multifaceted. These multiple aspects of an object mirror the multiplicity of the human and some objects with obvious examples in tourism and art become saturated with interpretation and meaning.

Tourists who increasingly "do not possess a common reference point" (Franklin 2003: 31) exemplify this as do the various gazes tourist's are said to mantle.⁶¹ However with each elaboration of the gaze what is gazed upon is not heard any louder; it is rather the gazing itself that makes more noise.⁶² The single object no longer presumes an unthinkable eye that is able to comprehend the totality of it. Rather the totality of an object, or its maximum potential comes from adding together the 'multiple eyes that behold it' (Mol 1999:76). Whether the object is the world, tourism, the Eiffel Tower or a souvenir teaspoon, it is made plural

⁶⁰ Latour (2005:59) argues that if aliens had knowledge of the 'social world' before they arrived they would not recognise 'the actual world' (Earth and all its life) if they came upon it.

⁶¹ See Urry (2000); (2002) and (2003).

⁶² The emphasis given to gazing necessarily placed the human at the centre since 'visibilities remained invisible if sought in the things themselves' (Deleuze on Foucault 1988:57).

through its encounters with humans and the meanings they attach to it (see for example Hollinshead 2004: 84).

This means in the bewildering variety of souvenirs and the many ways we could ascribe meaning and typify them, there is plenty of work before beginning to think about what these souvenirs do. The humanist tradition takes up the work of equating a souvenir with symbolic value as a representation or albeit shallow code for the social life of tourism. That nobody ever *uses* souvenir teaspoons and tea-towels stresses how easily tourism objects are reduced to discourse or the very semiotic webs supposed to have attracted the tourist to the souvenir in the first place.⁶³ The relationship is dialogical so that the tourist as a ‘cultural dupe’ is in part identified through his/her attachment to the ‘kitsch’ object that is important mainly for its ability to serve the tourist as “the ideal food for a lazy audience that wants to have access to beauty and enjoy it without having to make much of an effort” (Eco 1989 in Styhre and Engberg 2003: 117). At the same time the researcher him/herself need make little effort in the direction of the object because it is already spoken for in theories of human nature and behaviour.

[O]bjects themselves are essentially passive providing a vocabulary of meaning and a material manifestation for social discourses – ideas and arguments that in their assemblage and operation are intended or attempt to lead to particular patterns of behaviour and social order. [...]Animals, stars, sights and things become merely a linguistic palette for cultural creativity (Franklin 2003: 101-104).

In some cases tourism things are so passive that tourism objects speak to no object at all but are reduced, in this case to paradoxical and tragic-ironic ‘positionalities’.

The subjects and objects of the global tourist industry – from tourists to travellers, from departures to destinations, and finally, from desire of authenticity to claims of serving up authenticity – are paradoxical, perhaps even tragic-ironic, positionalities in the world of tourism (Soguk 2003: 32).

⁶³ See for examples of this kind of research Dann (2003).

Countering this practice is Lury's (1997) *Objects of Travel* that while not explicitly disturbing a humanist tradition, places objects centre of analysis where they are mobilised in a way that, not saturated by humanism, discovers a series of 'object effects' (1997:78). These effects are outcomes through which both the object and tourist can be said to 'draw on repertoires' (and therefore 'become') in ways that are only accessible through the 'tourist-object' encounter (Franklin 2003: 110). Within the parameters of the book which emphasises travel and culture, objects tend to inform what remains *otherwise* and first a 'cultural' phenomenon 'tourism'. Nevertheless this work is seminal in identifying active, particularly mobile properties of tourism objects that are not reducible to human meaning alone. Shifting the emphasis away from this 'culture' of travel and how objects co-produce this, Franklin (2003: 108-109) extends upon this to give the objects themselves a 'social life' that like their counterpart 'subject' is variously engaged in a culture of travel.

With few exceptions in tourism research, pluralism has expanded the vocabulary of *meanings attached* to objects and made them less limited in this sense. However the problem of humanism remains because non-humans are still at the other end of a 'great divide' (Latour 1991/1993) that is mediated by language. In this way they respond to humans because they have no ability to be any more or less than what different kinds of people mean them to be. The plural object can 'hear' more said about it and may be more colourfully described, but it is still limited to so many human interpretations of an object. While these many, varied and 'incommensurable viewpoints' (Latour 1999:310) say a lot about the character of objects, they keep their ability to act under the tight reign of the human. Consequently, as 'vessels of human meaning' there is "nothing more difficult than to find a way to render objects able to object to the utterances we make about them" (Latour 2000a: 115). By not confronting what limits non-humans from acting even if they are able to mean more, pluralism's greatest achievement is in multiplying the variety of human agency and therefore however liberating it might seem, it only liberates the humans.

With a focus on 'the doing' and 'how' tourism is accomplished, the meaning of the human word or thought is not *a priori* more significant than the other 'things that make effects' almost all of which involve non-humans.⁶⁴ These non-humans, after the humanist tradition of tourism research include objects like tourist attractions, hotels, planes, trains and automobiles

⁶⁴ Law (2002) suggests that 'making love' may be all that exists as a purely human relationship. Without meaning to ruin this thought, the related 'giving birth' might also qualify.

and they are regarded as integral, enablers of tourism. However, they are made subject to an even more integral human will to travel that enables ‘them’ to always serve ‘us’ in doing tourism. Non-humans are only meaningful insofar as “tourists consume [them] and tourism workers help produce them” (Crang 1997:143). In this way tourism objects are variously ‘inscribed’; ‘representative’; ‘captured’; ‘making manifest’; ‘displaying’; ‘reproducing’ and ‘indexing’ the social; offering invaluable administrative assistance. Tourism objects assist tourism by enabling for example the tourist to travel further, more, better than before because it is natural that s/he should do this.⁶⁵ So while there has been no dispute that objects are important it is because it is vitally important that they go along with people in performing tourism.

If they have been treated as lesser beings through humanist accounts, it is not because human beings are unkind but perhaps opportunistic when non-humans often allow humans to treat them as lesser until they ‘strike back’ (Latour 2000a) with a delayed flight; a rained out festival; an unprovoked attack at the zoo; a landslide. With no access to language, what is needed to allow these ‘to strike back’ is the notion of a ‘performative definition’ (Latour 2005:37), more than an interpretative one that is variously connected to objects-in-co-performance (and see Franklin 2003: 106) or ‘dances’.

If a dancer stops dancing, the dance is finished, no inertia will carry the show forward. [...] the object of a performative definition vanishes when it is no longer performed (Latour 1005:37).

3.3 Tourism ordering and unintended consequences

To better ‘communicate’ with these actors and allow in them a wider set of actions they need to be mobilised and this comes from their associations with others. Drawing upon ‘relational and heterogeneous materialism’ (Law 2002) Franklin demonstrates a way to unravel the humanist legacy of tourism theory by treating tourism as an ordering (2004), or the ongoing outcome of relations between humans and non-humans.⁶⁶ Without an explicit definition or a general theory about tourism, at its most undetermined (Serres 1982/1995: 34) tourism takes

⁶⁵ See Clifford (1986) on this naturalised will to travel and Franklin (2003 and 2004) for what it misses out.

⁶⁶ And see Johannesson (2005).

part in orderings. These orderings are “chains of association” (Serres 1990/1995: 19) that involve ‘promiscuous’ as well as predictable ‘enrolment’ (after Franklin 2004) and are not the same as ‘order’. Since these are not species, but relationally-specific associations there are any number of ways that orderings can unfold.⁶⁷ This means ‘*how* they nature’ becomes the important question, ‘*what* their nature is’ becomes an open-ended ‘becoming’ and ‘*why* they nature’ is a human-species-specific effect that may or may not make much difference. The remainder of the chapter describes how it is possible to think about what tourism *does* when it includes the *doings* of all of these things.

Once texts, humans and non-humans have been ‘added to the mix’, the work of alchemy begins (Chapter Five) and ‘orderings’ becomes a term that is formless enough to describe more generally a shadowy unity at best. Shadowy unity is all that can be expected in circumstances that are at best ‘mastered’ by those with ‘feet of clay’ (Law 1992: 379). In the absence of any ‘being’ that is capable of explaining a total circumstance we are *all* ‘in the middle of it all’ (Serres 1982/1995:33) where it is possible to recognise:

[T]he incomplete and multiply contested nature of social ordering, the sheer multiplicity of configurations of humans and non-humans and objects that have implications, intended or otherwise, for the way they interact with each other (Franklin 2003:107).

If it is conceded that part of what attracts some researchers to tourism is that in separating and mixing things so successfully, tourism provides the conditions for what is unintended, then tourism orderings offer a technique for tapping into this.⁶⁸ At a minimum there is the analytical freedom that offers the chance to be surprised at *what* is involved and *how* it is involved in the ‘performing of tourism’. The possibility exists, and is illustrated in the second half of this research, that things considered to be essential to the working of tourism are not at all, or they may play a role that is not expected of them. At the same time things most ‘unlikely tourism’ can be found important to a tourism ordering. Always anticipating ‘the brute emergence of novelty in the world’ (Pickering 2000: 311), tourism orderings are a way

⁶⁷ See Serres (1990/1995); Kendall and Wickham (2001); Latour (2005) and Harraway (2008).

⁶⁸ Humberstone (2004: 120) makes a similar point but from a Humanist and epistemological point of view. In arguing for ‘standpoint epistemology’ she confines ‘the unexpected’ to an outcome of mixing *cultures*, and while her approach is inclusive of the so-named marginalised (women, black and disabled people), this inclusiveness does not get as far as non-humans.

to describe the ‘under’ as well as over-determined nature of tourism.⁶⁹ Emphasising the strangeness of ‘what tourism is’ when it is made relationally material, the ‘ins and outs’ of tourism become “a far more interesting question” (after Latour 1998:8). At the same time this diminishes one of the benefits of a humanist legacy that has meant the ‘ins and outs’ of tourism have been less problematic, confined as they were to relations among humans; their individual and social logics, dynamics and systems that are embodied and material or interpreted and symbolic.

While tourism orderings share compatibilities with the recent work on tourism performance and the materiality of tourism, as the previous chapter identified these do not present too much of a challenge to the limits of humanism. Interested mainly in uncovering ‘identity’, tourism performance has tended to fasten to a better understanding of the performative, ‘subjective’ qualities of tourist experience or those who host or produce tourism.⁷⁰ In this way human performances and even the way they perform places (see Edensor 2001) remain mysteriously un-tied from the co-performance of objects.

It is an outcome of post-humanist questioning of the privilege of humans that ‘tourism performance’ becomes ‘tourism ordering’. To the structuring, ‘becoming’ precedents set out by the performance turn is added an agential twist that gives the material elements of tourism a better chance of acting out performances, and the performances of tourism a better chance at getting beyond people. This ‘relational materialism’ pushes the present limits of material tourism and tourism performance by suggesting that humans and non-humans are properly entangled in practice and performance and need to be properly ‘mangled’ in ours (Franklin 2008:18).

In this way tourism orderings grow from a post-human ‘default position’ (Latour 2005: 14) that moves away from the humanist voyage to include all the non-humans that are voyaging as well. Tourism orderings are more than politics, or agendas or discourses (dominant or

⁶⁹ Supporting the case for an ontology of unintended consequences is the relatively early claim that most tourism research has been a “spin-off dividend of analyses constructed and executed to elicit information on other topics” (Boissevain 1978:39 in Nash 1981: 468).

⁷⁰ Obrador-Pons (2003) for example argues for an ontological approach of ‘tourist dwelling’, however, in following Merleau-Ponty’s conception of being, the world that contains humans and non-humans is a united *human world*. Consequently, objects are taken into account insofar as they relate to this world and as they inform “cultural lives and values” (Obrador-Pons 2003:61). See also Minca and Oakes (2006) and Sladanhya (2002); and Gibson and Connell (2005) on the latter.

otherwise) because they most often involve more than one human and many and varied non-humans, and this ensures that humanist ideas of agency are ‘overtaken’ (Latour 2005:45). Extending the list of possible actors, not only rewrites what takes part in tourism, but also extends the repertoire of possible activities associated with tourism. As something that is open-ended, organising and heterogeneous a subtler nature is give to tourism than in those accounts that are obliged to make tourism cleaner and more decisive so that it acts more singularly. By making consistent attempts to remove the practice of human agential privilege tourism researchers extend “the number of entities on the negotiating table” (Latour 2004a: 454), and this unleashes tourism and its ‘promiscuous enrolment’ on to the world (Franklin 2004: 290).

By taking on this nature of something that is unleashed, tourism is entangled with various ‘non-tourisms’ and is therefore a harbour for paradox. This paradox is evident in the co-performance of tourism as both ‘liminal’ and a ‘global unity’ (Chapter One), as well as the ‘no real way to be there’ that is the experience of the hybrid tourist-tourism researcher (Chapter Two). These paradoxical natures are courses that need to be plotted because a formula or theory will not do (see Franklin 2007), and this is not unlike the work of piecing together a biography, or cartographic map. Like a cartographer and biographer this is an empirical exercise and what is being mapped or pieced together are orderings or in this case ‘tourism orderings’ (Franklin 2004).

3.4 *The ‘travails of travel’*⁷¹

There is work involved in mapping each point that delineates territory as there is work involved in writing each event that maps a person’s life. This work does not only belong to the cartographer or the biographer but also to the forming of land itself, to the technologies that allow the mapping and to all of the ‘turning points’ that allow an interesting life to emerge. It is this kind of work that becomes evident in tourism orderings because casting the ‘casting agency’ net so widely increases the potential actors involved in tourism, and in removing the obligation of theory there are less ways to discriminate between what counts. Added up this facilitates a more appreciative gaze on the amount of work involved and

⁷¹ This phrase belongs ‘informally’ to Professor C. Michael Hall referring to his own travels at the time.

distributed in performing tourism (Franklin 2003:3-4) and also tourism research (Chapter Four).

[T]he project of following a route adapts in real time to conditions that unceasingly modify it (Serres 1982/1995:42).

As an ordering, tourism is given back all the work that has disappeared beneath efficient transportation methods like roads, trains, cars, aeroplanes and e-ticketing, as well as ‘liminality’, ‘culture’, ‘mobilities’ and ‘globalisation’.

She will no doubt remember all her life every minute of this excruciating trip across the jungle. She will remember it because each centimetre has been won over through a complicated ‘negotiation’ with other entities, branches, snakes, sticks, that were going in other directions and had other ends and goals. [...] His body does not bare any trace of the voyage, except for a few wrinkles on his trousers and maybe a few cramps because he did not stretch his long legs often enough. He will not remember anything... The trip for him was like nothing. All the atoms of steel, all the electrons, the gates ... were aligned in the same direction, going fast through space in time....No negotiation along the way, no event, hence no memory of anything to mention (Latour 1997b: 174-175).

In these two voyages Latour describes the work of ‘immutable mobility’ where “no displacement seems possible without costly and painful translations’ (Latour 2005:25). The ‘paradox of twin travellers’ (1997: 171) illustrates that anything that ‘saves the cost’ of the time and energy to travel, anything that ‘takes on this cost’ contributes to immutable mobility, or the circumstance of transporting something without transforming it. This has obvious implications for tourism that have not yet fully been addressed by the ‘mobilities turn’, particularly the amount of work it takes to make a ‘mobilities turn’.⁷² Without engaging other actors only some of which are humans there is a higher cost to pay for travel, without these distributions working upon the travelling person the more stripped, the more *naked*,

⁷² See Favel (2001) for an exception.

blank, single or pure s/he is (Serres 1982/1999: 34 and Chapter Five).⁷³ This is because the naked traveller, like the female twin will pay the cost of travelling with a more single being ('only' herself), a more single timing (the pace she alone can manage) and a more single spacing (unassisted displacements through obstacle ridden territory).⁷⁴

The paradox of the twins describes the unassisted and the assisted, the full burden of cost and the distributed burden of cost. There is the naked human subject (Serres 1982/1999) who is pitted against everything and the adorned, embellished, 'plugged in' (Latour 2005:207) subject who benefits from previous negotiations that have been carried over like the revolutions of a wheel so that they do the work of transport for him. Without this 'cargo', without these frameworks of immutable mobility or should a part of it break, the remaining costs and negotiations are redistributed back to the mobile (Latour 1999). The traveller who is stranded, is cast adrift, is now on foot, is hoping to calculate distance, will soon be calculating a different time, negotiating a different space and recognising perhaps something of his own 'singular' being.⁷⁵

A condition of modern tourism is that it "establishes smoothness across uneven surfaces" so we can displace ourselves "without much event" and therefore contemplate becoming tourists (Franklin 2004: 298). This immutable mobility contains the taken-for-granted achievements of 'travel' including the work of achieving not a physical separation, but also a more abstract production and consumption of liminality.⁷⁶ This experience of 'threshold' (Turner 1995: 95) that in tourists incites a sense of excitement; unfamiliarity; permissiveness, perhaps inversion and perversion is a hallmark of the 'separated' nature of tourism.

The production of liminality occurs on behalf of the tourists themselves, as well as travel organisers, advertisers, local entrepreneurs, and others. Phantasmagorical media representations, spectacular hotels, restaurants and entertainment areas, as well as the expressive leisure practices of the tourists

⁷³ Latour (1991: 108) writes of human intention similarly as a 'naked wish'. In each iteration the metaphor brings attention to the stripped back nature of humans acting on their own.

⁷⁴ An obstacle is an ordering with an alternate agenda or different course, not a thing that exists only (as an obstacle) in relation to the subject. If something crosses my path it is because it is on a different path (see Latour 1999).

⁷⁵ At this point, not only will the costs of travel be made known and felt but the version of time and space produced by it, a sense of travelling *through* time and space will also be altered (Latour 1997 and Jones et al. 2004).

⁷⁶ See Shields (1992); Franklin and Crang (2001) and Sladhana (2002).

(in terms of clothing, consumption and more or less hedonistic social behaviour) work towards the same goal: weaving the magic texture of tourism, which shall separate the trip from the world of everydayness (Jansson 2007:7).⁷⁷

As an ordering, 'liminality' summarises contracts and mutual obligations that lead to a coming together to perform tourism as 'degrees of separation' or 'excitedly unfamiliar'. These obligations are made up of local entrepreneurs and tourists, as well as media representations, hotels, magic and clothing. This definitive, separated 'other version' of reality that is associated with tourism is not only a biological or psychological state of a tourist, not only a social inversion provided by displacement and not only an artefact of structuralist ways of researching tourism. It is also an outcome of organisation, intended and otherwise that enacts a separate-ness in which *everything* and *everyone* from the porter to the marble statue variously go along with 'making (or faking) it'. In the typical kind of tourist place, tourism ordering creates a smoothness and relative consistency 'of separateness', sometimes a 'bubble' (Cohen 1979) that is the same in principle as the smoothness experienced by the male twin on the train (above), when things come together to work towards the same goal.

[T]he body ... assimilates and retains the various differences experienced during travel and returns home a half-breed of new gestures and other customs, dissolved in the body's attitudes and functions, to the point that it believes that as far as it is concerned nothing has changed (Serres 1991/1997: xvi).

At the same time tourism also organises and is organised by other orderings. Symmetrically, there are also contracts and mutual obligations that come together to perform tourism as inseparable from everything else and these consist of tourism performing alongside sometimes competing, sometimes complementing and often accidental orderings that get in the way, are necessary or otherwise influence 'tourism'. At the 'other end' of the model

⁷⁷ This same production of liminality was noted by Durant (1938 in Franklin 2009) as *the Machinery of Amusement* describing new industries (including tourism) that were "based on spectacle, excitement and escape" (Franklin 2009:68).

‘tourist place’ are more “weakly classified, heterogeneous spaces” (Edensor 2001) where tourism mingles with ‘non tourism’. In these places it can be assumed that tourism orderings are less influential because they are dispersed among orderings that are ‘travelling in other directions’. However, even this general ‘rule’ cannot be relied upon since there are also examples, like the case of Sullivans Cove where more ‘strongly classified’ tourism places are not the outcome of a well oiled tourism ordering like those described by Jansson (2008), and are not the outcome of smooth, uncompromised or even intentional tourism development. Sometimes, more like the female twin in the jungle above, ‘each centimetre [of a tourism place] has been won over through a complicated ‘negotiation’ with other entities [...] that were going in other directions and had other ends and goals’ (Latour 1997b: 172). In some cases even ensconced ‘jungle-like’ with non-tourism a ‘tourist place’ emerges anyway.

3.5 From tourism ordering to symmetrical analysis

This chapter has discussed the rough shape of tourism as an ordering. An ordering provides a means to describe the open-endedness of tourism, and its indeterminate manner (Franklin 2004). It was argued that this ‘liberated’ non-humans and also provided a means to disturb the humanist legacy in tourism research where to be post-human is to take account of both humans and non-humans with two important consequences. It shifts the usual limits of who and what is allowed to act in the making of tourism, and limits the usual ‘shiftiness’ that makes humans appear to accomplish most of tourism on their own (after Haldrup and Larsen 2006).

Theory is insufficient for the task which is more like an ‘ontological rebalancing act’ (after Soja 1998) where the post-human endeavour confronts epistemological privilege (Law 1975) and the ‘wringing of hands about methods’ (Latour 2005:128 and Chapter Six). This is a requirement of describing events that are less accountable in terms of human failing, success and meaning and more accountable as the ‘active organisation’ (Franklin 2004) undertaken by of any kind of actor. The next two chapters shift the focus towards accounting orderings and what tourism research is when it is done ‘symmetrically’. Chapter Four elaborates the ‘principle of general symmetry’ (Callon 1986) presented in the Introduction as it bears upon methodology. Chapter Five builds upon this and reconsiders the present chapter by forging a

stronger attachment between post-humanist tourism and the symmetrical treatment of humans and non-humans in enabling accounts of more heterogeneous performances.

CHAPTER FOUR

Doing research symmetrically

4.0 *Introduction and overview of the chapter*

The previous three chapters discussed some of the consequences of humanist tourism theory and proposed instead a symmetrical approach to discovering tourism. In Chapter One symmetry meant a digression from the ‘bonfire of the binaries’⁷⁸ that has produced up a lot of ‘critical’ tourism research in preference for a road less travelled that includes the possibility of both binaries and their dissolution as empirical questions. Chapter Two considered symmetry between the researcher and his/her subjects, who are joined together in a makeshift society that assists in performing tourism discourse. Chapter Three examined ‘post humanism’ and the possibility of treating non-humans symmetrically by adding them to the social fabric of tourism. The separation between discourse, humans and non-humans is also an outcome of humanist theory and the first part of this research has started to by-pass this by adding to tourism discourse its sociality and then considering the possibility of adding its ‘materials’.

This chapter takes a slightly different direction by considering symmetry as an approach for doing research. Where the chapter is similar is that like the doing of tourism knowledge in the previous section, the doing of research or science is given a social life where scientists are socialised, and their lives are also filled with non-humans. Symmetry influences research by interfering with what researchers are, where they stand and how they are said to perform. One of the most influential asymmetries of modern science is that there is a difference between ‘science’ or the academy and the ‘real world’ or ‘out there’ it studies. This chapter considers the implications of *not* taking this difference into account.

Differences like those between tourism and the everyday, and those even more incommensurable between discourse, humans and non-humans are *asymmetries*. Asymmetries do not only differ from each other - the everyday is nothing like tourism as

⁷⁸ This is borrowed from Woolgar’s (2002) play on Woolfe’s ‘vanity’.

nature is nothing like humans - but they are treated asymmetrically or differently by research. It is this different treatment more than the performance of differences *per se* that makes asymmetry a problem for research.

4.1 A symmetrical approach to research

One of the difficulties of isolating a genealogy for a symmetrical approach is that depending on who is consulted it is described as methodological principles (Callon 1999); a sociology of translation (Callon 1986 and Law 1992); a philosophy of the multiple (Serres 1982/1995); a ‘method’ called the sociology of associations (Latour 2004a) and also a set of precautions or for how ‘not to study things’ (Latour 2005). Since there are so many positions from which to claim a starting point all attempts to describe where symmetrical analysis comes from inevitably favour one course /cause over others. Yet this is indicative of one of its defining characteristics; that it is an approach that encourages research to be ‘indiscriminate’ by which is meant ‘inclusive’. This section begins to explore this inclusivity as it appears through some of the multiple heritages of symmetrical analysis. In perhaps its widest sense symmetrical analysis is tied to analytical philosophy and the close relationship it holds with “problems of difference and mathematical dealings with questions of multiplicity” (Currie 2004: 118). For Serres (1982/1995: 22) this translates to a ‘metaphysics of multiplicity’ and even if Serres is not made a grandfather of this approach, associated terms like ‘heterogeneity’ and ‘becoming’ imply this multiplicity.

Some have suggested this movement in the social sciences communicates with what is happening in the natural sciences as a “nearing of an awareness of the energy of existence” (Pepperell 2003:iv).⁷⁹ Symmetry is also locatable in alternative philosophies of time or critiques of linear time including a “revived form of materialism” that translates history as a composition and co-production of people and things (de Landa 1997: 13). Similar intellectual projects on space bear upon symmetrical analysis since they identify ‘new spatialities’ where “[r]elational or topological readings of space/place, prompted by reflections of globalisation, have been maturing for some time now” (Amin 2007: 103).⁸⁰ In sociology symmetry is tied to a relational rather than substantive mode of social inquiry (Emirbayer 1997:289) and in this

⁷⁹ See Jones et al. (2004) and Latour (2002 and 2005) on the ‘quantum movement’.

⁸⁰ And see Amin and Thrift (2003); Thrift (2004) and Smith (2005) in tourism.

way can be built from propositions like Bourdieu's (1984) 'relational effects', Elias' (1939 in Menell 1992) 'configurational sociology' and Foucault's (1980a) 'power'. However, a symmetrical reading includes a deliberate reluctance to "explain the social by means of the social" (after Tarde 1989 in Thrift 2004: 874) since 'society' is now achieved by heterogeneous means and this same reluctance is translated to science and its own register 'epistemology'.⁸¹

Science Studies and the (re)discovery of science and technology found that neither were easily categorised as social or natural. This emphasised a group of "nature-cultures" where both science and technology were not only natural and human-made, but also distributed effects to both (Law 2004). They therefore offered a proposition and potential of "bypassing the distinction between social structure and agency" (Barry and Slater 2002b:178).

Performances of technologies like ultrasound machines, water pumps and door hinges became 'prime subjects' in the investigation and once taken seriously began to emphasise an ignored dimension of ontology (Latour 2005:117).⁸² Since "[t]echnical change was conceived as a kind of experimentation, which in effecting a transformation of the world also revealed a dimension of what it was", it followed that matrices like "society as a domain distinct from nature and from technical artefacts" (Barry and Slater 2002a:178) became problematic.⁸³

These new research interests followed scientists at work in their laboratories, as well as those makeshift laboratories or 'fields' in dairy farms and South American rainforests; on fishing expeditions and through Portuguese long-range navigation.⁸⁴ Studying these hybrid technologies and 'following scientists' gave emphasis to the processes and labour of science and technology 'in action' (Latour 1987). Setting out to understand what scientists *do* and how they involve various new and emerging technologies to do this, also enabled a better appreciation of how scientific practice contributes to the 'making of realities' (Latour 1999). The relationship of a science that studies the practices of other sciences engaged a novel

⁸¹ Of the French academy Latour and Bowker (1987) describe a privileging of epistemological thinking "[t]hus it is better to do epistemology (for this at least deals with theory) than sociology" (in Bingham and Thrift 2001: 283), and this is described in the British academy by Law (1975).

⁸² See respectively Mol (1999); Law and Mol (1995) and Johnson (1988) aka 'Latour' with gratitude to Michelle Gabriel for this insight after missing the lessons about authors in the first and third footnote, and failed attempts to find more of Johnson's work!

⁸³ See Latour (1991/1993) for the most detailed account of this.

⁸⁴ See Latour and Woolgar (1979); Latour (1984/1993 and 1999); Callon (1999) and Law (1986).

willingness to take science into account in research, or to *extend the scientific outlook to science itself* (Latour 1999).⁸⁵

This became a tenable proposition through ethnographical inquiries into ‘technological progress’ and ‘scientific advancement’. Extending anthropological methods in this way also differed from established studies of science that set out to understand how scientists *think* in order to understand how scientific thinking contributes to making truth claims.⁸⁶ Studies of scientific thought explained the career of what counts as ‘truth’, ‘fact’ or ‘authoritative knowledge’ from within the philosophical register of epistemology, and this assisted in performing ‘Science’ as the workings of a largely independent system to be explained on its own terms. What was therefore a strange way to study science was to treat it symmetrically *as if* it is not a separate system ‘Science’ but a field and practice ‘science’ no different in principal to anywhere else. That these studies and the discoveries they gave rise to continue to be so strange only emphasises the strength of the *asymmetrical* proposition: that science is first different to the ‘outside’ (Latour 1999), or ‘real world’ it studies. Treating scientists symmetrically, like the world that scientists are supposed to study and making them subjects by scrutinising their practices was at core a counter-intuitive experiment.

The specialist language and tradition of epistemology was abandoned in preference for the descriptive language and practices of an ethnographer whose toolkit had already proved itself capable in other ‘strange lands’. In illustrating that the laboratory worked equally well as an empirical field the conceptual difference between these two hitherto separate ‘worlds’ became *undermined*, at the same time as it became *underlined*.⁸⁷ An implication of this was that science became placed as a “subset of life in the process of organisation” (Silk in Latour and Woolgar 1979:13). Life ‘in the process of organisation’ became ‘the performance of a common world’ (Latour 1999) and this meant that ‘how realities are done’ is also inseparable from how sciences are done.⁸⁸ In aiming to understand how scientific performance is done, it became apparent that the limits of ‘factual realities’ were not only discursive laws or logic

⁸⁵ Science and Technology Studies is both ‘substantive’ in that it studies ‘science and technology’ but is also ‘relational’ in that the analytical tools as well as ‘science and technology’ are to be found everywhere (see Latour and Woolgar 1979).

⁸⁶ See Foucault (1972) for an example of this.

⁸⁷ This is the same ‘symmetrical’ argument presented in chapter two concerning tourism and the everyday.

⁸⁸ The second part of this research illustrates this point by showing a tourism place is managed as an urban design laboratory where experiments are performed.

and not only their dependency on ‘social construction’.⁸⁹ Rather the limit to making factual realities had to include science’s ability or not to perform ‘a common world’ (Latour 1999) despite at the same time performing an active and very real separating out of ‘those who speak of the world’ and ‘those who’ and ‘that which’ constitutes the world on the other side (Latour 1991/1993). Like the performance of tourism as separate and inseparable (Chapter One) science also performs itself in this way and as a scientific endeavour, tourism research is implicated twice in this relationship when it claims to study ‘the real world’.

While asymmetry is a diagnostic tool it stops short of proposing a cure or treatment. To diagnose asymmetry is to understand what asymmetry exists and how it exists or is made to work. Rather than prescribing another treatment, symmetry describes the state of play, the ‘rules’ of the competition or the way these ‘differences’ are made. The assumption is not that asymmetry wrongfully exists or that it should be replaced with symmetry, but that research wrongfully makes it exist without explaining how.

By considering these performances as ‘outcomes’ rather than conditions that existed before, and as ‘resources’ for explanation rather than explanations themselves they become part of the malady as much as the cure for uncertainty (see Latour 1999 and 2005). This is because asymmetries already carry “a great weight of theoretical baggage” or ‘mythology’ (Crook 1998:523). Therefore lessening the obligation to deal with tourism theory by dealing with it as an ordering instead (Franklin 2007) also loosens the obligation to perform these theoretical asymmetries. In not seeking to resolve the truth about asymmetrical states, the symmetrical task is more simply one of describing their existence. In this way the task of the researcher is not to dissolve asymmetrical states, or to mix matters that *previously stood for* ‘natural and social’ or ‘tourism and the everyday’, but to describe these states when they come to perform or matter. In these circumstances they are real and make effects but these are added to the world through material relations not as *a priori* frameworks with imaginary consensus, but as various orderings - some of which develop the capacity to act like truths or frameworks. This is to follow the general principle of symmetry.

4.2 *The academy and the real world*

⁸⁹ ‘Discursive laws and logic’ refer to the philosophical tradition of studying science and ‘social construction’ refers to the Sociology of Scientific Knowledge.

Tourism is an academic endeavour that is not purely academic and is therefore caught up with a need to prove its worth in terms of policy and practical and relevance (Franklin and Crang 2001). This has encouraged the need for ‘workable’ definitions and methods that extract useful data from the real world of tourism. In this way, ‘the real world’ is a useful technology of tourism research.

The application of new approaches to tourism research is all very well, but it is all to naught if there are no significant consequences in the real world of tourism (Worthington 2005:244 emphasis added).

Tourism research and the real or ‘external’ world confront each other in a dialogue.

[T]he external world of tourism which is actually distilled into tourism studies depends crucially on what we have gone looking for and how we have gone about looking for it (Tribe 2004: 57).

And so:

With luck, they will find a spot from which a straightforward form will appear. And seek, as is normal, a place for a phenomenon, a space and an avatar, a cell and a science (Serres 1982/1995: 19).

This section will elaborate Worthington’s not uncommon lament, Tribe’s practice of ‘distilling the external world’ and Serres’ respondent derision as statements that depend upon a separation between the academy of science or in this case ‘tourism research’ and the real world it studies.⁹⁰ This assumption leads to asymmetry where each ‘world’ is different and treated differently. That there is a real, external or outside world is what makes it necessary to somehow reconnect to it to ensure that researchers know that what they take from the real world is ‘really real’ (Latour 1999:4) and epistemology offers this insurance.⁹¹

⁹⁰ In tourism studies this separation is noted by Phillimore and Goodson (2004); Hollinshead (2004) and Tribe (2004) to name a few.

⁹¹ This is a summary offering of Latour’s (1991/1993) *We Have Never Been Modern*, a thesis developed further in *Pandora’s Hope* (1999). Both of these provide the basis for the argument developed here.

Sociology and anthropology of science and technology suggested that ‘we’ as researchers do the same as what ‘they’ in the outside world do and that ‘we all’ draw from the same store of materials to do this. This de-differentiation added to the philosophical erosion of ‘the mind over matter’ where the scientific ability to objectify for example became traceable to ‘material relations’ no different ‘in nature’ to those identified in the real world. Treating science symmetrically as if it isn’t fundamentally different or distant from the world it studies, showed how it is both made different or asymmetrical and is also mixed up in the *progressive composition of the common world* (Latour 1999: 121). Both of these states were now accountable and questions concern how science occupies this position of difference, or how it achieves asymmetry while at the same time being intimately involved in performing the common world. Put another way, there is a need to understand how science occupies a position of ‘explaining the rest’ without first establishing and then maintaining this asymmetry. The symmetrical diagnosis of science is that it is not inseparable from the outside world and that it engages in the performance of a common world, yet it is able to act as if it is separate and does not perform but instead explains the world.

Social science is no more outside the reality it studies than are the natural and life sciences. Like natural science it actively participates in shaping the thing it describes (Callon 1998 in Barry and Slater 2002a:176).

Under this diagnosis tourism research draws on the same ‘heterogeneous’ bank of materials as ‘tourists and hosts’ and takes part in the progressive composition of a common world. At the same time tourism research is performed as separate needing to gain access to and relevance for the real world it studies. These co-performances in part explain why when it comes to ‘doing’ tourism research, there is no simple way to ‘be there’ (Chapter Two). A simple way to get out of this might seem possible by viewing the common world that includes science from another step out. However symmetry is not an expanding universe thesis and the world is the same size however size no longer matters in the way it used to.⁹² Instead science and the outside world are always collapsing or at risk of collapsing into *the middle of it all* (see Latour 2005:123) as the tourism researcher is at risk of being a tourist.

⁹² This refers to scale and the construction of the asymmetrical relationship ‘macro and micro’ that symmetrically is understood not as different states, but made of shorter or longer chains of association (see Callon and Latour 1981; Law 1992 and Latour 2005).

Consequently these worlds and their roles need to be resurrected and held in place a lot, like a poorly staked circus tent.

Symmetrically the work involved in staking a claim of fundamental difference like that of ‘science’ and ‘the real world’ with no fundamentally different materials or practices to draw upon is part of the package that needs to be explained. An implication of this is that ‘knowledge’ like anything else is a “product or an effect of a network of heterogeneous materials [...] it is a material matter but also a matter of organising and ordering those materials” (Law 1992: 381). This makes scientific forms of explanation including tourism theory less explanatory ‘by nature’ than they used to be (after Latour 1999) yet they still perform as explanations. In a departure from critique, symmetrical analysis holds that science is both separable (as an explanatory mode) and inseparable (as a performative practice) and neither of these relations can continue to be taken for granted (Latour 1999).ⁱ

The idea of an isolated and singular mind-in-a-vat looking at an outside world from which it is thoroughly cut off, and trying nonetheless to extract certainty from the fragile web of words spun across the perilous abyss separating things from discourse, is so implausible that it cannot hold up much longer (Latour 1999: 196).

It is without the convenience of a real world or an asymmetry that Latour (1991/1993) has called *modern*, and that we could also consider a *mod con* that a symmetrical reading of research is developed. To be symmetrical is to find a way to do research without an ‘outside’ or ‘real world’ that contains ‘tourism’ and separate from researching tourism. However this means the conventional scientific resource stocks will become depleted (Latour 1990/1998: 156) as the implications of this ‘small manoeuvre’ become felt in manoeuvrability in general (Serres in Latour 1990/1995: 58-59). Traditional resource stocks are ‘systems of interference’ (Haraway 1991 in Law and Urry 2004:397) that need to be taken into account in the performance of tourism knowledge or “method-making-knowledge-and-realities” (Law and Urry 2004:405). This represents a shift from, if not abandonment of epistemology “where what is known depends on perspective” towards ontology where “what is known is also being made different” (Law and Urry 2004:397 and see Mol 1999). Scientific practices are no longer differentiated to the point that epistemology makes evident how they ‘explain’, their workings of explanation are to be found in ‘black box’ (Serres 1982/1995:5) that is like

Pandora's box and needs to be unpacked since this is where 'hope' for scientific research is placed (Latour 1999).⁹³

Naïveté was back at last, a naïveté appropriate for those who had never understood how the world could be 'outside' in the first place. We have yet to provide a real alternative to that fateful distinction between construction and reality (Latour 1999:16).

Therefore in what might instead be regarded as 'naive', the following considers the implications that arise from the depletion of the resource stock 'epistemology', as well as what might take its place as a theory of knowledge. Since knowledge is what is at stake in science, messing with this 'big actor' can only cast the implications of the approach along extended paths. Symmetrically, a sociology of extraction can be reversed so that the epistemological proposition moves from one of extraction to one of addition. This is a simple act, which is what Serres (in Latour 1990/1995: 69) equates with 'an elegant theory', and a small manoeuvre that adds a vertical stroke to a horizontal one: '-' becomes '+'; and then the multiplication starts to occur.

4.3 *Just add epistemology*

When the real world is outside science, just as when things are distant from the mind a reconnection becomes contingent upon specific kinds of access that perform reliable communication between the two. The division between science and the world it studies and its 'phobias' about absolute certainty, or a 'reality that is real' reinforce each other so that specific kinds of access not only solve the problem of reaching the real world, but also hold the problem that it is unreachable in place (Latour 1999: 4). Gaining access means "many of the fundamental challenges facing the social science researcher relate to the core activity of decision-making and the justification of the strategy and method(s) adopted" (Crotty 1998 in Thomas 2004: 197). The practice of extraction focuses the challenge, enables specific access and in doing so also acts like a barrier that keeps the world from rushing in on a 'mindful

⁹³ This argument shares dissimilarity to Audre Lorde's claim "that the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (Lather 1997 in Vaughan 2004:398).

science’ whose very genesis, in disconnecting from the world is what gave rise to the anxiety of ‘losing it’ in the first place (Latour 1999:7).

Science’s characterisation of an outside reality is understood symmetrically as interfered with by an *epistemocentric* concept of science (Latour 1999: 299) and *epistemic methods* (Rudy 2005:111). There are multiple consequences associated with this ‘conventional’ or ‘extractive’ epistemology and these are discovered through empirical investigation (see Chapter six). This chapter extends a discussion opened by Wittgenstein (1956) who likens epistemology to being socialised.

[T]he laws of inference can be said to compel us; in the same sense, that is to say, as the laws of human society (in Law 1975: 335).⁹⁴

Serres (1982/1995:23) describes this as ‘the pact of knowing’ or ‘type of social contract’ that “cooperatively controls the expressions of knowledge”. A symmetrical analysis of ‘science and the outside world’ leads to a disentangling from epistemology as it has come to be recognised as a social contract. This contract is also a force of scientific extraction built around a common practice of extracting what is real from the real world. In this way a tentative contribution to what could be developed by those more articulate as a ‘sociology of extraction’ is made.⁹⁵

When a scientific approach cannot find a place to ‘fit’ in the system it starts to refer instead to the big philosophical actors like ‘epistemology’, ‘ontology’ and ‘metaphysics’ and this approach is no exception. To give these arguments respect, but to avoid becoming too tied down in them, this research will take a moderate stance towards the big actors by stating that unlike Serres (1990/1995) and to a lesser degree Latour (2005) there is some apprehension with the claim that this approach ‘abandons’ epistemology. It follows that a similar apprehension accompanies the claim that the approach instead commits to metaphysics (Serres 1982/1995; 1991/1997 and Latour 2005) or ontology (Mol 1999). Drawing on Law’s

⁹⁴ Epistemology, or the laws of inference, and socialisation are equated and this makes an early ‘translation’ across the science /non-science divide.

⁹⁵ ‘A sociology of extraction’ is used to describe the performance of epistemological extraction and links procedures of scientific practice to the Enlightenment ethos of “the art of intervening in the processes of subjectification and objectification which decide the possible and impossible of our being (Böhm and Spoelstra 2004:96).

(1975) generosity, symmetrical research is instead understood as *not privileging epistemology*, or ‘the epistemological plane’ (Pickering 2000: 308) as a way of opening the possibility for including ontological and metaphysical dimensions. Through this the subtle differences between mining with a chisel and painting with a brush (Latour 2005:143) serve to illustrate an alternative way of knowing as science.

Since the abandonment of epistemology is too strong a statement to make here, an analytical distinction between two kinds of epistemology is made for the purposes of distinguishing an ‘essential knowable reality’ and a ‘relative knowing of realities’ (Latour 1999). The first ‘essential knowable reality’ is traced to the reliability of what is extracted from a world outside. There is a single world or reality out there and science is what reliably connects to this world, and extracts facts and data from it so that it can be explained.⁹⁶ Epistemology is the means through which the researcher justifies the logic of this extraction undertaken by methods involving a myriad of tools designed to extract, elicit, reveal, ‘get to’ reality, including mental maps like ‘paradigms’, practices and techniques like ‘interviews’ and technology like ‘microscopes’. Epistemologies of this kind can be likened to powerful chisels; they allow science to cut into the world and provide lines of extraction to reveal reality both concealed and difficult to access. The very terms ‘concealment’ and ‘revelation’ resonate with early and ancient regimes of Gods who were also concealing and revealing the reality of the real to us before. Knowledge then was extracted from the Heavens ‘up there’ and now that God has been “crossed out”, it is extracted from the world ‘out there’ (Latour 1991/1993 and 1999). Still socialised into extraction, there are mine shafts everywhere where perhaps there were spires, there are chisels hammering where perhaps there was entreaty. The noise is still noisy, the sites are still telling and in *both* cases, they are added to the world.

It is with debt to studies that observed the practices of science itself that it is possible to realise science not only extracts but also ‘adds’.⁹⁷ Reading more – adds; writing more – adds; analysing more – adds; interviewing more – adds, observing more – adds and experimenting more – adds.⁹⁸ Science is in a process of adding and yet it claims mainly to be extracting, a

⁹⁶ For example, participants of the social world including tourists are more often than not “*taught* what is the context ‘in which’ they are situated and ‘of which’ they see only a tiny part, while the social scientist floating above, sees the ‘whole thing’” (Latour 2005:32)

⁹⁷ See Latour and Woolgar (1979) and Latour (1984/1993).

⁹⁸ This emphasis on addition can also be traced to Deleuze and Guattari’s (1987) idea of ‘rhizome’ where the focus shifts from ‘being(s)’ which require a centre produced by ‘beginnings’ and ‘endings’ towards ‘conjunctions’, combinations and diversity produced by addition (in Jones, McLean and Quattrone 2004: 737).

reality, a view of reality, a pluralistic set of views of ‘a reality’, a single world, a matter of fact. Accumulation, even of extractors is costly and may lead to situations where claiming on the one hand to being a good extractor, and criticising on the other society, industry, the economy and individuals ‘out there’ for being the same might come to seem ironic. This is because symmetrically it becomes possible to question how science at the hands of this ‘outside world’ is not itself an extractive industry, not as implicit in the industry of extraction and not therefore contributing to a common sociology. Yet what surrounds me as I write are books, papers, transcripts, notes, maps and so on that I have *added* to my workload, my desk and my mind so that if I do extract anything from this, it will not be before it has all been added first.

Concerned with ‘the meaning of knowledge’, its ‘limits and scope’ and what constitutes ‘a valid claim to know something’ (Tribe 2004: 46) epistemology is accused of maintaining a distance between science (like the mind) and its objects (the outside, social and material worlds); and of necessitating reliable access. When this distance and distinction is taken as an effect that is performed rather than a metaphysical condition, the researcher is no longer troubled by the epistemological dilemma of ‘how to connect to reality’ and not bound by asymmetrical relations between what counts as Science and its subjects and objects in the real world. However this is not to say that these dilemmas will not trouble the researcher, only that they will not trouble his/her theory of how to do research.⁹⁹ Finding extractive epistemologies troubling does not warrant solutions from excavating even deeper into extractive epistemology, what is instead proposed is an alternative theory of knowing made simpler by claiming that knowledge is not the result of a process of extraction but a process of addition. With this reversal, any claim to knowing is also a claim about addition and ways of adding, not only extraction and ways of extracting.

