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Rethinking mass tourism

Professional discourses of contemporary
mass tourism and destinations

Vilhelmiina Vainikka

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

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Abstract

Rethinking mass tourism. Professional discourses of contemporary mass tourism and destinations

Vainikka, Vilhelmiina, Department of Geography, University of Oulu, 2015

Keywords: mass tourism, discourse, constructionism, situated knowledge, package tourism, tourism geography, Finland, travel agents, tourist guides, research community

Mass tourism is a concept that has been used for decades in academic and public travel discussions, and thus it serves a purpose. Mass tourism is often used to refer to the early phases of air-based mass tourism since the 1960s, concerning the remarkable growth in tourist numbers, democratization of tourism, standardization of products and societal transformations. It is also used to emphasize certain motivations, behaviours and values in tourism that are seen as typical for mass tourism separating it from other contemporary or 'alternative' forms of tourism. This distinction frequently produces taken for granted or simplified categorizations both in tourism studies and in public discourses. Within tourism studies discussions about the conceptualization of mass tourism between different traditions have been almost non-existent. In this study, my interest is in the different ways mass tourism can be conceptualized. Tourism is now a larger phenomenon than ever and transformations have occurred in its production and consumption, demanding that the limits and possibilities of the concept of mass tourism need to be evaluated in new ways.

This thesis contributes a conceptualization of mass tourism by addressing the academic discourses of mass tourism and discursive practices of professional social groups. The idea of mass tourism is approached from different strands of constructionist thought in order to create dialogues. The situated nature of knowledge and researcher positionality are also addressed in relation to knowledge creation of mass tourism. The thesis concentrates empirically on the stereotypical form of mass tourism, charter-based package holidays in the course of contemporary transformations in tourism. This Finnish case is useful because mass package tourism has traditionally been 'travel for all', offering a more democratic context for discussing the possibilities and limits of the mass tourism category.

This dissertation consists of four studies that each shed light on the conceptualization of mass tourism with different materials and frameworks. The majority of the thesis is based on the empirical material that includes two sets of semi-structured interviews of 29 charter package tourism professionals. Pair interviews were conducted in 2011 for Finnish-based travel agents and individual interviews for Finnish tourist guides took place in Crete in 2013. Secondary material of academic research writings on mass tourism was utilized in one of the studies.

The findings of the study reveal that mass tourism is a concept with a lot of historical weight, which guides its current categorization and interpretation in both academic and industry institutional settings. However, mass tourism is not easily defined, thus based on this study I propose a framework for more dialogical conceptualization of mass tourism. The framework starts with the contextualization of mass tourism (knowledge) as situated and proceeds addressing the plural-singular relationship of the 'mass' as a dynamic 'mass effect'. These formulations are in connection with three intertwined possible versions of mass tourism: a quantitative category, a model(s) in tourism or as a 'super-umbrella' concept for contemporary travel. I encourage the research community to consider these aspects in relation to one another and position different cases within the framework. The framework shows that mass tourism conceptualization is a multidimensional process that includes choices with effects. This study suggests that the usefulness of mass tourism as a concept for research lies in building its future bases on inter- or post-disciplinary dialogues, which could better serve critical academic inquiry, and give purchase to the concept in describing tourism of today.

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Article II Vainikka, V. (201X in press). Stereotypes and professional reflections on mass tourism: Focusing on tour operators, mass tourism destinations and mass tourists. *Revue Etudes Caribéennes* (Special issue on Mass Tourism vs. Alternative Tourism).

Article III Vainikka, V. (2014). Travel agent discourses of mass tourism: beyond stereotypes? *Tourism Geographies* 16: 2, 318–332. (Special issue on Cultural Geographies of Tourism: Image, Identity and Place).

Article IV Vainikka, V. (2015 in press). Tourist guide reflections on the spatialities of mass tourism: A case of Finnish package tourism in Crete. *Fennia* 193: 3, xx-xx (Special issue on Tourism and Development).

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Foreword

What a journey this has been! Starting in 2009 this PhD process has taken several years and intertwined with other life-changing events and experiences. During these years a lot has happened: In addition to learning to do research, publish and understand better what it means to be a 'researcher' as well as a 'teacher', I have been able to travel for leisure and for work, I have met exiting new people, made significant friends, got married, bought an apartment and became a mother to name but a few life-changing experiences.

My two supervisors were already 'tested' during my master's thesis and I was lucky they were willing to continue the job. I had the privilege to be supervised by professor Jarkko Saarinen who has made a remarkable contributions to the field of tourism geography. Thank you for taking me seriously and trusting me in this project. I also appreciate your community-making gestures with the tourism geographers's group. It is nice to belong and share thoughts. Adjunct professor Päivi Rannila is a dear friend and a colleague. I knew that you would make a perfect second supervisor with your critical, but constructive style. So thank you for all your comments that made me put an additional effort into explaining the nature of my own scientific contribution. Thanks to both of my supervisors I have been able to walk the path of formulating my research topic all the way to the finalization of the project with a 'free' creative mind and thus, although sometimes heavy responsibility, I have had the possibility to master my own work and learn from it, mistakes and all. Thank you for your support so far and I wish for our cooperation to continue in the future.