Chisels that chip into a single outside world are added to with brushes more capable of describing multiple worlds. Turning this brush onto modern science it becomes clear how it adds reports, data, findings, methods, knowledge, implications, recommendations, technologies, solutions, theses and publications (Latour 2005). There is a vast busi-ness of adding: of *producing* reports, of *making* recommendations, of *acquiring* knowledge, of

⁹⁹ This point is taken up below but is important to make here as well. Avoiding these practices of science does not mean the researcher can avoid accounting them. Rather the researcher should avoid these scientific practices so that they shift from his/her methodology to their composure in ‘the field’ under study.

accumulating publications, of *advancing* technology and of *graduating* further. The term ‘cutting edge’ implies science sits on the edge (at the front) of a vast amount of accumulated things (see de Landa 1997 and Serres in Latour 1990/1995) and that these have been added together through a considerable amount of work. Yet amid this calamity of papers, conversations, experiments, money, time and space it will be claimed by science that it is a tool of extraction, a chisel. It has not added anything.¹⁰⁰

4.4 *Naturalising Addition*

The history of science has shown that access to an outside world is ‘made’ rather than ‘true’ or that truth is always ‘convenient’. A symmetrical approach takes this information in a direction that does not criticise extractive epistemologies of science because they presume a reality that does not exist. Rather the criticism is based on the foregoing of realities, or more precisely orderings or ‘versions of realities’ that *also exist* (see Mol 1999).¹⁰¹ Through extractive epistemologies, methodologies enacting “the difficult technique of returning to zero” are not as Serres (1999:39) would like, enacting a stepping aside from convention to invent (add) new associations. Instead these methodologies find a ‘degree zero’ in a base-line that ensures what follows has gained (in some guise) reliable access to the outside world. By contrast, this approach forfeits the indecision between a ‘singular outside reality’ and ‘no reliable reality’ for realities in the multiple that are variously reliable.¹⁰²

Science’s history of ‘interference’ in an effort to connect to and then extract knowledge from an outside reality is now a ‘black box’¹⁰³ to be unpacked in order to “make visible again all the invisible work in place to make things visible in the first place” (Latour 2002: 76). It is in this sense that extractive epistemology is unhelpful or a hindrance (Law 1975: 332).

¹⁰⁰ See also Latour’s (1991/1993:27-29) examination of modern science and his thesis *We have never been modern* as well as the various case studies in *Pandora’s Hope* (1999).

¹⁰¹ This approach is less sceptical of truth claims, or wants to make more positive statements by short circuiting these epistemological arguments, starting with a mind that was never disconnected and continuing with an assumption that structures ‘in the world’ are outcomes of continually produced and maintained orderings. In these two crucial ways the approach redefines what matters in scientific debate by troubling a different set of problems and performing different realities (after Law and Urry 2004).

¹⁰² The postmodern decision is regarded as indecision “suspended between belief and doubt, waiting for the end of the millennium” (Latour 1991/1993:9 and see Chapter One).

¹⁰³ The term ‘black box’ is in wide use among these writers. Based on aircraft technology, a black box records information related to the flight and is designed to endure a catastrophe (plane crash) so that it can be opened to explain what happened. Part of the catastrophe that leads to opening up the black boxes of epistemology can be traced to various crises of representation (Graburne 2002:23) including ‘the crises of the critical stance’ (Latour 1991/1993:5).

But to wrench something from the shadows often is to destroy it. [...]We never calculate the costs of our methods; we believe they are free. Everything has its price, even clarity; it's paid for in shadows or destruction, sometimes (Serres in Latour 1990/1995: 147).

It has become natural for scientists to extract from the world. Extractive epistemology and the outside world it supports puts distance between the researcher and his/her object of study. This kind of epistemology says 'stand back and question how you know any of this?' Answer the question: 'what procedures are needed to give access to this knowing?' and the drilling mechanism is in place.¹⁰⁴ For the empirical researcher in search of the world 'out there', answering this question means adhering to the convention of taking an epistemological position or 'hitching a ride' on a corpus of work that has already been done on scientific knowing (Latour 2005: 137). For research not explicitly concerned with these questions of knowing but accepting the need to provide reliable access to the real world nevertheless, Law (1975:317) describes a practice of taking "the subordinate position permitted by philosophy", a position that is subscribed to by "keeping our noses out of epistemological issues". Epistemology and its reliable extraction is then added to the research and all its contents are poured in. At some point and to varying degrees, the researcher must know what sort of chisel s/he is using for extraction.¹⁰⁵

This approach removes some of the burden from these claims of extraction and insists that science and the reality it extracts is added, not evenly, universally or with absolute certainty but with a *sturdy relativism* (Latour 1999:4).¹⁰⁶ The term 'sturdy' refers to the embodied, practical and material ingredients of knowledge and the term relativism, defended as 'inherently scientific' by Latour (1999: 17), refers to the relations that bind these materials and practices. This means knowledge, like anything else, results from material relations that

¹⁰⁴ Put another way we are better employed spending less time thinking about the right way to ask him/her to dance and more time dancing, and this 'knowing' exists not only in our personal relationships, but can also be translated to our scientific relationships.

¹⁰⁵ Epistemology can be dealt with through 'paradigmatic tables' that set out positions, ontology, epistemology and methodologies taking care of the work that makes these tables 'add up'. See for example Denzin and Lincoln (2003:256-263) and in tourism Phillimore and Goodson (2004:9) and Hollinshead (2004).

¹⁰⁶ Latour positions relativism in opposition to absolutism (Bloor 1976 in 1999:20) and differentiated from constructivism which he claims is absolutist in the provision of 'incommensurable viewpoints' (1999:310). Sturdy relativism refers to "the mundane processes by which relations are established between viewpoints" (in the social science frameworks) or 'actors' more generally (1999:310).

allow knowledge to progress, transgress, transpire or come to matter and make any difference. It is on this *realistic* (Latour 2005: 75) premise and a focus on the practicalities of ‘how’ that this approach is made reliable. The making of knowledgeable activities and relations are always capable of multiple further attachments (or not), but are not absolutely certain and are not universal without first establishing and then maintaining a ‘certain, universal presence’. Put more simply knowledge is knowledge that matters and this means it has been made into matter. It cannot, from a more explicitly ontological perspective, *be* and also *be disconnected* from the world.

What I would call ‘adding realism to science’ was actually seen, by the scientists at this gathering, as a way of decreasing its stake in truth and claims to certainty (Latour 1999:3).

In adding realism, if knowledge matters and makes a difference then it is an achievement or outcome of performance. The first three chapters outlined tourism knowledge in this symmetrical manner, describing how knowledge cannot remain ‘intellectual’ because its effects, including ‘the real world’ and ‘the paradox in tourism’ are not only outcomes of intellect but are ‘set-ups’ (Latour 1991/1993) consisting of material relations that are maintained through common beliefs and practices that become real and make a real difference.

Performing research symmetrically is to weave the voyages of discovery into the discoveries they give rise to as “active agents in a field of active agents” (Latour 1997b: 189). In other words, the approach seeks to make research activities including methods, binaries and theories ‘perform’ (after Law and Urry 2004:392). This is to give them equivalent value in the production of realities (Latour 1991/1993:46) since they are outcomes as much as resources for explaining outcomes (Latour 1991/1993:28). From here the nature of these resources and the extent to which they are made unproblematic have consequences that are equal to the outcomes they inscribe (Latour and Woolgar 1979:23). Polemics, binaries and incommensurable difference are not first – a point taken up by post-structural thinking - yet neither are they necessarily artificial or detracting from the truth. Instead they are ‘interventions’ that variously perform ‘versions’ (Mol 1999) of reality.

The researcher is freed of the obligation to uphold or criticise asymmetry as this is not the purpose or when pushed an automatic ‘right’ of research.¹⁰⁷ However the researcher does become burdened with explaining what has previously been allowed to remain unexplained. S/he can get daunted or s/he can get empirical and step away from these burdens that show how in a sense “explanations had not yet begun” (Latour 1991/1993:47). As a performance of material relations, a symmetrical diagnosis of research removes the requirement to gather the apparatus necessary to drill down to ‘the knowledge(s)’, extract ‘the information(s)’ or to find the impossible vehicle that will allow some sort of ‘travelling closer’ to a reality out there. What needs to be gathered instead are apparatus for ‘deployment’ instead of ‘unveiling’, ‘adding’ rather than ‘extracting’, ‘fraternising’ in preference to ‘denouncing’ and the utility of ‘sorting out’ over ‘debunking’ (Latour 1991/1993:47). And then:

There was again a clear sense in which we could say that words have reference to the world and that science grasps the things themselves (Latour 1999:16).

4.5 *From ‘the real’ to ‘the commons’*

This chapter has worked the principle of general symmetry through the performance of the academy and the real world. This has resulted in extractive epistemology being made less useful as a resource for doing research but more useful as an actor amongst ‘tribes’.¹⁰⁸ At this point is possible to conceive of research as formed of heterogeneous assemblies made up of elements formerly called ‘science’ and the ‘real world’. In the previous chapters tourism research was made to comply with this heterogeneity performed through text, humans and non-humans and this chapter describes how these assemblies combine the practices and materials of science with the practices and materials of those and that which they study. This situation of epistemological deficiency means “words now have reference to the world” (Latour 1999:16). However, what still prevents any “composition of a common world”

¹⁰⁷ The approach is agnostic (see Callon 1999) and avoids the reformist impulse by understanding the role of the researcher as one of providing descriptions of ‘what is happening’. This does not refuse reform, but the situation where a researcher is given an automatic right to, or nature of, reform. This is different to social research that aims to make a difference by attracting “champions who might follow through on recommendations with meaningful action plans”, or by the researchers themselves based on ethical or moral grounds (Denzin and Lincoln 2003:268).

¹⁰⁸ As Latour observes of the work of anthropologists “actors incessantly engage in the most abstruse metaphysical constructions by redefining all the elements of the world” (Latour 2005:51).

(Latour 2000a:121) is a tidy *decomposition* that has meant the real world performs twice as a ‘natural’ and a ‘social’ one.

Before considering the apparatus for ‘adding, deployment, fraternising and sorting out’, there is first the asymmetrical state of nature and society to address. This means in advance of performing the common world social scientists including tourism researchers need to be more liberal about with whom and what they are performing among. To take full advantage of a more immersed deployment, the asymmetrical proposition that there is a natural or non-human world separate from a human world and that these need to be treated differently is treated differently itself. The following chapter continues the methodological focus of symmetry by taking account of the difference between subjects and objects. Chapter Five demonstrates how symmetry between science and the real world shores up a more equal footing between people who research and people who are subjects. However for those who research subjects to extend this same relation to objects, is a more difficult task. To give equal status to objects and subjects is a particular objection of humanism, and a humanistic notion of agency, yet this is a politics of equity that needs to begin before a serious attempt to ‘follow the actors’ can be made.

CHAPTER FIVE

Symmetry between ‘us’ and ‘them’

5.0 *Introduction and Overview of the chapter*

Entities of the World – Relate! (Emirbayer 1997: 312).

To allow research to perform a common world, the entities of the world must be allowed to relate yet this has not been the common order of things. The previous chapters have discussed how tourism research has been no exception to this order by privileging discourse, studying the world ‘out there’ and keeping non-humans at bay. This chapter considers in more detail how tourism research can begin to diverge from a general scientific scene that keeps natural things including non-humans separate from human things and humans.

[T]here shall exist a complete separation between the natural world (constructed, nevertheless, by man) and the social world (sustained, nevertheless, by things) (Latour 1991/1993:31).

A symmetrical reading of ‘nature’ and ‘society’ reminds researchers about how they have forgotten in some important ways one of their earliest practices of ‘alchemy’. An alchemist is associated with magic and potions but also with the beginnings of science, solutions and explosions. It is associated as much with transforming people into frogs as the factual properties of inertness and change, and alchemists carry a mystique along with a peril because they mix things together without really knowing what will happen. As deliberate ‘hybridisers’ they are instrumental in the forming of new, unknown, unpredictable and possibly dangerous things like love spells and Frankenstein, so while the words are unrelated there is always a sense of ‘anarchy’ in ‘alchemy’ and this might be why modern science forgot it.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ See Yates and Sclater (2000) for a discussion of Frankenstein as an early embodiment of the anxiety associated with scientific alchemy

By all means, they seem to say, let us not mix up knowledge, interest, justice and power. Let us not mix up heaven and earth, the global stage and the local scene, the human and the non-human. ‘But these imbroglios do the mixing’ you’ll say, ‘they weave our world together!’ ‘Act as if they didn’t exist,’ the analysts reply (Latour 1991/1993:3).

There is an alchemy at work in symmetrical investigations and while this is evident when science and the real world collapse into each other, it is perhaps never more striking or evident than in the case of symmetry between humans and non-humans. This chapter extends upon the last by first examining the implications of being epistemologically deficient when it means there is no escaping the field of subjects. Then attention is given to describing ways to furnish this same inescapable field with as many accounts of objects.¹¹⁰

5.1 *Symmetry among humans: following actors*

A clearer sense of the implications of doing away with the *a priori* existence of the academy and the real world can be gained through a better understanding of the way ‘subjects’ are made into ‘actors’ through this approach.

[...] we have to give room to actors and let them choose the repertoire of the debates (Callon in Barry and Slater 2002b: 289).

[A]ctors themselves make everything, including their own frames, their own theories, their own contexts, their own metaphors, even their own ontologies. [...] If I want to be a scientist and reach objectivity, I have to be able to travel from one frame of reference to the next, from one standpoint to the next. Without those displacements, I would be limited to my own narrow point of view for good (Latour 2005:147).

A symmetrical treatment of science and the world it studies means the practices in either world are not treated as if they are fundamentally different (Latour 1991/1993 and 1999).

¹¹⁰ While there is slippage between the terms *non-human* is in most cases preferable to *object* because non-human by-passes the more loaded terms of object (specific to subject) and also *nature* since these are already actors and outcomes themselves.

Viewed through this somewhat anthropological lens the ‘scientific tribe’ does nothing in practice that is fundamentally different to those in the ‘researched tribes’ (Latour 1991/1993: 47) and this is to say more than ‘scientists buy sandwiches too’. Scientists ‘do lunch’ and engage in politics. They organise; strategize; sort; theorise; devise and plan. To this can be added re-skilling; reading world news; extracting; reducing; adding; travelling; mixing and making errors. Scientists fail at tasks; persuade and inform others; become informed and persuaded. They have contradictory habits; must report to someone; accept things; advise; submit; engage in conflict; meet deadlines; make appointments; make compromises and do all the things found to be ‘common amongst all other tribes’. The symmetrical point is that the practices, before they have been made conceptually different, are the same.

These similarities mean things nominally associated with scientific activity are also associated with ‘non-scientific’ activity. Scientific activities like modelling, methods, testing and experimenting are not, as was thought, the properties of science. ‘Lay’ people or subjects do these things too; they also are scientific and specialise (Latour 2005). In such a manner “theorising” for example “is alive and well, on the streets and cyberhighways as much as in the academy” (White and Sproule 2002: 318) and theories are ‘concrete, ‘felt’ and ‘in the veins’ (Griffiths in Gregory 1978:45). Concerning the treatment of people, symmetry aligns with the work of ethnomethodology (Latour 2005:49) and Garfinkel’s (1968/1975) treatment of Jurors states this affiliation well.

They were not acting in their affairs as jurors as if they were scientists in the recognisable sense of scientists. However, they were concerned with such things as adequate accounts, adequate description, and adequate evidence. They wanted not to be ‘common-sensical’ when they used notions of ‘common-sensicality’. They wanted to be legal (p. 16).

The practice of ‘following actors’ and focus on ‘operations’ and the ‘organisation of affairs’ of society (Garfinkel 1968/1975:15) is appreciated as much for its stance, borrowed to dismantle an automatic distance between science and subjects, as its ability to identify “the anatomy of interactions” (Czarniawska 2004: 779). Now less differentiated in practice from the scientists who study them, both sets of actors have a more equal chance of acting and this is because neither is ‘epistemologically higher’, “the social scientist and the actor are at the same level” (Callon in Barry and Slater 2002a: 305). The implication for epistemology and

the dilemma of ‘how we *know* we know’ is that it is given a new role, more widely dispersed as something that is not only added to the world by science, but also added by the subjects themselves.

...If the term ‘epistemology’ is to be used at all, then it must be related to what actors themselves regard as rational activity. [...] unless this is done, the term is merely being used as an ideological weapon by one camp against the others (Law 1975:331).

The next section follows up these ideas by retelling the part of this study where the researcher sets out to meet with and collect data from her subjects. This serves to illustrate not only what can happen when symmetrical treatment begets ‘following actors’, but also begins to introduce some of the actors themselves. While this is not a conventional practice in the order of presenting research, symmetry aims to be liberal in terms of who and what is involved in an account and this is enhanced by allowing more rather than less space to account them in. For this reason actors better described in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, are introduced here and their presence is necessary to better address the process of research tourism

Currently we know little about how the research process happens in tourism, because the focus is upon the outcome of the research. It is important for all those working in the field to develop and share their knowledge about the kinds of struggles that arise when they are developing research problems (Phillimore and Goodson 2004: 193).

5.2 *Remaining with tourism, abandoning tourism and not quite returning to tourism*

The negotiations outlined below concern both ‘actors’ and the ‘making of accounts of actors’ which, for the sake of explanation contains all the ingredients for a contest or “dance of agency” to take place (Franklin 2008:17). This is in part because:

As a rule, it’s much better to set up as the default position that the inquirer is always one reflexive loop behind those they study (Latour 2005:33).

It was realised in the third year of this project that the contribution it would make to tourism research would be counter-intuitive. Intuition had lead to the selection of a 'tourism case study' that is a highly visited place, a gateway to destination Tasmania as well as being the postcard image of the city of Hobart. In this way the premise was simple, or arrived at simply: 'the Cove' would provide good data for understanding how a 'tourist place' is planned and developed. However, this premise when combined with the principle of 'following actors' created a tension that could only be resolved in the end by giving in to a process of 'intuition-counter-intuition'.¹¹¹

The condition of being a receiver, a subject, an observer, is, precisely that he make less noise than the noise transmitted by the object observed. If he gives off more noise, it obliterates the object, covers or hides it. An immense mouth, minuscule ears, how many are thus built, animals in their misrecognition! (Serres 1990/1995: 61).

The mantra of 'following the actors' requires in Serres' thinking a great deal of learning to listen and this includes the researcher learning the delicate process of passing agency to actors by agreeing to follow them without losing all agency him/herself. Therefore, if there is a mantric difficulty with this approach, it is that of following the actors. To extend this point the following section describes how in this research the actors disobeyed tourism theory or the intuitions of the tourism researcher and how this provided the researcher with three alternatives. The first was to disobey the actors, or not follow them in order to 'remain with tourism'. The second alternative was to follow the actors and 'abandon tourism' and the third was to find a way to both follow the actors and 'return without quite returning to *the same* tourism' that had lead the researcher to these people and these encounters in the first place. These alternatives can be considered three *possible versions* (Serres in Latour 1990/1995: 193) of this research and they illustrate some of the implications of following the actors.

While tourism research has recognised the possibility of unintended tourism development, more persistent is the notion that tourism development is planned for and that 'tourist places'

¹¹¹ It is conceded that the terms 'tourism planning' and 'tourism development' are difficult to pin down and are complex, yet they are also obvious and are simple and are meant to be taken in the latter sense here. However see Chapter Seven for a fuller discussion.

attest to this.¹¹² As a humanist endeavour this is an important assumption and it underpins the organisation of tertiary and vocational tourism courses into various ‘tourism planning and development’ units, as well as key-word search items for publications and conferences. From here it is not an intellectual leap to assume that this translates ‘post-tertiary’ to the performing and professionalization of tourism planning and development behind increasingly ‘touristed’ places. However this assumption was tested in this study when the researcher started to question those involved in the planning and development of a tourism place and was met with a consistency of responses like:

I don’t think tourism’s the important question...

What really matters here is not tourism, so much as...¹¹³

In this circumstance should the researcher, for whom sole authority comes from a bank of ‘tourism knowledge’ that is important to draw from at this early stage, push the question of tourism? Should she relentlessly return to it until the experts realise that tourism is all *she* is interested in? Perhaps she should take it upon herself to educate the experts about tourism and how it really does matter to what they are doing. Perhaps then, they could interview her. As it happens not pursuing this path, and instead opting to listen to what the experts thought mattered, gave her ‘good data’ in the end. However, before what is meant by ‘good data’ can become clear, another temptation to ‘remain with tourism’ presented itself. Once the interviews were completed and transcribed they were more enduringly full of ‘resistances’ to being drawn into tourism. Yet the researcher can again ponder the possibility of remaining with tourism by taking what little reference to tourism there is and *making it work*, despite the ‘paucity’ of the data (or the interviewing technique). There is enough time in this project to find support elsewhere - in tourism statistics, the history of tourism in the Cove, the strategic state-level policy direction and so on. The researcher can again have the opportunity to educate the experts and show them why they are naïve in their dismissal of tourism and why it does matter. The researcher could interview tourists in the Cove, who cannot say it doesn’t.

Through this course of action the researcher can keep her agency and opt, for very good reasons, not to follow the actors who dispel her initial beliefs about tourism theory. This

¹¹² See Judd and Fainstein (1999); Hall (2005) and Schmid (2008).

¹¹³ Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant B.

keeps the integrity (read as immutable nature) of her research plan and pursues the equally immutable ‘topic’ of tourism as she had intended. Everything drawn from the field will be made an *intermediary* (Latour 2005: 39) of the plan, of the topic and of the project, which means it would be brought into line and made to transport ‘tourism’ conceptualised at the outset as the central concern. If the participants do not think they plan and develop tourism, the research will show them how they do. If the planning scheme does not refer to tourism, the research will show why it should. And if tourism is not a topic at public meetings that raise challenges for developing the Cove, the research will perhaps conclude that it is a political omission. All of these transport options were available at this point, built from authoritative discourses that would allow her to remain faithful to the theory, if not the actors themselves.

What is an explanation most of the time? Adding another actor to provide those already described with the energy necessary to act. [...] if the actors already assembled do not have enough energy to act, then they are not actors [...] They do nothing so they should not be in the description (Latour 2005: 147).

At the other end, the researcher could relinquish her agency altogether, accept that she had asked the wrong sort of questions, or the wrong questions of the wrong people and move forward with what the experts did want to talk about. She could abandon tourism accepting she had been too specific, too deductive and had imposed her theory, her idea of a problem upon a situation that was incapable of responding to it. Now, she has the option of pretending this hadn’t happened and of remaining faithful to the actors and the data that did exist, but not to the questions that led her to it. The problem in this case is ‘the problem’ itself and it can now be modified to ‘fit the data’. There is still enough time in this project to reformulate a question and to sweep away the mistakes made earlier. It is too dangerous to remain with tourism; it needs to be abandoned. This option accepts that while the Cove has all the hallmarks of a tourist place like visitors and visitor services, this is nevertheless a departure from what really matters in its organisation. What is obvious in this case is also deceptive and for the researcher who has given over to the data, it is not the tourism case it was proposed to be but a case, more appropriately, of mistaken identity.

This second version makes an account of Sullivans Cove that is faithful to the actors and how they understand their worlds but gives no account of the ‘faulty premise’ that lead a researcher interested in how tourism works to Sullivans Cove in the first place. This means there is little account of the actor-researcher who has been modified to the point that she appears almost erased. To replace her ‘faulty premise’ with a ‘better premise’ under the notion of ‘following actors’ also ignores the fact that the data that does exist speaks of actors responding to the faulty premise, not the better one. What this option does is follow actors wherever they go and the problem with doing this is they ‘go anywhere’. ‘Tourism’ is no longer transported as the central concern, as in the first option, and the science is less interfering in this regard, but there is also a chance that nothing will be transported at all without a researcher or science that also acts. Symmetrical treatment then, must apply to both the actor-subjects once considered ‘in the field’ and the actor-researchers once considered able to escape it. In this way the approach allows for both deduction and induction but these are names given to points in the research after it is done, not before or during the negotiations that determine them.¹¹⁴

[W]e are continually tacking back and forth, the method being a fractal meander, to one side for safety, to the other side for freedom, to one side for regulation of our thoughts, to the other for boldness and discovery (Serres 1982/1995: 114).

In both of the first two alternatives, the agency of the researcher can be said to be put at stake since she has engaged the views of others and they have challenged her assumptions. The first alternative protects the agency of the researcher (and science) in order to produce an account that is more about tourism, but is less of an account because what is added adds little to what was already ‘theory about tourism’. The second alternative illustrates a researcher ‘giving agency over’ to a (still separate) field to produce an account that is not about tourism because there is little it can reconcile with the state of tourism theory and the researcher ‘interferes’ as little as possible. To borrow from Foucault, both alternatives present a situation of tentative fit or a “return to foundations” that is “no return at all” (Foucault 1972: 216).

¹¹⁴ The terms ‘induction’ and ‘deduction’ are disqualified in their traditional sense because of the assumption that there is a field that exists ‘out there’, from which science induces or deduces what is real.

To make this kind of return through the experience of research is to decree that either she wins the contest or they do, but again (after Chapter One) the ‘third party’ or contest wins as polemical arrangements reign.¹¹⁵ Not unlike the paradoxical terrain of tourism discourse, this competition is instead understood as part of the normal cost of following actors. Accounting this cost, rather than resolving it first becomes a defining characteristic of the research process. To admit in this case both a following of tourism science and a following of the actors means attempting to follow all the actors without compromising any. Realistically, the ‘acting ability’ of the researcher is never in question because s/he is the locus of most of the work that is involved in producing the research. It is rather through a process of *attempting* to ‘follow actors’ that the researcher’s ability to act becomes contested or is ‘brought to light’ because through this process it becomes obvious how she is trained to pit ‘her science’ against ‘their reality’, and to treat ‘them’ and their activities asymmetrically, or differently to her own.

Such good training in extraction makes it difficult to acknowledge and ensure that “contradictory arguments are taken into account” (Callon 1986: 200) by not “interrupting the flood of controversies” (Latour 2005:24). This demands no less adaptability from the researcher than the actors themselves (Latour 1991/1993: 145), actors who in this case for example became enough of a geologist to enlist an ancient morphology, enough of an historian to make the historical essential, enough of an architect to know what is ‘good development’ and enough of a sociologist to act under the constraint that society is what is ‘really’ being created (Chapter Seven). Following these actors means the researcher must become the same. Like these actors the researcher “abandons the fixed frame of reference” (Latour 2005:24 and see Chapter Six) and this requires a willingness to participate in a primitive form of ‘stock exchange’ where everything is bartered and must be negotiated or translated.

This is a less efficient stock exchange than those that are mediated by currency, global conversions and swift communications technology, but it is precisely because of this mediation and how it needs to be taken into account that the older exchange is a (perhaps timely) reminder of the ‘price of exchange’.¹¹⁶ Where the metaphor is deceptive is that the slower exchange of bartering requires an agile kind of travel that can move from one

¹¹⁵ See Franklin (2008:22) where there is always a third party that is “the relationship itself”.

¹¹⁶ ‘Timely’ in reference to the ‘Global Financial Crisis’ (2009).

negotiation to the next, or one frame of reference to the next. These negotiations are like and are as consequential as the work of ‘immutable mobility’ (Latour 1997b) that is important in enticing tourists and facilitating tourism (Chapter Three).

While the difficulty of following actors is traceable to a socialisation of extraction, humans are easy to follow because they are always designing, scheming, intending, meaning and doing and they are capable of communicating this in language. What is more difficult is attempt to follow actors who are not human and this is because they do not communicate in a standard form and ‘we’ are socialised into humanism.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless without undertaking this contest among the human actors, there would have been little prospect of extending the contest or allowing the same to happen among the objects or non-human actors.

5.3 *The agency of shipwrights*

This section calls upon the symmetry of a ship again this time to include the shipwrights and the kind of agency and work that is ‘behind’ the construction of a ship. What goes on behind this construction is the same as what follows when it sails and this is the “symbiotic art of steering or governing by loops” (Serres 1982/1995:42). These loops are comprised of heterogeneous actors.

Mathematics and physics were not well developed in 1625. It was more than a decade before analytical geometry was discovered by Descartes and five decades before Newton’s first publication of the calculus. So in 1625 a shipwright would guess, model, build, and learn (Love 1997:3).

For a shipwright of 1625 it is the lack of ‘things’ available to him including those that make up ‘geometry’ and ‘calculus’ that keeps him guessing. Yet the point that follows is that shipwrights today are still guessing, modelling, building and learning but they do this with a different set of things like aluminium and computer simulators (Love 1997). Scientists, like shipwrights ‘guess, model, build and learn’ and tourists also draw on these practices ‘guessing what a place is like’ and ‘building travel know-how’ as they set about doing tourism. A serious attempt at following actors includes an attempt to include these things, or

¹¹⁷ In attaching the term ‘who’ to non-humans, grammatical integrity is given up for a point of symmetry.

at least not to exclude them on the basis that they are not human. In this way ‘the matter’ of symmetry becomes a ‘matter’ of ‘cybernetics’ (Serres 1982/1995:42).

Symmetry replaces the burdensome human ‘agency’ with an ability to act that does not result from a ‘consciousness’ but from ‘relations’, the components of which have a more equal chance of participating (Franklin 2003:98). Non-humans are no longer the ‘mere essentials’ of discourse and a representational philosophy that overtakes them (see Latour 1999), nor the ‘mere accessories’ to a social life that leaves them out. Instead non-humans retain the possibility of becoming fully fledged members of society (Latour 2005: 258), and this includes societies that perform tourism and tourism knowledge.

This begins with a realistic premise and a ‘common world view’ that human action and agency does not amount to much without the non-humans who enable it. Agency occurs when something (anything) ‘does something’ (Latour 2005:52) and this means the privileged subjects of humanist enquiry can never adequately describe what is happening among themselves using only themselves, but always draw upon non-humans to articulate. Consequently symmetrical analysis relocates human agency amid distributions and careers of action that involve non-humans ‘who’ also make a difference. The remainder of this chapter discusses how to undertake a symmetrical study of tourism and how to perform a post-human account of it by describing the kind of agency now being dealt with. This reworked ‘agency’ along with ‘hybridity’ is what enables non-humans to act and through this ‘an ordering’ (Franklin 2004) becomes the most succinct definition of tourism in terms of what it does.

In aiming to be symmetrical and to therefore record rather than reproduce the asymmetrical performance of humans and non-humans, symmetry is described as “an empirical form of empiricism” (Latour 2005:120). To borrow from Pred (1995: 24) this requires “arrest[ing] the attention of the critically inclined” and practicing instead a “heretical empiricism”. This practice brings with it “a far-reaching and monstrous heterogeneity” (Crook 1998:523) yet since human actors involve non-humans in almost everything they do, then an attempt to follow humans is also an attempt to follow non-humans. They make more or less durable; difficult; enjoyable; interesting; possible; likely and attractive for example the (still

important) relations among humans.¹¹⁸ These heterogeneous assemblies are relations that are read as *negotiations* and these need to be plotted, in the same manner as in the trials of ‘not quite returning’ to tourism (above). In this way non-humans are made part of the ‘social link’ (Latour 1991:103) and therefore the closest definition of agency comes not from following *whoever* acts but “whatever acts or shifts actions” (Latour 1992:259). However this leaves an obvious problem for the social scientist with the question of intention or purpose.¹¹⁹

A non-human is usually ‘unintentional’ as in the case of inanimate objects or else intentional in limited ways like animals and plants. They all lack the sophisticated consciousness of humans (as far as we can tell). To make objects act anyway, symmetry reworks human and social “analytic or agential privilege relative to the non-human, the technical or nature” (Fine 2005:92). To do this a distributive form of agency is used, not unlike Foucault’s (1980a) analytic of power and this is key to enabling a symmetrical reading and guiding description of material relations. Foucault named power a force that used people as vehicles and this meant it could no longer be ‘held’ by them nor offer any guarantee of an outcome. Since what people often don’t know is “what - what they do – *does*”, the dominion of power is no longer a territory but a network (Foucault in Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983:187, emphasis added). Adding non-humans to this network and distribution makes knowing, purpose and human intention even more precarious than when it is ‘only’ passed among people and their discourses.¹²⁰ Symmetrical analysis in a sense takes account of the reverse Foucauldian proposition by claiming ‘power’ is the outcome of actions between actors who are constituted as actors at the same time.¹²¹ Action, as opposed to ‘power’ involves not only people so that they form social bonds and institutions, but also non-humans so that what are formed are material relations that may act like power relations.¹²²

¹¹⁸ Here I have stressed the importance of adjectives, Law (1992) stresses the importance of verbs over the “the *fait accompli* of a noun” (p. 380) and in another reference to grammar Serres (in Latour 1990/1995:106) argues for the importance of prepositions.

¹¹⁹ Despite our efforts to order the world we can only ever be endlessly ordering and this is well accepted as the absolutism and essentialism of order comes under sustained attack from many quarters. Purposive action is first therefore ‘attempts at order’ or the business of ‘governing’ after Foucault (in Kendall and Wickham 2001) and see also de Certeau’s (1984) ‘strategies and tactics’ 1984; Pred’s (1995) ‘montage of the present’ and Urry’s (2003) complexity.

¹²⁰ In any popular game of football, the provisional nature of the outcome of a contest despite the contest appearing to settle agency, illustrates agency as something that is worked for, maintained, lost, regained and continually contested. It may become provisionally stabilised with a win, it may become historically stabilised on the winners list but the next whistle throws agency back up for grabs, or is it a ball?

¹²¹ This is what Latour (1987a) means by an ‘actor-network’, an attempt to hybridise actors and networks.

¹²² Symmetrically it follows that ‘the power of nature’ cannot be removed from material relations with humans either.

Having the same ‘temporal emergence’ as human actors, when these non-human actors take up their workload they sometimes act like ‘spanners in the works’ and human intention becomes not ‘un-intended’ so much as ‘dis-intended’ as it is bent, swayed, taken over or ‘overtaken’ (Latour 2005:43) by the actions of any number of possible ‘others’. When these ‘take-overs’ are taken into account, they are accounted as ‘orderings’, ‘actor networks’ (Latour 1997a) or ‘action nets’ (Czarniawska 2004). They are rarely blueprints or orders (Franklin 2004) because if they are to account for heterogeneous assemblies they cannot be treated in ways that make them ‘second class citizens’ or ‘second order actors’ (Latour 2005: 232). This means the subject is no longer a “knower who posits objects” but both become an “actor or agent which effects changes in the world” (Feenberg 2000:153). In the same way tourists and their entourages are no longer “insulated from the non-social, inside their own cognitive self-absorption” (Franklin 2003:100). Accordingly agency is no longer only a property of cognition or self-absorption since it equally gives life to those who cannot do this. While the conscious human’s ability to act is not set aside, symmetry does “question the limits of control that it can attain” (Franklin 2008:22) by sequestering the non-humans who enable it.

5.4 *Object lives*

The separation between humans and non-humans and the asymmetrical treatment that results has a long history that spans at least two dominant regimes in Western history.¹²³ In Genesis, ‘the world’ is first created and then ‘man’. In the Enlightenment, ‘the world’ is recreated through the natural sciences and then there is a recreated ‘man’ and human sciences. In this way ‘Boyle’ will have his objects and ‘Hobbes’ will know his subjects (see Latour 1991/1993: 15-20). This ‘second genesis’ (Serres 1982/1995) reinforces an asymmetry between what is natural or material or non-human and what is social or symbolic or human and this forms the basis of a humanist tradition in tourism research.¹²⁴

¹²³ See for this general argument Serres (1982/1985) *Genesis* and Latour (1991/1993) *We have never been modern*.

¹²⁴ This borrowing of science from ‘older regimes’ is also noted by Dewey and Bentley (1949 in Emirbayer 1997: 284): “All the spooks, fairies, essences and entities that once had inhabited portions of matter now take flight to new homes, mostly in or at the human body”.

[T]o the harder sciences goes the world of things; to the softer sciences goes the world of people (Pickering 1999:1).

So that:

If a cyclist falls off his bicycle because he has hit a rock, social scientists confess, they have nothing to say (Latour 2000a: 108).

A symmetrical reading of humans and non-humans has extensive implications for the social sciences and for tourism research with some claiming the movement equivalent to what physics has taken 70 years to make – its quantum leap (Jones et al. 2004 and see Pepperell 2003:33). The symmetrical programme takes what is the relational strength of the discipline of sociology and removes the fixation with ‘social substances’ and a ‘social world’ to counter what Pickering (2000: 308) refers to as ‘pure sociology’, and Latour (2005: 21) as “a shrinking definition of the social” (2005:21).

Symmetry starts from the scientific assumption that “nature is as much a subject as society” (Feenberg 2000:153) because the ‘social, cultural or human world’ as constituted by the human sciences cannot stand up without its *durable links* (Latour 1992: 226), and these result from heterogeneous and material relations (Law 1992). Symmetry results in this case from a dissatisfaction with the ability or will of social science to explain the mixed-up nature of the world it studies. In this way the associations of a rock and a cyclist, the togetherness of which is an ‘interrupted human-mechanic transport technology’, can be interesting in itself, in its *unique adequacy* (Latour 2000a:113)

Anthropology provided evidence from studies among primates that started to show how tenuous a society based on the social link is, and this lead to the possibility that it was associations with non-humans that made human society less ‘unbearably light’ than theirs (see Latour 2000b and Serres 1990/1995).¹²⁵ Primate society achieves ‘lightness of being’ because it is made up of mainly social interactions. Alternatively human society achieves

¹²⁵ At the same time when it is increasingly claimed that ‘lightness’ of the kind that enables a ‘mobilities turn’ for example is a social condition, symmetry insists this lightness is also an effect of being *well connected* to things (Latour 2005:24).

stability or durability because its members are more associated, more connected, more hooked-up and entangled with other ‘things’.

Our relationships, social bonds, would be airy as clouds were there only contracts between subjects. In fact, the object [...] stabilises our relationships, it slows down the time of our revolutions. For an unstable band of baboons, social changes are flaring up every minute. One could characterise their history as unbound, insanely so. The object, for us, makes history slow. ...The social bond would only be fuzzy and unstable if it were not objectified (Serres 1990/1995:87-88).

When we conceive society we are missing a decent philosophy of the object. Here the object lies precisely outside of the relational circuits that determine society (Serres 1990/1995: 91).

To imagine, as Serres (1990/1995) does, that the human is the less designed to occupy a niche, more generalist and therefore less discriminate in his/her attachments, then s/he often interacts with non-humans. Although people interactions are hard work, they have effects and contribute to the making of phenomena like tourism this is not a reason to ignore all these other interactions that also take place. Symmetry experiments with finding a place for the *missing masses* (Latour 1992) who in material relations provide the conditions for the motivations, memories, desires, enduring social bonds, fleeting bonds, the extended ones and the lost ones that are part of tourism.

As soon as you believe social aggregates can hold their own being propped up by ‘social forces’, the objects vanish from view and the magical and tautological force of society is enough to hold *every thing* with, literally, *no thing* (Latour 2005:70).

This ‘great divide’ defines nature and society as *two distinct ontological zones* (Latour 1991/1993) that put a “modern face on the world” (Elam 1999:1) where what does not exist among the social sciences is a *natural contract* (Serres 1990/1995) that would extend to ‘things’ or ‘non-humans’ the ability to act.

Objects and nature are good for supporting roles. They work well as props and scenery for human performances, or as keepers of meaning for the human constructed world. However they are not accorded the ‘status of discourse’ (Latour 1997a: 380) and they are never accorded the status of humans remaining, if *stoic* then somewhat *mute* guests (Latour 1999:6). Not discounting concurrent movements like ‘post-sociality’, a revival of anthropology of the modern world and ‘of things’ along with the ‘embodiment’ and ‘material turns’ that have meant non-humans are becoming more accessible to social scientists, the limited experience with allowing them to act has lead to three *primitive ways* of enrolling them.¹²⁶ Non-humans are found as material infrastructure, as stages for the social performance and as reflections of the social (Latour 2005:84) and this general inaccessibility of ‘things’ has left a poor repertoire of ways that even a performing object can act. As infrastructure and social settings a non-human does not act outside relations specified by human intention giving the non-human two options in an ungenerous ‘contract’ (Serres 1990/1995). Non-humans agree with human intention, are useful and labelled compliant and instrumental, or else they disagree with human intention, are of little or no use and labelled an impediment or obstacle. As reflections of the social, objects mirror the subjects acting mainly as vessels of the socially constructed world. To move beyond this situation is to attempt to remove these disabilities by affording non-humans the same repertoire of action afforded humans.

In this way humanism is something symmetry sees in such excess and careless distribution that it responds radically by opening the floodgates for the non-humans to penetrate the human world. In its insistence on a largely human only world, social science “puts a limit to the number of entities on the negotiating table” (Latour 2004a: 454) and that is what symmetry aims to avoid. In this renewed symmetrical approach to research, that takes account of scientific practice as an accountable practice ‘humanism’ *itself* becomes a performance. In what is proposed as a realist ontology (Latour 1999) this kind of social research gives way, or extends to ‘heterogeneous engineering’ (Law 1992) in an attempt to acknowledge what “managers, engineers, nurses, train-drivers – already ‘know’ perfectly well” (Law and Urry 2004:392) that they engage with objects in the making of realities. This engineering sustains not only the realities of tourists, hosts and tourism researchers in

¹²⁶ Appadurai (1991) and Knorr-Cetina (1997) and see Chapter Two.

performing tourism knowledge but also, as shown in the second half of this thesis, those who perform a tourism place.

5.5 *Hybrids and other ‘ordinary monsters’*¹²⁷

A genus too large to be encapsulated in any conceptual scheme, [its] very existence a rebuke to boundary and closure (Cohen 1996 in Ruddick 2004: 37).

The multiplicity that results of ‘symmetry’ is traceable to the idea of symbiotic or reciprocal relationships (Serres 1982/1995:38). Both humans and non-humans are precarious and in the moment. Like us, they also are “delicate and endangered artefact[s] of an experimental choreography” (Franklin 2008:19). When non-humans are taken seriously they are never dull since from a symmetrical point of view dullness is indiscriminate. For this reason social scientists cannot know if non-humans are socially uninteresting until they have experimented with them, and they cannot experiment with them until they can find a way to extend the repertoire of actions they are allowed. Hybridity emphasises the ‘writing of new contracts with objects’ (Bingham and Thrift 2000:281) by accounting ‘sociomaterial practice’ (Mol 1999:75). Hybridity names those strange objects or ‘monsters’ first noticed in Science and Technology Studies but then found capable of being everywhere, but not until recently in tourism studies.

A symmetrical approach to objects and subjects gives emphasis to the unusual world of hybrids and this increases the number of ways an object (or subject) can act. They are “the ordinary lot of situations” when symmetrically ‘background’ is also ‘foreground’ (Serres 1982/1995: 5-13). With the concept of hybridity also comes a fuller picture of the multiplicity that is shot through the implications of this approach, of ‘adding’ to the mix, and producing a list of possible actors that excludes nothing. The story of hybridity like the story of ‘following actors’ and ‘adding knowledge’, is a story of multiplying connections rather than limiting them and it starts to develop a way to assist objects into more active performances.

¹²⁷ This phrase is a composite of borrowings from Serres (1982/1995) and Crook (1998) but the term ‘monster’ is also used to delineate “the modern scientific stance to hybrids”, also known as ‘cyborgs’ and ‘tricksters’ in Haraway’s (1991) language (in Latour 1991/1993:47).

Hybrids are ‘connected entities’ made up of more than either a human or a non-human and their combinatory effects have been without a proper place in scientific practice which tends to ‘purify’ or ‘render them unthinkable’ and (therefore) allow them to ‘proliferate’ (Latour 1991/1993: 39-43). Symmetrically an ‘object’ is equated to a ‘subject’. However both of these are unusual since a subject is naked as an object is blank and to find this nakedness and blankness is to “go back to the undetermined” and to be less differentiated (Serres 1982/1999: 34). This according to Serres is to underestimate, understate and under-explore what is most impressive of these ‘things’: their ‘quasi’ (Serres 1982/1999) ‘strange’ and ‘impure’ (Pickering 2000: 309) or ‘fuzzy’ (Pepperell 2003:20) natures that come from being multiply determined and multiply differentiated.

To strip something back to a subject or object, to something singular, something that acts once or acts in one way is to reduce it to its ‘simplest form’ and this prevents objects and also subjects from acting (Serres 1990/1995: 47). To return a hybrid to a subject or object is to act as if to say:

‘Stand there and be a tourist’ or ‘Stand there and be a tourism object’ while I conduct my research. Then I can control for things that neither of you can have any hope of controlling for, to determine what you are.

A subject or object is useful for extraction but soon becomes less useful when how the object or subject is ‘added to’ is made important. As they are ‘added to’ they become part object, part subject and ‘completeness’ becomes an aspiration of multiplicity and becoming multiple, not returning (chiselled down) to an essence or cycling (back and forth) along a continuum (see Latour 2005). Like the rapid inventiveness of communications technology, subjects and objects ‘plug-in’ and ‘down load’ things to ‘enable other things’ to happen (see Franklin 2004 and Latour 2005). This is to read the whole grammatical scale: I am subject, subjected, subjecting and subjection and I cannot be this in isolation. Similarly if that is an object, then it is objected, objecting and objection and it cannot be that in isolation. In this way hybrids are *quasi-subjects* and *quasi-objects* (Serres 1982/1995: 88). Their potential to become multiple lies in the associations added to them - their hybridity - and the multiple orderings they take part in – their hybridity. They are full of possibilities and multiple identities, but are also reduced to one or few, made somewhat mute and somewhat dormant, until they are multiple again – with others.

A focus on ‘doing’, ‘performance’, ‘how’ and ‘ordering’ emphasises how objects and subjects are ‘added to’ in various ways that see them becoming multiple, forming heterogeneous assemblages and hybrid ‘entities’. These additional skills; technologies; paint; chances; furnishings; symbols; qualifications; costs; blights; illnesses; brands; discourses; failures; fixtures; other ‘people’ and other ‘things’ alter the competencies of a subject or object. Similarly disassociating; shedding; leaving behind; losing contact; removing; overcoming; dismissing and so on also alter competencies and how an object or subject can act. Even discourse in various performances takes on and loses competencies as it is enrolled with other things. Foucault for example, was explicit about not proposing theories and he foresaw this ‘add on’ as the ‘masked philosopher’ and a bleak reference to the “name as a facility” (1989: 322). That he continues to ‘theorise’ nevertheless is an outcome of associations and how he has been successfully distributed in this manner.¹²⁸ How they act determines their nature but this is less identifiable in the autonomy, truth or singularity of the subject, discourse or object and more an outcome of ‘who and what’ they associate with and the circumstances that happen through this.¹²⁹ This is the same as identifying ‘what kind of hybrids they form’ and ‘what kind of orderings they take part in’.