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I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the contact people of the tour operators I worked with in this research project: Kari Henner (Finnmatkat), Arja Schobesberger, Janne Ohralahti and Anna Salmi (Aurinkomatkat), Peter Kåla (Tjäreborg). Thank you for being open-minded and letting a researcher (and research with no guarantees for straightforward use value for tour operators) to pursue her academic interests. I also wish to thank the office and destination managers for their help. Special thanks goes, of course, to the travel agents and tourist guides who participated in my research interviews in 2011 and 2013. You made this research possible in many ways, thank you! I also want to thank my former colleagues at Aurinkomatkat Elina, Tarja H., Tarja, S., Ulla, Tarja A., Mirva for the time in my life that still continues to influence my work.

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Maaria and Satu. Well. I am speechless. A warm hug. I have known you for a relatively short time but I surely feel like I have known you all my life.

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To my parents Sirkka and Pertti thank you for letting me find my own way. Thank you for providing a safe home, loving and caring support. Aliisa I love you little sister. Isomummi Eine, olet rakas.

My dear husband Joni, partner in the journey of life, and also a colleague, we have walked this path in Geography together for a long time, first in the University of Turku where we met, to master's degrees and now to doctoral degrees in Oulu. It has sometimes been challenging but a rewarding and strengthening journey. Thank you for your support and the discussions that have helped me to clarify my work. I look forward to continuing the journey with you, I love you.

For my dear, cute, clever, joyful, determined son Viljami. I want to give you a warm hug and lots of kisses. You have made me realize more about life and work than anyone before. The sincere enthusiasm and interest that a child has towards everything new around him, including the pure joy and all other emotions are something so amazing that it has influenced me to see in a new exciting way. Thank you for teaching mum! I love you! I feel like singing "*sopivasti onnellinen*" (happy to right extent) like our hero Robin, whose songs we keep singing all the time.

I am very happy that I can now reflect back on the process with new ideas ahead of me in the future. And the life continues. What a journey!

In a very familiar, yet exotic, place called home.

Vilhelmiina Vainikka

5.5.2015

Pateniemi, Oulu

1 Introduction

1.1 Quest for rethinking mass tourism

“We have come to the end of ‘mass culture’; the debates and positions which named ‘mass culture’ as an other have been superseded. There is no mass culture out there; it is the very element that we all breathe” (Denning 1991: 267, emphasis on original).

Mass tourism is a concept that has been part of academic and public travel discussions for decades. Contemporary international travel of people comprises a mass movement. In 1950, there were in total 25 million tourist arrivals, 278 million in 1980, 528 million in 1995 and in 2013 a record of nearly 1.1 billion was achieved, including leisure travel but also business and other reasons for travel (UNWTO 2014). In addition, domestic tourism covers around five to six billion tourists (UNWTO 2014). Since the 1970s global air transport has increased four fold (ICAO 2010, 2011). Despite these figures there also remains large numbers of people who, for various reasons, are unable to travel, are not interested in travelling (Aramberri 2010); and, of course, those, who are on the move involuntarily. Also a proportion of people travel for leisure or business several times a year. In this thesis, the categorization of mass tourism, which is usually attached to the package tours or other modes of Fordist production (Poon 1993), is discussed against the backdrop of this contemporary moment in travel and tourism. Due to the record numbers of tourist arrivals it would seem odd to have talked about masses earlier and now emphasize the niches at the expense of the masses, in the same sense that Michael Denning refers to mass culture in the above quotation. I argue that the current situation challenges us to update the concept of mass tourism, especially as so much talk now is of ‘niche’ or ‘alternative’ forms, surely as these become more popular they relate to the mass. This notion loosens the idea of mass, which is a major theme of the thesis.

Mass tourism is a meaningful term to a lot of people in the modern Western world, but also in other parts of the world where mass tourism, including regional and domestic, has grown substantially (e.g. Ghimire 2001; Rogerson 2004; Dai & Xia 2009). It is thus an everyday category of practice through which people make sense of their experiences and so on, but also a category of analysis in research in which case it is not only a terminological or experiential issue but it also has a more profound theoretical meaning and consequences (see Brubaker & Cooper 2000). They could, however, be seen as mutually constitutive and dialogical, not as separate. The ambiguous and rather taken for granted usage of mass tourism, often in a negative tone, in tourism studies is a problem and has resulted in bias and confusion (Burns 1997; Miller & Auyong 1998). For some scholars it has become an outdated term (Jenkins 2007) or a misnomer in relation to current developments (Jacobsen *et al.* 2014). Also its conceptual value has been questioned (Spilanis & Vayanni 2004;

Singh 2007). I argue that the use value of mass tourism is tied to the ways the 'mass' is understood and I wish to explore this issue more flexibly than previous scholars.