The crucial point in this *relational ontology* (Pickering 2000: 308) is that each *actor* whether human, non-human or text is “defined by the multiplicity of inventions in which they conspire” (Latour 1991:124). Here the actor is the temporarily constructed locus for what Mol (1999:77) refers to as *multiple versions of reality*. The consequence of this is there are “parallel solutions for what passes as real” (Serres 1982/1995: 85) and this means the researcher is obliged to look for what ‘solutions’ co-exist, or what *ontological politics* (Mol 1999:77) are being performed. Since there is the possibility of multiple ‘versions’, ‘solutions’ or ‘orderings’ the researcher is encumbered to push for an understanding of the ‘politics of co-existence’ and therefore an alternative politics of tourism (see Mol 1999).

While the notion of ‘version of reality’ is not new to tourism research it has tended to live implicitly in the criticism that tourism ‘adds another version’ to an object, place or ‘people’

¹²⁸ The treatment of discourse in this research follows a very crude simplification of Latour’s (1991/1993) more specialist handling. Discourse and texts are treated like humans and non-humans, as ‘actors’ if and when they act with not too dissimilar results.

¹²⁹ Our parents were right, this does matter. In this fixation with associations and relations social rules and sociology in first identifying them ‘intuits’ what symmetry aims to give a fuller picture to (see Latour 2005).

like a Westernised version, a mass produced version or a false, front-stage ‘Disneyfied’ one.¹³⁰ While this has added to the ‘productive’ capacities of tourism, these are not symmetrically derived versions of reality since each version is code for a substitute or a ‘less real’ version than the real one. A tourism ordering (Franklin 2004) on the other hand is symmetrical since it *performs* a version of reality that is real ‘enough’, and does claim to *represent* a reality ‘badly or well’. Since this performance of tourism ordering is not the only performance or ordering, it does not automatically follow that by adding another version tourism ‘reproduces’, ‘replaces’ or ‘ruins’ an otherwise authentic one. After the symmetrical argument in Chapter One, to believe so is to ignore the possibility for ‘co-existence’, and that replacement (as well as reproduction and ruination) are not given but need to be worked at. The following section elaborates these differences through the symmetrical treatment of a common ‘tourism object’, the visitor centre. This illustration speaks to both the asymmetry between ‘us and them’ as well as tourism as an ordering or version of reality.

5.6 *Hybrids and exclusion zones or ‘how to visit wilderness’*

The performance of difference or asymmetry between nature and society is evident in tourism research not only through humanism but also in the specialisations of ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ tourism. Nature tourism is a continuum (Orams 1995) and the *very* natural form known as Eco-tourism often involves tourism actively performing the role of *decontaminating* nature from humans by performing a separation between them. Human-nature interactions are controlled with implements like boardwalks to suspend the human above the ecosystem floor, with hard science to inform the human of why this is important and visitor centres and guides to convey how to interact with nature, what to appreciate about it or how to be ‘mindful’.¹³¹ These ventures enforce the fact that we are intimately connected to nature yet are notable for ‘no touching’ or minimal touch and ultimately to create in the Eco-tourist no *desire* to touch.¹³² The Eco-tourist takes on board (him/herself) the indisputable fact that unmediated access to nature is dangerous for everyone and everything. The Eco-tourism solution is to make the ‘human interpretation of nature’ stand-in for ‘nature’ wherever possible, and to

¹³⁰ See Hollinshead (1998 and 2004).

¹³¹ See Cater and Lowerman (1994); Orams (1995); Wearing and Neil (2009) Black and Ham (2005) and Moscardo (1996) on ‘mindful’.

¹³² The invention of this new kind of subject ‘Eco-tourist’ is another example of becoming a tourist (after Franklin 2004) and discussed in Chapter Two.

replace ultimately as many dangerous human-nature interactions as it can. It follows that if tourism can perform in such a way, when the human world (defined by its culture, language and interpretations) can stand in for nature (defined by the absence of these), their separateness is less in dispute.

One of the widespread technologies used to do this is the visitor centre and yet this object immediately provides a challenge by showing that tourism does not perform this substitution of a natural world for a human one by drawing on only human things or natural things. Instead these performances are always “reciprocally coupled transformations of the social and material worlds” (Pickering 2000:308) and the following makes a brief illustration of this. The visitor centre in Strahan in Tasmania’s south-west is shown to be both hybrid and to perform asymmetry between nature and society at the same time.

Strahan is a 19th century convict outpost-come-fishing village-come-tourist town on the now advantageous fringe of a tourist attraction that is bigger than itself. The town has increasingly come to perform a gateway role to the World Heritage listed *Tasmanian South West Wilderness* and this role is concentrated on the Strahan Visitor Centre. The visitor centre is not a natural object because it is a ‘built environment’ and this is celebrated as such with an architectural award. It is filled with information and pictures about various industries and lives that have happened there and there are statements about what is valuable and worthwhile in the wilderness today. While it refers to the wilderness, it is not itself the wilderness but something more besides. At the same time the visitor centre is not a completely social thing either because it does exist materially, offers vista’s of MacQuarie Harbour and imports some elements of the wilderness ‘proper’ to include plant-life, bird sounds and the unique Huon Pine fragrance in its make-up. While it refers to society, it is not itself society but something more besides.

Visitor centres are not prone to be hybrid, but are prone to be social in the eyes of tourism research. They are investigated for their meaning, how this meaning is imparted and how well it is received or learned by visitors.¹³³ As places of meaning and information they exemplify ‘the life of interpretation’ (Foucault 1980b:210) whereas a hybrid is ‘something more besides’. Questions concern how the visitor centre as a heterogeneous entity acts and on the

¹³³ See Moscardo and Pearce (1986) and Moscardo (1996) on the meanings and effective distribution of these meanings through visitor centres.

surface there are three simple answers to this question. The Strahan visitor centre may be passed-by because it is not compulsory, in which case it does not act. It may act like a gateway before or after a visit to the wilderness offering information, 'skills' (Franklin 2003) and 'competencies' (Edensor 2007) for better appreciating the wilderness experience. Alternatively the visitor centre constitute 'the wilderness experience' and may act to replace the wilderness altogether serving less like a gateway and more like a substitution for the very 'thing' it is a gateway for.¹³⁴

In this latter case tourism can be seen to bring humans and non-humans together to form substitutes, in this case a visitor centre for 'nature' but also as has been noted by other tourism scholars, as substitutes for 'culture'.¹³⁵ It is also the case that this substitution has contributed to an intellectual culture where tourism cannot shake its characteristic 'fakeness'. However this sense of fakery is tied to a culture of thought that places a premium on a "diabolical link between representation and recognition" so that dating from Plato, substitutes are always poorer copies (Serres in Latour 1990/1998: 78) and this tends towards a 'fundamental' practice in tourism research (after Latour 2004a: 460). Like the invisibility of immutable mobility (Chapter Three), this discounts too quickly the ingenuity and work that takes place through material relations to represent and sometimes substitute. Instead:

Tourism prefers the reconstructed object, and indeed, this preference for the simulacrum is the essence of postmodern tourism (Bruner 1989:438).

Substitutes do not have to be 'unreal' or poor copies but can also be assemblies of things that have the rather special ability to replace other things despite not offering 'sameness' (Law and Mol 1995: 283). They have a 'unique adequacy' (Latour 2000a:113) of their own. A visitor centre is not nature although it contains part of nature, and can substitute in part or in full for nature, even the wildest nature.¹³⁶ In the case of substitution visitor centre becomes a substitution despite being a bad copy of 'Tasmanian Wilderness' and this is where tourism starts to fall foul of the 'diabolical link'. Although in this case tourism, through the visitor centre has transported some elements of the wilderness proper, propagating ferns and

¹³⁴ The Wilderness is not particularly user friendly on foot, the cruise is expensive and the weather is often inclement so the visitor centre is 'the next best thing' in these cases.

¹³⁵ See for example Smith (2005); Bruner (1989) and Stronza (2001).

¹³⁶ This follows the same logic that a sliding door does not make a good copy of a doorman but it is still a good substitute (Johnson 1988).

disseminating an albeit technologically induced Huon Pine fragrance, it has also gathered together a lot of very ‘un-Tasmanian-Wilderness’ things like a tea-towel in the gift shop that is reminiscent of Scotland and made in China. Substituting without copying the object ‘Tasmanian Wilderness’ it makes instead a translation or ‘other version’ of ‘Tasmanian Wilderness’ that may act as equivalent or partial equivalent without a pretence of ‘the same’.¹³⁷ The interesting question then becomes how one heterogeneous assembly substitutes another.

Setting up as tourism scholars have been used to, the visitor centre and other tourist objects in terms of how well they re-present means they will always fail the test of copy(ing)-right and always provide an inferior substitution for ‘the real thing’. This simultaneously dismisses tourists who allow the visitor centre to be a substitute for wilderness as poor copies of real people and then the ‘cultural dupe’ thesis is added in a ‘symmetric operation’ (Latour 2005:192) to inauthentic, tourist objects. If substitution is allowed more leeway, and is able to occur fully or partially without always re-presenting (badly or well), then tourism objects like visitor centres can be considered contributors to *versions* of reality, or ‘tourism orderings’ (Franklin 2004) some of which are so remarkable they have the competency to take the place of another, and others whose competencies are still to be discovered. Without a bias towards authenticity ourselves, this kind of behaviour can only be interesting to tourism scholars.

5.7 *Postponing the real world for common hybrids*

This chapter has focussed on extending the methodological discussion of symmetry begun in the previous chapter by addressing the difficulty of enabling non-humans to act. To allow a non-human to act is to enable an objectivity that comes from the discovery of how objects act, are made to act or make others act (Latour 2005:146). This from a position of social science is to include non-humans in social phenomena as part of the social link (Latour 2005:46-48), something humanism has tended to disallow. By default this includes tourism research and this chapter has taken the idea of ‘post human tourism’ (Chapter Three) another step to consider how non-humans can be made into actors.

¹³⁷ Serres (1990/1995) articulates this mathematically where for example the relation $x = y + 2$ does not mean ‘x’ is the same as ‘y + 2’ but neither does this prevent the designation of an equation. Hence in this circumstance the visitor centre ‘x’ becomes equivalent to by substituting the Tasmanian Wilderness ‘y + 2’.

Hybrids enable accounts of what is added to a human or non-human and then what kind of orderings these add-ons themselves eventually add up to. Objects and also subjects in this sense are both difficult to isolate and specify since they are also centres of their own universes, multi-tasking and participating in multiple versions of reality. While it has been acknowledged that many hybrids have existed *unleashed* in tourism, in also remaining unnoticed their *promiscuity* (Franklin 2004:174-178) if not under control, is nevertheless controlled in ‘accounts of control’ in a manner reminiscent of a social cringe.

While there have been few places for these hybrids to exist, the next chapter discusses how some the existing methods of anthropology can be adapted to symmetrical tasks and therefore to redressing this gap in tourism research. Asymmetrically, this research should claim that the next chapter is going to put a symmetrical toolkit to work in the real world of tourism. Asymmetrically this would seem wise when using an approach that claims to be ‘empirically empirical’ (see Latour 2005:241). However this strong empiricism is not a requirement of more time in the field, more data, more interviews and so on. It comes of not claiming that time spent ‘out of the field’ reading, writing, theorising and being methodical is not also time spent empirically. A condition of no reliable ‘real world’ is no reliable ‘empirical stage’ of the research since all of the work contributes to performing tourism research or ‘explaining tourism’. Therefore symmetrically what follows is not a shifting from the academy to the field, but rather the next account of a process that always confused both.

[T]hese detours were necessary, because only now can the two threads, the two threats, be tied together (Latour 1999:12).

CHAPTER SIX

Fraternising with tourism

6.0 Introduction and overview of the chapter

The task of the researcher under a symmetrical analysis is to find a way to characterise the heterogeneity of tourism and describe how this generates effects (after Law 1992: 381). This is the same as demonstrating that tourism is an ordering (Franklin 2004). For this reason the method needs to be as inclusive as possible to accommodate actors who are human and non-human, as well as describe how they relate or organise themselves. Therefore two key requirements of symmetrical research are a wide net and a scribe. This chapter discusses the value of ethnography in meeting these requirements.

Every single interview, narrative, and commentary, no matter how trivial it may appear, will provide the analyst with a bewildering array of entities to account for the hows and whys of any course of action (Latour 2005:47).

Since what counts as ‘information’ is liberally defined, research claiming an outcome that is made up of heterogeneous actors needs a method that is flexible in relation to data sources and modes of collection. Symmetry also needs a method that does not need to define many of the actors or the limits of the field or the time taken to do this at the outset. Ethnography, with its established tradition of observing and writing together accounts that include objects, language, symbols, myth, practices and people is already somewhat adapted to the task of symmetry. However it is also maladapted since ethnography also derives from a humanist project and a split not only between science and the ‘real world’ but also a division between ‘cultures’.

As the previous two chapters have discussed, symmetrical analysis attempts to include the practices of science as part of performing a common world and these practices include methods. While most social science methods by default improvise an asymmetrical arrangement between science and the world it extracts data and information from few are

ready-made for symmetry. That said there are no ‘symmetrical methods’ if this means they act so well they seem inevitable because symmetrically all methods enable and interfere. In this way chapters about method are confessions of what the researcher did to interfere with and facilitate what s/he is claiming to explain.¹³⁸ At the same time this does not need to be a drawn out confession because that is only added interference. By regarding methods as interfering necessities that are ‘part of the field’ any “wringing of hands about it” is minimal (Latour 2005:128).

The obvious problem with the usual social methods for examining tourism ordering is that tourism can no longer be described as “a purely social activity” because “its social nature also articulates necessarily and in complex ways with non-human objects, systems, machines, bureaucratic processes, times, timetables, sites, photographs, tents, flows, desires” (Franklin 2004:284). Since tourism is not a purely social activity, methods designed at investigating purely social phenomenon are problematic. Ethnography is capable of producing accounts of materials, symbols and social life ‘in one’, and the empirical vibrancy of this is what makes it a suitable way to ‘fraternise with tourism’.

While Serres (in Latour 1990/1995) argues that every method should constitute the invention of a new association that is particular to the problem at hand existing evidence, including the work of Science and Technology Studies, shows that the flexibility permitted by ethnography is effective in performing symmetry. The generation of information from multiple data sources provides a means for implementing an inclusive research policy (Latour 2005: 41). However these cannot be taken to mean ethnography guarantees an inclusive policy or symmetrical analysis. There is much ethnography that is inspired by humanism and is at the hands of an ‘outside world’ making the method asymmetrical.

How ethnography has contributed to performing tourism research asymmetrically as well as how anthropology has already imported symmetrical reasoning into tourism knowledge is discussed before discussing ways of making ethnography more useful for symmetry.

Recognising the relational materialism of the key components of ‘time’, ‘space’ and ‘culture’

¹³⁸ In this chapter general discussions of anthropology and anthropological methods are mixed with discussions more specifically focussed on ethnography. The assumption that allows this mixture is after Descola (2005) that the relationship between anthropology and ethnography is interdependent and co-constitutive.

as they relate to the ‘duration’, ‘field’ and ‘culture’ of ethnography disables some of the obstacles to symmetrical research.

Consequently it is with the benefit of these advantages and equally valuable lessons that come of the challenges that need addressing that this chapter makes an argument for “seeing tourism in its ethnographic presence” (Franklin 2003: 59). Having first considered why ethnography is good for symmetrical analysis and then what needs to be done to make it better, the final part of the chapter ties the writing part of ethnography to developing accounts of tourism ordering. Writing has an interesting place in symmetry mattering because it is assumed that “science grasps the things in themselves” (Latour 1999:16 and Chapter Four). To the practical antecedents of ethnography is added a literary template including a semiotics of action, or a semiotics ‘without meaning’ (Serres in Latour 1990/1995:92), that takes full advantage of verbs and prepositions in the making of nouns. The method of writing is not only a way to recall events as in notes on observations, nor is it only a conveyor of description as in the ethnography itself, is also a laboratory where writing trials are conducted (Latour 2005:25) that experiment with heterogeneously constructed orderings.

6.1 Anthropologies of the Modern World

The following discusses the ‘new programme’ for anthropology that has resulted in ethnography somewhat abandoning its traditional object of study -completely ‘unknown territories’ - and engaging instead with ‘the modern world’. While this new object was less ‘other world’ it remained no more familiar and so even without a clear and distinguishable ‘object’ providing a means for the method, a common persona and process can still be identified to distinguish ‘ethnographies in the present’.¹³⁹

The unknown does not necessarily have to be the Samoa islands, because the researcher adopting an anthropological frame of mind is able to experience the same exoticism visiting the water supply plant in their own city [...] While staying in the field, the anthropologist loses her or his identity and becomes and immigrant by own wish (Czarniawska-Joerges 1992 in Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 1999:40).

¹³⁹ This is borrowed from Fox’s (1991) ‘Anthropologies of the present’.

As the principle method of anthropologists, ethnography first meant a lengthy, in-depth field study abroad that was then written into an account - 'the ethnography' (Silverman 1985).

While the nature of this kind of object set the rules for the ethnographic method, ethnography started to break free from these rules, or needed to become more adaptable as the traditional object (closed, unknown societies) started to become less obvious as an object and arguably tourism played a role in this (see below). The distinction between the traditional concerns and characteristics of ethnography and the way these have adapted to contemporary locations describes a transition to settings ethnography was never intended for. This programme that expands the empirical object and weakens technical jargon (Descola 2005:66) is part of what characterises 'anthropologies of the present' (Fox 1991) or 'modern world' (Appadurai 1991).

Since the turn of the century, scores of men and women have penetrated deep forests, lived in hostile climates, and weathered hostility, boredom, and disease in order to gather the remnants of so-called primitive societies. By contrast to the frequency of these anthropological excursions, relatively few attempts have been made to penetrate the intimacy of life among tribes which are much nearer to hand (Latour and Woolgar 1979:17).

Airports, warships, street gangs and the European Parliament have now fallen within the scope of anthropological inquiry, alongside industrial plants, laboratories of genetic engineering and the Hong Kong stock exchange (Descola 2005: 65).

To write about symmetrical ethnography is to tap into this new programme for anthropology and a growing number of ethnographies of the modern or contemporary world.¹⁴⁰ The ideas underpinning this programme are that as the distinction between modern 'contemporary' and pre-modern 'traditional' societies disappears, the whole world now contains the same 'anthropological matrix' (Latour 1991/1993:47). A belief in the continued utility of this matrix is part of how the possibility for a renaissance of ethnography emerges. Since

¹⁴⁰ This programme includes Appadurai (1991); Fox (1991); Augé (1995); Gusterson (1997); Holmes and Marcus (2004) as well as a suite of ethnographies including the work of 'Organisation Studies' - see Czarniaskwa (2004), Jones et al. (2004) and Thrift (2004) - which are particularly helpful for this approach.

symmetry implicitly supports the utility of this matrix it becomes part of this general renaissance.

The emphasis on descriptive techniques, multiple data sources and means of collection means ethnography is well established in examining the concrete manifestations of modern societies and the kind of practices that constitute them (Inda 2005:11). In urban settings, the Chicago School utilised the method to explore the enduring sociological concern with urban social inequality and urban ways of life (Bounds 2004:18-24). More recently, theoretical developments in the disciplines of sociology and geography have lent support to ethnography because it takes less for granted about what a 'society' or 'the urban' is for example, and is therefore more capable of sorting out the more ambivalent 'contemporary condition' (Amin 2007:101). Highlighting what is concrete and practiced also adds to the utility of ethnography in the embodiment and material turns. Similarly Feminist theory has revitalised an interest in the qualities of material cultures and practices and these are within the purview, and observational capacity of the traditional ethnographer.¹⁴¹ These provide only a few examples of how ethnography has come to be successfully transferred to modern setting and its willingness to develop innovative research strategies that accommodate the unique and sometimes chaotic properties of the modern world (Appadurai 1991). This same characteristic makes ethnography for transferring to symmetrical settings.

However this transition is less than a 'baton change' (Franklin 2004: 291) and in this new programme is an 'experimental anthropology' (Latour 2004b: 241) that includes a general 'refunctioning' of ethnography (Holmes and Marcus 2004: 1099). While lacking total cohesion the programme continues to be productive because the traditional object of ethnography continues to disappear and this dilemma is comparable to the pressing agenda for a programme of research able to deal with 'contemporary, global tourism'. Both programmes act as a way of reviving and also bypassing the otherwise more defunct earlier versions of themselves (Chapter One). In the modern world, like a world of global tourism:

Specifying anthropology by its content always leads to the little game of finding counter-examples that do not fall within the boundaries of the definition (Descola 2005: 66).

¹⁴¹ See the edited collection of Strum and Fedigan (2000).

The following section considers a way of defining ethnography less by its content and more by its process.

6.1.1 *The process of ethnography in four letters*

Since the advantage of ethnographic research is its flexibility and adaptability, a disadvantage comes from spelling out exactly what the method is. The term ‘ethnography’ is used to describe the work of Lévi-Strauss (1955/1973) in the tropics, of Willis (1980) in a suburban school and Dobers and Strannegård (2004) who followed the exhibits of ‘the cocoon’ a new form of public furniture. Amidst this variety of content something must remain continuous in what is otherwise a highly adaptable method. At its simplest ethnography appears to attempt to satisfy the requirements of an ontological belief about coming to knowledge through *being there*. From this experiential basis it has been argued that contemporary ethnography is best defined by a common experience and less by specific techniques, domains of knowledge or empirical territories.¹⁴²

To locate this experience is to apply the ethnographers own model to him/herself and examine ‘what ethnographers do’. As “the primary research tool” (Coffey 1999 in Frohlick and Harrison 2008: 15) ethnographers are *in media res*¹⁴³ recording what is happening while it is happening and trying to make sense of it through ‘writing trials (see below). This requires a ‘requisite musicality’ (Nash 2004:180) that is a romantic way of arguing for ‘adaptability to the circumstances’ that are quite literally at-hand and under-foot. Abandoning any technical definition of ethnography in preference to a common experience leaves an exploration of processes and how in the case of ethnography, “rhythm and duration are the methods that matter” (Descola 2005: 69).

These terms ‘rhythm and duration’ are used to leverage a common experience of ethnography and this experience is described anecdotally through four letters that were sent to a supervisor Malinowski from his student Fortes from the field (in Descola 2005). While Malinowski uses these letters to describe the fieldwork experiences of more traditional styled ethnography,

¹⁴² See Stronza (2001) and Descola (2005)

¹⁴³ See Clifford (1990); Pickering (1995 in Franklin 2008); Latour (2005) and Schmid (2008) in tourism.

they can be shown to still resonate and translate to ethnographies more attuned to the contemporary programme of anthropology.

Malinowski had told him that he expected to receive a first disgruntled letter in about two months, in which Fortes would complain about the food, the climate, the lack of privacy and the general impossibility of making sense of what the natives, as they were called at the time, were doing or saying (Descola 2005: 69).

My own early months in a field not more than 5 kilometres from the university meant that I could literally ‘come and go’ and that my supervisor did not need to receive a letter about the food or climate. However he did receive disgruntled ‘looks’ as often as complaints concerning a series of maps and planning schemes, and a group of people who spoke a very specialist language and were impossible at first to understand. This led to a general malaise that was symptomatic of this ‘entering the field’, by which is meant engaging with a wider set of actors and beginning to follow their expertise.

Another letter would follow approximately four months later in a more optimistic tone, reporting steady progress with fieldwork and the dawning of a few working hypothesis about what was going on (Descola 2005: 69).

And in time I also found firmer ground and began to enjoy meeting with architects, developers, planners and urban designers since I was better able to converse with them now. Through this ‘immersive’ phase I had resisted abandoning what was unfamiliar and started to learn to negotiate and ‘become familiar’ instead. Throughout these ‘trials’ my optimism and progress in the field was also noticeable on campus as a quicker step around the hallways betrayed that I was ‘in the middle of it all’ now.

Then, after almost a year in the field, Fortes would write again to Malinowski telling him that the job was almost done, with only a few remaining details to clear up (Descola 2005: 69).

And I was fully prepared to graduate two years ago, at this stage thinking seriously about the photographs I would include, and about getting maps scanned and set into chapters. The data-

bank was full to overflowing and I had the experience, confidence and language to write about it. I could now speak of these affairs in ‘their’ expert way, and required only some time and space to write it all together. One summer should finish this up.

And this would be the critical moment. For a few weeks later a new letter would follow in which Fortes would explain that he had got it all wrong, and that he required more time in order to weigh new information that had modified his previous understanding (Descola 2005: 69).

This critical moment that coincides with deciding it is finished cast new light on the work I had done so far. Early writing was found clumsy, and while it told a story it did not tell of an ordering. When these ‘writing trials’ were taken into account alongside field-notes, interview transcripts, plans and press clippings as another resource that another understanding began to emerge. Including the process of writing itself and before the prospect of concluding, as I write this through again my supervisor who has done this before is patient.

The general aims of the new programme for ethnography involves little more ‘in theory’ than sticking to what is unfamiliar for long enough to gain some familiarity. This loosely holds the method of ethnography together in the modern world. From here it is up to the researcher to use what is useful and adapt what is not according to literally any circumstance involving any ‘thing’ including theories about how to do research. Serres claim that each method is an outcome particular to ‘inventing new associations’ (in Latour 1990/1995: 48) is not dismissed but rather added to a generous and experiential definition of ethnography. Ethnography has already been proven successful in symmetrical research (Chapter Four) and that is part of why it is adopted here. However it has also been a useful method in tourism research and the following section considers how ethnography has contributed to performing tourism knowledge and how tourism has contributed to ethnography in the modern world.

6.2 *Tourism anthropology and ethnography*

One of the first anthropologies of the modern world that explicitly implicated tourism is MacCannell’s (1976) ‘new theory of the leisure class’. In this and other accounts tourism has played its own role in the contemporary anthropological programme by directly confronting

ethnographers with the “complex presence of ‘outsiders’” (Boissevain 2002: i). Like other disciplines in the field of tourism, tourism anthropology has provided explanations of origin and motivation with a focus on tourists, but more commonly gives explanations of cultural impact and effects with a focus on hosts (see Stronza 2001:262). In either case the work of the tourism ethnographer continues to ‘necessitate flexibility’ and part of this is to make full use of a variety of research strategies in tourism (Frohlick and Harrison 2008:7).

Chapter Two identified similarities between what tourists do and what tourism researchers do and how this comes to partially define the experience of both tourism and researching tourism. This is rarely more evident than in the case of tourism ethnography. Ethnography, when understood in a rudimentary way as “the product of the encounter with the ‘Other’” (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 206) shares similarities with what tourists do even if tourists have been less often subjects of anthropology. In arguing for the usefulness of ethnographic methods in tourism these similarities re-emerge briefly in this chapter with a more particular focus on the ethnographer and the tourist.

Traditional ethnography and the concern with societies regarded as ‘peripheral’ to Western societies, is like the double world recognised (or re-organised) by tourists and tourism researchers. MacCannell (1976) had noted his own similarity to the subjects he observed and this relationship continues so that ‘tourist skilling’ (Franklin 2003) is not unlike the skilling in ethnography experienced by Favero’s (2007). The ethnographer and the tourist “share common origins that can be traced to the explorer, the missionary, the merchant and the traveller” (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 204). While ethnography is principally about formally attempting to observe, record and write about social relations, places and cultures (Inda 2005:11) it has beginnings in the more informal accounts of ‘non-professional observers’ (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 205) or travellers’ tales (see Picken 2006:162).

The tourists were a special problem in that they were uncomfortably like us; we ethnographers had come to this place to observe, and so had they. We, however, had come to work and respected the native culture; they were on vacation and merely enjoyed it (Redfield 1985: 100).

The disparity that exists between travellers and tourists exemplified in claims that the traveller represents “a desire less exploitative than those energising tourist relations” mimics

the disparity between the ethnographer and the tourist (Soguk 2003: 32). However it is also becoming more acceptable to claim that every tourist is a little bit ethnographer and every ethnographer is a little bit tourist and that sometimes “tourist discourse and ethnographic discourse merge” (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 458). They merge in tourism ventures ‘out there’ as well as in broad theoretical issues ‘at home’.

A tourist event is presented as ethnography, and when performed in the round as a total immersion experience, it is the ultimate case of ethnographic realism. [...] Indeed, Hazel tells us that their handout was written for them by an anthropologist (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994:458).

When tourists and locals come together, both have the opportunity not only to glimpse how the other lives, but also to reflect on their own lives through the eyes of others. As a result, these cross-cultural interactions often cue ‘live performances’ of the some of the broadest theoretical issues in anthropology (Stronza 2001: 264).

Despite these mergers that disrupted early anthropology and contributed to the beginning of a contemporary programme, it is also the case that tourism anthropology has needed to adjust to this programme itself. Beginning as an impact on peripheral, closed systems tourism becomes a dynamic of inevitable change on open(ing) systems to arrive as a phenomenon worth studying in its own right with its own (increasingly boundless) territory.¹⁴⁴ While this has increased the attention given to tourists in ethnographic inquiry, the comparative immobility and accessibility of ‘hosts’ means they have remained a more likely subject for the sustained engagement required of ethnography. The tourist ‘lacks duration’ and is a kind of ‘mobile non-community’ (see Graburne 2002:19-20) makes their ‘culture’ a difficult object of fieldwork except in what tourists, in their fleeting totality think, or what they *do* to host communities.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ See Smith’s (1977 and 2001) edited collections for this kind of general progress report.

¹⁴⁵ Such a ‘fleeting totality’ has tended to lend itself to survey or interview data rather than ethnographic material (Graburne 2002:21).

On the other hand, in posing significant difficulties for the ethnographer tourists ensure that the flexibility associated with ethnography is fully tested.¹⁴⁶ Such testing includes ethnography moving outside of predominately host communities and in some cases the hosts moving away from ethnographers themselves (Appadurai 1991:200-202 and Hage 2005:467-468). ‘Tourist places’ are made base camps that enable tourists to gain ethnographic attention.¹⁴⁷ Lengthy sojourns among a culture that are the usual requirement of ethnography are reconciled through time spent in the place itself with emphasis given to how the place is cultural, or continually performed by associations with people like hosts and tourists.¹⁴⁸ Aside from describing a touristic culture these ethnographies have also brought into ‘critical relief’ any “simplistic notions of the tourist experience as ‘liminal’ and while there is a ‘communitas’ between tourism researchers and tourists (Chapter Two), it is ethnography that both exemplifies this and points out that tourists as often “lack any habitus of collectivity” (Amit 2000 in Frohlick and Harrison 2008: 5).

Following a concern for ‘cross-cultural meanings’, anthropologists have already imported the term ‘hybridity’ into tourism research (see Hollinshead 1998). Following Bhabha’s (1994) ideas developed in the *Location of Culture*, hybridity refers to spaces of cultural production that are in-between or interstitial spaces of “significatory or representational undecidability” (Bhabha 1995: 206). This kind of hybridity “carries the burden and meaning of culture” (p.209) and this is a third meaning or identity that is neither the ‘One’ nor ‘the Other’ but “something else besides” (Bhabha 1994: 218). While ‘the third’ is useful for symmetrical reading the something else besides must be ‘some other identity besides’. Consequently this is not the same as a symmetrical hybrid but rather, like the performance turn, aims for relevance in “the continually dynamic and reforming *social world*” (Hollinshead 1998: 153 emphasis added). This is one example that shows while ethnography has contributed to tourism knowledge in novel and important ways, it is also the case that anthropology and its concern with ‘the cultures of humankind’ (Nash 2004:170) has added to the humanist project in tourism research. As an ‘indiscipline’ (Tribe 1999) concerned equally with people, ‘tourism research has been happy to oblige.

¹⁴⁶ See for example Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s (1998) innovative way around this.

¹⁴⁷ See for example Sherlock (2001) and the edited collection by Coleman and Crang (2002).

¹⁴⁸ See Sladanha (2002); Sørensen (2003) and Palmer (2001 and 2005).

That said, the kind of challenges and adaptations that accrue when tourism confronts ethnographers with both a characterisation of them and a risk of their object's collapse makes productive business. As a de-territorialising, cross-culturalising and interfering practice, tourism has contributed to the shape of modern anthropology, adding to precedent and current debates about how to do ethnography in the contemporary world. At the same time, ethnography has fleshed out the 'host' and increasingly does the same for 'tourists'.

Though as anthropologists we may be loathe to admit any relationship to the sandal-footed, camera-toting legions in our midst, the truth is that tourism can be an ideal context for studying issues of political economy, social change and development, natural resource management, and cultural identity and expression (Stronza 2001: 261).

To this established relationship is now added symmetry, first to examine how compatible they are and then to examine how their incompatibilities might be overcome.

6.3 *Symmetry, alchemy and ethnography*

Ethnography concerns "understanding social meanings and behaviour of people in a given setting, situation, or context" (Geertz 1973 in Palmer 2005:11). One advantage of using ethnography symmetrically is that despite the more humanist concerns of anthropologists ethnography provides the means for accounting non-humans or for avoiding the asymmetrical impulse to do 'social analysis'. In particular 'ethnomethodological ethnography' (Silverman 1985:106-110) aligns with the symmetrical principle of following actors and then it is a case of "abandon[ing] all *a priori* distinctions between natural and social events" (Callon 1986:199). This abandonment is experimented with and demonstrated through writing. Chapter Five began with the forgotten practice of alchemy and how it is a useful practice to remind ourselves of in symmetrical analysis. The remainder of this chapter extends the imagery of alchemy to the research method of ethnography and how it is useful for symmetrical analysis.

Once she has been sent into the field, even the most rationalist ethnographer is perfectly capable of bringing together in a single monograph the myths,

ethnoscience, genealogies, political forms, techniques, religions, epics and rites of the people she is studying (Latour 1991/1993:7).

The anthropological assumption of a ‘cultural whole’ (Redfield et al. 1936), although becoming an unpopular assumption, was still important in the development of nascent ethnography.

[I]ncongruous facts had to be grouped into categories that would grant them an appearance of unity (Descola 2005: 65).

With the task being one of ‘translating’ one culture to another (Webster 1982: 87), the ethnographer in search of this ‘whole was obliged to include more rather than less description and more rather than less ‘things’ in those descriptions. This gave the ethnographer a ‘compulsion to include’, where fieldwork was like sleuth work and the task depended on observing and recording as many clues as possible. This possibility for inclusion coming from an inability to immediately exclude what might matter, is therefore part of an advantageous ‘lack of expertise’ (Latour 2005:41) that makes ethnography not only compatible with the symmetrical affinity with alchemy, but with the symmetrical instance on following actors.

As anthropologists have tirelessly shown, actors incessantly engage in the most abstruse metaphysical constructions by redefining all the elements of the world (Latour 2005:51).

Requiring the ability to witness and record things that are unexpected, methods are ‘improvised’ (Descola 2005:65) and offer paths for investigating things like tourism that are more “intuitive than they need to be difficult” (Travers 1997: ix). After Chapter Four, symmetry calls for brushes that add knowledge rather than chisels that extract it and ethnography is a way to add ‘as many clues’ or descriptions to what is happening. The flexibility of ethnography in terms of sources of information, a relatively informal ‘immersion’ among the actors and no requirement to be certain of who or what will matter at the outset are compatible with symmetrical analysis. Ethnography both discovered and gave rise to a way of accounting “modes of social action that are indifferent to the modern

distinction between persons and things” because the ‘horizon’ of anthropological knowledge already included all of this (Pottage 2001: 112).

The image of the ‘castaway’ as “utopian model for the ethnographer” points to an innocent, childlike state of mind (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 214) or ‘anthropological strangeness’ (Latour and Woolgar 1979:41) that is important in symmetrical analysis. The somewhat naive gaze entails the same “imaginative willingness to become aware of connections between ideas, bodies and the physical world” (Paulson 2000: 224) as symmetrical analysis and in this way ethnographers are already adapted to “cultivating a sensitivity to the interplays of the human and non-human rather than marginalising them” (Pickering 2000: 311).¹⁴⁹ The emphasis on some degree of ‘immersion’ and the importance of observing what people do ‘to what’ and ‘with what’ as much as what they do, say and mean to each other, means ethnography provides one of few ways to investigate the social practices of non-humans.

The symmetrical requirement of methods that are capable of ‘deployment’, ‘adding’, ‘fraternising’ and ‘sorting out’ are an acceptable and necessary practice of ethnographers. The ethnography itself is “shaped only by alliances with makers of visionary knowledge who are already in the scene or within the bounds of the field” (Holmes and Marcus 2004:1101). These alliances that also exist in the making of tourism knowledge (Chapter Two) are more candidly reported by ethnographers to validate their attempts “to allow the members of contemporary society to have as much leeway in defining themselves” as possible (Latour 2005:41). At the same time, symmetry requires methods that allow the researcher to resist the temptation to ‘unveil’, ‘extract’, ‘denounce’ or ‘debunk’ (Latour 1991/1993: 47) and while these are not conditions of ethnography, ethnographers have used their techniques to unveil and extract, and even to denounce and debunk. In doing so and in performing the asymmetry between themselves (Science) and the field (Real World) ethnography is incompatible with symmetry. Concurrently while the method ‘ethnography’ opens the possibility for including non-humans, the methodology ‘Ethnography’ is often steeped in culture and humanism and these need to be addressed before a more symmetrical ethnography can be built.

¹⁴⁹ This ‘naïve’ gaze is also observable among first year Sociology students where it is the tutors’ job to assist them to properly ‘see’ by privileging ‘the social world’. Their success depends in part on how *asymmetrical* they become.

6.3.1 *A symmetrical diagnosis of time, space and culture*

While there are clear advantages to using an ethnographic approach for symmetrical analysis particularly for following heterogeneous actors, there are also problems with the method that need finer tuning. These problems can be organised into concerns about time, space and culture. Along with writing (see below) these concerns belong to the traditional and contemporary staples of ethnography relating specifically to the degree of ‘immersion’ that takes place and the claims that can be made from this.

Temporal concerns relate most obviously to what constitutes an appropriate duration in the field. Shorter stays of so-called ‘fly-in, fly-out’ ethnography are criticised as the thin edge of the wedge in terms of the immersive, experiential nature of knowledge that ethnography is reliant upon.¹⁵⁰ Spatial concerns involve the erosion of fields that are ‘closed systems’ and then the impossibility of ‘open systems’ that are somewhat inadequately compensated by ‘mobile fields’ or ‘multi-sited ethnography’ (Hage 2005:464).¹⁵¹ This concern is shared in tourism research where the globalising of the anthropological ‘village’ translates to the touristification of ‘everywhere’ (Chapter One) and both relate to the challenges and opportunities of ‘contemporary’. The third problem of culture is tied to the hybridised, ambivalent form that culture now takes.¹⁵² The ‘central dilemma of culture’ is that it is a more unpredictable dynamic and its usefulness, like tourism, is being reinvented. Like time and space culture is increasingly arbitrary and less reliable. Now more distributed and loosened from each other, time, space and culture are also somewhat lost from the ethnographers grasp.¹⁵³

The assumption that there is a ‘field’ (container) to be immersed in; ‘a duration’ (time-frame) that equals adequate ‘immersion time’, and a culture (set of human relations) to be immersed among has become, after symmetry more like an outcome that is difficult to achieve. When ethnography is used symmetrically neither this humanist nor holistic line of enquiry is adequate. However ethnography is also capable with a symmetrical nudge of circumventing

¹⁵⁰ See Marcus (1986); Clifford (1986) and Salins (1993)

¹⁵¹ This finds its way into tourism research via migration and diaspora studies (See Duval 2003 for example).

¹⁵² See Appadura (1991); Bhabha (1994) and in tourism Hollinshead (1999).

¹⁵³ This is a very general summary of some of the problems observed in contemporary ethnography.

or addressing these inadequacies and the remainder of the chapter commits to this undertaking.

6.4 *Time is a traveller...*¹⁵⁴

Contemporary modern settings offer fewer obstacles of the kind that meant anthropologists spent months travelling to the places they were studying and sometimes years learning to communicate. One of the first adaptations of ethnography to the contemporary programme is that the duration in the field is often justifiably shorter and this has made it a more appealing method for researchers without the luxury of lengthy sojourns in the field (see Gusterson 1997). However anxiety about the integrity of lengthy fieldwork means one of the strongest criticisms to this programme draws again on the similarity of tourists and so-called ‘jet plane ethnography’.

‘Prolonged contact with the field’ means a series of flying visits rather than a long-term stay (jet plane ethnography). Organisational anthropologists rarely take a toothbrush with them these days. A journey into the organisational bush is often little more than a safe and closely chaperoned form of anthropological tourism (Bate 1997:1150 in Czarniawska 2004:784).

While the label ‘tourist’ that is appended to convey a threat to the possibility of immersion in the field, this same problem can be reworked into one of ethnography’s redeeming features in contemporary scientific practices. This section considers how long ethnography should be symmetrically, by considering the utility of various lengths of string.

Aside from the shortening of time spent in the field in the practical sense that it is more possible to ‘fly in and fly out’, symmetry follows a particular reading of time that makes ‘duration’ and ‘immersion’ different sorts of questions. Serres (in Latour 1990/1995) undertakes a symmetrical evaluation of time that begins with the premise that to say that ‘the time has come’ is more properly to say the time has come into ‘being’. Ontologically this ‘present’ has its own ‘unique adequacy’ (Latour 2000a:113) where time itself is a relational materialism that includes all the ‘things’ as they are together, or as they are given immediacy.

¹⁵⁴ The phrase is borrowed from Allen (1972) ‘Tenterfield Saddler’.

For the shipwrights in Chapter Three ‘1625’ marks an event when ‘the who’ and ‘what’ of analytical geometry and the calculus had not come together and could not therefore characterise shipbuilding. Likewise the heterogeneous materials that do come together to form Boeing 747 assist in performing the ‘present day of world travel’ that was not performed in 1625.

While this can be taken as evidence that time advances into inevitable world travel, it is also evidence that all that separates ‘this’ time from ‘that’, and the sophisticated jetsetter from the suicidal seafarer, are the material relations that happen between people, texts and things including the hybrid ‘monsters’ they perform to define ‘a time’. In this way time is the alchemy that becomes it and this means linear time and humanist notions of progress are undermined by the notion that time is only a traveller care of the ‘things’ that are travelling it.¹⁵⁵ If time acts ‘linear’, if it acts to reinforce ‘progress’ or to impose a ‘duration’ on fieldwork, it is because it is continually performed that way.

While the issue of time and duration in ethnography is contested and now concerns too little time, there has always been a problem of ‘too little’ time in the sense that what is effective ‘now’ is always an effect of something else that remains outside the temporal frame. The time captured in the ethnographer’s frame includes ‘bits’ of the picture that are missing because they are outside the frame. These missing pieces are either still emerging and required more time (see Chapter Ten), or else they have come before the fieldwork and contribute to the picture ‘today’ but were not ‘present’ during the ‘time frame’. The first of these, ‘an emerging picture’ is not a problem for symmetrical analysis however the ‘absent friends’ that have ‘gone before’ and now ‘moved to the left’ are.

What counts as history is presumed to have passed to the left of a linear trajectory that makes the future a subject of the ‘right’ and this supports the fact that the culture of science is not to believe in time-travel, but rather in long pieces of string or ‘trajectories’. It is fair to say that among the buildings, technologies, lore, symbols and rituals observable in any given situation are the outcomes of precedents or history taken to be things also “distributed elsewhere in time and space” (Latour 2005: 194). However it is also fair to say that these have “been brought to bear on the scene” (Latour 2005: 194) by which is meant they have been carried to

¹⁵⁵ There is evidence again of ‘immutable mobility’ here (Latour 1997b and Chapter Three).

the scene and made 'present in the present'. In this sense time, without necessarily having velocity is a traveller or bringer of things, some of which are carried or brought into multiple times (and spaces and cultures).

As a material relation, as an assembly of heterogeneous things that are variously ordered to produce time(s) or 'timings' (Jones, McLean and Quattrone 2004), the question is open not only to what is meant by 'time-frame' and duration but also what kind of 'timings' are being performed. In the research that follows for example there is more than one time-scale at work and this is neither problematic, nor chaotic but assists in filling out an ethnography of multiple orderings. This is because symmetrically, good ethnographic description relies less on the ordering of linear time and more on describing the present as a constellation (after Pred 1995) and an effect that is brought together by heterogeneous actors.

To make this point Serres (in Latour 1990/1995: 48) evokes the image of the latest car as an icon of 'the latest' that nevertheless combines and gives democratic relations in the present to objects and technologies ranging from very recent discoveries (hybrid power cells) to very old ones (wheels, cogs and pulleys). The latest car demonstrates that what is contemporary and innovative does depend on the reinvention of the wheel, or at least ensuring it is carried in some guise or material relation.

By opening the question of time and by implication linear history, time worked out through mathematical formula or linear equations of 'duration' is not all that equals 'adequate time'. The density of material relations that are carried to the present and ability of someone to describe them also does. The term 'density' usefully translates the 'symmetric operation' from the temporal to the spatial and another dilemma for anthropology: a de-territorialised field.

A symmetrical analysis, in costing material relations offers the same advice for space as time. Since 'times' are 'timings' the same is true for space and this has implications for what is meant by a 'field' as a spatial entity. 'Fieldwork' may require the ethnographer to leave this field and travel via text, internet or aeroplane for example, to other fields so that a field is stretched out, shrunken – travelling also. If I want to know a place as various orderings made of heterogeneous materials I will sometimes need to leave that place and traverse what de

Certeau (1984) calls ‘vectors’ of space. The next section discusses the concern of space and an ethnographic field.

6.5 *Space is a traveller also*

A better sense of ‘time’ as a relational materialism can be gained from a similar diagnosis of space. Anthropologies of the modern world (Appadurai 1991) or ‘present’ (Fox 1991) have meant the adaptation of ethnography from relatively unknown ‘closed systems’ to better known and more open systems (see Czarniawska 2004 and Strain 2003). Since ‘unknown territories’ are in short supply in the contemporary world (Stirling 1965: ix), the ability of entering ‘unknown territory’ is achieved in two ways. First it is transferred to the ethnographer’s imagination and a gaze that attempts to enter the field *as if* it is unknown (Latour 2005:117). The other way is to give in to fields of mobiles. Following de Certeau’s (1984) description of space as a vector, the ethnographer always enters unknown territory because s/he cannot predict the relations that will stretch this territory into others, nor how far s/he will have to go him/herself to allow for this stretching. Space or more properly ‘spacings’ (Jones, McLean and Quattrone 2004) travel and this makes the ethnographer do the same.

These empirical sensitivities infer ‘a field’ that ‘post structure’ includes the researcher and these now guide the limits and possibilities of an otherwise endless list of fields (Picken in Walter 2010).¹⁵⁶ The contemporary ethnographer does not face decreasing fields like late, traditional ethnographers because there are now increasing numbers of fields to choose from. In taking up these options, ethnography has proven useful for investigating many contemporary things.¹⁵⁷ While the challenges of where to find a field no longer relate to number, and while there are still challenges relating to access, there are also now challenges involving the question of where ‘the field’ and therefore ‘where to be immersed’ starts and ends. Symmetrical ethnographers are sent ‘outfield’ and off-field and sometimes left of field, depending on the material relations they are tracing. ‘The field’ in the traditional sense becomes a starting point that may extend into material relations confined to a territory

¹⁵⁶ The researcher’s activities are in this sense made as peculiar (or the same) to him/herself as the others.

¹⁵⁷ See Law (2002) on scientific innovations; Willis (1980) and Vaughan (2004) on everyday institutions like schools as well as Travers (1997) on criminal law firms, Povinelli (2002) on Australian indigenous relations and Sherlock (2001) on tourist towns.

recognisable as a field, but this would be ‘remarkable’ or a ‘troubling exception’ (Latour 2005: 27). More often the field along with its sources will send the ethnographer ‘out’ and away where action “does not pertain to any specific site; it is distributed, variegated, multiple” (Latour 2005: 27). Consequently, and in relation to time, when a field becomes a ‘rhizomic configuration’, the time spent ‘in it’ is less important than the time it takes to ‘follow it’ so that:

[I]t exists only as a function of circulation and of circuits; it is a singular point on the circuits which create it and which it creates. It is defined by entries and exits (Deleuze and Guattari 1997 in Graham and Marvin 2003: i).

An outcome of ethnographies of the modern world is that many will be ethnographies of ‘home’, not ‘away’. The argument that studying ‘at home’ is less valuable than studying ‘away’ (Gusterson 1997:114) follows a challenge to the more traditional concerns of ethnography including the trademark open-minded gaze. Displacement is considered necessary because “[i]t is only because they separate at home that ethnographers make so bold as to unify abroad” (Latour 1991/1993:7). Mantling such a gaze was simpler in conventional fields or less determined places than in fields that are closer to home and where conversely “separations precede any rational sense of their unification”. In other words it is harder to be symmetrical in these settings because here, among ‘us’ asymmetries abound *already*.

6.5.1 *Out-fielding and out-sourcing*

‘The field’ or where the fieldwork takes place is where the asymmetrical performance of the ‘academy’ and the ‘real world’ is most obvious.

[W]hat people wanted to hear about and what tended to be validated as good ethnographic research was this timeless story-telling aspect, the capturing of a pre-existing reality ‘out there’ (Vaughan 2004: 396).

A symmetrical treatment of science and the world it studies cannot rely on a separate field to become immersed in. However in leaning towards ontology, neither does symmetrical

analysis want to do away with the utility of ‘being there’ as a way to know. Like the traditional ethnographer, ‘in the middle’ is the only place there is (Latour 2005:196). The difference is this middle is not a point we locate ourselves in ‘out there’ in the field, so much as a point we are located *in* through our interactions with multiple actors and multiple orderings. Post-structural ethnographers are similarly decentred. However, the ‘middle’ for them tends to be between ‘field’ and ‘science’ so that in confronting the dilemma of his/her production of research (Vaughan 2004) the debate is made strictly discursive.¹⁵⁸

Symmetrically the problem of space and a de-territorialised field is a problem of designating a field, and not therefore an empirical problem. If ‘fieldwork’ is identified less with the designation of a field and more with ‘ethnographic travel’ and ‘a new form of exploration’ then fieldwork need not reconstitute the divide that keeps a field separate from a science that extracts data from it. When fieldwork is more liberally the *mise-en-scene* (Holmes and Marcus 2004:1102) that takes place in the office and the home, sometimes accidentally and during fieldtrips ‘proper’, a field becomes prone to ‘out-fielding’ and ‘out-sourcing’ and like tourism, its ‘ins and outs’ are less specific.

Writing experiments for example are a large part of doing ethnography but they do not have to be done in the field. They can be done on the train on the way home from the field or conducted in an office alongside actors that are easily transported out of the ‘the field’ like maps, planning documents and interview transcripts. They are conducted this way because these quieter spaces are better for the writing ‘graphy’ part of ethnography and they are also part of the field or ‘the common world’ (Chapter Four). In this way ‘writing up’ does not occur ‘back at the station’ after the driving is done, but happens throughout the fieldwork or ‘working fields’ wherever they may be (and see below).

It is no wonder, then, that when we look at what anthropologists really do, whether in the field or in the seclusion of their studies, it becomes difficult to separate neatly and according to epistemological *dicta* the combination of

¹⁵⁸ See Layton (1997) and Vaughan (2004) for examples of post-structural ethnography that is *asymmetrical* in this way. Describing multiple discursive realities and searching for historical specificity, many post-structural ethnographies are oriented towards narratives and linguistics and while these are useful in describing multiple ‘voices’, in their confinement to discourse and meaning are not what is emphasised in a post-humanist account.

description, comprehension and explanations our trade uses as tools (Descola 2005: 72).

6.6 *What culture is made of*

Fieldwork did not only involve “living with the local community” but included more specifically compiling “detailed accounts of the life, traditions and cultural practices of the local people” (Palmer 2001:301). Since ‘culture’ is the main substance of ethnography it has tended to perform humanism or at least an asymmetry that privileges people. Despite having the tools to write symmetrical accounts these accounts were most often interpreted for what they say about humans, not non-humans. Therefore this section discusses building on the strength of ethnography to facilitate a symmetrical treatment of humans and non-humans (Chapter Five).

Concerned with a deeper understanding of human nature (Galani-Moutafi 2000: 214), the substance or ‘stuff’ of ethnography is culture. In this regard ethnography and its anthropological heritage do not offer a clear alternative to humanistic modes of enquiry because this has not been its purpose. What matters for the purpose of conducting a symmetrical study is that ethnography can be given a post-human purpose, and assist anthropology with its ‘problem of culture’ at the same time. It is not difficult to make ethnography post-human because after the argument already made, as good alchemists, ethnographers are already competent in mixing humans and non-humans together.

Nevertheless, as a social scientific method of inquiry ethnography still privileges a holism that encumbers the important thing ‘culture’ on the humans. This leads to ‘victory narratives’ that at other times are described as ‘vanity styled’ ethnography (McWilliam, Lather and Morgan 1997 in Vaughan 2004 pp. 393 and 398) where in either case ‘the people’ come first. To resist this urge not only allows for “ethnographic evidence of symbolic discontent” (Pred 1995:24) but also ethnographic discontent with the evidence of symbolism. The reason for this is non-humans act to hold together or break-up a culture, are indifferent to symbolism, change beliefs and interfere with social alliances. What is important is to keep an obligation to non-humans to allow them to act so that culture is remains an alchemy and relational materialism.

In rethinking ‘what culture is made of’ methods developed anthropocentrically extend their technical abilities towards symmetry. Symmetrical ethnography is a “different form of anthropology or ethnography which searches less for meaning and more for new and painstaking descriptions of action” (Franklin 2009: 75). This means that ethnography is an opportunity to substitute the stuff of culture-nature (Law 2004) for the stuff of culture and through this to begin to discover the culture-nature of tourism.

This is an opportunity because despite the humanist trend, in doing ethnography an ethnographer cannot actually ignore all the non-humans involved in the politics; social change; development; management; identity and expressions that happen to the humans. In the pursuit of an inclusive definition of what constitutes an actor, ethnography permits a generous definition of what constitutes data and ways of collecting it. Consequently while the trend towards humanistic approaches continues, it is the obstacles to wholly humanist outcome that symmetry takes advantage of. The alchemy remains to ensure that despite the humanist beliefs that are added to ethnography, the method itself retains the conditions for post-humanist accounts.

In works produced by anthropologists abroad, you will not find a single trait that is not simultaneously real, social and narrated (Latour 1991/1993:7).

6.7 *Writing trials*

Having given broad symmetrical consideration to what the field is (not); how time can be made adequate and what culture is made of there is only the trials of writing itself to consider. Chapter Five describes the trials of not quite returning to tourism through a negotiation among human actors and this chapter adopts the metaphor again to help establish the idea that writing is a serious method, and the textual template is a laboratory where writing trials take place (Latour 2005). If ethnography is good for symmetrical analysis because it is flexible and inclusive then this strength carries also a risk in terms of outputs. How ethnography, in other words is not well written travellers’ tales as it used to be (Redfield 1985). The remainder of this chapter considers this question and ties some of the symmetrical claims about ethnography to the method of writing.

The text, in our discipline, is [...] the functional equivalent of a laboratory. It's a place for trials, experiments and simulations. Depending on what happens in it, there is or there is not an actor and there is or there is not a network being traced (Latour 2005:149).

Recording not filtering out, *describing* not disciplining, these are the Laws and Prophets (Latour 2005:54).

Ordering is a continuous process, and not a singular event of arranging the perceived reality into an easily understandable construct (Kociatkiewicz and Kostera 1999:43).

Many social research methods draw a fine but clear line between conducting the methods and then writing up the results of this whereas for ethnography, writing is not what happens after the methods. Ethnographers 'write through' the research and this is maintained through the importance of documenting and journaling observations and conversations. Since the final aim or test of ethnography lies in the production of an account that conveys a "uniquely adequate account of a given situation" (Latour 2005: 144), writing constitutes a large part of what ethnographers do.

[A] single narrative that weaves together the way people regard the heavens and their ancestors, the way they build their houses and the way they grow yams or manioc or rice, the way they construct their government and their cosmology (Latour 1991/1993:7).

Writing is both a technique for collecting information – 'field-notes' and presenting information by bringing these actors together - 'the ethnography' (Picken in Walter 2010). A symmetrical approach insists that writing is a method in the sense that writing is given all the rights of a method and is not what comes after to simply communicate what was done. The "source of intellectual security" comes from the ability to write in such a way as to describe rather than practice asymmetry (see Elam 1999:2). Writing is a practice that brings together and describes material relations between non-humans and humans. It is the means through

which social connectedness, or culture is traced (Latour 2005:148) and through which familiarity is made of something that is otherwise strange (Vaughan 2004:397).

Ethnographic writing has not escaped the critical turn and ‘crises of representation’.¹⁵⁹ The death of the author and his/her invisible writing techniques that produced among others ‘ethnographic realism’ (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblet 1994), meant that the writer faced a challenge of authority (see Foucault 1972).¹⁶⁰ It struck an odd chord that there were questions concerning how far we should ‘clean up’ data that never concerned writing and a compromise has appeared in both discourse analysis and in reflexivity sporting a more dialogical, inter-subjective awareness that is aimed at making the ethnographer more accountable for his/her own relations with subjects in the field *and* in writing.

To allow writing to be a method is not the same as treating writing as a discourse and adding another method to writing. Adding a method (of analysis) to discourse as a way of ‘clearing it up’ ignores the claim of symmetrical analysis that “words already have reference to the world, and science grasps the things themselves” (Latour 1999:16). A ‘statement’ for example, escapes the discursive limits of Foucault (1972) to become “anything that is thrown, sent, or delegated by an enunciator” (Latour 1991: 105). The statement ‘return your keys to the front desk’ can be thrown to or attached to “a sentence uttered by the hotel manager” or to “a material apparatus [oversized key ring] which forces customers to leave their keys at the front desk” (Latour 1991: 106).¹⁶¹ It is only when a researcher believes there is a problem with extracting information from a real world outside the mind that writing is refused the ability to jump from ideas to managers to keys and to therefore act as a method *prima facie* without privilege or prejudice.

The aim is not to get caught up in representational anguish, and the ‘common world’ takes on the risk associated with ignoring it (see Chapter Four). Discourse analysis ‘grows methods’ in order to bridge “the perilous abyss” that separates “words from things” that symmetrically

¹⁵⁹ See Aitchison (2000) and Nöth (2003).

¹⁶⁰ The association of ‘objective style’ with ethnographic realism for example is at first a method of writing that has to be learned and crafted, but then becomes an auto-response from a scientific community and an idea that writing is not a method, that it consequently does not style, nor have the right ‘in its style’ to style.

¹⁶¹ A simple way of understanding the link between these approaches is that symmetrical analysis makes Foucault more ‘doable’ because the distance between ‘words and things’ is shorter for symmetrical analysts than for Foucault (see the English translation of Foucault’s (1966) original ‘Words and Things’ translated *The Order of Things* 1970)

“cannot hold up” (Latour 1999:196). Similarly a reflexive style, like an objective style, is an attempt to justify a connection that symmetrically does not need to be justified. Like adding a method to writing, or adding an ‘objective style’, adding reflexivity and subjective awareness ‘adds noise’ (Serres 1990/1995: 8), adds mystery and interferes with the task of describing material relations in order to validate the describer’s right to describe in the first place (Latour 2005:33).

Following these three general treatments of writing, when writing ‘disappears’ in the sense that it is made authoritative and therefore unremarkable social scientists:

[A]re prone to state the objectified results of their research, to draw epistemological or philosophical lessons from it and to codify their methods in a quasi-axiomatic form (Descola 2005:66).

When writing ‘appears’ in the sense that it is made transparent then the text is either analysed to give it transparency as in discourse, or else the writer is analysed to give him/her a transparency that would “expound with full ingenuity the windings, the doubts and the accidents that mark out the course of their enquiries and render them possible” (Descola 2005: 66). When the visibility of writing is taken for granted and writing starts to *perform* it becomes instead a method that acts to describe a state of affairs. There is ‘unique adequacy’ (Callon 1999: 202) to be found in the situation at hand, which is always a ‘luxury of circumstances’ (Serres 1990/1995: 31) from which there is more than enough to write already (Latour 2005).

Writing is action (Callon 2002: 201).

The aim of the academic written analysis is to put on paper the text of what the various actors in the settings are doing to one another (Latour 1992:529).

Every single interview, narrative and commentary, no matter how trivial it may appear will provide the analyst with a bewildering array of entities to account for the hows and whys of any course of action (Latour 2005:47).

The following considers linguistic symmetry and translation as well as literary templates and narrative resources as useful ways to think about doing writing.

6.8 *Linguistic symmetry and literary templates*

Writing can be strung together (as in this sentence) and if it is assumed that this language describes the world itself then it can be used to map orderings. The strings of words that describe strings of actors that are orderings are discussed below. This section considers writing as a translator or as capable of making translations.¹⁶² Chapter Five discussed a requirement to follow actors across their changes of registers and with ethnography this means an ability to describe a ‘shuttling between’ what is natural, social, fictional and so on (Bingham and Thrift 2001: 282). These “displacements from one frame of reference to the next” (Latour 2005:53) need to be recorded. To do this the idea of a ‘single repertoire’ is evoked and the aim of symmetrical accounting is to describe these events without relying on ‘changing registers’ to register a distinction (Callon 1986: 200).

In developing a method of writing, there have been calls for the development of an *infralanguage* (Latour 2005:30) or a *translation repertoire* (Callon 1986: 200) that would enable the researcher to write across multiple languages in one simple language. While the notion of an infra-language has been criticised as a green-light for jargon (Fine 2005), the terms used are not technical, exclusive terms like jargon but general, inclusive ones for ease of access. The term ‘symmetry’ means symmetry; ‘translation’ means translation; ‘enrolment’ means enrolment and ‘an obligatory point of passage’ is a point through which a passer is obliged to pass. If something ‘delegates’, it is in the usual sense of the verb ‘to delegate’, and so on for ‘cost’, ‘distribution’, ‘competency’, ‘ordering’, ‘becoming’, ‘hybrid’, ‘engagement’ and ‘association’. Since an infralanguage is a language that attempts to avoid any specialisation the terms are to be taken in their ‘common’ sense.

What is confronting and seemingly jargonistic is the use of these terms to join disassociated registers through a language that is a writing strategy insofar as it enables the distribution of terms usually reserved for human subjectivity among non-humans (Feenberg 2000:154) and

¹⁶² The term translation is ‘figurational’ in the sense that “[t]o say ‘culture forbids having kids out of wedlock’” is the same as saying “‘my future mother-in-law wants me to marry her daughter’” (Latour 2005:53).

vice versa. Chapter Eight will describe for example how a mountain enlists the science of geology to delegate a political battle ground, and it will speak of ‘the competency of a wall’ and ‘the becoming of a street’. Chapter Nine describes a translation between a personal attachment to place and a professional competency to plan that place emphasising the means by which a repertoire of duration, memory and ‘subjective engagement’ can be made into a language of authority, professional competency and ‘objective practice’. Describing these translations and sliding between registers also allows multiplicity a chance to be registered. This movement from one ‘playing field’ to another becomes the symmetric operation of producing a written account that has been translated into a unified language first.

Linguistic symmetry is a simplistic and therefore effective way of increasing the repertoire of actions allowed to non-humans. Telling the story of these ‘diverse interactions and relations’ requires a diversity of terms that are less *socially coded* (Callon in Barry and Slater 2002b: 294) than those we tend to develop in respective disciplines. Tourism as a multi-disciplinary endeavour can only gain from such a language since it is always tripping across registers and confronts in a manner that is not unlike the ethnographer, multiple language barriers. These barriers are there not only among tourists and hosts but also among researchers and the various specialist dialogues they are trying to explain. Symmetry and the deliberate joining of hitherto irreconcilable domains like nature and society, or science and the real world is as much an outcome of a written method that attempts to overwrite the effectiveness of these barriers without erasing them.

The writing of ethnography is valued for its attention to the detailed relations between humans and non-humans, however the ‘template’ for writing trials or the architecture of the ‘textual laboratory’ (Latour 2005:25) comes from literary studies (Serres in Latour 1990/1995: 73).¹⁶³ To write a picture of the world novelists grasp the ‘things themselves’ by drawing on every resource available to them including people, objects and ideas. This togetherness or dense network of material relations provides a unique adequacy, and also ensures that people and their discourses are never the only actors. Even novels about humans, about ‘super’ humans like notorious criminals for example, will not rely on the criminals to explain themselves.

¹⁶³ Taking precedent from the practices of literature both emphasises and de-emphasises the science / fiction asymmetry (Serres in Latour 1990/1995).

Well before the start of proceedings, the courtroom's stern demeanour and furnishings and coat of arms – that powerful combination of law, history, punishment and varnished timber – had awed and mystified them. As much as by their current adverse circumstances they looked crushed by important-looking wood (Drewe 2000:7).

Similarly, to piece together a picture of 'tourism in the world' which has an implicitly ontological leaning (Franklin 2004), the researcher attempts to take note of and make full use of the non-human effects or actors in the writing of accounts. Nobody would argue with Drewe putting the accusation on 'important looking wood' is irrational because we have all 'been there', if not actually in the docks, then nevertheless appreciating these kinds of effects. What scientific accounts can learn from literature is that by drawing on and taking advantage of these 'narrative resources' (Latour 1991/1993:111) it is possible to start to 'literally' enable a post-human explanation of tourism ordering and a symmetrical ethnography that provides a way to experiment with the ability of non-humans to carry out important roles and accomplish important things.¹⁶⁴ Writing becomes the means to record, describe, string together and experiment with emerging and becoming orderings.

In throwing all of these actors together, symmetry does not suggest that a discourse of urban design will act in the same way as an urban designer or a building; that they are to be made symmetrical in this sense and neither is there the suggestion that these actors will act equally (see Chapters Eight, Nine and Ten). Rather the suggestion is that they be treated symmetrically in that there is made available a language or written method to describe these actors as they act together, and a willingness to recognise in these various orderings. Tracing these orderings draws again from literary studies to suggest a reading of semiotics that is interested more in the movement of signs captured in a story containing heterogeneous ingredients than in assigning meaning to those signs (see Serres in Latour 1990/1995: 183).

Take off the meaning, and you will dance. [...] When the sign loses its meaning, when it loses all possible meanings, then it becomes pure sign, naked sign, abstract sign (Serres 1990/1995: 42).

¹⁶⁴ Novelists draw on these heterogeneous resources to "invent unknown or unrecognised affects and brings them to light as the becoming of his characters" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994 in Spinks 2001:23) and researchers are required to be prepared to discover the same of subjects and objects.

The naked sign for Serres equates to the naked subject and blank object (Chapter Five). It is the simplest form of a sign and therefore the one that holds the greatest potential for becoming and meaning. A semiotics without meaning is a kind of *reversed reading* of semiotics (Serres 1982/1995: 5-13) that is interested in how meaning is made from the arrangement of signs, the associations they make and the stories or orderings they take part in telling. The single unit for this kind of analysis is association, a link that is designated by either a verb or a preposition.¹ Taking the literary method one step further verbs and prepositions become important and pivotal in accounts that are made of heterogeneous assemblages. Entities comprising this assembly, or the nouns become involved in in multiple ways and these ‘ways’ are traces of various orderings. These multiple involvements and activities, some of which translate each other, define the actors as multiply relational and not only meaningful as entities that are already defined.

6.9 *From principles of practice to principal practices*

This chapter has discussed some of the theoretical advantages and challenges of ethnography in terms of symmetry. Time, space and culture were made relationally material and through this a field was re-inscribed as an ordering so that entering and remaining within ‘a field’ was made problematic. At the same time culture was also set up as a relational materialism so that human behaviour is only ever one part of the concern of the ethnographer. Literature and the way it draws generously upon heterogeneous materials and to translate what they become, along with grammar itself verifying the structuring of ‘ordering’, provides a template or useful way of working with writing as a method.

The next chapter puts these symmetrical observations to the test by committing them to an ethnographic study about how tourism is organised. To begin the study a location was chosen and then various methods for getting involved were required. ‘The study’ is about where and how I decided to extend a symmetrical reading into tourism. The chapter introduces a place called ‘Sullivans Cove’ and a building *Zero Davey* as ‘hotspots’ for accounting material relations that result in ‘tourism’. From these beginnings various forms of access were negotiated and leads were followed. Each added other actors and negotiations so that various chains of association became ‘followable’ and ‘accountable’. The chapter describes how my

presence was to be registered, how I was physically to become engaged with ‘the scene’ and how ‘all of me’ was to conduct myself during this time. Symmetrically there is no ‘leap’ from principles to practice so the following chapter simply outlines the principal practices instead.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The study

7.0 *Introduction and Overview of the chapter*

The previous chapter considered how the modern programme for ethnography translates symmetrically and how useful it is for describing orderings of heterogeneous materials. The aim of this chapter is to describe the events that follow the rationale once it leaves the relative safety of an idea of how to do research (or not) that is worked out on paper (in part) and must find a place to begin, actors to associate with and ways to engage them. This chapter takes the general principle of symmetry and works it through the setting up of a study about tourism, a building called *Zero Davey* and a place called Sullivans Cove.

An ordering starts to form when more rather than fewer actors are allowed to be added to the mix and when their relations are used to explain how they mix. These heterogeneous actors advocate the use of multiple methods of data collection so that while it is impossible to ‘interview a building’, this does not exclude a building from speaking *inter alia* once it is a relational entity. This means learning about a building by reading about one, talking about one and observing it, looking specifically for how it acts in relation to other things, is made to act by others and make others act as well (see Latour 2005:46).

This kind of accounting of relations by ‘stepping through’ guarantees no path more certain than the paths stepped through by the actors themselves and even then, any resolution is a still a choreography (Franklin 2008). The assembly of actors in this study are translated into field-notes, interview transcripts, pictures and other texts and they are described as much as possible from the inside or through their own systems and own systematic ways of ordering. These systems are not human systems so they are not worked out in the sense of planned, but the sense of ‘actual’ negotiations that include how they are physically organised together, written together and spoken together.

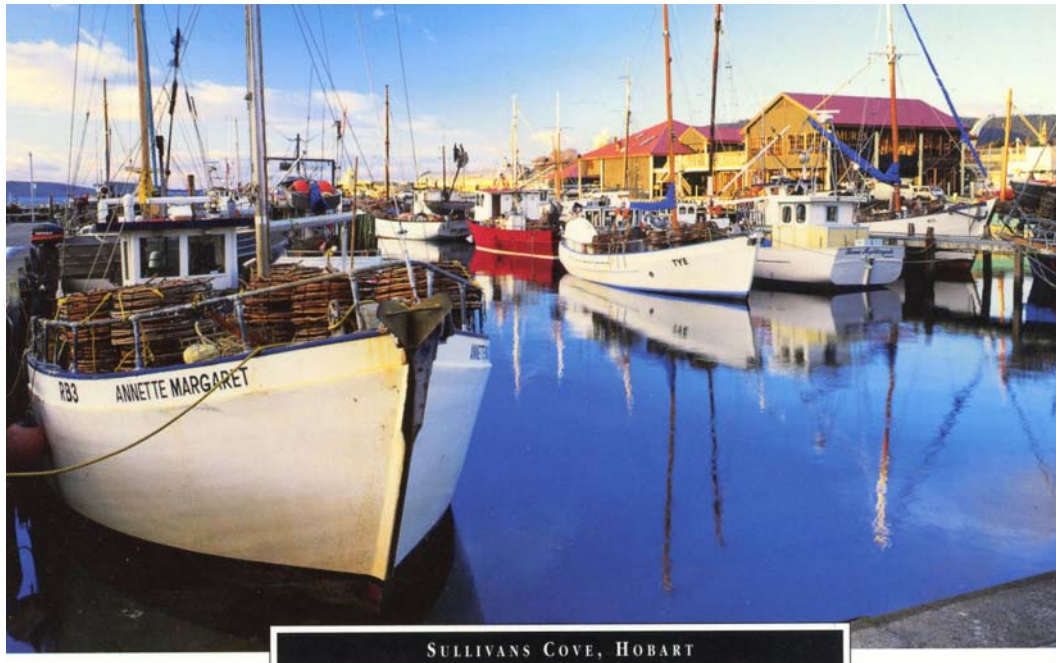
Following an inclusive policy means there are various ways of approaching actors or multiple kinds of encounters. Some of these involve reading, while others were facilitated through interviews, by participating in events or by recording observations. Since it was of equal importance to gain access to the encounters these actors had with each other, ‘being there’ was an important part of the research process. ‘Fraternising with tourism’ meant to be around and be aware of things that take part in tourism, without knowing who or what might be around and take part. In this way uncertainty is a characteristic of this method and while this is as common to most ‘motivated actions’ (Garfinkel 1967:77) it is doubly so in the case of symmetrical analysis. Therefore this chapter aims to explain how this uncertainty was negotiated through the construction of a study into tourism ordering.

First the chapter describes how a location for the study was selected in Sullivans Cove and then how from this location the research began. Once the first actors were discovered, others were added and these added further sources for finding more actors. Since the kinds of actors were decided by the orderings they take part in, the methods of collecting data needed to be flexible and the sources potentially wide in scope and therefore interviews, informal conversations, document analysis, writing, participant and non-participant observations were the main techniques used. Through this process the ‘smallness’ of place, not immediately regarded as ‘effective’ became increasingly so as a methodological virtue and hindrance. The final part of this chapter introduces the small city of Hobart as a way of summarising the chapter and introducing what follows as some events that happened there.

7.1 A place to start

Following the principle of general symmetry, ethnography was put forward as a useful method for investigating tourism as an ordering. However as an ordering the ‘ins and outs’ of tourism cannot be pre-determined and therefore the assumption of an ethnographic field that contains tourism is problematic. Despite this, a place to begin is still necessary and the following section describes how Sullivans Cove in the city of Hobart, Tasmania came to qualify for this.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ Serres describes tracing orderings as like navigating the northwest passage (1990/1995:16), yet even navigators of unkind territory have a secure place to start.



Source: Lea Photography Tasmania

Chapter Two described how the practice of ‘following tourists’ had been significant in the performance of tourism research. To avoid any temptation to substitute a ‘tourist point of view’ for an explanation of tourism, tourists were discounted as a place to start. For the same reason I avoided becoming a tourist to locate a place to start, opting instead to conduct ‘ethnography at home’ in a place I already knew well. This choice capitalised on the advantage of familiarity in terms of time getting to know the place, and also avoided any confusion that might come from choosing a place that I would unavoidably encounter in a tourist-like way. At the same time, a place to start at home could not be found among ‘hosts’ because this also risked subscribing to humanism, to reinstating a world split in two and to the host point of view instead. While the study could have started with humans and then plotted the heterogeneous assemblies they become involved in, as an experimental post-humanist account of tourism, neither tourists, hosts nor other human actors were emphasised at the start. For these reasons a place to begin was generalised to an actual place ‘Sullivans Cove’ that was a convenient walking distance from the university I worked at.

As a research object ‘places’ are steeped in a humanist/materialist asymmetry where they are “determined or driven in the last instance” by either humans or the physical environment (Law 1992: 382). In urban literature material or physical determinism claims the primacy of

non-human elements in shaping the social (Cuthbert 2005:7) and on the other hand social reductionism gives primacy to human understanding or meanings of place. In tourism research the latter is most usual, reducing the physical to an embodiment of social relations and practices (Robbins 1996:283), where places come to be “surveyed and invested with symbolic significance” (Pritchard and Morgan 2006:764).¹⁶⁶There is a sense in which this practice of asymmetry is bizarre when it is applied to places since they are clearly heterogeneous entities including people, signs, images, buildings and roads. The very complexity of place is an outcome at least in part of this concentrated heterogeneity and yet ironically this proves a good reason to continue the practices of dividing them up into natural and human elements.

The principle of general symmetry finds a way to take this heterogeneity into account and combats both the physical determinism that is practised in the spatially oriented sciences and the social reductionism that is practised in the human oriented sciences. Instead of this distinction, “space and form are the product of their contemporary culture, but so are users and their culture the product of their social and physical environment” (Arida 1996: 142). Therefore a benefit of starting with a place is that it does not *specify* a humanist or materialist reading and when diagnosed symmetrically, is already ‘relationally material’. To the relational precedents set out by De Certeau (1984) and Le Febvre (1991) as examples, are added relations that include with more equity both humans and non-humans (Amin 2007). Places are ‘socio-technical’ entities (Graham and Marvin 2001) and a symmetrical researcher who begins with a place can situate themselves *in media res* and pursue multiple kinds of actors from there. A benefit of starting with a place that can be augmented with the prefix ‘tourism’ is that it assumes an established presence of tourists, tourist attraction, planning and organisation. When this is added to symmetry, a relationally material definition of a tourism place becomes *a heterogeneous assembly that is variously ordered in such a way as to attract tourists and facilitate tourism*.

7.1.1 *Tourism Places*

¹⁶⁶ And see the edited collection of Coleman and Crang (2002)

Tourism places have been useful in tourism research for locating tourists, measuring tourism impact and understanding how tourism production is done. These studies and the practical implications they give rise add importance to tourism places as both artefacts and technologies of the ‘common sense of fieldwork’ (Czarniawska 2004: 779) and in tourism research constitute “a level of analysis” (Jackson and Murphy 2000:37) in themselves. Studies of tourism places that focus on tourism production have tended to reinforce a virtue of tourism planning and development and an assumption that the organisation of the “material, aesthetic and sensual qualities of place” influences the activities or ‘performances’ that tourists then undertake (Edensor 2001:63). Built into this assumption is that the ability to attract and manage tourist behaviour holds the key to both maximising the desirable and minimising the undesirable impacts of tourism.

[T]ourist places may be fluid, but they are fluid in specific ways. For much of the tourist industry places are not simply a matter of location but also of production. Places have to be produced in ways that afford certain tourist practices, not just in terms of the catering and hospitality industry, but more significantly as a matter of producing interesting places to go. To attract tourist flows, places need to be seductive and suggestive (Baerenholdt and Haldrup 2006: 210).

Tourism places are the coal-face of the ‘production-consumption nexus’ (Milne and Ateljevic 2001: 372) and they, their failures and successes are mainly thought to result from a positive correlation between how a place is planned and developed for tourism and how tourists become attracted to and engage with that place. That said it is also recognised that not all of tourism production and consumption takes place in a tourism place and includes anticipation (Urry 1990) as well as recollection (Franklin 2003) taking place ‘elsewhere’. Consequently not all of the explanation for tourism production and consumption can be found in ‘the tourism place’, however much of it is. While a tourism place is distributed, there has been a tendency to deal with what is extraneous to the place as “underlying [and equally ‘overarching’] processes that shape the emerging tourism landscape” (Shaw and Williams 2004:1). This study focuses on the production of tourism insofar as the case is one of planning and developing tourism in Sullivans Cove. As an ordering this production involves ‘work’ and ‘process’ so that through performances of heterogeneous materials tourism ‘keeps resulting’ in this place.

Symmetrically the question of planning and developing a tourism place cannot be resolved through only humans and the meanings they give, the outcomes they intend, or the places they design. There is also no search for ‘extraneous factors’ that are often ‘bigger’, sometimes overarching or otherwise underlying, as a means to explain how tourism happens in the case of Sullivans Cove. While the principle of general symmetry does not exclude ‘human intention’ and ‘extraneous factors’, they cannot precede, cause or transcend the orderings they take part in without first showing how they do. Instead, tourism places and their organisation and development are understood as performed through humans and non-humans and any explanation of them belongs to the ordering(s) they become.

Some tourism places are more ‘saturated’ in tourism than others and this saturation also makes them more ‘separated’ as tourism places. These ‘enclavic developments’ include resorts, some holiday islands and purpose built attractions like Disneyland. These are often criticised, from distance they *themselves* allow, as contrivances or inauthentic places and this lack of authenticity results from a more singularly focussed planning and manufacturing so that some places are considered completely ‘unnatural’.¹⁶⁷ This suggests that despite all the benefits of tourism planning, too much planning leads to too much contrivance and the place that results is not natural. It also suggests that single purpose planning and places are less fashionable than they used to be.¹⁶⁸

Other tourism places are clearly more ‘mixed’ places involving non-tourism activities and non-tourists so that the two are inseparable. These places are multiple and often very different places simultaneously and this, conversely is held to mean they have evolved in a less contrived, more natural manner than ‘strictly tourism’ places. Cities are exemplars of this where London, Paris and Venice are old and well established ‘tourist destinations’ and these are now ideal locations for exploring how “tourism does not stand far apart” from non-tourism activities, where each is somewhat “absorbed into the daily life of the city” (Ehrlich and Dreier, 1999 in Franklin, 2003:1).¹⁶⁹ Symmetrically mixed places are useful for showing

¹⁶⁷ This does not discount these ‘rarities’ as important if ‘unnatural’.

¹⁶⁸ The dominance of mixed use planning in the urban literature mirrors the ecological movement where healthy urban systems rely on a concept of mix in the same way that sustainable agriculture requires diversified crops. Healthy economies similarly advocate multiple industries so that whether tourism or farming, any singular and therefore intensive forms of land-use are problematic.

¹⁶⁹ See Judd and Fainstein (1999) and Minca and Oakes (2005)

how tourism coexists with other forms of organisation and how agency and activity is distributed. Sullivans Cove is an example of this.

7.2 *Sullivans Cove*

Sullivans Cove is a part of the city of Hobart that particularly attracts tourists. At the same time it is a port, the historical core of the city and to the people who live there, the sentimental ‘heart’ so it is both a tourism place and a place for other things. As the ‘tourist quarter’ of the city is not quite so mixed that it would represent an ideal of mixed place, but neither is it a strictly tourism place, and involves other things, people and uses as well. Not least among these is a pride of continuing as a working port, something that once defined the city of Hobart. This means in Sullivans Cove tourism is produced alongside other things that are also being produced and this means tourism does not have right of way, despite there being evidence to show that it has achieved this right many times. A question that arose in response to this was ‘how this right might be achieved?’

As a tourism place Sullivans Cove provides tourist services including accommodation; tourist information; restaurants, bars and cafes; theatre and entertainment and gift shops. It offers the well-known ‘Salamanca Markets’; ferry rides and guided, historic tours combining what is ‘quintessentially Tasmanian’ an endorsement focussed on historical charm and natural beauty with what is ‘quintessentially Hobart’ a once-colonial ‘city of the sea’.¹⁷⁰ Formed of eighteenth century warehouses, a natural deepwater harbour and Wellington Ranges as a backdrop, this earliest part of the city stands today to ‘concentrate’ and ‘sum up’ and what lies beyond to tourists, while facilitating their ability to get beyond as well. In this way Sullivans Cove acts as a gateway for tourists as well as attraction in its own right and is therefore a ‘double incentive’ tourism place. Not surprising then, is that almost all of Tasmania’s tourists visit Sullivans Cove.¹⁷¹ How they learn about this place is through the road system, to a lesser but increasing extent the ship route and through promotional material where Sullivans Cove is the postcard image of Hobart, ‘the south’ and also Tasmania more generally.

¹⁷⁰ Marine Board of Hobart Annual Report 1988 in Hudspeth and Scripps (2000:354).

¹⁷¹ Tourism Tasmania <http://www.tourism.tasmania.gov.au>, Accessed February 7th 2010.



Source: Nucolorvue postcards, Australia.

Salamanca Place, in Sullivans Cove, is Hobart's favourite hang out. It's where the hip meets the homespun and everything in between.

With dozens of restaurants and shops, the best plaza in Tasmania and nightlife, pubs, artists, galleries, craft shops to suit every budget and the famous Salamanca Market every Saturday, this is THE PLACE to SEE! ¹⁷²

In these ways Sullivans Cove is 'obviously tourism' and therefore a good place to locate tourism orderings. However since the development of Sullivans Cove into a tourism place has only partially been won over from, or replaced other developments this is also a good place to understand tourism orderings alongside other things. As a continuing working port and junction of road and sea touring routes, Sullivans Cove also continues to act in the manner it was originally intended for and this original intention is important itself to tourism ordering. It is a transportation gateway to and from Southern Tasmania and continues as a 'last refuge' (predominately for scientists) before the Antarctic (Phillips in Hudspeth and Scripps 2000: v). While traditional cargo shipping has decreased in Sullivans Cove, cruise ships and scientific

¹⁷² 'Discover Tasmania' website:

http://www.discovertasmania.com/activities_and_attractions/popular_attractions/salamanca_place, accessed February 4th 2010.

expeditions have increased so that like developments in other sea ports Sullivans Cove works as a port in a more diversified manner, and this manner increasingly involves tourism (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000: 336).

These characteristics made Sullivans Cove a good candidate for discovering tourism ordering. As a place that was located ‘at home’ the Cove circumvented the need to practice tourism at the same time as researching it. As a place that was not completely tourism but appeared to be increasingly becoming so, Sullivans Cove provided the means to understand emerging tourism orderings alongside other things. While this provided a place to start, it was to be a short reprieve because the problem then became ‘which tourism ordering?’

7.3 *The brief and the beginning*

Since part of the quest was to illustrate tourism as something performed by more than humans, part of the question to address was how non-humans can be made to matter to tourism. In 2004 while these decisions were taking place, something new was being added to Sullivans Cove and this was a building called *Zero Davey*. When *Zero Davey* emerged on the Sullivans Cove landscape it immediately attracted the critical attention of the press and ‘the people of Hobart’ through the press. In relation to the small scale of the city, and of Sullivans Cove in particular, *Zero Davey* was a prominent and significant development. Providing up-market, apartment styled accommodation the building’s main purpose was to serve out-of-townners or tourists. Consequently, it could provide ‘the people of Hobart’ with little other than something to look at and this visual legacy took up the main part of the same people’s dialogue. To the apparent indifference of *Zero Davey* to the local people in terms of its function was added a perceived indifference to the location in terms of what is ‘in keeping’ with Sullivans Cove. Therefore in 2004 when I was looking for a place to start, this new ‘tourism object’ stood at the centre of a controversy in Sullivans Cove.

As a tourism development *Zero Davey* offered an opportunity to get immediate access into a tourism ordering. As hotel accommodation *Zero Davey* was part of tourism, and this involvement was extended in the November of 2004 when the local newspaper *The Mercury* reported this most recent in a string of ‘*Zero Davey* stories’:

Davey St planner defends his vision: A 6-star view of controversial Zero Davey's luxury lifestyle

PROPERTY developers have defended Zero Davey, saying it provides a much-needed gateway to the city of Hobart.

The developer said he was straight-forward with the Hobart City Council when he proposed the idea and came away with some briefs – including the requirement to provide a ‘gateway’ to Hobart. Road-works were done and extra land was acquired from the Crown to accommodate a building which purposefully did not shy away from being one of the first things to be seen entering the CBD, he said. “The idea was for people to pass a gate, to have an opening” he said. “From there you get the ‘wow this is what’s here’”.¹⁷³

This ‘defence’ brought to light what had hitherto remained obscure in the public debate. *Zero Davey* also fulfilled a brief to provide a gateway to Sullivans Cove - or a gateway to what was already a gateway - and to create an effect of ‘surprise’ to people who are unfamiliar with this place. This ‘gateway brief’ added a new ordering to *Zero Davey* making it more than another controversial building in Hobart and not only another controversial tourism development. Importantly for the task I had set myself, the gateway brief signalled how *Zero Davey* was multiply associated with tourism orderings, being at once ‘hotel accommodation’, a piece of architecture that adds to (or detracts from) a special place, as well as forming a ‘gateway’ to the special place for those who are arriving there for the first time.

Without having to look very far, *Zero Davey* was already a contentious ‘new build on the block’ that brought it plenty of attention.

There’s nothing more certain to spark a heated public debate than a new development on Hobart’s waterfront.¹⁷⁴

In adding tourism stock to Sullivans Cove and in providing a gateway to a tourism place that is itself a gateway in a touring destination it provided an entry point for investigating

¹⁷³ *The Mercury* 22nd November 2004

¹⁷⁴ Editorial, *The Sunday Tasmanian* 26th November 2004.

organisationally-relevant findings (Law 2002). In commencing with a building and orienting the study towards it, the importance of non-humans also became exaggerated and was consistently re-emphasised so that ‘they’ had a better chance of being taken into account. In this way *Zero Davey* acted first to orient the material relations that would be pieced together in the study. My decision was based as much on it offering itself as a ‘reasonable place’ to expect to gain some appreciation of tourism ordering.

From this point whenever *Zero Davey* was talked about and written about it *did* something including ‘offend’; ‘complement’; ‘compete’ and ‘complete’ all at once (see Chapter Nine). Since *Zero Davey* was as *Zero Davey* did, the simple plan from here was to follow up as much that was said or written about the building in order to exhaust as many possibilities for what *Zero Davey* does and what this ‘doing’ itself helped to do. However, while *Zero Davey* in Sullivans Cove provided an opportunistic location and beginning for the research neither could be the limit nor horizon of the orderings they take part in. They were rather like navigational tools or points on a compass. Where they would lead to became the domain of other actors.

7.4 *How to add other actors*

Once *Zero Davey* had been made a kind of ‘home base’ or anchorage point, multiple excursions ‘outwards’ from the building started to present themselves. This section introduces some of the other actors who were involved in this, and describes how they were selected as actors as well as the procedures that were used to ‘get to know them’. Decisions about who and what matters and therefore who and what are sources of information were often accompanied with a quality of ‘deliberately accidental’ or ‘purposefully serendipitous’. The deliberate ‘milling around’ sometimes at meetings, sometimes more ostensibly at leisure, sometimes to experience the place more purposefully as a researcher occasioned actors presenting themselves to me or ‘falling into the picture’ so that while some interviews for example were sought by system of referral from the press, associated documents or other people, some happened by accident.

However with an interest in how tourism happens in Sullivans Cove, *Zero Davey* concentrated a focus on tourism development and production and this meant involving those

who worked to produce this tourism ‘thing’ and who therefore contributed to the shaping of a tourism ‘place’. Consequently most of the interviews were conducted with people who can be described as planning and development professionals including urban designers; architects; the developer of *Zero Davey*; statutory planners; the authors of the planning framework; Hobart City aldermen and tourism development consultants. In addition to these the voices of ‘the people of Hobart’ were included and were found in the press, on the Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority website, at public meetings, in Sullivans Cove and many ‘everyday conversations’. Talking to people was an important part of the research however this was not because people were the only actors who mattered or even the actors who always mattered most. While speech is “only one of many behaviours able to generate an account” (Latour 2005:53), it was still through their speech that people were found to be very good at bringing together the other actors who also matter.

7.4.1 *Talking to people*

The selection of participants based on a convenience strategy is a common method when researching tourism. It has been used in studies of tourists at tourist sites (see Getz and Brown 2004); for demand analyses of tourists at ‘home’ (see Keng and Cheng 1999) and host perceptions at tourist sites (see Williams and Lawson 2001 and Upchurch and Teivane 2000). The usefulness of this strategy was limited in this study because orderings can turn in *inconvenient* directions, directed largely by what is convenient to those more directly involved. Furthermore since *Zero Davey* and Sullivans Cove were only places to begin to follow tourism ordering, the success of a convenience-based method in terms of a common locale could not be relied upon. Instead the method for selecting human participants shared closer similarities with the kind of respondent-driven sampling that has been found useful for identifying ‘hidden populations’ (Heckathorn 1997: 174) who are hidden usually because they engage in transgressions of normative behaviour (see Becker 1997 and Erickson 1979 for examples). In extreme cases this invisibility stems from ‘groups of people not thought to exist at all’ (see Biernacki and Waldorf 1981:139) and for different reasons this is the best way to think about the group of people involved in this study.

The group of human actors who are involved in this research exist as a group only by virtue of an association that at some point leads to *Zero Davey*, and even then only through the

study that I have undertaken. Therefore drawing on the referral based knowledge of invisible insiders who do not exist as insiders except in constituting what Coleman (1958) calls ‘natural interaction units’ (in Biernacki and Waldorf 1981:141) became a useful method for *not* recruiting.¹⁷⁵ These natural interaction units, when allowed to include non-humans, are orderings that came about naturally enough, yet have nothing natural about them.