The concept 'mass tourism' has a challenging heavy historical weight on its shoulders, which challenges its neutral definition (Burns 1997; Miller & Ayuong 1998). Scholars have been inclined to understand it in relation to its historical connotations, understanding the term in the context of the birth of so called mass culture and production in specific societal conditions. Often scholars do not even clarify what they mean by mass tourism but use it as a taken for granted notion (Miller & Ayuong 1998). My argument is that the ways mass tourism has been used in tourism studies are often straightforward and simplified, but there is not adequate discussion on how mass tourism could be conceptualized in the contemporary world. I wish to open up more ways to discuss conceptualization of mass tourism by addressing not only its history, but also possible current and future uses from multiple theoretical perspectives. The 'mass' in mass tourism is of specific interest as it is a two dimensional term: singular and a plural at the same time. In addition, conceptualizations of the mass should be centred on wider theoretical and dialogical viewpoints. A more flexible conceptualization could offer ways for multiscalar and multilogical discussions.

In this study, mass tourism is a dynamic phenomenon that is not only transforming in time but is also defined and interpreted in different ways by different actors and from different viewpoints. My focus on mass tourism is how it is used, defined and classified by different professional groups. Situated knowledge, positionality and reflexivity (Rose 1997) are at the core of the ways in which mass tourism can be understood; it does not happen in a vacuum. My aim is to focus on one of the archetypal forms of mass tourism, charter package tourism, to see how mass tourism can be conceptualized especially in relation to contemporary possibilities of travelling. I wish to open dialogues which are not only based on criticism but also on possibilities and interaction between different perspectives. In this way, the professional discourses represent the shaping of the mass tourism by academia and practical countershaping or aligning with them by other professionals. Along with the general concept of mass tourism, also its spatial dimension is taken under rethought by utilizing geographical place theories.

The tourism research community is studied in this thesis with written research materials and industry professional groups, travel agents and tourist guides, with interviews. According to Betty Weiler and Rosemary Black (2015: 176; see also Aloudat 2010) the views and perspectives of guides themselves have received limited attention in tourism studies, but would be valuable to research because they have day-to-day perspectives based on rich interaction with clients. The same can be said of the travel agents, too. The material has been collected among Finnish professionals and the case is justified for several reasons. I wanted to do research in a Western-Western context, because most tourism takes place intra-continently (Aramberri 2010). The location of my fieldwork is the Mediterranean island of Crete, so the empirical part of this research is more specifically done in the European context. I also wanted to focus on a nation whose tourism is not

as visibly large or widely researched such as that in British, German and Spanish contexts. Although Finland is a small market in international tourism (5.4 million inhabitants) it is an example of a country in which especially mass package tourism (charter) has had a visible cultural role and perhaps more importantly it has been “tourism for all” (Selänniemi 1996), practised by different social groups together.

Throughout the last decades several tourism scholars have raised serious concerns over the restricted ways in which mass tourism has been addressed in tourism studies, resulting in quite wide gaps in knowledge. Substantial criticism has been directed at the lack of definitional/conceptual clarity (e.g. Burns 1997; Miller & Auyong 1998; Torres 2002; Jenkins 2007; Singh 2007); the middle class values of researchers in addressing mass tourism or the lack of interest altogether (e.g. Wheeler 1993; Löfgren 1999; Henning 2002; Hall 2012; Obrador 2012; Weaver 2012b) and, a too often simplistic dichotomy of ‘bad’ and ‘good’ tourism (e.g. Crick 1989; Clarke 1997; Löfgren 1999; Sharpley 2000, 2012; Weaver 2000, 2012a,b, 2014; Butcher 2003; Honkanen 2004; Aramberri 2010). In terms of research approaches, further criticism centres on insufficient frameworks of authenticity, host-guest relations or modernity (e.g. Aramberri 2001, 2010; Hazbun 2009; Obrador 2012) and loose conceptualizations of place/frameworks to place (e.g. Relp 2000; Knox 2009; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a; Anton Clavé 2012), resulting in, according to much of this literature, a simplified theorization of (mass) tourism. This study takes part in this discussion by providing theoretical inquiry into the ways that mass tourism has been defined, used, approached and studied in the professional sphere and what implications might follow for future research and theory.

1.2 Research questions and structure of the thesis

This research is based on one main research question and four groups of subquestions. The principal question for this PhD dissertation is: How can mass tourism be conceptualized? It puts together the thread of this thesis (in addition to the subresults) and a dialogical approach is highlighted by answering this question.