Formal, loosely structured interviews were conducted with eighteen professionals variously associated with *Zero Davey* and from these twenty-two hours of audio conversation was transcribed and all but one of the interviews I sought was undertaken. Since the aesthetics of *Zero Davey* was one of its most controversial characteristics it was considered important to speak with the architects who were identified through the press. However when they declined to be involved I pursued the next best option and sought comments from architects who, not working on *Zero Davey* were familiar with the project’s intent and had worked on recent projects in Sullivans Cove. In addition to these more formal conversations were equally valuable conversations of a more informal nature with a much wider range of people who live in Hobart, and who held various interests in *Zero Davey*. Parts of these were also recorded in field-notes.

While it was hoped that interviews would proceed in an unstructured manner since the actors themselves were to decide what mattered, a structure of sorts was presented to participants in an information sheet outlining the broad interest of the study (see Appendix A). Questions were as open-ended as ‘what mattered in the development of *Zero Davey*’ to ‘what does it mean to create a gateway to Sullivans Cove’ and were used only to begin a conversation. While in most cases this kind of prompting was all that was needed, I also carried my own list of more targeted questions, not to further my own suspicions but to act as a ‘plan B’ should there be any difficulty creating a conversation. Since interviewees were selected on the basis that their actions were already implicated in the interests of the study, they were able to speak at length about their involvement in it without the need for much encouragement.

¹⁷⁵ In ethnography in any case it is as much a circumstance of being *recruited by*.

7.4.2 *Studying across and in some cases ‘up’*

As Chapter Five discussed, through a symmetrical approach neither the researcher nor the participants are ‘epistemologically higher’ (Callon in Barry and Slater 2002a: 305). This was made easier in this study since all of the interviewees and many of the more informal participants were educated professionals either interested in or directly associated with the development of Sullivans Cove. Ethnography has only recently confronted the idea of ‘studying up’ or more politely ‘studying across’ (Stacey 1996:96) and this itself implicates a general trend to study ‘down’ by which is meant the usual focus for ethnographers are sub-cultures or marginal people (Tedlock 2003:169) who need to be explained (and see Latour 2005).

[T]here seems to be a kind of glass ceiling for ethnographers, with the consequence that the ethnographic literature [...] leaves the upper reaches of the social system largely in the shade (Gusterson 1997:115).

However studying ‘more equally’ is increasingly undertaken using ethnographic methods and this has developed under the provision of a more democratic understanding of processes of domination (see Nader 1974 in Gusterson 1997: 115), as an outcome of post modern and feminist approaches to traditional ethnography (see Marcus and Fischer 1986 in Gusterson 1997:114) and as a general consequence of the contemporary anthropological programme (see Czarniawska 2004). From these studies it has been noted that the difficulties of studying people who are professionals is that access to them can be difficult to achieve since they are busy, often mobile and some mantle ‘invisibility’ purposefully to maintain a distinction (Gusterson 1997:115).

While this study proved an exception to this rule (see below), this same difficulty is what encourages the method of convenience based sampling in tourism research. Tourists also are busy (enjoying a holiday), are mobile and seek if not invisibility then some anonymity. Yet despite all the attention given to tourists and the equity they have been granted in terms of defining the field (Chapter Two) this is where the attention to equity tends to end. While tourism researchers have a tendency to study equally or even ‘up’ since being a tourist is a privileged activity, there is nevertheless a propensity to study ‘down’ since the tourist is also

a ‘mindless consumer’, a frivolous character who is duped into experiences s/he carelessly undertakes (see MacCannell 2001). Chapter Five considered the consequences of following actors as if they are not epistemologically higher where ‘as if’ designates an intellectual stance that suggests any subject regardless of status or education is also ‘the subject in the know’. This was simplified in this study because it was reinforced by the circumstances that lead me to question those who are specialist, who engaged in specialist language and who were more than equal to my questioning regardless of the way I viewed them.

7.5 *Looking, listening, reading and text(ualising)*

From 2006 the newly appointed Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority set up a series of meetings called *Conversations in the Cove* to be held every four to six weeks as a way of involving the public in the management and development of Sullivans Cove. This was an opportunity to observe some of the actors together, to give some embodiment to ‘the people of Hobart’ and to more generally ‘flesh out a picture of this place’ (after Latour 2005: 185). At these meetings I took the role of a non-participatory observer which meant I did not intend to speak during the meetings, although I would not hesitate to approach people before or after them. The main purpose of attending the meetings was listen, observe and record how in one space various interests came together to discuss what mattered in developing Sullivans Cove.

Transcriptions of the meetings were posted to the Authority website however I took my own notes and my ideal of ‘non participant’ was compromised when I found myself to be quite conspicuous (scribbling pages of notes) among the crowd. At the same time the interest I attracted in this way proved useful in terms of encountering some of the important actors in this study. Consequently my ‘participation rate’ during these meetings was in part determined by my relations with those around me and I moved between various degrees of participation (and see Tedlock 2003: 180) over the course of time.

Some of the speakers were public figures like the editor of *The Mercury*. Some were known to me through their association with the University, and we learned of each other’s mutual interest through the meeting itself. The meetings were themed chronologically since the first three were dedicated to the historical development of Sullivans Cove as reported through *The*

Mercury, by Tasmanian Indigenous interpreters and according to urban planners.¹⁷⁶ These retrospectively set up a register of what has gone before to make Sullivans Cove what it is today in contrast to the following three Conversations that were more like forums for elaborating visions for the future direction of the Cove.¹⁷⁷

To the interview and public meeting transcripts and notations, and the field-notes that I had recorded around these, were added things that were already made into texts. Alongside *The Mercury*, *Sunday Tasmanian* and *Tasmanian Times* newspapers, consultations were made with *The Sullivans Cove Planning Review* (1991); *The Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme* (1997) and *The Hobart Waterfront Urban Design Framework* (2004). Other documents like site specific consultancy reports, as well as published histories, civic and promotional material were also important at discrete times in the study. The State Library of Tasmania, Hobart City Council library and Hobart City Council Planning Division, TasPorts and the Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority along with many of the interview participants themselves were sources for the documents I consulted. I took many photographs as well as collected postcards and (cheap) art and souvenirs. Archival as well as present day maps were also consulted as important sources for linking discourse, material and people.

What seems natural (enough), but should be noted (I think) was my compulsion to render everything to text. Conversations with people are turned into transcripts and field-notes along with what people say and do at the public meetings. This is natural enough since it makes these all too fleeting spoken words and observations last, where the text acts to make these things durable. On the other hand when I translate a building into text or a photograph I do not necessarily make it more durable while it exists, so much as add another text to its existence and make it more transportable. At the same time those things that are already conveniently made into text like planning schemes, frameworks and newspaper articles where added to those I had textualised myself and then translated back into full-blown actors since they “grasp the things they describe” (Latour 1999: 116).

This translating is evident in the way some of the actors themselves behave. *The Mercury* for example is a source of information while at the same time it propels the controversy of *Zero Davey*. The stories it tells involve real things like *Zero Davey* and this report is then added to the story it takes part in telling. The planning scheme informs of the development of *Zero*

¹⁷⁶ *Conversations in the Cove* Numbers 1, 2 and 3.

¹⁷⁷ *Conversations in the Cove* Numbers 4, 5 and 6.

Davey and is a source of information while it also acts to shape the same development and also the professionals who were interviewed. The professionals informed me about *Zero Davey* and also took part in its very existence. Before there is a textual laboratory (Chapter Six) there is the technology that translates things into text; that consequently levels the playing field by translating heterogeneous actors, and facilitates the study of things and people together. At the same time without a solid theory of representation, there is also the reverse translation that transfers this action back into people and buildings and also extends to things that are already texts their own right to act. Furthermore actors translate sources where they ‘tell about’ but events into event co-ordinators when they perform the very stories they report. Rather than interpret actors translate and text is one way they do this.

7.5.1 *Taking up the gesture and continuing it*¹⁷⁸

These texts were not analysed thematically or with a view to eliciting underlying meanings. Since the aim was to understand how tourism works and how this involves heterogeneous actors, texts were read for the ‘action’ by which is meant how actors were linked together ‘story-like’ to convey what mattered. As important in other words, was ‘how’ they mattered to each other in the advent of *Zero Davey*. Each actor was taken at its apparent worth or value as dictated by what it ‘did’. Texts were read as descriptions of how materials interact and organise events starting with but never quite limited to *Zero Davey*. This meant there was a lack of concern with how people ‘behaved’ or what people ‘intended’ by way of attempting to generate or authenticate an explanation. Keeping the focus on material relations meant ‘how people behaved *with*’ and ‘what they meant *to*’ were important questions and these were never then limited to people.¹⁷⁹ They included buildings and signs, concrete wharf aprons and fish-punts and the strategy was to avoid reducing them to a ‘symbolic framework’ (Palmer 2005:12), a practice that is common in both tourism and tourism research.

There is a journalistic and tourism apparatus producing endless ‘rumours’ of places, but there is also a theoretical machine that shares a similar will to representation (Hutnyk, 1996 in Boissevain, 2002:9).

¹⁷⁸ Taken from Serres (1982/1995).

¹⁷⁹ Here Serres’ (1990/1995) attention to prepositions is recalled (and see Chapter Six).

Rather ‘symbolic frameworks’ were reduced to one way in which an object might act and when practices included non-humans or when the written or spoken word included non-humans their competencies, failures, effects or specialisations were added to what they symbolised and taken to be equally real.

The report in *The Mercury* that strung together *Zero Davey*, a developer and a planning brief specifying a gateway showed how all of these actors were already there. They were visible, ‘obvious’ and some quite noisy, and they were already associated in relations that started to specify an ordering (of some kind) that was related to tourism (in some way). My energy was not put to making these associations, but in allowing the actors to do this. Instead my work was to describe these associations so that they demonstrated a process of material relations that few have yet to say much about in tourism. This was the basis from which other actors were added, a taking up of the gesture and continuing it. By doing this orderings eventually emerged. The adequacy of explanation existed first among these actors and how they achieved *Zero Davey* and second in my ability to convey this.

7.6 *Investigating controversy where everybody knows everybody*

Studies that involve controversy run the risk of creating ethical dilemmas. That *Zero Davey* was chosen in part because it was a controversial development also gave the project the possibility of professional and political sensitivity. This sensitivity also made clear that the ethical considerations of more traditional ethnographers who were studying abroad, were very different to those confronting ethnographers who take up the programme in places much closer to home. Traditional ethnography tended to operate in a world split in two, where the task of the ethnographer was to go in to the second world and bring back an account that would explain it mainly to the people in the ‘first’ world. On the other hand this ethnography had to confront the ethical dilemmas that come of “penetrating the intimacy of life among those who are much nearer to hand” (Latour and Woolgar 1979:17), who may occupy the same world as the ethnographer and even propose to read the account s/he makes of them. Under such circumstances there is a dilemma presumably absent in the first ethnographies of whether to offer some form of anonymity to participants. This problem stems more generally from one of ‘getting to know’ the participants with a degree of intimacy based on familiarity over time, without then ‘giving them away’ in the process.

In order to dispense with this problem, fast-track both the process of obtaining formal and forthright interviews and to gain formal ethical clearance to attempt this, I decided to offer anonymity to all of the interview participants where possible.

In this thesis your contribution will be attributed through general titles such as ‘planner’ [...]. Nevertheless there is a chance you may be identifiable through public records of your professional association.¹⁸⁰

In the case of singular nouns like ‘the’ developer of *Zero Davey* and ‘the’ designer of the site development plan, de-identification could not guarantee anonymity. These participants were at risk of identification as a singularly and because many were also named in the press or public meetings during this time.¹⁸¹ Consequently in an added bid to allay any possible sensitivity, following each interview recordings were fully transcribed and emailed to the participants for amendments. These also became the conditions of ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network.

I anticipated that this would sufficiently deal with the problem of anonymity. However as the research developed it became clear that problems of anonymity extended beyond the singular nouns like ‘developer of *Zero Davey*’ to include others who I had come to recognise occupied a tight band of design professionals, in a place where everybody knew everybody. In retrospect flags were raised with comments like ‘everybody knows what I think anyway’ and the ease with which referrals were made to each other. However it was not until I recognised how ‘local’ this scene I was working in was, that I realised how I had almost managed to compromise these participants without any intention of doing so. Their very connectedness and the durability of relations I had stumbled upon meant that these participants gradually became more difficult to make appear anonymous, if name-less.

While this problem was somewhat mediated by the fact that this project was not intended for publication or general circulation, and therefore the problem of anonymity remained confined to those ‘in the know’. However it did serve to demonstrate some of the implications of

¹⁸⁰ Confidentiality and Anonymity clause of the Information Sheet.

¹⁸¹ Speculatively this may explain in part why the architects, having already received a lot of negative press, were reluctant to extend the association through this research.

following ‘equally’ those ‘near to us’ in contemporary ethnographic research. This equity between themselves and I had challenged my theoretical assumptions (Chapter Five) and now also challenged my ethical ones. This challenge also served to highlight how the small size of the city of Hobart mattered in more ways than one. The following discusses how size mattered to the methods by considering the context of the study as a small city. In this case the context is served up last and the reason is that symmetrically a context is an invention of the actors themselves and cannot precede them making it (Latour 2005: 144).

7.7 *Doing research in ‘one of the great small cities of the world’*

The hindrance of protecting identities as well as the ease with which participants were located point to the effects of doing research in a small city. The term is used here to begin to summarise the introduction to this study and more clearly orient the chapters that will follow. What this section does not attempt to do is reinstate ‘small’ and ‘large’ as markers of innovation, progress or usefulness in research. While Hobart is a small city compared to many others, under a symmetrical approach no ‘place’ is naturally behind or forwards unless in a specific relation that makes it so. This study did not set out to first contextualise a small city or to assume it would matter, but was prepared to describe it mattering if it did. It was through undertaking the research that it became clear that this bigger picture was important precisely because it is *not* very big.

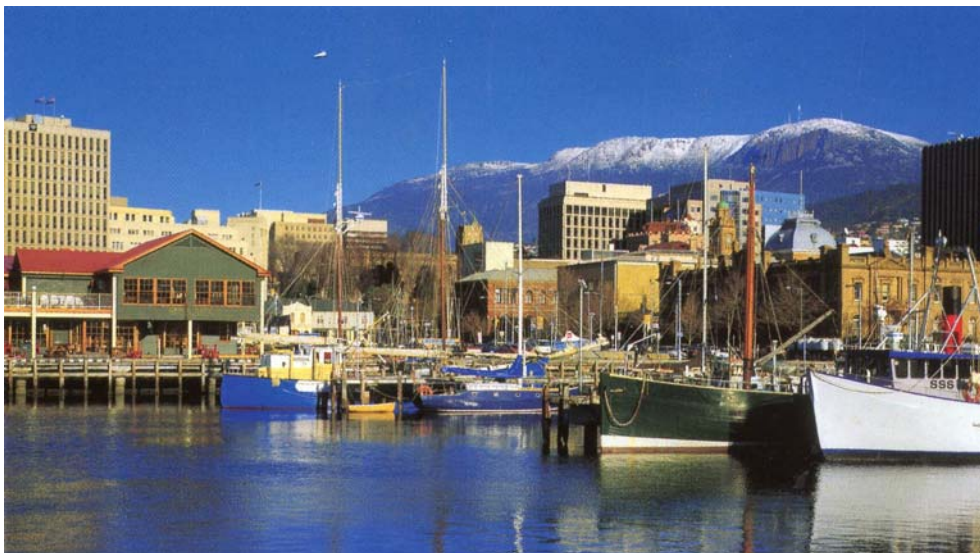
Welcome to one of the great small cities of the world.

Tasmania's capital city, Hobart, lies nestled between the brooding peak of Mt Wellington and the banks of the Derwent River. As Australia's second oldest city, Hobart provides a picturesque and evocative setting for a lifestyle that is both relaxed and welcoming.

There is easy public access to sections of our working port, Salamanca Place and other areas of the Sullivans Cove waterfront allowing you to view the fishing fleet in Victoria Dock, watch the Antarctic supply ships come and go, buy fish from the fish punts in and around Constitution Dock, shop at the many unique stores in Salamanca Place or simply enjoy the food and drinks

served up in the various hotels and restaurants (Tasmanian Information Centre).¹⁸²

Sullivans Cove is the birthplace of Hobart in the same way that Circular Quay is the birthplace of Sydney. Both cities developed from these early ports and fresh water rivulets and they both still play a part in the present day ‘pulse’ of each city. However this is where the similarity between the two cities starts to end because as Sydney continued to grow and outgrow its beginnings into the fast-paced, ‘world city’ it is today, Hobart remained a small and comparatively slower city so that part of what still characterises it today is an old worldliness by Australian standards, and the continued proximity of the city centre to the docks and a working port filled with boats.



Source: Tasmanian Postcards and Souvenirs (Launceston, Tasmania).

Hobart is described as a small city set between the Wellington mountain ranges and a deep water harbour on the Derwent River and these initially characterise what follows as the ‘richness’ of this place and also somewhat fortuitously, a rich place to begin research.

To find richness, one only has to turn toward the world itself, to the wind, the foam, the sun, the snow-capped mountains in the back, the earnest miniature city behind the harbour (Latour 1997a: 170).

¹⁸² The Hobart Travel Centre http://www.hobarttravelcentre.com.au/our_city, accessed February 14th 2010.

The earnestness of the city is in part a provision of a population of approximately 202'200 people, making up just under half of the island's total population. Based on figures from the Australian Bureau of Statistics fifty year projections the population is not forecast to increase. This means Hobart is not only a small city in Australia's smallest state, but one of the few Australian cities that anticipates remaining small.¹⁸³ Consequently Hobart is not subject to an 'acceleration' clause like other growing cities so Hobart *plans* to remain small and expects less development. This means that every time development happens it is comparatively new and noticeable to those who live there.

The advantage of doing this kind of research in a small city like Hobart was that it was not difficult to identify and locate most of the important actors and to learn very quickly of their relation to each other. Architects, urban designers and property developers are among the relatively mobile professions and yet the furthest I would need to travel to get among these people was Sydney University. All of the other important human actors were relatively near, easy to find and accessible. Access in this sense was directly related to the visibility and relatively local nature of those involved in the development of Sullivans Cove. Furthermore, cities can be hazardous objects of symmetrical analysis because they are not only heterogeneously replete but also consist of multiply concentrated orderings. While there is an 'excess' in the city (Latham and McCormack 2004:718), the smallness of Hobart offered a methodological virtue when it comes to understanding process and this is even more pronounced when the relation of size to speed is taken into account. As Davis explains of Los Angeles, "twenty years in the life of a metropolis [...] is an entire historical epoch" (1990: viii), whereas twenty years in the life of Hobart does not reassemble things to the same degree and the so the 'timing' is of a different nature (Chapter Six). This means when things are reassembled it *really* does make a difference and this exaggerated sense of change and difference is also helpful for tracing out orderings that ensure a city, regardless of size, 'keeps resulting'.

¹⁸³ Australian Bureau of Statistics
<http://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/mediareleasesbytitle/7BC2291979320950CA2570C7007DA2D7?OpenDocument>, and <http://www.abs.gov.au/AUSSTATS/abs@.nsf/Lookup/1307.6Main+Features6Jun+2008>, Both accessed February 19th 2010.

7.8 *From controversy to the laboratory*

Since a tourism place cannot guarantee the limits of tourism ordering, orderings themselves are fields. Consequently it is important to get onto the trail of a tourism ordering, and a more traditional field like Sullivans Cove was made useful for this. Access to tourism ordering in a more specific way was then gained through the controversial apartment hotel *Zero Davey*. From here ‘how this development happened’ and ‘what this development did’ became orienting principles of the study.

Starting with a handful of objects, texts and people associated with the development of *Zero Davey* lead to those involved with planning Sullivans Cove, the planning scheme, the design framework and an extended network of actors associated with these. In making sense of this part of the task of this chapter has been to introduce some of the actors and how they came to be actors. However this became intriguing to report since actors were both sources of information as well as actors who made a difference to this information. Similarly this chapter has started to ‘tell the story’ while also telling the mechanics of it.

Through the writing of this chapter a symmetry emerged between my own quest to articulate what I had done, and the request I had made of those I had spoken with to do the same. They were asked to describe ‘how’ they do whatever they do in relation to my inquiry, as I was now asked to describe how I did whatever I did in relation to the same. In the same position as ‘them’ it became clear how all of our motivated actions corresponded to early shipwrights who were ‘guessing, modelling, building and learning’ (see p. chapter 5). Garfinkel (1967:77) calls this part of the ‘troublesome properties’ of motivated actions through which a researcher “does not and even cannot ‘know’ what he is doing *prior to or while he is doing it*”. That said, attempts can be made to make sense of the doing before and after it is done and that is what this chapter has set out to do.

As the following chapter will continue to show how as bodies mingle among non-humans who are serious contenders for the action, ‘the doing’ of this research closely mirrored what the human actors themselves did since none of us could completely dispense with chance, nor completely comprehend all that was going on. Nevertheless attempts were made to dispense

with chance and to comprehend and this began to become evident when the controversy that was *Zero Davey* lead to an ‘urban design laboratory’.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Something to do with a laboratory

8.0 *Introduction and Overview of the Chapter*

This chapter describes some of the events leading in 2004 to the gathering of actors to form a ‘brief’ that included *Zero Davey*, a developer and the idea of a gateway to a gateway. The brief was traced to the planning scheme and this planning scheme was tied to a programme of urban design. This programme had been carefully nurtured over a twenty year period of collaborative practice and research so that it now had a continuity described by Australian standards as *unusual*.¹⁸⁴ When *Zero Davey* became enrolled with this it entered into negotiations with an urban design laboratory and became the outcome of an urban design experiment.

A laboratory experiment is a rare, costly, local, artificial set up in which it becomes possible for objects to become relevant for statements (Latour 2000a:115).

A laboratory experiment is a metaphor that allows for the simultaneously narrated, social and natural etiquette of orderings. Symmetry results in part from the findings of laboratory studies that demonstrated these too were empirical fields (see Latour 1983), this chapter emphasises this point by showing how ‘empirical fields’ are sometimes constructed as laboratories as well. The term ‘laboratory’ first occurred to me when I had started reading *Laboratory Life* (Latour and Woolgar 1979) while at the same time learning to better appreciate the technical, almost mechanical aspects of urban design. The metaphor became solid, when one of the key experts described Sullivans Cove as an ‘urban laboratory’ and taking his words one step further this chapter describes how Sullivans Cove is an urban *design* laboratory. The design laboratory produces experiments, some of which are tourism developments and it acts as an ‘obligatory point of passage’ (Callon 1986). Developments like *Zero Davey* confront and

¹⁸⁴ Design Consultant A (2007).

negotiate this passage and this is part of the explanation of how tourism forms a presence in Sullivans Cove. The ‘laboratory’ metaphor also describes the workings of a heterogeneous assembly and these map out the conditions of what follows as the experiment of *Zero Davey*. Rather than start from this organisational framework as a base-line or a pre-established ‘thing’, as the developer of *Zero Davey* does in the next chapter, this chapter describes how this framework first emerged.

The design laboratory is not only a set of ideas developed from a science of urban design. Neither is it the sum of what is set out ‘on paper’ in planning legislation, procedures and development applications. It is also a group of urban designers and architects, many of whom share a common attachment as students or lecturers to the School of Design that used to be located at the University of Tasmania campus in Sullivans Cove. Within these arrangements were the conditions for the writing of the *Sullivans Cove Planning Review* (1991); *Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme* (1997) and *Urban Design Framework* (2004). These days those students and lecturers are practitioners in Hobart, take up consultancy positions with the Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority, work as strategic and statutory planners in the Hobart City Council and as independent practitioners on various projects in the Cove. No less important to this mix of science, planning documents, people and the professional ‘scene’ they create is a mountain range, a wall made of buildings, a reclaimed apron and a system of street connections or axes. When ‘the people of Hobart’ are added to this an urban design laboratory performs and in doing so it matters to the development of tourism in Sullivans Cove.

Describing these material relations as they are accessed through various interactions begins to explain how tourism development is obligated to provide solutions to a programme of design that is largely indifferent to it. In this way tourism development gets tied up in the ongoing problem of the design and maintenance of a place that carries an agenda that is not explicitly concerned with tourism and this is where tourism development must earn a right of way. This condition remains while a consensus that enrolls both humans and non-humans exists around urban design, and while this reserves the right to influence what form development takes in Sullivans Cove. Through this the Cove will also remain “the longest continuously co-

ordinated urban designed precinct in Australia” and therefore, Australia’s most successful urban design laboratory.¹⁸⁵

8.1 *Crafting a Professional Scene: The Department of Design*

In answering the question about what mattered in the development and planning of Sullivans Cove each design professional inevitably brought other actors to the table, and some of these were brought to the table many times. Identifying these actors and how they form material relations with each other is the objective of this chapter. However it also became apparent that what mattered came to matter to these people through the crafting of a professional scene, that was itself a ‘rare, costly, local and artificial set up’. Making sense of the influence of urban design in the Cove involves tracing the development this scene and how it both shaped and consolidated the establishment the planning framework.

Design goes on, design happens whether you like it or not. It’s whether or not you get a substantial body of urban design theory underpinning the related actions, the integrated actions which are happening in a place. To take an area and really underpin it with substantial and considered theory and have a coordinated set of policies and programmes which come out of that *is* unusual.¹⁸⁶

The actor who made this statement was simultaneously the author of the planning Review (1991) that formed the basis for the Scheme (1997) and then the Urban Design Framework (2004). He was also in charge of urban design at the university’s School of Design and serves on the design panel for the present day Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority. This is an important actor however this importance does not come before a process of distribution that makes his actions important. The importance given to both him and the statement he makes depends first on ‘others’ and their ability to go along with him and then on the extent to which this ‘going along’ (mobility) transforms his statement. In this case there were many design professionals prepared to go along, and to transport this statement with little transformation and this came not only from knowing the planning framework for Sullivans

¹⁸⁵ Design Consultant A (2007).

¹⁸⁶ Design Consultant A (2007).

Cove, but also knowing where it came from and by whom. While it was a given that each design professional had an association either directly with *Zero Davey* or more indirectly through Sullivans Cove, what was not a given was the degree of conviction held about planning and developing the Cove. Neither was it given that these strong views would be underpinned by a strong and common sense of the design principles at work there. Rather these shared characteristics had to be given by something else.

This chapter describes ‘design professionals’ as if they are an homogenous group when it includes those who describe themselves as urban designers; architects; landscape architects and planning consultants. At times the differences between these professions were emphasised, however at others they came together ‘as one’ like when they subscribe to a common plan for Sullivans Cove. Part of this subscription involves the development of an urban design programme for Sullivans Cove, and this involved the principles underpinning this programme being dreamed up and written at the time when they were also being distributed or learned at the local Schools of Design and Architecture. Located in Sullivans Cove, these schools educated most of those who then became local designers and by virtue of their continued work in Sullivans Cove, participated in this research.

They trained a whole generation of planners.

There’s a whole group of us that travelled through around the same time and did the same course.

They all take their urban planning to a certain extent from him because he’s one of the foremost planners and I guess he’s had this connection to Tasmania. A lot of the planners go back to him and maybe a couple of others.¹⁸⁷

8.1.1 *The campus in the Cove*

These practitioners were not only associated with each other through professional design, but were also associated with Sullivans Cove more specifically. The university campus in Sullivans Cove is an early 20th century warehouse that is situated along Hunter Street

¹⁸⁷ Architect C; Urban Design Consultant C; Waterfront Authority Planning Consultant.

adjacent to Victoria Dock. This location provided “a most unique and ideal setting for understanding the urban” according to the then Head of Department who added:

The school overlooked the Cove and the Cove was in many ways the urban laboratory.¹⁸⁸

Since urban design is both a visual and technically based profession, urban design theory needs a case or a place to relate to if it is to make any sense.¹⁸⁹ In this case, the theatre for urban design instruction and a daily urban staple was Sullivans Cove and it was discovered that many of the designers who trained and researched there, continue this relationship today.

I’ve worked on so many sites through Sullivans Cove that frankly it’s scary. I’ve produced site development plans for five key sites and without sounding too immodest I probably know as much about planning in the Cove as any planners in the State.

Our architectural education really focussed on all of that for quite a few years, we actually did our three years down there at the Cove. So that was also significant to us because that was the birthplace of our understanding of architecture and our existence as professionals here.

We all did our urban design training in Hunter Street, and we all feel very precious about it because its our own territory and its been analysed to death!

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These designers ‘learned to walk’ through their association with Sullivans Cove and to build a professional network at the same time. The influence of something as simple as this, that theories of planning do not expect us to look for, can be significant in establishing a co-ordinated (and therefore successful) planning approach. The importance of the campus is that it strengthened a personal and professional attachment to the Cove and to the design principles being established at this time. The feeling that the Cove is ‘special’ for these

¹⁸⁸ Design Consultant A.

¹⁸⁹ For a general discussion of the visual, technical and practical nature of urban design at this time see Alexander (1987).

¹⁹⁰ Urban Design Consultant B; Architect B; Urban Design Consultant C.

designers is a summary of these precise arrangements and relations that perform an ‘attachment to place’. This arrangement concentrated urban design theory and approaches on the Cove, levelled a large amount of research at it and developed a particular sentiment with the people who were to plan for it - that the Cove is different, that the Cove is unique.

The voice of urban design in Tasmania *is* the Cove activity.¹⁹¹

Urban design based planning itself was quite unusual in Australia during this time (Hamnett 2000: 170) and this was reflected in the tertiary sector. In the 1980’s the University of Sydney, Adelaide University and the Queensland University of Technology introduced urban design courses and this was soon followed by the University of Tasmania in 1988.¹⁹² Since then such courses have become more widespread, however the uniqueness of the course offering in Hobart was not lost on either those who taught it or those who were students at the time.

Of the other planning courses that are offered around Australia, very few were urban design based.

As far as I’m aware the planning course here was the only planning course that had a strong design focus. It was a postgraduate degree so two years full-time in urban design.

The Cove is unusual in using an urban design approach. It is unusual in Australia but certainly almost unique in Tasmania. It hasn’t been totally absent beyond, there have been moments in other places but the only continuous urban design effort has been in the Cove and certainly the only one that has consistently held its own with some sort of national profile.

The issues that are really important about this investigation and indeed the Cove are spatial, and it’s how you can infuse some of the spatial thinking to inform that built outcome, with enough knowledge of the spatial background

¹⁹¹ Urban Design Consultant A.

¹⁹² Design Consultant A and University of Tasmania *Annual Report* (1998).

and theoretical background of the spatial ideas, embedded ultimately in the documents, that are now managing the Cove environment.¹⁹³

For the decade ending in 1998 the Department of Urban Design at the University of Tasmania offered a design based Masters in Town Planning to complement the undergraduate Bachelor of Environmental Design. Almost all of the design professionals who were involved with this study had completed either the Masters of Town Planning, a two year postgraduate course that was specifically focussed on urban design, or a related two year postgraduate course in architecture through the Hunter Street campus. Along with the Head of the Department and a lecturer in the Masters course, almost all of the designers had been trained here and the few who were not worked in partnerships with those who had. Urban design theorist Cuthbert describes this kind of professional development as ‘territory building’, capturing “regions of intellectual capital supported by legislation, membership and the arcane language of practice” (see 2001 and 2005: 4-9). Adding the location to this and ‘urban laboratory’ in Sullivans Cove, a tight alumni of architects and urban designers existed who had shared a rite of passage that included a particular regard for an urban design approach to planning, and common ideas about how this applied to the Cove. The name ‘the Cove’ was itself invented at this time; it is “a designer’s term for Sullivans Cove”.¹⁹⁴

At the end of 1998 the Department of Design was properly merged with the Department of Architecture and the course offerings in Hobart were phased out. The undergraduate Bachelor of Environmental Design was relocated to the northern, regional campus of Launceston and into the remaining Department of Architecture simplifying the administration (University of Tasmania Council Report 1998). At the time there was some concern that the Launceston relocation would make maintaining or increasing enrolments difficult and lower the standard of the course because “86 percent of Tasmanian designers and architects practice around Hobart” (Drew 1996 *Architecture Australia*). As skills and practice based studies, this factor was considered pedagogically important, but not enough to have changed the University direction at the time.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹³ Design Consultant A; Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant A.

¹⁹⁴ Hobart City Alderman (2006)

¹⁹⁵ Urban Design Consultant C. Interestingly, five years later the same argument was mounted concerning the relocation to Launceston of the School of Tourism, to the same effect.

Today, the Cove campus is the university Art School and Sullivans Cove serves as an inspiration for a different kind of student. While it is a new time of influence this is not before the students and lecturers of urban design and architecture laid a significant claim to the future planning programme for the Cove. Professional interest; location; a personal attachment to that location and a common education fostered a commitment to a consolidated urban design direction. These emerging professionals contributed to performing relations that would later be described as a time during which an “unprecedented level of urban design research was produced in and of the Cove”.¹⁹⁶ The lengthening material relations extend beyond teaching and learning, towards establishing an urban design programme for the Cove as first the ‘planning review’, then ‘the scheme’ and finally ‘the urban design framework’ fell out of these arrangements. At this point the Cove starts to translate a useful ‘urban laboratory’ into a useful ‘urban design’ one.¹⁹⁷

The values that are informing the Cove currently are ones that have that appreciation, that will use the planning scheme as a mechanism for controlling development but equally provide the grain of, not so much information, but spatial identity to be the foundation for site development.¹⁹⁸

8.2 *Research, Reviews, Schemes and Frameworks*

During this time of developing an urban design consciousness among students and directing it towards Sullivans Cove, the same consciousness was being developed more formally into working documents. Previously there had been one discrete study, but this did not underpin the programme that was to be put in place subsequently.

The first urban design study [1983] was the start of a design awareness about the Cove and it is important in that sense. It’s flagging the fact that there is a real awareness of the potential of the Cove and that it needs design attention.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ McNeill (2007) *Conversations in the Cove* #2.

¹⁹⁷ Planning used to be primarily about land use and this is evident in the scheme through activity zoning where the main aim was to describe an area primarily in terms of what the main activity there was.

¹⁹⁸ Design Consultant B. (2007).

¹⁹⁹ Design Consultant A. (2007).

When designers like these speak about rules, they refer not only the rules of prescribed texts and theory, but also the rules that are given statutory or government authority and that translate a place into a set of aims, objectives, schedules, principles and guidelines. This section describes the writing of urban design into the planning programme for the Cove and this involved people who were associated with the developing professional scene. At this point professionals are coming into their roles as urban design discourses are distributed and these discourses are experimented with in Sullivans Cove. However this does not explain how this has much effect beyond this. It is not until this arrangement hardens into a planning programme that a covenant is sealed between this particular group, adding weight to their professional scene and contributing to the performance of an ongoing ‘urban design laboratory’.

We have a whole generation of urban designers who have been taught by one or two people that these are the urban design principles. And very rarely do we stop and say *why*? What makes *these* the principles and why are *they* important as opposed to other principals that apply in other towns? These principals need to be challenged but so many planners and people say ‘that’s the height limit’ for example ‘you can’t really go beyond it’. And the debate never goes beyond *that*!

It’s like the gospel, and we’re the disciples. This is what we’ve been taught. Who am I to question them? I remember when I started questioning these principals I felt like I was betraying them.

The only way to design anything down there [the Cove] is you have to work closely with those people, all of whom are architects and designers with a high degree of expertise and understanding and the right to input. If you don’t jump through their hoops you won’t get approval.

It’s like a network or a club, you don’t break the rules.²⁰⁰

²⁰⁰ Urban Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant A; Tourism Development Consultant A; Architect A.

Planning reviews, schemes and designs employ ideas of cohesion, unity and progress (Graham and Marvin 2003:49) but ideas do not deliver these benefits on their own. The above set of circumstances also perform these tasks by ensuring that during this period a substantial amount of co-ordinated urban design interest came to be cast over the Cove and then to deliver of a set of plans. Documenting an urban design idea of the Cove that is informed by a scientific and professionally crafted laboratory, a planning system is able to formally oblige developments and a well-connected group of designers become variously conspiratorial with statutory law. The science itself was described as ‘substantially’:

[A]bout reading urban landscapes and reporting on them and enhancing people’s awareness of where the city has come from in order to make more informed decisions about where it should go.²⁰¹

And the objectivity of this practice came from “observing existing patterns of development and making new patterns to complement them”.²⁰² These simplified and working definitions that were elaborated through key writers for them like Lynch (1960); Trancik (1986) and Hillier (1996) solved the theoretical dilemma that finding a precise definition of urban design is like “playing the parlour game of twenty questions” (Rowley 1994 in Cuthbert 2005: 4).²⁰³

In addition to theories, the ‘reading’ of urban design into place and the writing of urban design into planning law, it is as much constituted by what it does. A substantial window into this activity in Sullivans Cove is provided by the three key planning documents. Together they outline a developmental direction for the Cove that barely changes in core principles from Review (1991) through Scheme (1997) to Framework (2004) and the following considers how these important actors came about.

8.2.1 *Enforcers, advisors and ‘delegators’*

Making a convincing argument about the ability of planning documents to act is not too difficult because often they are authorised to act by Acts of Parliament. This is the case with

²⁰¹ Design Consultant A.

²⁰² Norrie (2007) *Conversations in the Cove* #5

²⁰³ When asked to explain urban design these three theorists arose most often as influential, and influential in the thinking behind the scheme.

Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme (1997) under the *Sullivans Cove Planning Act (1995)*.

However even without statutory authority, planning documents are ‘special texts’ that in the case of Sullivans Cove can be said to perform one or more of three things: enforcement, advisement and delegation.

The *Sullivans Cove Planning Review (1991)* provides the first comprehensive study of the Cove and grew out of a design competition conducted five years earlier.

My first formal experience of the Cove was a competition in 1986 and I entered it [...] and we won. It was a small ideas competition, but nevertheless it was a competition and I guess it got a fair amount of publicity and it certainly caused me to apply quite a lot of the theory that I’d worked through.²⁰⁴

The Review (1991) details the ‘physical’ including geological, landform and climate information, built form and transportation patterns as well as ‘social’ information including historical, cultural and economic function and significance. This culminates in a ‘character study’ of the Cove that attempts to lay down the multi-layered ‘fabric’ of the place, described as “a Sullivans Cove context” (Planning Review 1991:12).²⁰⁵

To a person who is not familiar with urban design it is a large, detailed study that is also a dense and fairly technical document. Nevertheless in the circles that matter, the Review attracted widespread attention when it received a national planning award, judged “by any standards [to be] an extraordinary document, and perhaps the most comprehensive and beautifully designed urban design document of its type in Australia”.²⁰⁶ Since the author of the review was also the Head of the Department of Design it becomes possible to start to see in this document some of the material results of the urban design laboratory.

From here the Review acts to advise since it does not carry statutory weight. It scientifically documents by bringing together various ‘assets’ or characteristics of the Cove and outlines their importance. Equal weight is given to processes both geological and urban and these bear

²⁰⁴ Design Consultant A (2007).

²⁰⁵ See Kropf (1996) on character and Samuels and Pattacini (1997) on fabric and Cuthbert (2001) more generally.

²⁰⁶ Reported from Marine Board correspondence in Hudspeth and Scripps (2000:352).

upon the Cove today. The document was ‘seminal’ in providing a wide-ranging urban design-based assessment of the Cove and therefore plenty of advice concerning urban design-based interventions and solutions for the future.²⁰⁷

The principals set out in the Review are translated through *The Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme (1997)* into more technically specific and ‘applicable’ measures. While this document has the most force in the legal sense, being commanded by statutory authority, in transporting many of the principles of the planning Review, it has less of the nature of a force in its own right, and more of an instrumental use of that force. That said, in transporting the Review into a planning process some of those principles are transformed into ‘planning procedural logic’ and this ‘compromises’ some of the integrity of the design intentions of the Review (see Chapter Nine).²⁰⁸ In both of these ways it is the document that acts most often in the Cove because it provides a procedure manual for development applications and an interface between developers, designers and the planning authority.

The Scheme, like the Review but for different reasons is not particularly legible to those without a particular ‘need to know’. It is a public document of the kind that has very little public appeal since it appeals most to a largely specialist ‘planning process’. Since every development must be ‘ticked off’ against the scheme, its intent is to be a practical guide for those concerned with development and it encompasses measures that are enforceable, visions that are advisable and ‘discretionary matters’ that are delegated to others.

Enforceable, statutory requirements include height specifications; plot ratios; access obligations; land-use restrictions and minimum standard performance criteria. To be enforceable the rules must be specific because the less specific, the more debatable and this is what then keeps the planning appeal tribunal busy.²⁰⁹ The scheme also makes visionary claims and these can be understood as advisory, tending to claim two moral imperatives. The first is that ‘the Cove continues to operate as a working port’ and this appeals to ‘authenticity’ (and see ‘Punts’ p. 201). The second is that ‘the Cove remains the people’s Cove’ pertaining to public space and access. Together, these transport messages from the review to the scheme advising of what is to remain important about the Cove. The implication is that the scheme is

²⁰⁷ The Urban Design Study conducted in 1983 was ‘ahead of its time’ in terms of design interest, but not as comprehensive (Design Consultant A).

²⁰⁸ Design Consultant B. (2007)

²⁰⁹ Urban design consultant, Hobart Waterfront Authority (2006).

the surest route to protecting what matters most and to fulfilling the visions that are aspired to. These visions lack enforceability despite being complicit in an enforceable document because without concrete measurements like precise calculations or specific criteria to relate to, they can in practical terms ‘only’ advise.

When there is some digression from the enforceable or advisable, the planning scheme acts to delegate. Confronted with an activity that seeks something the rules have not anticipated, the scheme defers to a procedure that has a more fluid nature than a planning scheme - people. What is written into the Scheme is a kind of overflow measure, or stop-gap that lessens the requirement for appeal and keeps the development process moving. ‘Discretion’ enables the scheme to act in ways that are not, or can not be prescribed for or envisioned. Decisions requiring discretion are referred to an ‘authoritative body’ and prior to 2004, this was the Hobart City Council where elected aldermen (generally not expert) were advised by council planners of the relevant parts of the planning system to inform their decision. Since 2004, the State Government formed the Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority and under this arrangement, discretion is delegated to an appointed (expert) design panel. As an in-built flexibility, discretion is an allowance for ‘the unknown actor’, something that might come up, that probably will, but that can only be summarised as ‘unexpected’.

The recent instalment of over twenty years of co-ordinated design interest in the Cove is the *Hobart Waterfront Urban Design Framework* (2004) and this document is what makes the Cove, or more recently ‘Waterfront’ most legible as an urban design laboratory. It is a document that simplifies and synthesises the core of the two documents that have gone before and it is a document with comparative readability and public appeal.

No theory is mentioned in that we tried to keep it simple but the body of thinking is powerful.²¹⁰

The document contains basic maps, three dimensional built images and text that minimises design jargon and is comparatively simple to read. Familiar colour images of the Cove make it aesthetically pleasing (and perhaps reassuring) and the document is sold to the public alongside posters and other souvenirs in the highly accessible Authority building in the

²¹⁰ Design Consultant A. (2007).

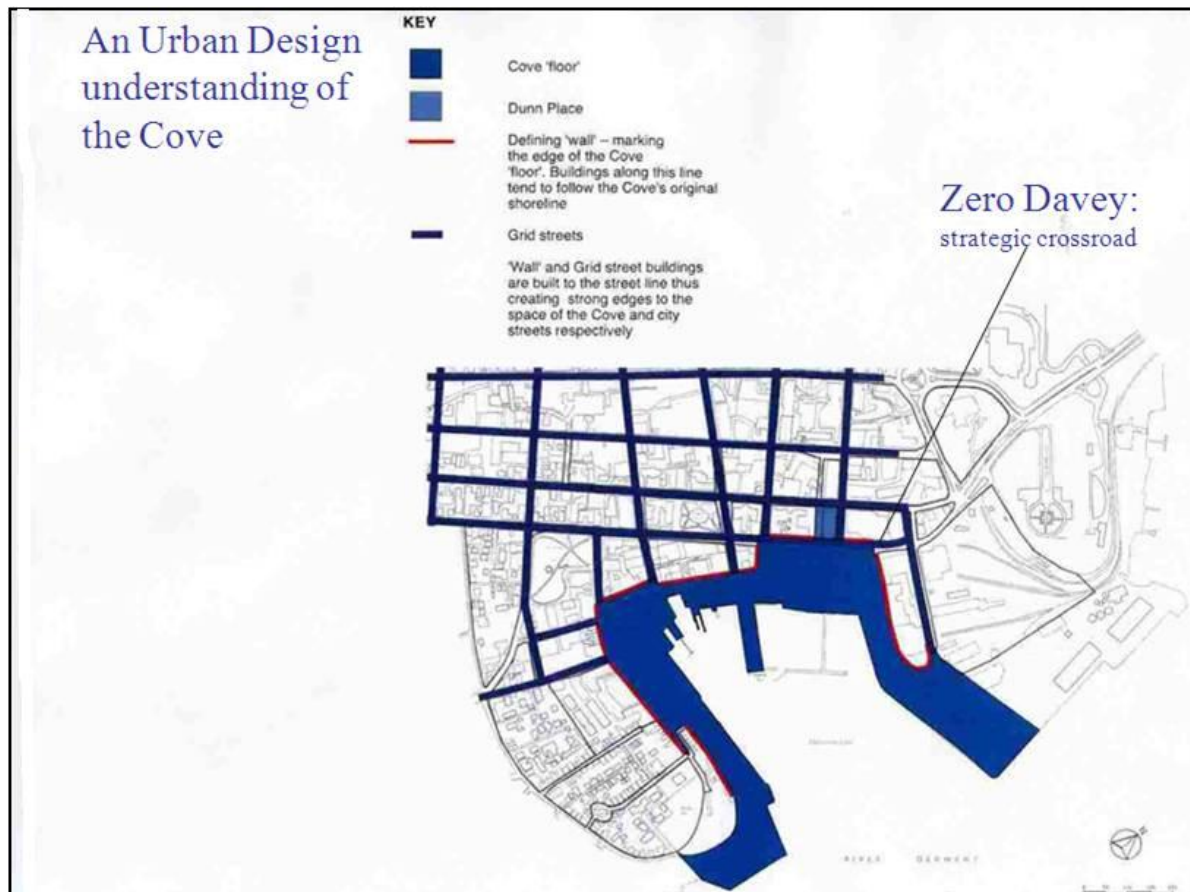
middle of Sullivans Cove. During the course of this research the Authority along with this flagship document has received increasing public exposure and for the non-specialist offers a more agreeable proposition and likely appreciation of what urban design adds to Sullivans Cove. In this way the Framework contributes itself to a widening design awareness developing around Sullivans Cove beyond the well-connected band of professionals to include a more ‘design-savvy’ public as well (see Chapter Ten). It is a public statement about a designed place that stamps certain features of the Cove into an immovable ‘framework’. In this simplicity the design framework has broad appeal and is easily translated not only by developers but in the developments themselves. This is because if the framework is made even more basic, then this appeal and its visibility are connected to four non-humans and these exert pressure so that they shape Sullivans Cove.

8.3 *It's elementary*

So far people, a university course and campus and planning documents have contributed to the making of an urban design laboratory. There is the comprehensive Review that was made technical and procedural through the Scheme and then finds simplicity and public appeal in the Framework. While simple plans are easier to follow, the assumed risk is that they are more susceptible to interpretation. However this is somewhat mediated in the case of the Framework because not only is it ‘backed’ by a fairly reliable professional scene, but it is also appended to four heavy, relatively immovable and interlocking non-humans. These ‘apparatus’ serve the laboratory not only to materialise but also to materially consolidate and hold-fast the basics of the urban design approach.

According to Sennett (1996) the two most enduring images of urban planning are the ‘+’ representing the grid form of street planning and the ‘O’ representing the circle of enclosure, or walling off of space. Together these symbols (but they are also technologies) create the ancient Egyptian hieroglyph for town and an ancient ‘rationalisation of civilised life’ (p.125). If an amphitheatre setting and a flat reclaimed floor are added to these there are the elements of the Framework and also a symbol and technology of rational and civilised life in Sullivans Cove. These elements, symbols and technologies assist in performing the urban design laboratory so that it is a group of non-humans who act to provide the raw material for doing design and development in Sullivans Cove. The urban design framework unwittingly

publicises the importance of these non-humans by atomising the Cove four ways and conferring upon these ‘essential value’. In this way the floor; the wall; the grid system beyond the wall and the natural amphitheatre that results from the rising Wellington Ranges are found to act most to produce and constrain design and development activity in Sullivans Cove.

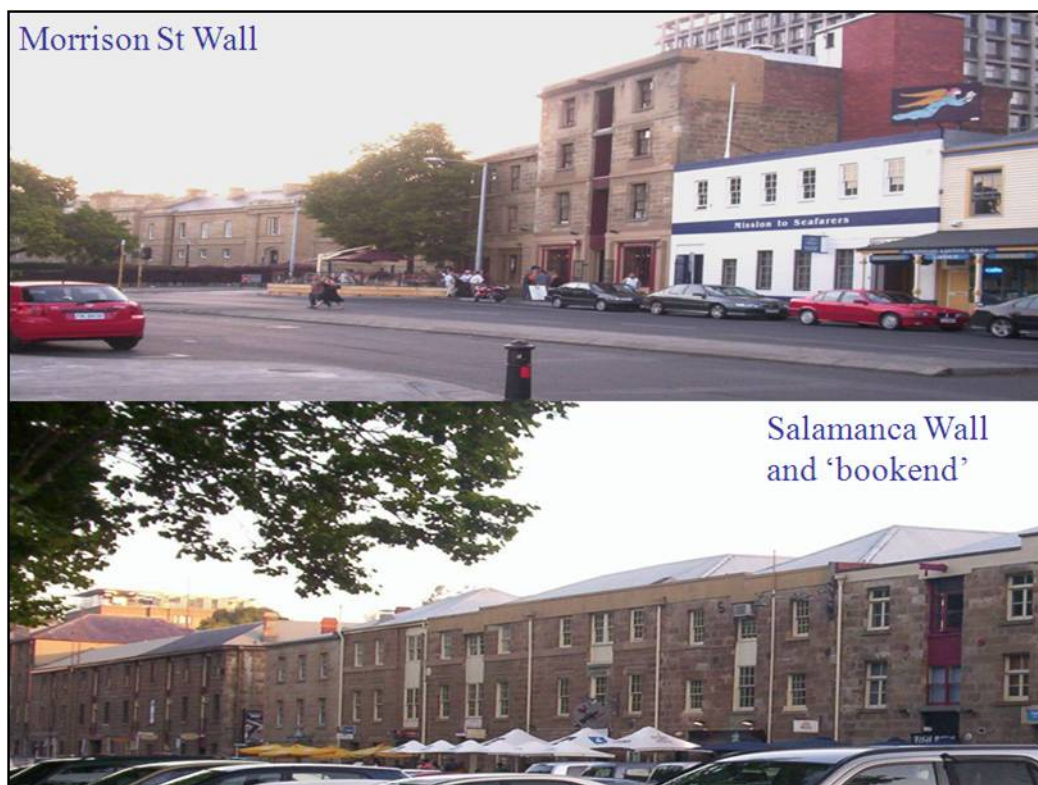


Source: Hobart Waterfront Urban Design Framework (2004:2)

The floor of the Cove is comprised of “water, reclaimed wharf apron and the bounding roads from Salamanca to Hunter Street” (Urban Design Framework 2004:2). It is divided into concrete aprons; gardens; lawn areas; roads; pedestrian areas and parking. Noted as the city’s ‘great urban open space’ (2004:3), the floor is most often criticised by planners and people alike as the city’s great car parking space. Consequently the floor of the Cove determines much of what can be said about the *quality* of its public space. The floor connects the Cove to the adjacent areas of historic Battery Point, the city centre, harbour and the green space of the

Domain. It also connects the spaces within the Cove, the aprons, wharves and docks acting to permit or obstruct activity and movements. The flatness of the Cove floor, contrasts with the rising topography around it and in also occupying the lowest ground in the city, serves as a marker and boundary of the Cove.

The wall of the Cove delineates without exactly replicating its 'true' boundary since it maps the original shoreline of the Cove. Made of a fairly continuous line of Georgian and Victorian buildings that originally fronted the shore, the wall now traces its natural outline before the reclamation of land. Starting from Salamanca, the wall traces the reclaimed land around Parliament House along Morrison Street to sections of Davey Street, including the Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, through to Hunter Street. The Salamanca and Hunter Street ends of the wall are referred to as bookends (2004:5) and are the most formed, or completed parts of the wall.





The wall reinforces the Cove's identity by physically separating it and also because the 'quaint' buildings are part of the image of Sullivans Cove. The wall is also noticeable as a horseshoe formation of rows of buildings and this defines the Cove 'picturesque'. However what is more important to the design professionals is what is less noticeable about the wall and that is the shoreline it used to front, and now only 'represents'.²¹¹ To the designers the wall is most significant as an historical marker of the 'natural' formation of the Cove as opposed to what is un-natural in the technology of the wharfs. Here the wall performs a common asymmetry in Tasmania between 'nature' and 'urban' where the question of the wall concerns the 'natural integrity' of the shoreline versus the 'man-made technology' of reclaimed land and buildings.²¹²

The important thing is that [the wall] does differentiate if you like the reclaimed from the natural, and the natural being the natural landform and the reclaimed horizontal aprons. It also has tended to become the 19th century

²¹¹ Design Consultant A; Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant B; Architect B.

²¹² Tasmania is politically the 'greenest' state in Australia and is accordingly promoted as a 'natural' holiday destination. Public debate is often divided by a 'fundamentalism' (Latour 2004b:460) that separates 'nature' and 'society' and traditional extractive industries like forestry for example are pitted against alternative 'less extractive' industries like ecotourism.

edge. But I would argue that is less relevant in the concept of wall than it ascribing to where original landform was.

I don't see the wall as an enclosure as such. It happens to do that but its broader roles is to differentiate the reclaimed space which tends to be horizontal, concrete flat stuff from an undulating topography.

I don't see the wall as literal I see the wall as a means of defining what was here prior to settlement and what is now here. It gives meaning to that edge. So that's a stronger argument I think for the wall than it is just an edge to the nineteenth century built notion of the Cove.

I would be arguing very strongly that you really have to be very clear about what the wall refers to, not as built but in terms of what the origins of its concept are.

The planning Review set down the geological and landform qualities of the Cove and part of this is a record of the original shoreline. The privileging of the 'natural' over the 'built' is attributable to more than a political or cultural propensity to preserve what is natural, but also a propensity to make natural the politics and culture of preserving urban design.

Because the wall you see, if its not ascribed to a morphology which pre-empts the built then relies on the built which is imminently manipulable.²¹³

In privileging the significance of the wall to the *geo*-morphology more than the *urban*-morphology, 'the wall' becomes 'imminently *less* manipulable'. As the 'first layer', geomorphology always 'pre-empts the built', and then attaching other things to this like rows of buildings lends to them the same 'solid' assurances as rock.

The third element provides another contrast in the amphitheatre setting that is the layered landscape or undulating topography that rises up from beneath the Cove to the peaks of the Wellington ranges. This is what provides Hobart with an enviable 'deep water port', fresh

²¹³ Design Consultant A; Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant C; Architect C.

water rivulets and a ‘classic’ mountain backdrop to the Cove and more generally the city. This is a landmark element making the Cove and the city distinguishable and in the planning Scheme, it is this element that translates the strict height restrictions.²¹⁴ The hard and fast geomorphology and its effect on the urban morphology performs a ‘visual quality’ to this place that ends in “a natural skyline in all directions” and this is principal among the principles that characterise both the Cove and the city more generally.²¹⁵

Certain qualitative assumptions are turned on their head here. For example you can stand in the centre of the city of Hobart, on ground, within the streets of central Hobart and look across very deep vistas – you don’t have to be elevated in a building, you are within the ground plane of a city space where you have deep prospects. Those prospects take the gaze beyond the built. The urban scale of Hobart is defined as much by the depth of the views into the landscape as it is by the built. There’s a whole raft of scaled based appreciations which are *unusual* as a result of living in a small city in a large landscape. There’s an invert happening there.²¹⁶

The next chapter shows that site-line manipulation is a battleground in the Cove where existing buildings that have breached these height restrictions and threaten the ‘amphitheatre setting, deep vistas and sense of inversion’, are definitively “past mistakes that should not be taken as the context for future developments” (Framework 2004:1). The effect of this is that the built environment of the Cove is to remain ‘short’ and to remain shorter than the ‘not so tall’ city itself if it is to preserve the layered landscape. This means that if a developer with sufficient investment capital had in mind a building much above 15 metres in the Cove, s/he would *literally* need to move a mountain, and in this way another design concept is made solid as rock by ‘entrenching the boundary in nature’.

There exist endless ways of rendering the [...] definition a finite and sure thing, so finite and sure that, in the end, it looks like the object of an unproblematic definition. You may invent strange hybrids [...] or entrench the boundary in ‘nature’ (Latour 2005:33).

²¹⁴ These limits are 15 metres in most parts with 25 metres in some.

²¹⁵ Design Consultant A.

²¹⁶ Design Consultant B. The notion of an ‘inverted city’ refers to landscape dominating over buildings.

The final element is the system of grid streets beyond the Cove. This element is a reminder that there is an outside that needs to be connected to the Cove in an ordered way and that places are a result of movements.

It doesn't matter how much quality you put into the space, if they don't have a certain level of connection they will not work and that is therefore a bigger factor in making spaces work. One of the reasons Sullivans Cove is so successful is that lots of axial lines actually transect.²¹⁷

As a port, Sullivans Cove is a connector of various routes. The system of grid streets provides the basis for land-based access to and from the Cove, and for holes to exist in the wall. The technically challenging topography rising up from the Cove encouraged makeshift tracks to form early streets, however a grid structure was if not actually added, then *aligned* or interpreted to have been added, by Governor Macquarie in 1824 (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000: 54). However a counter discourse was also operating to argue that:

Decisions about the layout of the street were based not so much on a grand plan but as a series of local conditions. The alignment of the grids are to do with pathways that were created when people first settled the city and there were tracks to fresh water and tracks to 'Joe Blogs' house and then they developed into a street network.²¹⁸

The tension here as with the wall, is one again of more 'natural' organic development patterns and less natural technical impositions like a grid street structure. This asymmetry makes the Governor an inorganic ingredient in the planning history of the Cove, while 'Joe Blogs' visitors' offer a more authentic, 'lived' history of development. In either case recognition of the importance of 'successful axes' connecting to the Cove make this the fourth element in the framework.

Weak access is highlighted in the Framework include pedestrian access to the Cove that is in part the result of the 'Macquarie-Davey couplet' a wide one-way road system that acts as

²¹⁷ Design Consultant A (2006).

²¹⁸ Architect B (2007).

both access to the city and as a through-road that lies (horizontally) between the Cove and the city centre. The couplet cuts through the vertical roads connecting the Cove to the inner city area so that despite the natural land contours ‘leading to’ the Cove, each is somewhat divided from each other (see Chapter Nine). These connections form the basis for “integrating the dimensions of form, activity and movement” within and in relation to the Cove (2004:11) emphasising, along with the other three elements the importance of an ‘outside’ in making the Cove distinctive.

The floor, the wall, the amphitheatre setting and the grid streets beyond the wall are the Cove in its most elemental design and therefore the ‘essence’ of the Cove seems physical. However, these elements are not only physical but are also a ‘substantial body of urban design theory’ and this body of theory is made substantial through a social and professional network of knowledgeable practitioners. Geo and urban morphologies are added to these elements and they not only explain them, but also ‘take on’ their solid properties and become more material in the process. These ‘socio-technical’ artefacts are simultaneously the raw materials and technologies of the urban design laboratory, as well as statements about what matters. In this simplified form the Cove is ‘objective’ and provides an objectivity to work through.

If you take the basic principles: amphitheatre setting, flat Cove floor, wall of buildings enclosing that, punctuated by radiating streets – and then the blocks have got alleyways and courtyards within them, that’s the traditional nature of the city. And if you take those and apply those to sites you get good outcomes. It doesn’t matter what the style of the building is – it’s the basic framework.²¹⁹

However the next section introduces an actor that is a challenge to this simple objectivity and the production of an objectively designed Cove. The ‘people of Hobart’ are not professional designers yet they are part of the urban design laboratory because it is difficult to imagine what urban design could mean without ‘the people’ to design for.

²¹⁹ Design Consultant A.

8.4 *The impossibility of locating an objective Cove*

The consolidation of a planning framework for the Cove that is an urban design laboratory is part of an attempt to rationally order and manage the development of Sullivans Cove. While non-humans disrupt a purely rational laboratory operation, since they themselves are not rational, what disrupts the idea of a purely objective Cove is the in-built actor the ‘people of Hobart’. This actor is in-built in that all of the designers and planning documents were repetitive with claims that the Cove belonged to the people of Hobart ‘first’. Consequently the people of Hobart are part of the urban design laboratory by virtue of the fact that they are given the guardianship of public access, citizenry and democratic planning processes. When they act as one ‘the people of Hobart’ is a matter of public space, civil society and democracy. When they are many they are multifarious voices heard through public comment although sometimes even in this they can find agreement (see Chapter Nine). This actor invariably produces a check and balance on laboratory activities, and this sometimes takes the shape of an antagonistic relationship where various ‘people’ of Hobart enact a critical voice of development in the Cove (see Chapter Nine). Since 1987 there has been various citizens committees associated with Sullivans Cove (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:351) where the ‘people’ are both challenged by and challenging to development in Sullivans Cove and in this way they interact with, and become part of an urban design laboratory.

My urban nerves were freshly bruised earlier this week at what sounded very much like a lurch from the ridiculous to the sublime, when an architect urged readers of this newspaper to wait until his Hunter St [Cove] roofline is completed, perhaps as an example of how little we residents know about what will be gained in losing one of the city’s most iconic views. To be quite frank I’m dreading the addition of your customised roofline sails to Hobart’s skyline. Nothing will replace my lifetime of pretending that I’m standing on one of Rome’s seven hilltops, gazing out at the Appian Way, whenever I glimpse the Domain’s grassy distance across our beautiful harbour (Rankin-Reid, columnist *The Sunday Tasmanian* 19/9/2004).

The newspaper plays an important role in reinforcing ‘the people of Hobart’ since they are the citizenry they also serve. Almost every day there is something in the newspaper about

Sullivans Cove and almost as often there are letters responding to this news. *Conversations in the Cove* also evoke the people of Hobart who become an embodied, and sometimes vocal, audience on these occasions. At other times the people of Hobart are simply ‘everywhere’. Public censure was one of the key dangers or problems for designers in the Cove and this defined much of the relationship between them and ‘the people’. However it was not this simple since the ‘people’ are also the ‘source’ of the designers and through this belonging, lived experience and attachment to place they are somewhat validated and given a right to make a difference there.

8.4.1 *Designers and their everyday lives*

This discussion borrows de Certeau’s (1984) terms ‘strategy’ and ‘tactic’ from his chapter ‘Walking in the City’ to discuss the professional /- people interface. In this chapter the elevated view from a tower block (professional) is contrasted with the view of a pedestrian (people) on the ground. de Certeau emphasises the peripatetic as a method for critiquing ‘objective space’ by offsetting the *strategies* of the planning professional with the *tactics* of the people of ‘everyday life’. The somewhat Cartesian view from the tower is the view of the strategists and these people, like urban designers paint objective and totalising pictures like the *Urban Design Framework* (2004). The view from the ground informs the tacticians or users who work within the outcomes of strategies but also alter and subvert them in small, sometimes routine and always potentially effective ways. The interface between the professional and the people is formed from within two different worlds, the objective professional (researcher) and subjective non-professional (lay person). As this story is translated to the Cove this means urban designers do not see the Cove the way ‘the people’, or users do.

While it was lamented that “people just don’t understand the spatial logic”²²⁰, the gap between the people and the designers was not deliberate nor even a desired state of affairs. The work involved in design was not only to *make* objective spaces as they are so often thought to do, but to *translate* objective spaces into ones ‘the people’ understand.

²²⁰ Urban Design Consultant B.

Either people have given up, or it's just so academic they can't understand it. But somehow this [urban design] has got to be brought back to language they understand, presented in a way that they understand and then let's start again.

In the strategic stage of developing these urban design guidelines, I wondered whether we'd actually lost our link with the 'common person' with all those principles that have become so elitist, and I wondered whether they *didn't* actually represent the values that people felt about the place.²²¹

The specialist, scientific language employed alongside the indiscriminate use of 'good outcome' and 'right and wrong' decision indicated a sense of objectivity among these designers. Likewise work environments contained objective mapping techniques, topological data, landform studies, geomorphological investigations, climate reports, surveying equipment including depth sounders and GIS technologies. There was an array of objective information gatherers and gatherings that would appear to mean little to the people's subjective image of the Cove.

However the terms 'professional' and 'people of Hobart' were also found to be categorical errors if this means there can be no slippage between them. Design professionals often 'switched hats' offering descriptions based on multiple relationships with Sullivans Cove. All but one still lived in Hobart and one was a resident of Sullivans Cove itself. One commented on having 'only' a twenty year history with the Cove. One felt obliged to comment that they were 'originally' from somewhere else and still another to stress that they were 'originally' from here. Most were local in the sense that they drew upon an attachment to place that was longer than their interest in urban design. Yet this information was never solicited during interviews. It was voluntarily offered as a qualification of a right to know about and therefore make a difference to the planning and development of Sullivans Cove. At some point a qualification arose that was based on a measurement of 'localness' that suggested an 'authentic attachment to place' or degrees thereof.

²²¹ Urban Design Consultant B and Urban Design Consultant A.

If you're living in a place and you're not a professional it is primarily 'lived'. But for a professional who is both theorising about the place and experiencing it – it is both.

Because I'm *of* this place, with six or more generations of my family being of here, I relate to this place. But as a professional I seek to use it and understand it as a case study which can better inform both the future development of this place and also individual built outcomes in terms of my role as an architect.

In terms of my work as an urban design consultant, I'm constantly striving to consider the margins of the urban, which may include the built, in terms of the appreciation of what it is to both dwell here, but also to design here.

I don't see architecture as a stand alone activity, I see it essentially as, I didn't expect to say this, but as a cultural theory. It's actually the values that you bring to the design of the place and the elements of it that you inhabit.

I've got a long-standing interest, I've got a particular interest in the urban design aspects and I've worked in conjunction with architects on a number of major projects.

And this is where my urban design theory and my understanding over a period of time comes in...²²²

Not only was a greater distance between the designers and the people undesirable to designers, not only were designers themselves 'local' and therefore unavoidably part of the people, but also this 'belonging' was itself an informal measure of right to be involved in planning and developing Sullivans Cove in the first place. In this way not all qualifications that gave a right to design were dependent on mastering objective space, and not all aspects of the design laboratory were controlled in this way. Some qualifications were much more subjective and this muddled the order that might have issued from purely objective means.

²²² Design Consultant A; Urban Design Consultant C; Architect C; Urban Design Consultant D; Urban Design Consultant B; Design Consultant B. The same kind of authentication took place at *Conversations in the Cove* also.

When something subjective like an ‘authentic attachment to place’ or ‘lived experience’ is important in establishing a right to design in Sullivans Cove, it also alters the relations that are assumed to exist between design professionals and their public. The importance given to attachment to place and the expertise of lived experience seemed to suggest that a good designer is also part of the people of Hobart. In this way an ambivalent relation existed between design professionals and ‘the people’ and this meant that sometimes a less differentiated landscape existed than one it might be expected of a more single-minded professionalism. When a professional attachment to place coincides with a personal one, the boundaries that are supposed to make things clear become blurred and this dilemma is usually named as a ‘conflict of interest’. An objective response would constitute no personal attachment to the Cove, yet this same personal attachment is an informal measure of ‘ability to know’ and ‘right to act on this knowing’. In this way it reinforces the impossibility of a purely objective urban design laboratory.

8.4.2 *The travels of travail*

At the same time it was not enough to harbour an attachment to the local without also harbouring knowledge of the global. These professional designers were also ‘professional flaneurs’ (Arida 1996:145) and this meant they were in the habit of travelling to and reading other places themselves.

One of the things I like to do when I’m travelling around towns that I don’t know is try to guess where the Council Chambers might be. Usually the formal town structures are such that its right in the middle of town, on the main street and you find it without a map. And it’s great when the town is that legible.²²³

The characteristics of Sullivans Cove were often described comparative to other well-known places. The floor space for example was described as large compared to Trafalgar Square, the 19th century wall was compared to the structure of medieval towns and the gateway was compared to the Arc de Triomphe. These object lessons are the language of design and they

²²³ Urban Design Consultant A

must be seen to be fully appreciated by them. Consequently while the workspaces of the urban designers were littered with maps and other objective paraphernalia, they were also filled with photographs and prints of places as well as models, sketches and souvenirs gathered from places they had visited.²²⁴ Not only eloquent on local matters of locale, designers could in part appreciate this locale through comparison to others. These collectibles and galleries of places indicated a professional interest that translated to more informal practices of travel and photography.²²⁵ While a local attachment to place was important in this place it was also important to know why it was local and that comes from an association with other places as well. At the highest professional level a good design portfolio is one that contains projects of various scales and places, and this is evidenced each time a design consultant is lauded.²²⁶

The case study nature of urban design and architecture means monuments, buildings, squares and so on become iconic, exemplars or models that are used to teach and convey the purpose and effect of design.²²⁷ Story-telling and photography, graphic representations and mapping allowed designers to speak their professional expertise through various familiar and recognisably international landmarks.²²⁸ To have this authority and necessary skill travel was also part of the urban designer's charter. However, while they are 'tourists by trade' in that they are interested in and travel to other places as a matter of course, they also follow a design programme for Sullivans Cove that claims a unique locality and a claim to knowing this counts just as much.

8.5 *From setting up a laboratory to experiments*

This chapter has described how Sullivans Cove became an urban design laboratory and what this laboratory is made of. This includes design professionals, discourses and documents, 'the people', attachments to place, wharves, walls, authenticity, technology, nature and the built

²²⁴ A print that had been made for one of the statutory planners of the Cove illustrated each building represented by a differently patterned sofa. The print was titled 'Sofa so good'.

²²⁵ I was given plenty of advice about other places, where to travel, what to see and the best times and angles for photographing various part of the Cove.

²²⁶ Recently Danish Designer Jan Gehl has been consulted by the Hobart City Council, and in 2007 Danish landscape architectural firm Aagaard Andersen won the International Design Competition. Both were authorised through an internationally laden project profile.

²²⁷ Design Consultant B.

²²⁸ This was a common practice at *Conversations in the Cove*.

environment. The urban design professionals each have a longstanding interest and enduring record of practice in the Cove. They are variously entangled with the University of Tasmania Department of Urban Design that used to be located at the campus in the Cove and it was here that lessons in urban design and architecture were distributed. Then the lengthening material relations then extended beyond teaching and learning, towards establishing an urban design programme for the Cove. The *Sullivans Cove Planning Review* (1991), then the *Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme* (1997) and an act of parliament, and finally the *Hobart Waterfront Urban Design Framework* (2004) were outcomes of this. They themselves assembled together a new set of actors: a mountain range, flat reclaimed land, a connected up 'outside' and an original shoreline translated by a wall.

When these were added together durable relations were formed because they involved and were distributed among multiple actors; and also because they were attached to 'heavy things' like a mountain range and 'hard things' like a science of geomorphology.²²⁹ However, to be a truly effective laboratory it must produce results and this means it will inevitably negotiate with developments and interpolate the public. As 'implementation' starts to happen, the laboratory is put to the test. One of these experiments was a tourism development *Zero Davey*.

That the laboratory does not anticipate tourism is evidenced by the lack attention it is given in this chapter. The urban design laboratory starts from a concern about what makes Sullivans Cove itself unique in order to maintain these characteristics and design any future development to be complementary. In this way the laboratory does not *not* anticipate tourism since achieving a 'unique place' is not incompatible with tourism development. Nevertheless in the case of *Zero Davey* the urban design laboratory acted to obligate the building without taking much account of whether it imported tourism or not.

²²⁹ Field-notes, transcripts and the study itself adds durability and transportability to these relations.

Urban Design: *Postcard from an urban designer about how fish and chips work*

The fish punts along the edge of Constitution Dock are there and they've emerged from boats that used to sell fish from them. So it used to be boats selling fish directly and then someone had the idea 'well maybe you could cook them' and then that gave rise to a variety of these little punts that are there and that's part of the character of the City and the Cove. However, the size of those fish punts is dependent upon them being able to be floated into Constitution Dock. And the reason that they had to float in and float out was firstly, obviously they're vessels and need maintenance, but the other reason is that they had to be moved for an event once a year – the Sydney-Hobart Yacht Race. So the dock always had to be cleared for the Sydney-Hobart Yacht Race and it's a great annual ritual. Since the Sydney-Hobart yachts have become bigger, taller, larger and deeper, the bigger ones can't get into Constitution dock and with the marina that has been developed beyond Franklin wharf into the harbour the demand that the fish punts be moved at the end of each year to clear Constitution dock has less relevance. My concern as a designer who is concerned about consistency of layers of meaning ascribed to urban place, and particularly to the function of those docks and how Sullivans Cove operates, is that if those fish punts don't need to be designed to be moved out, will they become a permanent built edge to the dock? So the scale and character and how edges work and what the function of a dock is as distinct from a street, as distinct from, in this instance, a concrete apron between the docks will change. That edge is getting harder and harder to keep as 'working' because of the pressure for it to be a heritage site with heritage objects within it, as distinct from a working edge. What I fear is the loss of the function of the space that gives identity, definition and meaning, and spatial logic. And that may occur by filling Constitution Dock up with historical boats. It's an example that I think is important.

Leigh Woolley, Hobart 2007.

CHAPTER NINE

The *Zero Davey* experiment

9.0 *Introduction and overview of the Chapter*

Once the Cove is established as an urban design laboratory it starts to become inventive in an urban design kind of way. Since these inventions are part of the laboratory they can be thought about as ‘experiments’. The metaphor describes not only what laboratories produce, but also captures the never fully predictable nature of this production. Like all good experiments each brings with it a practice of alchemy as well as something new and not completely knowable, and this is true even of the most established and knowledgeable laboratories. Hence the ‘obligatory passage’ for development in Sullivans Cove that was mapped out in the previous chapter can oblige development only so far. Once other ingredients or actors are introduced like a development proposal, entrepreneurial aspirations and then *Zero Davey* the laboratory becomes obligated as well. Therefore despite its impressive foundations the urban design laboratory was limited to setting the course for *Zero Davey* and this means that while the development solved the problem of the site it as it was obligated to do, this solution was also ‘overtaken’ (Latour 2005) by other things that made the same into a problem.

This chapter focuses on tracing the development of *Zero Davey* through the urban design laboratory and what happened after it was built. As an experiment there were parts of this process that were highly controlled, anticipated and known, parts that were more clearly negotiated and made of compromises and others that were subject to whatever the process encountered when it became ‘unleashed’ on the Cove (after Franklin 2004) and ‘the people of Hobart’. While the chapter maintains a close relationship with *Zero Davey*, the building does not remain a building, or object on its own for any longer than it takes to learn it is called *Zero Davey*. Then to the building has been attached a human who has entitled the building by designating a name, a symbol and text to its material form. Furthermore the name designates the beginning of something and in this case that ‘something’ is Sullivans Cove. Therefore, from these basic observations if I am to refer to ‘the building *Zero Davey*’, I am already

referring to a heterogeneous assemblage of minimally as it occurs at first, a building (object) with a name (text) given by someone (human) to designate the beginning (idea) of something (Sullivans Cove). In this way *Zero Davey* is already an actor worked into various nets or orderings (after Latour 1997a and Franklin 2004) where it is entangled with other things, multiple by consequence and therefore relationally ontological.

As hotel accommodation *Zero Davey* illustrates the way a non-human imports tourism into Sullivans Cove or how a ‘tourism object’ is formed. What is discovered is that this importation depended on *Zero Davey* becoming involved with Sullivans Cove in multiple ways so that it acts as ‘multiple objects’ only some of which relate to tourism. This chapter describes a tourism object ‘live’ as in a live performance and one that is performed *in concert* with other things.²³⁰ Like the previous chapter this one is made up of humans, non-humans and texts in associations that have material effects. To those actors who perform the urban design laboratory are added those who perform *Zero Davey* and a tourism development more specifically.

In passing the burden of tourism development to *Zero Davey* this chapter describes how the urban design laboratory is part of the means to a tourism end. Through these negotiations both *Zero Davey* and tourism are transformed and these bear the explanatory weight for tourism in this study. While these negotiations are ‘heavy’ with information, they do not add up to anything as convenient as ‘tourism theory’. However, they do begin to show why “there has always been something wrong with it” (Franklin 2007:135).

9.1 *Hunter Street*

Zero Davey now stands at the corner of Hunter and Davey Streets. Its proper address is 15 Hunter Street but this is somewhat obscured by the title of the building. The proper address determines the street that *Zero Davey* belongs to most and this is usually the street that the building will face. According to the design professionals this address or site held the clues to understanding and then evaluating the effects of the development because in the laboratory the site contains the conditions for an experiment and describes what it is supposed to do.

²³⁰ An orchestra is a good example of the principle of general symmetry comprised of the music score (text), musicians (subjects) and instruments (objects).

Consequently the site of 15 Hunter Street carried with it a set of obligations and these were already flagged for consideration in any development proposal. Addressing these obligations are among the first things that *Zero Davey* ‘does’ since it could not have done much else without first subscribing to the planning programme for the Cove. The following describes the importance of Hunter Street and how this importance is *made durable* (after Latour 1991) or in this case, made literally ‘into matter’.

The importance of the site to the laboratory rests on the importance of Hunter Street. Hunter Street lies at the northern end of the Cove and it is most significant as the earliest settled site in the city. In 1804 Hunter Street was a natural, sand causeway that extended out into the harbour towards Hunter Island, but disappeared each day with the rising tides (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:12). This causeway was an outcome of the flow of a fresh water rivulet into the Cove and this is what attracted British settlement to the site. The “first significant construction” was completed some sixteen years later when this natural causeway was raised into a permanent, built stone one (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:13) and Hunter Street was born. At this point Hunter Island became the end of MacQuarie Wharf and Hobart Town became more serviceable. From Hunter Street the remainder of the docks and aprons were built as *landform* was *reformed* to build Sullivans Cove.

I would suggest *that* site [15 Hunter] and especially Hunter Street and the causeway are more important to the history of Hobart than anywhere else.

Hunter Street as a space within this city was so pivotal, and still is, to the development of the place.²³¹

The causeway served as both a street for the first merchant traders in the settlement with 21 planned allotments, and also as what would become known as ‘the old wharf’ (*Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* 1983:7). The remaining row of buildings and the working edges of Victoria Dock and Macquarie Wharf continue this early configuration of space today and this is also why Hunter Street is important in the urban design laboratory. As exemplified in the importance of the fish punts 9p. this continuation of ‘working spaces’ guarantee the shape of

²³¹ Urban Design Consultant B; Design Consultant A.

the place (as docks, as streets) and are crucial in maintaining an authentic sense of ‘this’ place in contemporary design solutions.²³²

The causeway which then became the pier and then gave rise to the docks is still being used in the way it was pretty much conceived. I would go that one step further and say that that is a response to the geology, and that means to understand how ports are actually sanctuaries, and how the sense of enclosing or providing safe haven is the role of a port.²³³

Establishing the significance of what the site *is* leads to the establishment of what the site should *do* and in Sullivans Cove these decisions were based on both urban and geomorphology. Important in the design framework is that the geomorphology pre-empts and hardens the built morphology and this means the natural formation of the land comprising Hunter Street is what first exerts pressure on *Zero Davey*.

The geomorphology not only pre-empts the urban and gives it something to fasten onto, but also provides a contrast to the urban morphology. These twin activities that are mapped and recorded over time provide the methods for collating patterns of development, for gauging the present character of the Cove and then determining ‘complementary developments’.²³⁴ In the planning documents urban change is translated into ‘time periods’, ‘Gant charts’ and into episodic ‘transformations’.²³⁵ These translations are possible because urban change is changeable enough that it lends itself to observable intervals or ‘layers’, unlike the less malleable, slower changing natural scale. By contrast buildings, streets, wharves and fish punts provide a kaleidoscope of change and this is evident in Sullivans Cove when what *used to be* stands alongside (and in stark reminder of) what *is*.

This contrast or layering is the first part of what ‘good urban design’ is and in Sullivans Cove the second part of good design is when these urban contrasts are added to or placed in further contrast with the seeming ‘non-change’ of geomorphology. In this way geomorphology

²³² This clause reverberates through the phrase ‘Authentic working Cove’ that is repeated throughout the planning documents and rhetoric.

²³³ Design Consultant B.

²³⁴ Design Consultants A; Design Consultant B.

²³⁵ *Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* (1983); *Sullivans Cove Planning Review* (1991) and *Site Development and Conservation Plans Princes Wharf 1 and 2* (2000) respectively.

provides the deep structure of the design programme and urbanisation adds a softer, ‘human’ structure that is more malleable, less reliable and faster changing. Together these form a technology for determining what should happen at 15 Hunter Street.

It’s important to include morphologies that pre-empt urban morphologies – geomorphologies – the atmospheres and character of place, the sub-text to the form, which means that cities of course are a ‘built topography’.

It’s really recognising those sort of features which keep continuity but that’s not to say that individual structures can’t change within that pattern. It’s just that there are certain basics which are not just in the buildings but also in the landform.²³⁶

In comparison to the changeable urban, geomorphology appears *never* to morph and then it appears *timeless*. Geological time, compared to human time is slow and like a very old grandfather clock, the Wellington Ranges that ‘cradle’ Sullivans Cove, mete out a slow and steady pulse beneath the comparative urban rush.²³⁷ The changeable urban is not only put in contrast with the slower formation of natural land but it is also embedded in it and this has the effect of moderating or steadying the tempo of development in Sullivans Cove. By embedding faster change (like development) in the slower changing processes that belong to the landscape, the urban design laboratory translates ‘timings’ into ‘spacings’ (Jones, McLean and Quattrone 2004) and these begin with the site. Since this technology holds fast both the urban form and scale, attaching the urban to the natural is important.

This is no less the case for Hunter Street because it is ‘a very important’ natural landform in the life of the Cove. As part a sand causeway, the first street and first wharf in Hobart, Hunter Street is now part of the wall of Sullivans Cove. The landform bends the will of the site towards maintaining the wall and this means that the occupier of this site would need to put a brick in the Hunter Street ‘bookend’. While this makes sense from a geological point of view, above the landform at street level, *Zero Davey* stands at the corner of *two* streets.

²³⁶ Design Consultant A; Urban Design Consultant B.

²³⁷ The idea of ‘cradling’ is part of both the Review (1990) and the Scheme (1997).

Davey Street was added later and is regarded by all of the design professionals as inconsistent with the landform and therefore illogical in a spatial sense.²³⁸ This inconsistency comes from interrupting the natural contours of the Wellington Ranges and the earliest development of settlement with a four lane highway system.



Hunter Street by comparison is a much quieter two lane street that blends into the concrete wharf aprons. The speed for vehicles is limited and it offers parking to service the building fronts along one side of the street as well as the boats in Victoria Dock along the other.

Consequently *Zero Davey* sits at the corner of two very different things. While it ‘properly’ belongs to Hunter Street, in its name, the way the building faces and its alignment (see below) it *chooses* to belong more to Davey Street. Much of the tension that followed the development of *Zero Davey* stemmed from the way Hunter Street claimed, but did not completely receive this privilege with the development of *Zero Davey*.

Hunter Street as it marks the original causeway and ‘beginning’ of the city meant that the site of 15 Hunter Street was to play a role in ‘book-ending’ the northern end of the Cove by repairing a hole in the wall. For this reason *Zero Davey* had to be ‘built’ because Hunter Street is not only part of the wall, but the oldest part of the wall, and the site of 15 Hunter Street completes it. While Hunter Street as the oldest street had witnessed a lot of change, it had also increasingly become ‘deactivated’ in urban language as activity disappeared.

²³⁸ And see Sullivans Cove Planning Review (1991)

Consequently despite its importance in shaping the Cove, the opposing ‘southern bookend’ of Salamanca Place was more important in terms of activity. Therefore ‘reactivating the northern bookend’ was also a planning priority and the following describes the role that 15 Hunter Street should play in this.²³⁹

9.2 *The ‘Hunter Street Revival’*

So far when *Zero Davey* engages with Hunter Street it becomes part of the natural shoreline before the reclamation of land mapping the causeway that was then made permanent and the cornerstone of the city. At the same time Hunter Street is part of the urban morphology and is charged with bringing people back to that part of the Cove. Attempts at reactivating the northern bookend were designed to attract use in order to encourage economic activity and halt the deterioration of the street by increasing security (Planning Review 1991:28). This was because by the closing quarter of the 20th century Hunter Street was a line of ‘postcard pretty’ but largely disused warehouses. De-industrialisation had brought a lack of activity that along with the pedestrian deterrent of an arterial by-pass and an immediate relation with the cold southerly winds made Hunter Street the wrong side of the Cove during the 1980s and 1990s.²⁴⁰

A fire had destroyed the first buildings along the street and this made the street itself the earliest built structure of the Cove (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:12). Activity remained concentrated in Hunter Street until the late 1830s when competition between the Battery Point merchants on the southern side of the Cove and the Hunter Street merchants for improved facilities lead to a decision to develop what became the Salamanca warehouses and the new ‘Princes Wharf’ (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:7). The completion of the Salamanca edge formed up the new symmetry with Hunter Street and these activity zones are the ‘bookends’ of the Cove today (*Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* 1983:11).

Many of the factories and warehouses forming the Hunter Street bookend fell into disuse in the 1960s (Planning Review 1991: 18-21). During this time the fruit industry started to decline and the closure of the Hobart Gas Company in 1977 continued this trend so that by

²³⁹ Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme (1997); Urban Design Framework (2004).

²⁴⁰ That is, Hunter Street was the wrong side of the Cove if it is assumed “that space which is relevant in an urban sense is popular” Design Consultant B (2007). And see Hudspeth and Scripps (2000: 347-351).

the 1980s Hunter Street was barely active, save for Victoria Dock and MacQuarie Wharf (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000: 330). The next factor reported to have significant effects on this part of the Cove was the 1984 Davey Street extension.

With the construction of the Brooker Highway in the 1960s Davey Street became set to operate as part of the city by-pass system (*Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* 1983:25). This meant Hunter Street that had served as the edge of the Cove was now sliced through to allow for city and southern bound traffic and through this process of transport infrastructure the place was ‘simply changed’.²⁴¹ However support for the authentic character of the Cove included its walling, or spatial containment along Hunter Street and the extension was considered under the conditions of the laboratory to have corrupted this natural and traditional pattern.

That single impact [Davey St extension] has probably had the greatest impact on the scale and character of the built form history of Hobart.

To my mind this road had rent asunder the built fabric of that end of the Cove.

²⁴²

The Derwent Region Transport Study projects have conflicted with some of the principles proposed in [urban design] studies and this shows the impact of powerful single issue authorities working in isolation from a broader planning framework (*Sullivans Cove Planning Review* 1991:11).

At this time the University campus re-invented a factory and warehouse for the purposes of urban design and architecture and this made an early contribution to the ‘Hunter Street Revival’. However, part of the difficulty and continued lack of activity in Hunter Street was that the Salamanca bookend being close to residents of Battery Point, protected from the weather by the Battery Point hills as well as unfettered by major transportation works, was

²⁴¹ Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant B.

²⁴² Design Consultant A; Site Development Consultant.

more easily able to trade its warehouses for ‘houses of wares’ and enjoyed continued prosperity and activity during this time.²⁴³

In 2003 just before the development of *Zero Davey* Hunter Street was added to with the redevelopment of the Henry Jones Art Hotel. The redevelopment included what was the main part of the former IXL jam factory - the building interiors and courtyard, as well as a new structure of hotel accommodation behind the factory and extending above it. This new structure added a contemporary backdrop to the earlier factories and the architecture was designed to be a contemporary reminder of the saw-tooth roofs that described the ‘industrial Cove’. When this contemporary-heritage contrast created an urban visual that was contested, it was defended on the grounds that it re-created the equally important industrial heritage.²⁴⁴



Henry Jones IXL (2004)

In conserving and redeveloping existing heritage stock and in shoring up the built line of the wall, the *Henry Jones* was unlike *Zero Davey* which was filling a hole that existed. In conserving two heritage buildings, repairing damage at considerable private expense and giving them a new lease on life, the redevelopment rescued a pair of disused, deteriorating heritage warehouses and made them semi-public space, something they never enjoyed when they were an ‘authentic’ private jam factory. Consequently the *Henry Jones* was a successful reactivation of Hunter Street and if the height excess and architecture of the contemporary

²⁴³ Urban Design Consultant B; Design Consultant A and Design Consultant B on the differences between the two urban developments.

²⁴⁴ Urban Design Consultant B; Architect C; Architect A.

additions affronted a certain (19th century) heritage aesthetic, it nevertheless scored well on giving voice to an industrial heritage and re-birthing a cultural landmark. The *Henry Jones* redevelopment proved popular among tourists and locals and drew people to the Hunter Street end of the Cove becoming a model for the kind of happy outcome that a development in concert with the urban design laboratory could achieve.²⁴⁵

It's a recycle of one of the most loved old warehouses done in the most sympathetic way you can imagine – who in Hell's going to have problem with that?²⁴⁶

Just along from the *Henry Jones* at 15 Hunter Street was an 'opportunity site' for a new build. This was also a 'key site' which meant it was strategic in fulfilling the objectives of the urban design laboratory.²⁴⁷ The most obvious and simple way of doing this was to fill the gap in the wall with a building that would bring activity to Hunter Street. However it could not be this simple because Hunter Street was only one part of the site and although it was privileged by the urban design laboratory, Davey Street had already got in the way. The following section considers what form this complication took and what kind of solutions the laboratory proposed.

9.3 *The gateway that was, but never should have been*

Strategically, it was important for *Zero Davey* to put another brick in the Hunter Street bookend of the wall. Following the geo and urban morphological integrity of the design programme, 'spatially' this is all that *Zero Davey* needed to do. However, in the planning scheme it was also important for *Zero Davey* to address 'gateway issues' because the Davey Street by-pass had added another, albeit unplanned function to the site. The site now provided an entry portal to the Cove, even though by the logic of laboratory it never should have been and did not reinforce the spatial character or 'identity' of the place. Consequently rather than fully support the wall, one side of the site panders to an interference that compromises it.

²⁴⁵ The *Henry Jones* was used as a defence of 'good development' outcomes in *Conversations in the Cove*.

²⁴⁶ Urban Design Consultant B (2006).

²⁴⁷ An opportunity site is not a green-field site but is marked for redevelopment so that the existing building can be removed and not adapted (brown-field) (Developer, *Zero Davey*).

‘Crashing through’ it as it did, the Davey Street extension and its new terms and conditions of ‘gateway’ proved almost irreconcilable from a design point of view.

Suddenly all of these buildings have been alienated from their context. It actually changes the way you can read the Cove and the legibility of the city.

When you look at the history of the form of Hobart, the whole notion of a gateway there in that particular location is a completely modern artefact or a construction, because there *was* no gateway there. No gateway at all, the gateway to Hobart was the water, or Elizabeth Street.

That edge to the Cove was always continuous and so where *Zero Davey* is has *historically* never been a gateway or indeed a link.²⁴⁸

Sitting at the literal crossroads of this problem makes the site of 15 Hunter Street somewhat schizophrenic or duplicitous to the urban design laboratory. The remainder of this discussion considers how the laboratory has dealt with this pathology before considering how *Zero Davey* specifically negotiated it through the site development plan.

Before the Davey Street extension most of the traffic entered the Cove via the city and not the other way around. At this stage the Cove was a gateway for shipping. The second sense of the term ‘gateway’ first arose in anticipation of the Davey Street extension in the *Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* (1983). It was given ‘lip service’ in the *Sullivans Cove Planning Review* in 1991 and was redefined in *The Landscape Strategy for the Tasman Highway/Davey Street Entry to the City of Hobart* in 1994. In 1997 a hybrid version of these was successfully transferred to the *Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme*. It was not until 2002 that the term became publicised, when the *Zero Davey* proposal was announced as “the northern gateway to the city” and “a proud part of the city infrastructure” providing “a landmark project in Hobart” (*The Mercury* 22 November 2004).

The *Urban Design Study* (1983) was written at a time when the Davey Street extension had been mapped out. In this report design consideration was focused on containing the road

²⁴⁸ Urban Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant A; Design Consultant A.

space at the ‘entry portal’ to the Cove with hard-edged buildings, to include rows of trees along the approach road to define the corridor and also to include the possibility of permanent or temporary columns and banners (1983:140). This interpretation of the gateway took as its historical precedent the gateway or “ceremonial arch” erected by the Marine Board in 1901 when the Duke and Duchess of York visited Hobart (Hudspeth and Scripps 2000:111).

The successful creation and presentation of the ‘gateway’ will do much to establish the character of the new city arrival area. The urban design guidelines for this entry portal seek to establish a contained road space framed by three storey building edges. [...] The defined corridor then opens to the east at Hunter St to reveal the Dock area and the Cove proper. The ‘gateway’ portal may be used for special purpose (or permanent) banners or signs heralding arrival at Sullivans Cove or announcing events such as the Fiesta or yacht races (*Sullivans Cove Urban Design Study* 1983:140).

Following the *Urban Design Study* (1983) was the comprehensive Planning Review (1991) that focused ‘comprehensively’ on the wall of the Cove in defining spatial identity. The document dealt only very generally with the Davey Street ‘intrusion’ reinforcing instead the integrity of the remaining structure of the Cove. However in 1994 a specific study was commissioned by the Hobart City Council for the ‘northern entry’ to the Cove and this study drew upon the expertise of urban design, architecture and landscape architecture. The *Landscape Strategy* (1994) was to update the planning direction for this area since the Davey Street extension and the objective was to “develop a co-ordinated approach to the landscaping of the Davey Street corridor” (1994:1) or the ‘approach road’. This need to re-plan the new entrance was seen also as a need to amend some of the damage of the Davey Street extension to the integrity of the Cove’s natural and urban form.²⁴⁹ The study reworked the changed transport conditions into the design of the Cove so that the point at which the Hunter Street wall was severed by Davey Street, and the site of *Zero Davey*, became “the final threshold in an arrival sequence”.²⁵⁰

Unlike the 1983 study that named the gateway literally with banners and columns, the landscape study (1994) was determined to counter this interpretation by making it explicit

²⁴⁹ Landscape architect and see *Landscape Strategy* (1994).

²⁵⁰ Landscape architect and see *Landscape Strategy* (1994).

that ‘gateway’ was not be interpreted in a “representational sense” (Landscape Strategy 1994:4). Rather the gateway should be understood as a corridor or transitional space that enacts an arrival sequence - from the north, from the east, from the airport – made of natural contours that lead into the city which begins with the docks and boats of Sullivans Cove (Landscape Strategy 1994:6).

The literal interpretation of gateway advocated in the 1983 study was never referred to again. Tree-lined avenues and banners were dismissed as techniques for spaces wanting to highlight the road in the *absence* of any other landmark.²⁵¹ Instead the gateway to the Cove would be based upon the design principals held most dear and the *landform* would be made pre-eminent again by ‘showing the way’ to the Cove. The approach to the Cove would be mapped against land contours, the river and mountain as a set of ‘serial visions’ guiding the traveller to the Cove (Landscape Study 1994:6).

In urban design and architecture we are all taught about the idea of what they call ‘serial vision’: the unravelling of events to arrive. And a gateway is part of that experience ‘to arrive’ and ‘the sequence of events’.

You’re moving from the airport (that’s one experience), then there’s over the rise (there’s another part of the deal), the bridge and then the gateway is the final threshold that you cross into the city.

Topographically that journey was *almost* set up anyway.²⁵²

The study agreed with earlier assessments that the building at the 15 Hunter Street site should be hard-edged to the footpath and privilege the wall since the gateway was taken care of by the landform. It also agreed with the Planning Review (1991) and the general sentiment of the professional scene when it decreed that if the building should act as a gateway, it should support the “memory of the former continuity of Hunter Street” by building on the “proper alignment and at an appropriate scale” (1994:28). This study established the gateway as a compromise and an injury to the integrity of a wall that continued the traditional form of the

²⁵¹ Design Consultant A (2007); Urban Design Consultant C (2006); Landscape Architect (2007) and Urban Planner (2006).

²⁵² Architect B; Urban Design Consultant A; Design Consultant A.

city. In other words it was a gateway that *was* but never should have been a gateway. Consequently, the unwritten challenge for the site of *Zero Davey* was the creation of a gateway *and* a sense of enclosure that would undo the damage of the road and make the entrance disappear while still serving to let things in.

Achieving a sense of enclosure through the use of buildings and / or other built means would also be appropriate if properly designed and detailed (Landscape Study 1994:14).

The Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme (1997) adopted the term gateway in recognition of the northern entry. Taking lead from the Landscape Strategy (1994) the northern entry point is “part of the gateway experiences of entering Hobart” (1997:81) and land along the western edge of the approach road is allocated for the development of “a range of community and cultural activities” designed to “respond to the ‘gateway’ role of the edge” (1997:47).

Land along the west edge of the Activity Area comprises an important frontage to Davey Street, the main road entrance to the Cove. Land facing Davey Street forms part of the ‘gateway’ to Sullivans Cove. Future development of the west edge of the Activity Area must appropriately address ‘gateway’ issues (1997:47).

The designers themselves could add little to the ambiguity of the statements ‘gateway roles’ and ‘gateway issues’.

If you ask [the Council] what their detailed vision for the gateway to the Cove is, they can’t tell you. It’s happening by accident and there’s intervention through opportunities that arise and so we’re going to create this gateway!²⁵³

This was in part because design professionals subscribed to a programme that understood ‘gateway’ in largely negative terms.

²⁵³ Urban Design Consultant C.

It's hard to say what it means but gateway's an interesting terminology in that there's this implied wall that one penetrates when entering into the city.

Is it actually logical to have a real gateway to a city which is not a gated city in that sense?

It's more about issues to do with an approach experience than a gateway.²⁵⁴

I'll call that a bit of finer detail that doesn't adequately understand the spatial logic of the context with which it was dealing. That's planner logic.

FP: And 'gateway issues' are...?

Exactly! To me that does not understand that place in terms of its history and its spatial logic and what has evolved subsequently.²⁵⁵

Consequently, the term remained ambiguous without a 'proper' role to play and ill-defined 'issues'. The only thing clear about the gateway was that it was bad taste to emphasise the broken integrity of the wall, and making a gateway was making an announcement of something unfortunate that had happened. Since any real expression of a gateway was unsympathetic to Hunter Street, the wall and the gateway remained in an awkward relationship and the site of *Zero Davey* was the place where an attempt had to be made to resolve this.

A stray 'rat' had got into the design laboratory and this was called 'the gateway'. When the 'gateway' combined with the 'original wall' the site of *Zero Davey* became the accommodator of two contradictory and somewhat self-defeating principles. Therefore, before *Zero Davey* could accommodate any visitors it needed to resolve the conflict between the wall and gateway, and without any clear direction for how to do this *Zero Davey* became definitional as well as experimental.

²⁵⁴ Landscape Architect; Urban Design Consultant C; Site Development Consultant.

²⁵⁵ Design Consultant B. 'Planner logic' was made different to 'designer logic' in focussing on policy and procedure style of planning (Design Consultant A).

So what do you do with that? Do you recognise this road and legitimise it by forming that edge and letting people think that these sites were always separate? Or can you do something clever there that leaves that edge in an ambiguous way that enables people to think ‘I think this road has been put through here’. And it’s not just clever it’s about the meaning of the place and the history of the place and being able to read all that stuff when you walk around.²⁵⁶

The development had to mediate this tension between the wall, pre-eminent of which is the natural contours of the landform and the gateway made by a transport decision entirely indifferent to the urban design fabric of the Cove. *Zero Davey* takes on this tension first through a design solution to 15 Hunter Street where it formally negotiates the urban design programme and then when it embodies this tension and comes into ‘its skin’ (after Brand 1994) in 2004.

9.4 *The Zero Davey Solution*

The first attempt at defining the problem of 15 Hunter Street and providing a solution for it came through the site development plan for *Zero Davey*. A clever solution, according to the site development consultant was to make a gateway that makes legible the idea that ‘this is not a gateway’. However while the *Zero Davey* solution comes out of an engagement with the urban design laboratory, *Zero Davey* itself did not begin with the laboratory but with something else.

The developer of *Zero Davey* had an interest and ability to invest in property with a portfolio of, and experience in developing apartment-styled hotels. He, like the urban designers also began with the site of 15 Hunter Street and like the designers he had developed ideas about the site over time. The developer spoke about how he was interpolated by the site, starting from a perspective gained from working in a nearby office block and also as a frequent traveller returning to town. Consequently he has a view from the tower as well as a view as a traveller and in the following passage he explains how *Zero Davey* began for him.

²⁵⁶ Urban Design Consultant B.

It was 2002 and I'd watched this site for a while because my office was in MacQuarie Street on the top floor in the corner. So I'd look down here and see all of this all the time. And I'd noticed that they'd tried to sell this site and they'd tried to do a scheme on the site, but then I flew back in from London one day and noticed a sign up saying something about 'withdrawn from sale'. I flew back in three weeks later and it was 'open for offers' and then I went back to Europe, came back into town again and thought 'I should ring up about this'.

I remember when we signed the option *The Mercury* came out with a story about a property sold at Battery Point for \$1.5 million, or thereabouts. It was an abalone diver who'd bought it and I thought 'Oh I think we've made the right decision here!'. But obviously our decision had been made quite some time before that because we'd been through the process of talking with Council, had our designer in and we'd had architects involved looking at what we could do here.

And what we've done is provided a level of sophistication here that hasn't been in Tasmania previously. And it's not only a higher class of tourism. You take weekends for two, you look at the business market and you say 'what are they looking for?' People want some excitement when they stay somewhere; they want to feel special. And I love hotels I mean I've travelled the world for twenty years and lived in hotels half my life! No-one can tell me what its like to stay in hotels because I've done it and I've seen the best and the worst.

At this point the developer of *Zero Davey* began to engage with both the tourism potential of Sullivans Cove and the urban design laboratory. His proposal needed to conform to both his ideas for the site, including what was practical, financially viable and desirable, and what was designed into the site already.

The first meeting [with the City Council] was very productive. Here was the first time in a long time that somebody was actually coming to them to do a

development and they said ‘well you know, we have our ideas for the site’ and I said ‘OK what are they?’.

They said there needs to be a bookend effect and that the site needed to add to this, and that they wanted the building to have a hard edge because it’s the gateway. That was the first time I’d ever heard about the gateway. But a developer’s an opportunist to a large extent so I said ‘that’s fine with me’.

Following this one of the ‘local professional scene’ was engaged to do the site development plan and the wall and the gateway began to shape what was to become *Zero Davey*.

Site development plans generally follow a formula that makes a case for a development in Sullivans Cove by presenting the merits of a development proposal against the planning criteria in the Scheme. They attempt to smooth out any discretionary articles in the proposal by highlighting those principles (often performance criteria) at which the proposal excels. In other words, a development proposal is an argument and a persuasion because it is only one of many possible developments for a site, including no development at all. In this way development approval always involves an ‘opportunity cost’ that amounts to whatever might have happened instead. The remainder of this discussion considers how the opportunity cost of *Zero Davey* was minimised and how some aspects of the *Zero Davey* design solution surpassed its strategic design obligations.

The site designer summarised the main problem of the gateway/wall tension as one of legitimacy and how to reconcile two conflicting patterns of urban development. Fulfilling the requirements of the wall was a fairly simple procedure and meant the building had to be hard-edged to the street, as opposed to stepped back from it, and to privilege the Hunter Street alignment over Davey Street. This was considered the best design intervention for reinforcing the wall, and what the site designer described as “doing the right thing by the structure of the Cove *from within it*”. In this way the gateway and its privileging of Davey Street could be described as addressing the structure of the Cove ‘from without’ and together the wall and gateway perform this asymmetry.

What was attempted with the site development plan for *Zero Davey* was a compromise that took the building beyond what it needed to do, towards what appeared impossible: to close

the un-close-able wall as well as emphasise the opening of Sullivans Cove. The design solution sought not only to cement the width of the site on Hunter Street with a wall-type structure, but also to give this structure the visual impression or image of connecting to the Concert Hall on the other side of Davey Street, while allowing the road to pass through it.

It was a huge, huge gap in the wall where spatially the space just flew out up to the Domain and beyond. A bold solution would have been to put a building right through connecting to the Concert Hall across the road and then put a hole through it. You'd actually come through the building, through the wall of buildings.²⁵⁷

While not quite so bold a solution eventuated, the site design aimed to create an illusion of the wall in the absence of there actually being one. To this end the proposal sought to re-align the site envelope to square not only with the Hunter Street wall as it was mandated to do, but also with Davey Street, to create the illusion. Hence neither street was privileged in order to privilege Hunter Street 'ultimately'.

I was trying to knit the wall back together so you don't see the road go anywhere. Cars just appear to emerge out of the buildings. The way I looked at it was you can have your cake and eat it too: you can have your wall repaired, space enclosed and in fact by doing that, you make a gateway.²⁵⁸

While the gateway itself remained contentious, the design intent in this solution was largely appreciated by the other design professionals.

Up until *Zero Davey* it's a highway, when you cross the gateway it's a city, or an urban, lived-in, pedestrian, much more textured place.

Years ago when we were working on the Hunter Street project, that was our immediate term and it didn't come from the planning scheme it came from us just going there and considering the issues around that place. The word

²⁵⁷ Urban Design Consultant B.

²⁵⁸ Urban Design Consultant B.

‘gateway’ happened, easily by our own method so there is an appropriateness to it now I think.

Beijing had four gateways, and Rome had eleven! This is the one where you arrive at the Cove by road. It’s the dominant one from the airport so that’s why it’s framed up.

It’s not achieving a gateway in that morph sense but there are still certain perceptions you have as you move into the Cove, so it’s a point of entry and it’s the primary point of entry into that place without a doubt. It’s also a place where someone who’s experiencing the place for the first time will go from being in a state of anticipation to a state of arrival because that happens at that point.

It frames up a space without making a ‘classical gateway’. The buildings as walls become a frame which you pass through and then come into open space – what a gateway does.

It’s a demarcation of a transition from one zone or space to another. And in some ways I think the success of it occurs at a massing level, or literally just at a volume entry level, and because it’s on a curve. The anticipation is somewhat constrained I think successfully because ultimately you’re not arriving at the *Champs Elysees* to see the *Arc de Triomphe* at the end, this is actually a gradual revelation to what’s going on in there - even at 60 clicks an hour in the car.²⁵⁹

Realigning to both streets meant adjusting the building envelope so that it would take up the footpath along Davey Street (Site Development Plan 2002:11). This resulted in the building claiming ‘extra crown land’ (p. 12) and with the reconstruction of a standing bay for passengers arriving at the hotel, a lane of the Davey Street highway was to be taken. This created a ‘pinch-point’ in the road, a narrowing that highlighted a sense of arrival and fulfilment of gateway, and also took a little bit more of the wall back in the process. To the

²⁵⁹ Urban Design Consultant A; Urban Design Consultant C; Design Consultant B; Design Consultant A; Architect B; Architect A.

designer this effect was one of ‘closing the wall’ from both the approach to the Cove outside so that a ‘gateway effect’ is produced, and also from as many of the site-lines within the Cove so that Hunter Street appears to have a continuous line of buildings again.



The wall appears to close in a triumph or restorative urban design.

The site development plan emphasises the “fractured and weakened” nature of the wall and proposes through the logic of gateway that “[t]he narrowing of this gap is critical in intensifying the experience of entering the Cove via Davey Street” (Site Development Plan 2002: 4). In this way the design works the ambiguity of ‘gateway issues’ in the planning scheme towards alleviating the damage in the wall. The primary concern of the designer being to repair the wall meant that and the gateway was a secondary consideration that nevertheless under planning precedent - the *Urban Design Study* (1983), *Landscape Study* (1994) and *Planning Scheme* (1997) - provided a justification for achieving the reparation.

In privileging the wall so that it was partially repaired in reality, *Zero Davey* excelled in the sense that it went along with the design programme for the Cove. Where it did not excel and where it only partially ‘went along’ was in keeping to the 12 metre height restriction for Hunter Street. To maintain the integrity of the natural landform, specifically the amphitheatre setting as it translates a visual quality that is a ‘natural skyline’, the building was to be limited to 15 meters tall.²⁶⁰ The Hobart City Council used discretion to approve extra height, and it was given justification for approval in part through the matters of design at which the proposal excelled. The gateway and its role in obscuring the Cove on the approach road lent itself to extra height, and a bookend in common urban design language justifies a larger building at the end. Extra height was also justified in relation to the existing oversized buildings, something the Framework (2004:1) would soon count *Zero Davey* among as “past mistakes that should not be taken as the context for future developments”. What was to become the contentious extra floor and a half meant *Zero Davey* was to stand at 20.5 metres.²⁶¹ Since height is a very specific measurement unlike ‘in keeping’ which is a difficult to define, breeches in height are often picked up by ‘the people of Hobart’ because it is something they can criticise with some objectivity.²⁶² The next section considers how the people did exactly this, and how height ‘stamped’ *Zero Davey* as ‘wrong’ before all of the other reasons were added.

²⁶⁰ Sullivans Cove Planning Scheme (1997).

²⁶¹ *Zero Davey* is recent among *many* buildings that breach the height limit and there are few in reality that are consistent with 12 metres.

²⁶² And see Günay (2005: 112-114) on this point more generally.

9.5 *The Zero Davey problem*

This is the point where *Zero Davey* came to my attention as I was searching for a place to begin the research. The commotion around *Zero Davey* had made the corner of Davey and Hunter Street a very ‘busy’ place in that it captured people’s attention. Until then the corner of ‘Davey and Hunter’ streets had meant very little to the people who live here until 2004 when it was given a solution in *Zero Davey*. This section considers what *Zero Davey* did, and what it became when it filled out the site and met up with ‘the people’ in Sullivans Cove. In this chapter the ‘people of Hobart’ are no more clearly defined an actor than they were in the last. However the interest remains not in defining exactly who these people are but in allowing the phrase to ‘stand in’ when it arises for a heterogeneous assembly that acted or was given to act in relations with *Zero Davey*.

To begin with *Zero Davey* was not a problem for the people of Hobart. The building was first delivered to them as a project proposal via an obligatory public notice in *The Mercury* on the 24th December, 2003. The notice announced the design proposal would be open for public comment for four weeks.

The people all had the opportunity to talk about it before-hand because it was advertised and it was all out in the open. We had two models built for this building, some ships, the docks and the *Grand Chancellor* were in it so that the Council and the people could see the scale and how it all fitted in; to explain it all.²⁶³

In January 2004, *Zero Davey* was approved *without* public comment and was opened in Sullivans Cove by the Premier of Tasmania in November of the same year. It was then that the solution became a problem; when it became visible and appeared ‘unleashed’ on Sullivans Cove and it started to properly mix with the people of Hobart. It was also problematic that the solution became a problem when the laboratory could do nothing about it. Despite the public consultation period, almost all of the people of Hobart encountered *Zero Davey* informally, once the planning procedures were completed and the building appeared in

²⁶³ Developer of *Zero Davey* (2006).

Sullivans Cove. As this happened the effects of the *Zero Davey* solution started to play out in everyday conversations, the local media and *Conversations in the Cove*.

As a new building *Zero Davey* was unusual already before it delivered aesthetic effects, introduced new activity and prevented other uses for the site. While it is not unusual for new developments in Hobart to attract criticism because “everything is very visible”²⁶⁴, the amount of criticism that was and continued to be levelled at *Zero Davey* was not anticipated by the developer or the designers. *Zero Davey* was put on trial and found decisively wanting by the people, yet this was always a second trial because the fact of its existence and ability to offend so completely was due a set of judgements that had already been made in the first one. *Zero Davey* won few friends among ‘the people’ and the press in these front-page headlines alone, was quick to respond to this.

‘Cove eyesore’; ‘Cutting edge decision on the cove’; ‘Davey St planner defends his vision: A 6-star view of controversial *Zero Davey*’s luxury lifestyle’; ‘Hang your heads in shame’; ‘Hideous colours’; ‘Left cold by *Zero Davey*: Senior architect slams waterfront development as out of keeping’; ‘Zeroing In: The Davey St project that caused the stir’

Published letters and commentaries were also critical:

The street numbering says it all doesn’t it? The town planning nightmare that is *Zero Davey* is quite indefensible, despite the protestations of the developer. The saying that you can’t make a silk purse out of a sow’s ear never rang truer than in relation to this mistake (*Tasmaniantimes* 24/11/2004).

It [*Zero Davey*] is the antithesis of the precinct in which it is placed (Letters, *The Mercury* 19/5/2004).

²⁶⁴ Developer of *Zero Davey* (2006).

The [Hunter St] area is already congested with monolithic structures and “could-be-anywhere, look-alike” apartments like *Zero Davey* (Letters, *The Mercury* 7/4/2006).²⁶⁵

These criticisms reappeared intermittently in the years that followed usually in relation to subsequent development proposals in the Cove. In these circumstances *Zero Davey* either ‘spoke enough’ on its own to cast suspicion over the proposal, or else it was added to the ‘horror’ of the other two publicly censured buildings in the Cove.

The thing is there have probably been two horror buildings which have really swung public opinion against development. One of them is obviously the *Marine Board Building* - it doesn’t matter who you talk to. The other is of course the *Grand Chancellor*.²⁶⁶

That anyone should contemplate the retention of the *Marine Board Building*, the hideous *Grand Chancellor*, and even worse *Zero Davey* is almost too absurd (*The Mercury* 19/02/2007).

When these discrete developments are added to each other the *Marine Board Building* (1971), the *Hotel Grand Chancellor* (1983) and then *Zero Davey* (2004) take part in a conspiracy that reminds the people not only that ‘past mistakes’ remain but also that ‘past mistakes’ recur.

This antagonistic relationship was not only expressed by the people but was also picked up through the editorial, news reports and by columnists.

Zero Davey stands as a monument to council’s failure to uphold restrictions on building heights. If this can happen with a relatively small project, how would council handle a revamp of the waterfront? (Editorial, *The Mercury* 8/9/2004).

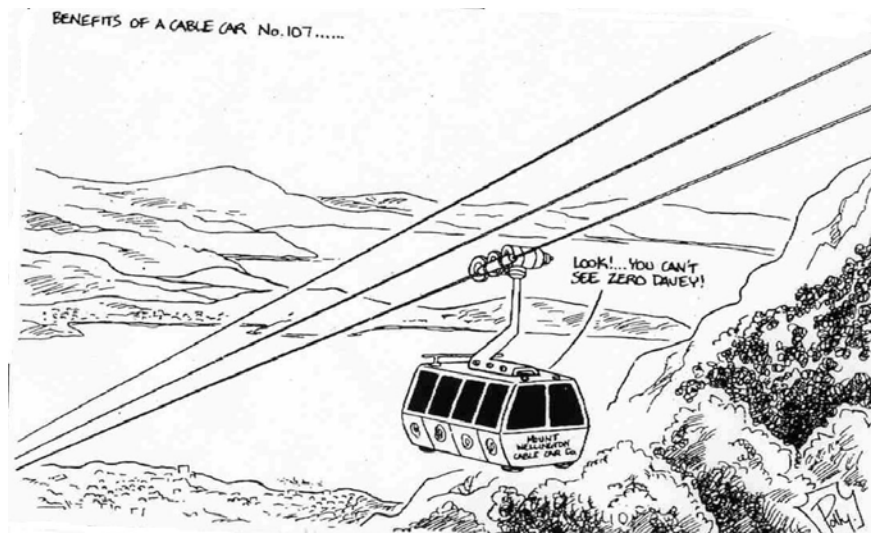
²⁶⁵ The quotation of this writer appears to refer to a comment made by an international architect of *Zero Davey* that it had ‘no real connection to the waterfront’ and ‘could be anywhere in the city’ in *The Saturday Mercury* (10/7/2004) two years earlier.

²⁶⁶ Design Consultant A.

The developer has defended *Zero Davey* which has received stinging criticism since its completion. It has been described as ugly, ruinous and a travesty of town planning as well as criticised about the height and even the colour has been ridiculed (*The Mercury* 22/11/2004).

If I were our mayor, I'd muzzle Alder-folk who claim that because there were no 'formal objections' to *Zero Davey* they were in their rights to sanction this ruinous exploitation of our city's resources. This does not constitute the Council doing an agreeable job of representing the people (Rankin-Reid Columnist, *The Sunday Tasmanian* 19/9/2004).

Described as 'a disaster', 'devastating' and 'heavily criticised' *Zero Davey* became a 'lasting' issue in Hobart when it was eventually afforded some wry humour in *The Mercury* cartoon. The cartoon acts as a kind of threshold or barometer of true public interest by tapping into shared assumptions so that 'making a mockery in the Mercury' meant *Zero Davey* was now a 'household name'. On the back of another controversial development proposal to build a cable car up Mount Wellington, *Zero Davey* became almost acceptable or else 'iconic' for all the wrong reasons.



Source: *The Mercury* (22/11/2004).

Three years after the development at a *Conversation in the Cove* the moderator who is also a local radio announcer described a proposal to build a model yacht in the harbour as 'surely the *Zero Davey* of spinnakers'. Since radio announcers are known for 'knowing their

audience', he received 'on cue' much mirth and approval for the astuteness of his observation. It mattered little who I spoke to across a broad spectrum of 'people', refusing to accept *Zero Davey* was the acceptable thing to do.

The 'story' of *Zero Davey* was consistent and this gave it enough singularity to be purposefully employed. Its employment took the form of a critical device, in the same way that the *Henry Jones* had been employed as a 'model outcome'. Once they were enrolled in this, the buildings themselves 'take on' the heat, and describe the tension so they come to enact the dissent. Had the story of *Zero Davey* been more 'confused', had the reporting been more mixed and had *Zero Davey* been received (or perceived to be received) more amicably on some occasions then it would have lacked this singularity and been less useful as this kind of 'device'.

As it stood, *Zero Davey* 'vexed' the people of Hobart and particularly troubled their minds with one of the 'pivotal' dilemmas of architecture: "what exactly a beautiful building might look like" (De Botton 2006:26). The protocol involved with this question was not already set out but had to be worked out through the developer, the people of Hobart, design professionals and the building itself. The following examines more precisely what the 'problem' with *Zero Davey* was, and discovers that it was important for it to have the right appearance, to have a good attitude and to engage others if it wanted to be accepted by the people.

9.6 *The importance of having the right appearance*

Buildings speak – and on topics which can readily be discerned. They speak of democracy or aristocracy, openness or arrogance, welcome or threat, a sympathy for the future or a hankering for the past (De Botton 2006:71).

The controversy that was made of *Zero Davey* exemplifies the way buildings speak. In making the argument that non-humans like *Zero Davey* matter and that they make a difference to what counts as 'tourism in the world', *Zero Davey* needs to be caught out 'doing' things that matter and make a difference. The problem of *Zero Davey* for the people of Hobart was in part that it acted too much, and that much of this acting was taken up *not*

doing what it was supposed to. Pre-eminent among the *faux pas* was not having the right appearance.



Zero Davey on Hunter Street

Architecture and ‘detail’ provided most of the means or language through which the people could comment on *Zero Davey*. Much of this criticism was concentrated on how the building was ‘out of keeping’ with Sullivans Cove.

The issues were the colour, the height and the bulk was an issue in that it blocked the view of the Cove from the Regatta rise. But the major issue is worded up as ‘out of keeping’ with the Cove and I can only understand that to mean, it’s not a replication of the older buildings there.

It’s a new build, the first one in a decade. It’s different and its flying in the face of what people would say is tradition. Well, what was traditional in 1820? Or what was traditional in 1900? Everything moves on.²⁶⁷

However architecture and ‘detail’ were unable to educate the people about the design laboratory or the heritage schedule. Therefore charges of ‘out of keeping’ were understood to

²⁶⁷ Design Consultant A; Developer, *Zero Davey*.

mistake buildings as the source of continuity which was instead to be found in urban design and contemporary ideas about heritage.

Continuity doesn't come in heritage buildings; it comes in the wider structure of the Cove.²⁶⁸

When *Zero Davey* was called 'out of keeping' because it was a contemporary building and not like the 19th century ones, an alternative ordering began to emerge. However in operating from a different, less precise and in this circumstance 'inaccurate' register, the accusation of 'out of keeping' was capped at 'accusing the wrong actor'. The suggestion that *Zero Davey* lacked architectural sympathy for the Cove was explained by the designers as an 'out-dated' notion of what 'heritage' is among the people. Putting the irony aside, under the present heritage schedule in the planning scheme (schedule two) a building that imitates earlier period buildings - or that blends in *too* well - compromises the authenticity of the old.

We would have debased the existing buildings with an imitation because those heritage buildings were good examples of their time. The replacement one would not be a good example of its time. It would reflect, or it would *not* reflect the prevailing technology, social values and so forth. In other words it would mask Hobart's history, rather than reveal it. And once it's weathered a bit, it's hard to distinguish them.

At the same time this is also question of style and artistic licence since architects are noted for "railing against the sins of their forefathers" (Mallgrave 1999:6) and this supports the marriage between progress and authenticity.

There's no architectural flair to recreating an old building, no insight, it's just a recreation. Anybody can do that but if you want to be authentic then keep what is in the past there. When it comes to a new building you've also got to be authentic. We were in 2002 at the time.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ Design Consultant B.

²⁶⁹ Design Consultant A; Developer, *Zero Davey*.

The ruling against replication buildings is in keeping with standardised national heritage guidelines including the assumptions concerning heritage integrity and authenticity.²⁷⁰

Architecturally this means ‘the sincerest form of flattery’ is inauthentic and heritage is more about ageing than the aged. In this way architects have a mandate to reflect this process and to take up part custodianship for maintaining evidence of the ‘morphing urban’.

Misunderstanding this means misunderstanding what constitutes a building that is ‘in keeping’ with Sullivans Cove.

There’s a simplistic notion that Hobart is this quaint Georgian/Victorian place and you don’t change it. Having said that of course, you must celebrate and respect those values, but as we’ve been discussing how you do that is open to some dispute. People like detail on buildings I think, they like the arch and palladium stuff on the windows and they reject the sort of bland modernist approach, but that changes. There are a growing number of people who think that Art Deco buildings are fine, but of course thirty years ago people thought they were rubbish.

When it comes to built fabric and our environment we tend to retreat into detail cliché’s. And I find it absolutely extraordinary that people prefer buildings with the trappings of Georgian warehouses to buildings of the right scale which are done in a contemporary way.²⁷¹

Consequently, in relation to the design programme the charges of ‘out of keeping’ as code for ‘not like the *heritage* buildings’ illustrated an innocence of the urban design laboratory and contemporary heritage philosophy as much as a building that was architecturally on the edge of reason. The contemporary design of *Zero Davey* followed a notion of heritage that seeks to privilege ‘authenticity’ over ‘replication’ and *it* therefore was ‘in keeping’ with the design of Sullivans Cove and the people who were critical on these grounds were not.²⁷² As an experiment of the design laboratory the importance of having the ‘right appearance’ was bound to the importance of *not* appearing like a 19th century building. At the same time it was

²⁷⁰ See The Burra Charter (2004).

²⁷¹ Urban Design Consultant B; Urban Design Consultant A.

²⁷² The theme of authenticity and representation re-emerges here translating the same argument applied to ‘tourism objects’.

found that too many people had an ‘old fashioned view of heritage’ and needed to become a little more ‘design-savvy’ if they were to better appreciate the buildings.

One aspect is what the building itself looks like which is what I think most people have an issue with and the other aspect is *what does the building do?*²⁷³

Having the wrong appearance and not fitting in with Sullivans Cove meant that one of the other things that *Zero Davey* did was perform a difference between ‘the people’ and ‘the professionals’. Strong opposition to *Zero Davey*, even if shared in some aspects of detail by the designers themselves was nevertheless made to be worn by them since ‘they’ stood in for planning and development in Sullivans Cove. This difference between the design professionals and the people was reinforced by the fact that design professionals could clearly separate the implications of architecture from the implications of urban design. This meant that through relations enacted by *Zero Davey*, urban designers and architects who were also acting ‘as one’ until now become more distinct themselves. This is because what *Zero Davey* does and what *Zero Davey* looks like are two very different things to them.

The people were thought to get too ‘caught up in the detail’ or the architectural aspects of a building, and even then they were unable to read architecture very expertly according to those who were. Part of the public focus on detail and ‘unsympathetic sympathy’ for the architecture of *Zero Davey* was the comparative immediacy of architecture and the less immediate strategy of urban design.

Urban design is a very much a functional, basic form rather than aesthetic detail. Architecture is partly what hits you first, you experience detail close up and it’s harder to see bigger patterns. It’s also partly what’s been fed because the reaction against modernism was very much fuelled by the Heritage Conservation movement and the Heritage Conservation movement focussed upon detail.

²⁷³ Urban Design Consultant B.

We take less of a style and more of an urban design analysis which means the shape and form of the topography, the shape and character of the built, the environment and the spaces between the built environment are as critical.

Urban design enrolls the site in a longer project of ‘forming up’ space. As the previous chapter described, in Sullivans Cove large part of this is about forming an urban space that maps, preserves and does not compromise the slower development of landform. Architecture furnishes sites with function, style and detail including colour, texture, fabric and aspect. It resolves “the quandaries within a site” whereas urban design can be thought about as increasing the resolution to ‘resolve the quandaries *around* the site’.²⁷⁴ Urban designers in this sense are “street architects”²⁷⁵ and urban design regards sites as part of a ‘relational core’ (Kropf 1996: 251) more than discrete canvases. To the urban designers the people’s concern about *Zero Davey* was largely based on an ‘a-contextual reading’ of the building (Kayden 2000:53) and therefore, largely a problem with the architecture. While the public reaction to *Zero Davey* was not unimportant to either architects or designers it was considered to have missed the strategic implications of the development.²⁷⁶

9.6.1 *The importance of having the right attitude and engaging others*

Zero Davey was shaping up to be many things, some of which were deeply embedded in ‘the everyday’ like the original causeway, the wall, the local newspaper and daily conversations. However the building was simultaneously being ostracized and made not to belong. While the importance of having the ‘right’ appearance cannot be ignored, ‘looks’ were not the only thing to count. Other civilities were also overlooked so that the importance of having the right attitude and of being engaging, were also found to matter.

If the size and appearance of the building was not appreciated, the attitude of the building did little to alleviate this. *Zero Davey* fronts onto Davey Street and faces ‘side-on’ to Hunter

²⁷⁴ Architect A (2006).

²⁷⁵ Urban Design Consultant B (2006); Architect B (2006)

²⁷⁶ Perhaps also, there was little interest in what the developer had to say to ‘defend his vision’ as it was titled in *The Mercury* (22/11/2004) because if there had been some of the more strategic implications of *Zero Davey* like the gateway might have made the public debate.

Street on the inside of the Cove. In this attitude it privileges Davey Street and its function of transporting people to the Cove, over Hunter Street and its need to be revived.



A contrast between Zero Davey and the Drunken Admiral

While one architect described this as ‘clever’ understanding the building as ‘turning the corner’, most of the design professionals were of the opinion that this ‘attitude’ was “unsympathetic to Hunter Street”.²⁷⁷ Being unsympathetic to Hunter Street is unsympathetic to what matters most to the design laboratory that also acts in part as a proxy for the people of Hobart. On the other hand, fronting Davey Street is sympathetic to ‘gateway principles’ and *Zero Davey* adds to this role by welcoming those who arrive in nineteen different languages.



Welcome Sign fronting Davey Street.

²⁷⁷ Architect A ‘turning the corner’; Design Consultant A ‘unsympathetic’.

Even though it is an activity that *Zero Davey* performs well, the gateway fails to gain the endorsement of the people not only because the urban design strategy was ‘hidden’ but also because there was no sense of ‘revealing a place’ for those who have been there before. Consequently ‘facing Davey Street’ and ‘being too high’ so that the view of the docks was obscured was not appreciated for the secret it ultimately let the ‘unknowing traveller’ in on. Instead with the focus having nowhere to go but the visual, the building was criticised for taking away a site-line and replacing it with a building that did not ‘fit’ in Sullivans Cove and neither did it appear to want to.

In occupying part of the wall of the Cove, the building had the opportunity to do more with this relationship since one of the marvels of the wall is all of the activity that goes on ‘within the cavity’. The cavity of the wall that is *Zero Davey* encourages few of ‘the people of Hobart’ within it because it is ‘exclusive’ in what it offers. The building accommodates some residents in penthouse apartments but mainly houses visitors. The ground floor is reserved for the hotel lobby, and commercial spaces that are used as a Real Estate Agency and as an Indian Restaurant.²⁷⁸ While the building ‘multi-tasks’ too few of these tasks involve many of the people of Hobart. The discretionary nature of these activities means ‘people rarely meet up at *Zero Davey*’, they mainly know the building from the outside. Unlike the *Henry Jones* which offered more of its floor space to shopping, cafés and entertainment, *Zero Davey* remained ‘exclusive’ and this lack of engagement with ‘the people’ translates a concern in this case mainly with visitors. Since this translation was never part of the dialogue of those who spoke through the press or in person, it was instead a matter on which the ‘building mainly spoke’.

The building’s attitude turning away from the Cove and the way *Zero Davey* failed to actively engage the people of Hobart in much activity simply encouraged a visual relationship that remained problematic, and a divisive relationship based on exclusivity. While architecture drove the public dialogue not all of the problems they spoke about were architectural. The ‘non recognition’ of design, meant it avoided explicit public disapproval even when it caused it. The ‘appearance’ of *Zero Davey* attracted disapproval on two counts: on how it looked and how it looked too big. While only the first of these related to architecture, criticism was directed at a building as an ‘end’ or product of architecture, and

²⁷⁸ While the Indian Restaurant is less exclusive, there are many Indian Restaurants in close proximity so this use did not add anything particularly appealing.

not as a 'means' or product of urban design. Although this did not prevent a more implicit assault on the 'structural' aspects of the building and the way it 'blocked the view of the Cove', without a more informed and 'contextual' reading of *Zero Davey*, its role in strategic urban design (and that at which it excelled) remained largely obscured. In this way the gateway and the wall that had troubled the solution did not trouble the problem of *Zero Davey*.

9.7 *Resulting the Zero Davey Experiment*

The results of the *Zero Davey* experiment were mixed and since they are still unfolding, they are 'resulting'. The building surpassed its strategic design obligations, particularly 'closing the gap in the wall' and where it erred in height it was not exceptional. *Zero Davey* successfully imported another bit of tourism into the Cove not only providing upmarket 'waterfront' accommodation, but also a 'gateway experience' to people arriving for the first time. However when *Zero Davey* 'got among' the people of Hobart it did so mainly as something to look at and so it acted like a large public artwork.

Keeping the focus on 'their visual' the people mainly commented on how it looked, whether it was appealing, whether it fitted in with the appeal of the Cove and also on the view that the building replaced. Most of the problem with *Zero Davey* came from people positioned outside the building, looking at it and looking at what they could no longer see because of it. In this way it set up an opposition with 'the locals' that looks a lot like the separable nature of tourism. In limiting 'the people' to a visual relationship, in following a register of heritage that was misunderstood, in performing a gateway for others and accommodation for others *Zero Davey* began to enact a separation and familiar antagonism between 'the local' and 'tourist' or 'tourism industry' (Chapter One). However this was not because it was a tourism development that was made 'automatically separate' because it was never separate from other very local things like the design laboratory, the developer and the daily paper so that these also shaped what *Zero Davey* would become.

In this way the detachment or separateness that *Zero Davey* generated was an outcome of its participation in multiple, coexisting orderings some of which are strongly 'embedded' in the everyday. The wall for example is peculiar to a landform, to the way that landform was

interfered with over two hundred years of settlement and how it now preserves these determinedly ‘localised’ outcomes. The attachment made evident through the reaction to *Zero Davey* of a 19th century aesthetic served to define a version of ‘in keeping’ for Sullivans Cove that is not a national or internationally agreed charter for heritage, but lives on (albeit ‘inaccurately’) in many of the minds of the local people.

Some things do get accepted but things that are a bit more ‘out there’ don’t and we still have trouble accepting a lot of the twentieth century architecture.

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Here acceptance or inclusion is tied to an image and perhaps a culture more than whether tourists or not tourists and tourism are involved. Furthermore while this visual relationship defines ‘the local’ who appears separated in antagonistic relations with tourism through this relationship, this same visual relationship also defines *Zero Davey* after a usual *tourist* object, except it is the *hosts* who ‘gaze’ at it (see Urry 1990).

These are two examples of multiple orderings that involve *Zero Davey* and how they coexist. These orderings ‘play off’ each other and create situations where tourism appears in familiar relations that make it ‘separate’ and also situations where it is embedded in orderings so unrelated to tourism that the dialogue of tourism is completely absent. These are somewhat indifferent orderings that shape what becomes a tourism object without *meaning* to. At the same time these orderings are not entirely indifferent in that they do not ‘intend’ to make obstacles or to be incompatible. While the design laboratory is not interested in tourism, neither are the kinds of practices it involves entirely *incompatible* with tourism ordering. Involving the discovery, recording, mapping and inscribing into law of the unique and important aspects of the place promote and enhance what characterises and differentiates Sullivans Cove. In this way the design laboratory is already somewhat complicit and compatible with tourism development.

While urban design as a discipline holds almost no explicit association with tourism research, one of its own central characters is the ‘out-of-towner’ who is like a tourist, and for whom “the mishap of disorientation” serves to define the antithesis of good design (Lynch 1960:4).

²⁷⁹ Architect B.

Consequently by influencing development towards both 'legibility' and what is unique, the design laboratory contributes by accident to the programme of performing a place that attracts tourists. Consequently while urban design is a means to an end for development that is indifferent to tourism, this indifference comes of not having a 'master' (Latour 2005: 130) to define the purpose. Rather the design laboratory is not always indifferent and not entirely so because it is an outcome of masters who are over-taken. Similarly, as a tourism object *Zero Davey* carries tourism into the Cove, makes it more tourism-like and gives it more tourism presence. This is not achieved through a particular person or through a particular group of people and there is no 'body' to attribute cause, blame or credit to for this. Symmetrically the outcome depended on there being multiple versions of *Zero Davey*, each of them 'doing' something else and involving other things to do this.

Had my question been more concerned with the primary object(ive) of *Zero Davey*, I would have been faced with the dilemma of whether *Zero Davey* is mostly an urban form that makes a gateway, or an urban form that successfully completes a wall. I'd have been confused about whether it is more of a contemporary architecture that makes an 'inappropriate aesthetic'; or more of an authentic representation of 2004. I would have wondered whether this is mainly a 'tourism development' or more of a 'property investment' with an interim profit and purpose generated by tourism and the source of my growing anxiety would be that there are no clear answers to these questions.

Since neither is it clear about how I would be most qualified to decide the primary purpose anyway, the next course available is to explain how *Zero Davey* is a social construction that is 'all of these things' to 'some people'. However, without the ability to weigh the answers on the side of humans, this explanation becomes hampered by resolutely indifferent non-humans. Since they do not 'step aside' to the human inspired agenda, *Zero Davey* is less tidily a human construct. Instead it becomes 'virtually' all of these things in 'real' time and there is no need for decisions about what is 'most real' about *Zero Davey* nor conclude that 'it all depends on us'. By including *Zero Davey* as a serious actor and asking whether it is 'more or less' one thing in relation to others, the rewards of the preposition are found in recognising all the 'things' *Zero Davey* 'really' is and then understanding how coexistence is inevitable.

The urban design laboratory is useful in this case since it is an ordering that already brings many actors together and in large part co-ordinates and influences what kind of development happens in Sullivans Cove. Yet it cannot fully predict experiments and this is because each experiment is then variously ‘added to’ as well as ‘translated’ when it is interpolated by other things. Consequently there is not one result but many, only some of which have the characteristics of ‘solutions’ and equally only some of which have the characteristics of ‘tourism’.

While not all of the orderings that *Zero Davey* is involved with are compatible with each other, neither are they always incompatible. Not all of the actors *Zero Davey* goes along with are interested in tourism and some of the actors associated with *Zero Davey* have no interest in going along with *Zero Davey* at all. Not all versions of *Zero Davey* are equally known since they do not each directly involve all of the actors so the fact that *Zero Davey* imports tourism into the Cove twice, as ‘gateway’ and ‘accommodation’ is not known by many people. Instead these correspond with two versions of how the building performed and these contributed to how tourism was performed both separate and inseparable; a problem and solution, but there were other versions contributing as well.

Zero Davey became part of a solution to a non-tourism problem for example and this had the building perform two contradictory roles as a gateway and wall. As a solution *Zero Davey* would finally resolve the chasm left after two unrelated orderings had previously collided leaving a ‘hole’ in one. This solution, while not really comprehended by the people of Hobart, nevertheless contributed to performing to disappoint them. What this disappointment itself made clear to the designers was that urban design was not part of the repertoire of the people even though it acted consistently on their behalf.

In part, urban design is going to be the opinion of professionals with philosophies and academic rigour. But some of those concepts are I think a little bit esoteric and there’s no right or wrong.²⁸⁰

To the developer of *Zero Davey* this also seemed clear enough:

²⁸⁰ Architect C.

From that point of view to a certain extent we've worn the pain of being the first people to really do something about the gateway. And yet the gateway was there before and it's been part of the planning process for a long time. But the people didn't know that.

In presenting a contemporary architecture, in emphasising the wall and offering an exaggerated sense of arrival *Zero Davey* fulfilled the design aspirations for the site, restored part of 'true' Sullivans Cove and protected the integrity of the 'heritage' buildings. However this version of the building needed to become more widely known if it was to be appraised, approved or appreciated as such, and this mattered in limiting future controversy attached to developments that subscribe to the laboratory.

9.8 *From experiments to more experiments*

This chapter has used the development of *Zero Davey* to demonstrate the way a tourism object was added to a place that is becoming increasingly characterised by tourism. Through this, *Zero Davey* become caught up in other things and became various versions of itself including a spatial identity that tied it to a wall, a transportation system that made it a gateway and a heritage identity connected closely to acceptance that it both did and did not fulfil. None of these orderings explicitly involved tourism and the fact of *Zero Davey* providing hotel accommodation was irrelevant to what mattered most: both the people's concern with the visual legacy and the designers' concern with what the building does.

Another way of describing this is that tourism development engages with the local conditions of Sullivans Cove, and the detail of this engagement supplied the explanation for how this tourism development happened. While the result for the urban design laboratory has been mixed, the result for *Zero Davey* was multiple orderings that *Zero Davey* can be said to 'tap into' and 'extend'. Out of this multiplicity are the conditions that make the development 'separated' from non-tourism things like 'the people of Hobart', and also conditions that make it inseparable like when it fully engages with the design laboratory. In these ways tourism is found to be remarkable *because* it is paradoxical, because it performs ironies, because it is involved with many things. What was not paradoxical but corresponded instead

is that this general sentiment reapplied to ‘space’ was not lost on the designers either who applied the same in Sullivans Cove.

Ironically, Sullivans Cove will only become a better tourist space if it is more of many other kinds of space. If it’s really going to accumulate authentic layers and to have a certain richness then it’s got to be many things. Tourists will appreciate it for its multiplicity of characters.

Furthermore this accumulation of ‘authentic layers’, ‘multiplicity’ and ‘richness’ does not begin and end with buildings or nature but can also begin and end with a design. The next experiment undertaken by the laboratory was in pursuit of a set of ideas so that this time the end was a solution ‘in itself’. *The Hobart Waterfront International Design Competition* made an urban design winning entry the ‘end’ and staging the competition became the means to do it. The means used to perform the competition involved techniques often shared by tourism including ‘festival’, ‘carnival’, ‘publicity’, ‘visitation’ and ‘international labels’. This meant that tourism confronted the laboratory and the Cove in quite a different way to *Zero Davey* and the following chapter includes an *addendum* to this effect to discourage further studies that are tempted to look only for ‘pivotal relationships’, or to assume continuity in the way actors live out their lives with or without each other.

CHAPTER TEN

Orderings untied and re-tied

10.1 *Changing tack and changing tactic*

In the first part of this research it was argued that symmetry came with an analytical freedom that offers the chance to be surprised at *what* is involved and *how* it is involved in the ‘performing of tourism’. While there have been many surprises throughout the course of this research the international design competition describes this best because it significantly changed how I came to understand tourism as an ordering and yet I was least ‘prepared’ for it. The competition was unfolding during my fieldwork and interfered, punctuating the media narrative, my interviews and conversations that were more explicitly concerned with *Zero Davey*. *Zero Davey* had passed, the competition was happening and as it happened around me it showed that the relations that formed between the design laboratory and tourism through *Zero Davey* were not the only ones possible. Therefore this ‘post-script’ is included to make an important point about accounting tourism as an ordering and how the approach resists premature closure (Latour 2004a: 454) this because it discourages further studies that are tempted to look only for ‘pivotal relationships’ like those with *Zero Davey*, or to assume continuity in the way actors live out their lives with or without each other.

At the beginning of this research, the symmetry of a ship was proposed as a metaphor for heterogeneous assemblies that are organised to perform a ship. This final chapter reintroduces this metaphor to describe how ships also ‘change tack’ and this navigational manoeuvre takes the place of a conclusion because with a focus on the ‘how of tourism’ and the orderings that describe this, conclusions are also beginnings or ‘changes’. While these changes can occur abruptly as orderings are severed and actors are disassociated quickly, they also happen more subtly as orderings become partially untied and re-tied with other things. Taking lead from the more subtle ending, this chapter begins with an illustration of the experiment that followed *Zero Davey* when the urban design laboratory intervened to perform something quite unlike it. Performing instead the *Hobart Waterfront International Design Competition* tourism was again found to be present(ed) in Sullivans Cove. However the material relations

made evident in *Zero Davey* passing through the design laboratory are somewhat abandoned as many of the same actors are re-enrolled in material relations that say something entirely different about tourism and its *modus operandi* in Sullivans Cove.

If it is allowed that *Zero Davey* illustrated a 'tourism related end' achieved in part by means of an urban design ordering, then the design competition illustrated an 'urban design related end' achieved in part by means of tourism ordering. When the competition is added to the case of *Zero Davey* where the obverse relationship is more apparent, tourism ordering becomes the performance of both means and ends, or both actor and network and this means it is an 'actor-network' (Latour 1997a). Not only an end to be achieved by other means like the case of adding *Zero Davey*, tourism is also a means that can achieve other ends like an urban design competition.

Through the staging of the competition, the design laboratory also enters more deeply into relations that see it going beyond the management of what matters in Sullivans Cove to holding an increasing stake in what matters itself. The cumulative effects of establishing the urban design laboratory and conducting experiments through it, has meant that what has been added 'alongside' are urban design qualities so that now they are becoming counted among Sullivans Cove's *assets*. Once this begins to happen urban design is no longer just a mechanism or means through which the Cove 'becomes', but itself becomes part of the Cove and the very materials that at other times it seeks to master or manipulate. Through the competition, urban design becomes something that is manipulated into place - as a label of excellence, as a public exhibition and as part of the 'special things' that combine to make Sullivans Cove 'special'. Yet while the competition organises this, the competition itself depends upon attracting visitors and other tourism-related concerns so that the urban design laboratory confronts tourism as quite a different proposition when a 'winning design entry' takes the place of *Zero Davey*.

Design competitions are old methods for finding solutions for a site and they unleash creativity, a sense of carnival and a heightened awareness of design. The urban design carnival that passed through Sullivans Cove resulted in part because among the relevant professions there is license, particularly with ideas competitions like this one, to be creative. However a sense of carnival was also created through the other necessary ingredients of publicity and exhibition so that the competition was performed at the junction of a number of

distributions. It distributed a place internationally as well as an intention to invest in the label of ‘international design excellence’ and among the ‘people’ it distributed an awareness of design activity. This publicity and the incentives of the competition then acted through bodies so that not only is the Cove distributed to an international design community as a ‘competition area’ but also an international design community is visited upon the Cove through the work involved in the submission of an entry and the eventual judgement and exhibition.²⁸¹ These conditions of the competition meant urban design attracted visitors to the Cove and among those already here it attracted an interest in urban design.

It seems Hobart suddenly has 100,000 ‘architects’ here each having their tuppence worth.²⁸²

Through the competition urban design shows its ‘fun’ side and how it is more than an esoteric spatial mentality, the dour mechanics of a planning scheme or a premise for development that disregards aesthetics. Instead urban design is exciting and attractive; it adds all sorts of interesting qualities to places and it makes a difference to them. Since the urban design laboratory could not deliver this message in its own terms or by its own means it had to adopt means that included ‘event management’, ‘organising an exhibition’ and a publicity campaign that spoke of Sullivans Cove as if it could attract the attention of the world.

Following the details of this and in the same manner as the designers themselves then:

We can ask ourselves, how does this place provide a case study which can better inform our understanding?²⁸³

10.2 *The importance of having ‘design savvy’*

As the previous chapter described, the problem of *Zero Davey* had come of a response that was informed by multiple, variously reliable versions of Sullivans Cove. These included aesthetics and architecture, ideas about heritage, the manipulation of site-lines and the

²⁸¹ Two *Conversations at the Cove* meetings were given to the design competition where entrants were invited to discuss the competition brief and their solutions. The Authority website also received many comments from both competition entrants and tourists who had attended the exhibition.

²⁸² Editorial, *The Sunday Tasmanian* (10th December 2004).

²⁸³ Design Consultant A.

predominately ‘visual’ relationship *Zero Davey* had with the people. Less obvious was what *Zero Davey* did as an object of urban design, and how this combined with the contemporary architecture to preserve both the authentic character and structure of the Cove. In not recognising the activities of the urban design laboratory and therefore not having access to a more specialist and ‘contextual’ reading of Sullivans Cove, the people remained disconnected from these benefits. It is this disconnection in part that connects the competition experiment to the *Zero Davey* one in the potential of the competition to address this ‘deficit’ by educating the public about design.

The competition was worth every cent even if only because it opened up people’s awareness of the design potential of the Cove and what urban design can do.²⁸⁴

Part of what was built into the competition experiment was a remedy for what had become clear as a problem with *Zero Davey* and it accordingly aimed to address the importance of having a ‘design savvy’ public. This was not a simple task since two years with little change meant the problem of *Zero Davey* had carried over and the distance between the two events was not very far.²⁸⁵ In 2006 soon after the competition was launched this point was archived in a feature article ‘On the waterfront, the making of a dream’. A local columnist illustrated how slight this distance was by drawing an analogy that joined the two events with a fictional soap opera called *Take Me, I’m Yours*.

We go to infomercial, sponsored by the ‘Hobart Waterfront Global Design Competition’, dead set on dumping cynical local architects and developers who’ve recently damaged our city’s foremost entrance irreparably. ‘We cannot legislate against bad taste’ a sonorous voice recites over footage of *Zero Davey*. ‘It takes time, vision and courage to plan a progressivist, humanist city in the 21st Century’.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁴ Architect D and Co-ordinator of the design competition.

²⁸⁵ Disassociating the two events was made easier by the fact that following *Zero Davey* in 2005 there was a change in planning authority from the Hobart City Council to the State Government Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority. The negativity surrounding *Zero Davey* was also used by the State Government to justify and gain support for the change (Hobart City Alderman A; Hobart City Alderman B; Developer, *Zero Davey* and Urban Design Consultant B).

²⁸⁶ Rankin-Reid *Sunday Tasmanian* (14/12/2006).

Consequently the ‘soap opera’ that was to become the competition already imported some of the drama of *Zero Davey* and part of the challenge would be to translate this drama into ‘excitement’ in order to benefit from making urban design more visible in Sullivans Cove. In this way the competition began to reveal the strategy that had been at work, but not obvious in *Zero Davey*. Like *Zero Davey* the competition generated interest and conversations only this time these were actively sought. Unlike *Zero Davey* the design competition required a more inclusive engagement with the people of Hobart so as to better educate them about what urban design is and can do.

It’s easy to make fun about it but the design professions have a role to play in public education and obviously a lot of time, we fail.²⁸⁷

Important in achieving this was the new Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority website that would assist in facilitating the global dimensions of the competition and also give the local people a new interface with and way of interacting with the design of Sullivans Cove. Interpolating these two groups was important to the success of the design competition and included creating the means for participation through generating publicity, tapping into a carnival atmosphere and organising an exhibition to draw both the international community of design and the people of Hobart to it.

In these ways from the beginning the design competition was unlike the usual discussions about development in Sullivans Cove. It was a blend of well articulated romanticism about original fresh water sites and market places as well as a city on the edge of something new and internationally exciting.

In the past the [competition area] was a busy market with large crowds and this attracted other activities and encouraged people to move between the city centre and the waterfront. Today, however, this area sits alone as the least successful connection between the city and the waterfront. It is cold, lonely, windy and isolated. It is used by cars but not by people.

²⁸⁷ Urban Design Consultant B.

Tasmania, a natural wilderness island and gateway to Antarctica, has launched the richest design competition in the Southern Hemisphere. [...] “Everything will be considered, nothing is off limits. We’re looking for great ideas and world-class concepts for this magnificent site” said the Premier of Tasmania.

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That the publicity had been effective seemed certain when a month after the launch of the competition it was reported that the Authority had been contacted by 502 entrants from 67 countries prepared to take part in this excitement (*The Mercury* 29/8/2006). While 280 entrants were eventually received, the competition was reported a success attracting “more entries than any other design contest in the world in 2006” (*The Mercury* 4/8/2006).

Design competitions attract designers because they offer anonymity and relative autonomy compared to the more usual form of contracted work (Carmichael 2002). Historically competitions have encouraged a kind of design “carnival” and a sense of “worlds turned upside down” (Lindstadt 2003: 411) that are similar to conditions that are generated by tourism (Taylor 2001 and Chapter One). Both are ‘outside’ the everyday of either tourists or designers. This sense of carnival and inversion was promoted not only in the design entrants and their design solutions that would be described as ‘innovative’, ‘the world’s best creative thinkers’ and ‘exceptional’, but was also built into a panel of internationally renowned jurors, sold by the competition convenors and passed on to the people of Hobart. Added to this was a prize considered to be at the ‘high end’ at \$150,000²⁸⁹, consistent local and international publicity and a well timed public exhibition during a national holiday so that it became possible to say that in the summer of 2007 an urban design carnival passed through Sullivans Cove. When investigating how this was achieved, the ‘tactics’ began to look a lot like tourism.

²⁸⁸ Competition brief as described by the CEO of the Authority in *The Mercury* (25/1/2007), and as described by the Premier *The Mercury* (4/8/2006).

²⁸⁹ Design Consultant A.

10.3 *Promotion, publicity and exhibition*

The results of the competition according to the Authority were the generation of ideas, confirmation of the importance of Sullivans Cove and “significant international publicity for Hobart” (CEO, Authority, *Conversations in the Cove* #8). In this way publicity attached was both a ‘means to’ and an ‘end of’ the competition. The publicity building up to the judgement of the competition and the exhibition of entries drew on a discourse that sought to protect ‘the local’ as well as one that sought to beget ‘the global’. Throughout the competition Sullivans Cove was repositioned in international relations.

‘The world comes to Hobart – More than 60 Countries’

‘Our Waterfront Challenge to the World’

‘World’s best creative thinkers invited to take Tasmanian Challenge’²⁹⁰

Sullivans Cove became a global waterfront location and a place that is distinct from the place that has been nurtured by a dedicated band of professionals.

New York, London, Vienna, Beijing, Santiago - just some of the global locations from where architects, urban designers and landscape architects have registered for the Hobart Waterfront International Design Competition (*The Mercury* 28/8/2006).

The competition has generated hundreds of brilliant ideas for improving connections between the city centre and the waterfront and has led to significant international publicity for Hobart with 280 entries from 51 countries.²⁹¹

At the same time the radical possibilities invited by international design competitions were constrained in this case to the same laboratory conditions and elemental parameters as *Zero Davey*. While the experiment involved “opening the windows of the Cove”²⁹² to a global design community it also involved protecting what was distinctly local.

²⁹⁰ Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority website, Media releases 27th August 2006; 24th July 2006 and 4th April 2006. <http://www.hwicdc.tas.gov.au/news/archive.php>, Accessed 2nd Feb, 2007.

²⁹¹ CEO, Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority, *Conversations in the Cove* #5.

²⁹² CEO, Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority, *Conversations in the Cove*, #5.

A good example of something which is futuristic within the existing framework is the competition.

The urban design principles brought in through the Framework and subsequent documentation directs things like the design competition.²⁹³

Consequently the two discourses intertwined as the laboratory entered into relations that confronted what is familiar and local with what is unfamiliar and global. In this way the competition translated a defining relationship of tourism.

The jurors who were to decide what was ‘fresh’ were themselves considered ‘an international draw-card’ and were chosen by the Waterfront Authority from among the most known of their fraternity (*The Mercury* 29/8/2006). This added to the importance of the event since the selection of international and internationally recognised jurors heightened the prestige of the competition and those ideas that would eventually be purchased or ‘win’. The promotional quality at every turn meant that there was a sense even before the exhibition that “Hobart is the real star of the competition” and this included the attention and subsequent visitation the city had attracted (*Sunday Tasmanian* 14/1/2007).

The timing of the announcement of the results of the competition were also designed to maximise public appeal since they coincided with the ‘civic’ and leisure oriented ‘Australia Day long weekend’. The results were announced alongside the opening of the *Hobart Waterfront International Design Exhibition* on the 26th January in Sullivans Cove. Displaying the top 27 of 280 final entries the exhibition combined the most ‘important’ results of ‘opening the windows of the Cove’ to the world of design. The exhibition capitalised on the Cove’s high level of activity during the long weekend when it attracts visitors and locals alike, and more implicitly capitalised on the civic and national relevance of the day.²⁹⁴ Consequently the exhibition’s opening was also symbolic and the holiday provided an “occasion to make statements that are nationally relevant” (Green 2002:283). This reinforced the reach of the competition to things that extend beyond the ‘local’, the Cove, Hobart and Tasmania.

²⁹³ Design Consultant B; Design Consultant A.

²⁹⁴ Citizenship ceremonies; presentations of community awards as well as the launching of community oriented projects and ‘developments’ are examples of this.

The history of the 'the design exhibition' shows it was important for the development of designs themselves by both treating them after the manner of an art exhibition and encouraging the practice of preserving them (Lindstadt 2003:412). Adding to the *Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery*'s usual 320, 000 visitors a year, the exhibition followed this tradition and entries were hung along a lighted gallery in exactly this manner.²⁹⁵ Large screen continuous loop presentations explained the competition brief and what an international design competition meant, while interactive computer displays transported the user into a 3-dimensional spatial imaginary of Sullivans Cove. Each entry offered a design solution to the same site and responded to the same laboratory conditions and these were represented through variations of media including high tech software and graphics to designs that drew upon simple, yet evocative drawings. Elaborate conceptual visions sat alongside ultramodern statements and these all served to illustrate the multiple possibilities that urban design could add to Sullivans Cove. The message that accompanied the exhibition was that:

This is a unique display that celebrates creativity as we continue to enhance a waterfront that is the envy of the world.²⁹⁶

While each entry was distinctive, they were displayed as a collection and this was made cohesive by the conditions of the competition brief. In this way the exhibition was able to exist completely separate from the site - as a site of a design exhibition - without the need of anything other than itself.²⁹⁷ Emphasising instead what design is and what the designs themselves can do made the design competition an event on its own where unlike *Zero Davey* it did not need a material basis other than the designs themselves to act to circulate an appreciation. Since the exhibition immediately followed the announcement of the winning designs, it could not serve as a form of (albeit highly publicised) consultation but was rather always a period of opening up a conversation about and developing an awareness of 'urban design' in Sullivans Cove.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Director, Tasmanian Museum and Art Gallery, *Conversations in the Cove* #3.

²⁹⁶ CEO Waterfront Authority *The Mercury* (25/1/2007).

²⁹⁷ See for a discussion of this ability of exhibitions to abstract in this way, Pred's (1995) analysis of the Stockholm exhibitions.

²⁹⁸ Somewhat controversially, the jurors opted to select three winning entries and split the prize money among them. Part of the prestige associated with the Waterfront Competition was directly resultant from the prize earnings.

10.4 *Designer Labels*

Part of the competition was to awaken ‘the people’ to urban design and part was to end up with a winning design entry. An indecisive jury settled upon three winning entries and these took up the positions of a local, national and international winning entrant. The winning selection encompassed both the competition narrative that “anybody can become somebody” (Lipstadt 2003: 411) as well as the competing and equally important narrative that sought to ‘put Sullivans Cove on the world map’ with a project that the Premier had announced might one day “rival the Sydney Opera House” (*The Mercury* 24/2/2006).

A FLEDGLING Hobart architecture firm has beaten the world to jointly win the Hobart Waterfront International Design Competition. The other winners include a Sydney firm and a Dane who refers to Jorn Utzen, the acclaimed architect who designed the *Sydney Opera House*, as a neighbour and great friend.²⁹⁹

The publicity generated around the competition served not only to awaken a public to the design potential of Sullivans Cove, but also to reinforce the identity of Sullivans Cove as a designed place. While this was an ideas competition only, it followed that if the winning ideas were employed there remained the potential (in part through connections to people like Utzen) to add a label of international design excellence to Sullivans Cove. The importance of a designer label was not lost to the Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority and achieving this was made possible through the execution of the competition. While the explicit aim was to “scour the world for exciting and innovative design ideas for one of Australia’s most stunning waterfront locations”, this also carried a right to claim international design excellence in the end.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁹ *The Mercury* (26/1/2007). The late decision to split the winnings was not viewed well by the design community and this was expressed on the Authority website blog. Part of what had gained prestige for the competition was the sizeable prize and there was a sense of the Authority duping designers and getting ‘three sets of ideas for the price of one’.

³⁰⁰ Sullivans Cove Waterfront Authority website, ‘Competition Announcement’ (2006).

[The competition] creates the opportunity for something which is unique, new, original and perhaps of world significance in terms of a design approach.³⁰¹

The principle of ‘adding a design(er) label’ follows that any ‘thing’ is a functional thing until the designer starts to take over it. Then, the label that authenticates the design becomes as important as the thing itself and this is true from wine and their wineries to computers and their corporations. Sociologists have known that these labels or additions add more than just whimsy to what are otherwise ‘perfectly functional things’. They add markets and marketing; style and publicity; ‘distinction through taste’; membership and difference as well as exceptionality. In also being fashioned ‘consumerist’ they have come to represent a ‘fourth economy’ themselves, one that is interpretable almost entirely through labels or ‘signs’.³⁰² Hence urban design if it is successfully translated to a design label adds urban design twice: as part of ‘the mechanics’ and part of the ‘destination’. Tourism researchers have also known that the production of tourism and tourism places depends upon these labels and signs as attractors, differentiators and distributors of ‘what matters’.³⁰³ Adding the right labels have always been important practices in developing tourism, and this same practice was made important, if only as a possibility, in developing Sullivans Cove by means of the design competition.

10.5 *The business of adding a design laboratory*

While the design laboratory could not orchestrate all of the requirements of the competition, it did orchestrate the conditions of the competition ‘proper’ by setting up the competition brief. Consequently it was not only ‘urban design’ as expressed through the creative ideas in the entries or as a label of international excellence that was promoted by the competition but also the urban design laboratory itself. In determining the rules of the competition, the competition continued to transport the ordering of the design laboratory into Sullivans Cove and to operate against a ‘total inversion’ of the competition area. The constraints in the competition in this regard were the same as those imposed on *Zero Davey*. However unlike

³⁰¹ CEO Waterfront Authority *The Mercury* (23/7/2006).

³⁰² I refer generally here to the work of Callon (1986); Bourdieu (1984); Featherstone (1991) and Pred (1995) and also to the work of economists Pine and Gilmore (1999) ‘the experience economy’, and Lash and Urry’s (1994) ‘economy of signs’ and Flew (2004), Ooi (2002) and O’Dell and Billing (2005) in tourism.

³⁰³ See Urry (1990) and Rojek and Urry (1997).

Zero Davey these principles or constraints were transported through the competition brief, the entries that were exhibited and the publicity that was generated to both the public and ‘outside’ designers who took an interest in the competition. Consequently, while the competition was in part about adding internationally recognised urban design to the Cove, part about the business of solving a site with the ideas of the competition winner and part about local publicity and creating a design awareness, it was also adding an ‘authentic working design laboratory’ to an ‘authentic working port’.

Through the staging of this competition the design laboratory that had acted as the means for tourism development through *Zero Davey* comes closer to being orchestrated by tourism, or at least it lends itself to tourism-like organisation. In performing the design competition tourism is repositioned in material relations that facilitate the playing out of a competition and achieving a stated objective that is more to do with urban design. Consequently this second experiment sees the urban design laboratory re-engage with tourism this time as part of the means to deliver a winning design solution. These relations reverse those illustrated through *Zero Davey* since this time the ‘obligatory point of passage’ becomes a rite of passage for designers themselves.

This reversal between the means by which tourism happens and an outcome that tourism helps to achieve starts to happen when the quality of urban design as method or style of managing the Cove gets noticed. At this point the urban design ordering that is carried out ‘behind’ the Cove becomes visible enough to become noteworthy about what makes the Cove unique. When this leap occurs assisted by the competition, urban design starts to become part of the appeal of Sullivans Cove. The laboratory no longer performs only as a technical framework for development that mainly influences the ‘supply side’ of tourism like *Zero Davey*, but also performs a quality of the Cove itself and begins to engage more directly with the ‘demand side’ of tourism as well. This relationship was strengthened when following the competition the Urban Design Framework (2004) becomes the story telling mechanism or interpretative device for visitors to Sullivans Cove through an mp3 pod-cast that interprets the Cove through the same natural and urban morphology used to guide *Zero Davey* and the Competition. In this way the urban design laboratory begins to ‘speak to’ or engage more directly with the people and to ‘commit itself’ to the registry of what makes the Cove unique.

The competition brought evidence of this relationship that sees urban design as part of the fabric of Sullivans Cove and not only its manipulator. Through a series of additions first an urban morphology is added to geomorphology by an urban design laboratory and then the laboratory comes to be added itself. The softer process of urban design starts to harden into the material of the Cove not only through a process of structuring and a spatial identity where it arranges the built in sympathy with a natural topography, but also as a characteristic that is cemented into this sympathetic relationship itself. Through this urban design becomes part of the urban morphology it discovered and more clearly something to be ‘written into’ its own archive of what characterises Sullivans Cove. The scribes themselves become inscribed and take on a right to be placed alongside those other markers of what matters in Sullivans Cove. Like the ‘geomorphology’ and the continuous ‘workings of a port’ that add to what is authentic about the Cove, the ‘workings of the urban design laboratory’ begin to add to what makes the Cove special. It is in this way that not only the Cove, but also the urban design laboratory opens its windows to others and starts to move from the shadows or ‘behind the scenes’ of planning to the front where it adds more explicitly to things like the rows of Georgian warehouses and the fish punts as the design or the practice that preserves them as such.

Like the manufacture of jam along Hunter Street in the 1900s, the manufacture of urban design in the laboratory starts to become a valuable part of the fabric of the Cove. Through this the more innocent statement that Sullivans Cove is “Australia’s longest continuously urban designed precinct in Australia” takes on more importance. The statement resonates or takes part in a well co-ordinated planning approach and also what is becoming increasingly special and unique about the place to others. The ‘authentic working port’ is increasingly an ‘authentic working urban design laboratory’ and since neither can hold the privilege of ‘more authentic’ both serve to continue what the tourism industry values as an ‘authentic sense of place’. In this way by continuing the commitment to urban design through an international design competition, the laboratory began to give Sullivans Cove an alternative competitive ‘waterfront’ edge and since this ‘edge’ is what eventually attracts tourism, the execution of the design competition starts to look suspiciously related to it. The difficulty of stating anything more succinct than the competition looked ‘suspiciously like tourism’ is an outcome of what can happen when tourism is investigated symmetrically as an ordering made up of heterogeneous materials. The remainder of this chapter will focus on dealing with the some of the many other implications of this statement.

10.6 *Drawing conclusions about ‘the happening of nothing much at all’*

A letter to the editor at the end of the Exhibition reminded the people of Hobart that ‘not a lot changes’. The letter referred to an article that featured in the then *Saturday Evening Mercury* in April 1955 when an architect’s convention was in town and the press took the opportunity to put the spotlight on the Cove. The story then ran:

What do we intend to make of all of this? Hobart is standing on the threshold of a design – whether her shores are to be a growing delight with buildings grafted on the beautiful slopes so providentially provided, or whether the harbour’s surroundings are to be a monotonous chessboard of structures.³⁰⁴

This unmistakable sense of *déjà vu* that appeared towards the end of my own research lead me to question just how much had actually happened through all of this. In 2004 *Zero Davey* was the most recent development in the Cove and it remained so in 2010. The design competition, while increasing the profile of Sullivans Cove to a design community as well as the profile of urban design to the people of Hobart had yet to yield any material results. Consequently ‘things’ remained pretty much as they were. It was in this sense and in the timely reminder of how things were in 1955 that this research had demonstrated ‘the happening of nothing much at all’.

However since there was a lot to tell, this reinforced the idea that symmetrically even when nothing much happens, a lot can be going on and that like Latour’s (1997b) ‘twin’ on the very fast train, a lot of work is sometimes invested in the laziest of circumstances. What was also ironic in this ‘late finding’ was that in demonstrating ‘nothing much happening at all’ this research has also managed to demonstrate part of what is important in differentiating this place.

³⁰⁴ *The Mercury Letters* (5/3/2007).

What's *really* different about Sullivans Cove compared to what's happening in other places is that *nothing's* happening here!³⁰⁵

There was nevertheless plenty to say about this since a symmetrical approach considers knowledge to be the outcome of a process of addition. Any research of Sullivans Cove will necessarily make 'more' of it so that what can seem like 'nothing much happening' is still plenty to begin with.

While there was plenty to begin with and more to add there were also things that were taken away and most cogent among these was perhaps 'tourism theory' (Franklin 2004). As an ordering tourism needed to be:

[O]pen ended, always becoming something else, and under-determined, in that there is a heterogeneous field of objects, practices and projects (Franklin 2007:140).

However this theoretical deficit only contributed to adding 'other stuff' and to a loss of 'tourism', its re-emergence as something different and aversion to being 'ultimately' determined. Consequently while a symmetrical and open-ended study of tourism sets out to discover something about tourism, it cannot guarantee that this is all that it will discover or if this will be most important discovery. Explanations were shown to involve a host of 'less than usual' suspects that appear as deviations, like the urban design laboratory, but take part in shaping the multiplicity of tourism. This multiplicity was describable as orderings, or sets of material relations that coexisted in the 'performance of tourism' in Sullivans Cove first through *Zero Davey* and then the *International Design Competition*.

Some of these relations had an explicit concern with tourism like in the case of *Zero Davey* being hotel accommodation, and in the obvious assumption of the gateway. When added to the relations performed with 'the people of Hobart' these shaped up very like the usual relations between tourism and the locals, as separable and sometimes contentious. In this way *Zero Davey* is a classical tourism object as a provider of hotel accommodation, and is perhaps even more 'typically tourism' when it created opposition with the locals. Yet at the same time tourism was never blamed or named for causing this opposition and this is because when

³⁰⁵ Landscape Architect A.

tourism became a heterogeneous assembly ‘the usual tourism actors’ were prone to being overtaken by other things that when given the chance can be said to act and also distribute tourism actors among the non-tourism orderings they take part in. This re-distribution that is a hallmark of symmetry is why when nothing much happens in the usual, prone-to-be-excited sense that people mean, it cannot be taken to ‘mean’ that nothing much is happening. As Latour (1992) exposes the virtues that can be made of ‘mundane artefacts’ in this manner, this research exposes the lively nature that can be found in otherwise mundane places.

This virtue and vigour results when symmetry is made accountable for refusing to limit tourism to tourists or even the ‘real world’ and refusing a humanist study of tourism by beginning with a non-human controversy. Casting aside many of the usual orienting principles of tourism research this was always too ambitious an endeavour. However that the results show tourism to have become so entangled, that it performed multiply and that it never became substantially definable suggests that I must have come close to achieving what I set out to. This is because symmetrically “we can no longer delimit the ins and outs of an object” (Latour 1998:8) and as an ordering tourism did not stay the exclusive object of the study for long (after Czarniawska 2004:783). This means if symmetrically “the best syntheses take place on a field of maximal differences” (Serres in Latour 1990/1998: 91) then ‘symmetrically’ a patchy or ‘patchwork’ (Law and Mol 2001) syntheses is the best that can be made. For example while the design laboratory as the principal organiser of development also came to organise much of this research, neither tourism nor the laboratory were better ‘delimited’ in the end since they were both formed, transpired and reorganised through the same process. Not only are boundaries left open through this process but processes themselves become less bound, more unleashed and prone to accidents.

10.7 Accidental tourism

It was easy to assume from being in Sullivans Cove that tourism is successful there because it is another example of a well oiled tourism ordering and that behind all this ‘the Cove’ is planned for tourism. It was easy when understanding tourism as a human accomplishment to be steered towards ‘behind all this’ and the conclusion that there must be some sort of tourism plan at the helm. However in this case ‘behind the scenes’ was no more telling than ‘front stage’ because the evidence overwhelmingly supported the fact that tourism was not

planned into this successful tourist place, and as a consequence explanation for its success had to encompass something else.

While the urban design laboratory held no explicit concern with tourism, it remained dedicated to keeping an 'authentic, unique sense of place' and so did not attempt to organise Sullivans Cove in an entirely incompatible way to a tourism ordering (see Gospodini 2002 for more of these compatibilities). Nevertheless, entangled with local professional scene, a scientific discourse of 'urban design' that does not contemplate tourism and a legislative authority to programme Sullivans Cove in this way, the 'obligatory point of passage' for any tourism development was more indifferent than first might have been expected. Therefore before Sullivans Cove is a tourist place it must negotiate, somewhat compromise and become 'partly hybrid with' (Franklin 2003:100) a place that is already organised to a significant degree by another, disinterested kind of ordering. In this way it is a tourism place that can be said to result 'by accident'.

While *Zero Davey* acted first as a 'tourism development' and to anchor the study in a tourism object, in travelling outwards from this building various leads then lead elsewhere. The 'developer' and 'gateway brief' lead to an urban design laboratory that is held fast by four hard and heavy non-humans and their ability to be easily transported into *Zero Davey* when they are translated into design concepts or 'elements'. As elements they are interpretative mechanisms and modes of delivering and maintaining a continuous urban structure that makes not only 'sense' of the place but also what is memorable and unique of that place. The integrity of these elements is based on telling this story properly, authentically and not letting other agenda's compromise this by putting buildings where the water was or breaking the continuity of the shore. The laboratory built this authorisation from a science of geomorphology and a mountain range that conspired with a group of well-connected design professionals to produce 'a unique topography' in a small city where everything is very visible. In this way *Zero Davey* confronted an already formed laboratory and became an experiment of it so that it became obligated to a programme of action that was largely indifferent to tourism.

As *Zero Davey* negotiated the urban design laboratory replete with its history, language, culture and laws it was obliged to fill the wall and complete a bookend but also to form up the gateway to the Cove. The *Zero Davey* solution and what made it acceptable in the Cove

was not the provision of a tourist development and adding tourism stock, but in acting as a gateway and brick in a wall. As an actor participating in more than one ordering, only some of which were clearly named ‘tourism’, the inseparability of tourism and the hybrid nature of tourism objects started to become evident. Tourism was like ‘a promiscuous mistress’ in relations with ‘parallel realities’ (Serres 1982/1995:85) that sometimes made tourism appear separable and at others it became inseparable. In this manner *Zero Davey* became a point at which co-existing orderings or realities collided and this encumbered the researcher to push for an understanding of ‘the politics of co-existence’ (Mol 1999) or an alternative politics of tourism where it is not always clear what are ‘tourism interests’.³⁰⁶ Giving expression to this kind of politics, in the staging of the design competition was evidence to suggest that what began with urban design as a means to a ‘tourism end’ was becoming an end by which tourism was more of the means.

As tourism becomes enmeshed with various non-tourism things it is somewhat diluted in the same way as humans when they are redistributed among non-humans. This means tourism becomes unimportant or perhaps just implicit when it is embedded in ‘everyday’ processes. At the same time tourism acts also to separate as in not engaging with the locals very much and in the performance of a gateway so that it breaks away from or disturbs the same ‘everyday’ processes. These co-performances did not act to prevent either condition prevailing but rather to provide the very ingredients and methods for them to happen. In either case relations of heterogeneous materials; both ‘tourism’ and ‘non-tourism’ as well as people, texts and things lead to the possibility of their coexistence.

10.8 *Tying off on Sullivans Cove*

This research began with the little precedent in the task of better understanding tourism as a relational materialism. Following the exception made by Franklin (2004) tourism was to be studied as an ordering constituted by heterogeneous materials and this meant to undertake a ‘post-human’ account of tourism. This relied on and investigation influenced by the principle of general symmetry and symmetrically this meant not only tourism, but also tourism knowledge was ‘fair empirical game’. Therefore the first part of this research was dedicated

³⁰⁶ Yet this does not exclude the more usual versions of politics either. The public disapproval generated by *Zero Davey* and used by the State Government to support a successful bid to wrest planning rights to Sullivans Cove is an example of this.

to discussing tourism knowledge as a relational materialism. A discourse ‘built on a sea of binaries’ (Brunner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 453) or asymmetries was offered a simpler, symmetrical acceptance of this condition. Adding a social life to the discourse made it possible to describe how these same binaries (or not) are ‘performed’ and ‘perform’. A challenge to humanist modes of accounting non-humans meant the ‘usual suspects’ of tourism knowledge were about to become ‘disturbed’ and more properly redistributed among all of those things the social sciences reserve a limited relationship with; then further steady ground was lost when symmetry was shown to challenge the researchers’ sense of the ‘the real world’. The loss of epistemological certainty about tourism knowledge was compensated by a language capable of revealing the real without much excavating and ethnography was employed as a proven method for doing this.

This is already too ambitious a task and for this reason in the end there is a sense that this research has done ‘too much and then too little’. At the same time this also reflects one of the biggest criticisms of this approach; that of wanting to ‘have one’s cake and eat it too’ (Fine 2005) and this comes from not coming down on the side of a winning thesis or asymmetry. Instead symmetry proposes to deal with both contenders at once so these no longer simplify the situation but make it more precarious. Through performing research in this manner a somewhat inevitable trade-off will be a sense of ‘too much and too little’ and this is why asymmetry is so necessary in the first place. Yet this is not a problem when symmetry claims to make a diagnosis of the ‘state of play’ which is not the same as a medical plan of action because it stops short of intervening or ‘social reform’.

This diagnosis constitutes a more rustic appreciation of the world borrowed in part from ethnographers, allowing tourism to be drawn into heterogeneous relations between tourism research and tourism ‘out there’ and from a common register of actors that aims to exclude none. The more exclusive practices including the convenience and generative effects of binaries are not disbanded through a symmetrical approach, but rather diagnosed as part of what is going on. In this way characteristics identified as early and contemporary tourism co-exist and like the letter to *The Mercury* (above) that restores a moment of 1955, this occasionally translates to a sense of ‘history repeating itself’. The only certainty about continuity or discontinuity is that they are both orderings woven from heterogeneous materials that are capable, according to circumstance of both ‘undermining’ and ‘underwriting’ any winning thesis (and see Franklin 2004).

As a consequence of symmetry, these binary states that often include sometimes anarchistic or 'chaotic' (Urry 2003) other-states are given a way out of the present impasse that does not depend on whether they are plausible conditions for explanation. Rather these conditions are supported more ontologically on the basis of their existence and co-existence. This allows for 'degrees of separability' in tourism, shifting the focus away from committing to a location at the outset towards a preparedness to discover how tourism performs these locations along the way. From a location that is instead 'in the middle of it all' it is not that there are no longer separations or binaries because there are many. It is rather that their performances and how they are made and unmade become possible to witness because the researcher becomes 'part of the laboratory' (Latour and Woolgar 1979:12). Digressing from the 'bonfire of the binaries' (Woolgar 2002) that has held a vast amount of territory in contemporary tourism research, allowed in tourism the possibility of both 'separate' and 'inseparable' states.

This same principle of general symmetry was not stopped there but was applied to other asymmetries like humans and non-humans as well. Since tourism increasingly contributes to the performance of 'nature' and 'culture' and since it variously exploits, impacts or reproduces one or both of these, there was also something to be gained from appreciating the material relations that governed the performance of this asymmetry throughout the research. Here the urban was locked into contrast with the natural where nature served to fasten and mediate both the form and tempo of development in Sullivans Cove. The built environment of the Cove was submitted to the layered Wellington Ranges and plots were allocated and designated on the basis of this natural landform. Serving to frame the Cove, this picturesque now serves as the postcard image of Sullivans Cove, Hobart and Tasmania more generally. In making nature the deep structure of the urban form of the Cove nature and culture are performed as separate, however this does not assume that they can ignore each other since rules are also designated for how they must interact.

The 'gateway' was an object that took on this tension in the guise of 'a technical imposition' and 'natural integrity' and generated further antagonism between 'outside and inside' and 'tourist and local'. While these result from the gateway, the gateway itself is comprised of multiple orderings made up of heterogeneous materials so that before there is a gateway or tourism object that signifies a tourism place, there are so many 'humans and non-humans' working together. A row of buildings that serve to frame an arrival corridor were not related

to tourism but became enrolled in a gateway so that they now are. Similarly Hunter Street was an old and innocent bystander until it entered into relations with a tourist arrival experience and in this way it becomes ‘suddenly tourism’ and illustrative that buildings and streets share “an ontology of unintended consequences” (Franklin 2004:284). While this gateway also has meaning this was mainly confined to a concept and a scheme where everything is made somewhat subject to the mind. Consequently it followed that the gateway ‘barely existed’ and was nothing to tourism, until it had secured the agreement and performance of various ‘others’ including non-humans like *Zero Davey*.

Not least among the implications of this kind of post-humanist thinking is a quandary about how the consequences of phenomenon like tourism are to be allocated, and how impacts are to be measured when even one technique of organising tourism – a gateway - can be shown as a *distributed* item, giving agency (roles and the ability to act) to any number of human and non-human actors. Once ‘the floodgates’ were opened to any actor there was data everywhere and this was important to keeping tourism open-ended and indeterminate (Franklin 2004). What amounted to an ‘ontological re-balancing act’ (after Soja 1998) carried two important consequences for tourism research. First it defined more liberally who and what is allowed to act in the making of tourism and this then limited the scope for giving humans all credit and culpability for what follows as its consequences.

Understood symmetrically as a post-humanist endeavour, the assumption that there are tourism objects and tourism planning and that these somehow culminate in tourism places is found inadequate for either recognising or explaining how the transformative ability of tourism is a virtue of its multi-lingual nature, or its ability to be both inseparable and separable from non-tourism things. To achieve a tourism object, a state of tourism planning and a tourism place there needs to be consensus among humans about what these are and then the harmonious enrolment of non-humans to achieve it. Sullivans Cove has not achieved this consensus and so gave way to counter-melodies, discordant sounds and other noises as well. At the same time there was no sense to ‘throwing the baby out with the bathwater’ (Callon and Latour 1992 in Latour 2005: 76) because there were also siren songs that are mainly heard by tourists. Gateways that are built to impress people on arrival make no sense to people who already know they have arrived. So in Sullivans Cove tourism also performs things that are associated with separation, an autonomous phenomenon and the liminal experiences that characterise it.

As an ordering, tourism is distributed and this means it is not ‘always present’ at every stage of the research. Sometimes tourism gets lost in the middle of it all when it is made ‘unimportant’, when there are detours and it becomes no longer evident or explicit. Yet with a history of separating and mixing things so successfully tourism has always held the potential for detours and unintended consequences and this potential makes it receptive for adding other actors who will emphasise this more. Recasting Czarniawska’s (2004:783) symmetric observations on organisations, this heterogeneity amounts to an ability to study tourism as a product of tourism ordering even when it is not the study object in itself. However this proposition was considered too risky for this research so beginning with tourism, Serres’ claim that “the best syntheses take place on a field of maximal differences” (in Latour 1990/1998: 91) was adopted instead.

Likewise symmetry has a demonstrated relevance in ‘new topics’ (Latour 1991/1993:110) and tourism is not only new but also characterised by a heterogeneous disciplinary make-up. While the field is unruly without *a* discipline this also implicates too much discipline and this makes the topic ‘hybrid’.³⁰⁷ As a part consequence of this, and like tourism itself, tourism knowledge is “built on a series of binaries” (Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1994: 453) that make fertile fields for symmetrical diagnoses. This is because as a diagnostic tool symmetry is applied to cases of asymmetry and these are relations that emphasise differences including binaries; polemical arguments; humans and nature; past and present; theory and the ‘real world’ and hosts and guests.

Like many other fields of knowledge these asymmetries have become problematic as tourism research grapples with a more complex, global world. A radical shift is felt as a questioning of the usefulness of tourism as a field of inquiry (Rojek and Urry 1997:1) as better words like ‘mobilities’ and ‘global culture’ are taken seriously as possible replacements for tourism. Instead of a modernising force as it has come to be known, tourism is put at risk of becoming instead a modern artefact in a global order. As an artefact that is caste as so ‘mundane’ (Callon and Latour 1981) that it hazards disappearing altogether, tourism is ripe for symmetrical rejuvenation. Tourism ordering provides a way to keep ‘tourism’ as a useful

³⁰⁷ Latour (2005: 24) describes “every scientific discipline is a slow training in devising the right sort of relativism that can be adapted to the data at hand”. Multiple disciplines disturb this.

term and also account for the various changes that continue to threaten it. This is because it remains useful so long as things are organised to perform tourism where ‘use’ comes to be constituted by a ‘sturdy relativism’ (Latour 1999). The question of use is not tied to whether we live in a world that is better described as ‘mobile’ so much as how tourism still organises parts of the world and what it shapes up like when it does.

Following an inclusive policy for research means tackling the problem of having too much and then too little. Without definitional boundaries, a precise map and with only a compass that is not always fully reliable the traveller is necessarily slowed down and gathers more, although without very much theory she is also lighter on foot. By removing many of technologies designed for speed, like all good transport engineers know the driver is also slowed. Without curbs, dividing lines and traffic lights the driver becomes disoriented and less certain of how to proceed so that s/he slows down and is forced to take more notice of the environment through which s/he passes. The trick to symmetrical analysis is much the same. It comes from not adding another technology to enable better or more efficient research, but in removing some of the ones that allow us to travel faster to the ‘truth’ by adopting epistemological stances so we can discard ontological multiplicity. These curbs and lines allow us to forget how we inhabit bodies and to remember how we are completely outside ‘the world’ so that the production of knowledge comes to be in danger of taking on the experience of travelling in a very fast train - ‘the trip for him was like nothing’ (Latour 1997b:175). While symmetrical analysis takes notes of lines and curbs it cannot take them to determine the analyst’s domain. For this reason, the travel is slower and therefore ‘less efficient’ but the moral still comes down on the tactic of the tortoise.

The question of speed and efficiency relates to a question of theory and this approach treats these technologies suspiciously. Franklin has been first to claim that ‘if anything, the discovery of tourism everywhere ought to have signalled something that had *always been wrong with tourism theory* (2007:135 original emphasis) and this research has supported this proposition by arguing symmetrically that something has always been *right* with it as well. Rightly or wrongly theory has contributed to performing tourism knowledge and both statements agree that in now working with an extended list of actors forming material relations of tourism, research can and should account for this. Once this accounting begins, so too begins the retrieval of all the work involved in tourism – the tourism orderings - that have disappeared or been replaced by efficient transportation methods including trains, cars and

aeroplanes, as well as theory, bigger theory and better ones. By shifting the focus of theory from curing the problem of tourism to enabling the happening of tourism to emerge, the project of diagnosing tourism symmetrically begins. As Aramberri (2001) in the wake of the explosion in niche markets called tourism research 'back to the masses' so this approach calls it 'back to tourism', only this time with all the heterogeneous privilege as the rest of the world.

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