Each subquestion group forms a basis for one of the four research articles (Vainikka 2013, 2014, 2015 in press, 201X in press) but in this compilation part, some of the questions have been answered with a broader view of different parts of the dissertation in order to create dialogue between them. The four subquestion groups are:

1. How is mass tourism defined and represented in academic literature? What kinds of implications do different definitions provide? (Article I)
2. How do travel agents and tourist guides perceive mass tourism and its stereotypes from their dialogue-orientated point of view? How do they use scale to frame their perceptions? (Article II)

3. How do travel agents define mass tourism? How do they interpret the relationship between mass tourism and package tourism, i.e. how do the used concepts affect the discursive practice? (Article III)
4. How do tourist guides interpret mass tourism and its spatiality? How do they define their own spatiality and that of their clients? (Article IV)

This thesis is structured around four original articles (Figure 1). The empirical part of the thesis starts from analysing discourses of mass tourism scholarship (Article I). It continues to the more practice-orientated sphere by addressing the analyses of travel agent and tourist guide interviews, both together and separate (Articles II, III and IV). Researcher positionality is addressed both at the beginning and close of the thesis, although none of the articles address this issue specifically. The different spheres are not separate but in close discussion with one another. This composition is intended to follow the ideas of John Tribe (2006) in encouraging researchers to step beyond separate academic and industry knowledge fields.

The theoretical/methodological structure of this thesis (Figure 2) centres on different strands of constructionism and materials. The study is based on conceptualization of the ‘mass’ and influenced by ideas of situated knowledge and theories of tourism and place.

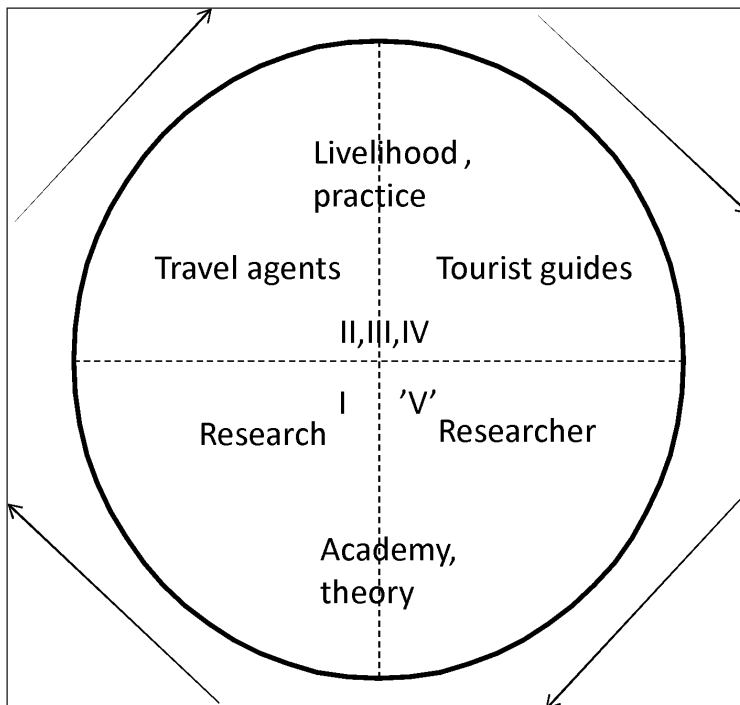


Figure 1. Structure of the empirical part of the thesis.

The academic discourses can be seen as Foucauldian power/knowledge discourses (macro constructionism) directing the knowledge of mass tourism (see Burr 2003). Travel agents' and tourist guides' discourses are addressed as micro discourses, following the thoughts applied in discursive psychology, and considered as active formulations/answers to the wider societal discourses (see Burr 2003; McCabe 2005). These two parts of the research are put into dialogue through relational constructionism (Hosking 2011). The intention is that through relational constructionism the hierarchy of Foucauldian and micro discourses, or theory and practice are deconstructed and dialogue is opened.

This synopsis is organized in seven main sections. After this introduction section it continues with section two which discusses the contextualization of mass tourism. It begins with historical insights into mass tourism in general and continues to shed light on the Finnish case in particular as well as on my researcher positionality with the chapter "Mass tourism and me". Section three introduces the theoretical framework, which positions this thesis within mass tourism research traditions, discusses conceptualization of the 'mass' and examines the contribution of place theories in understanding of mass tourism. Section four discusses the methodology, methods and materials used in different parts of this thesis. It starts by introducing the different constructionisms (macro, micro and relational) as guiding lines for this study and then proceeds to inform about the materials consisting of research articles and semi-structured interviews. Lastly, the section will explain how discourse analysis was used during the research. Section five concentrates on the analysis and results of Article I, that is, the discourses of academic

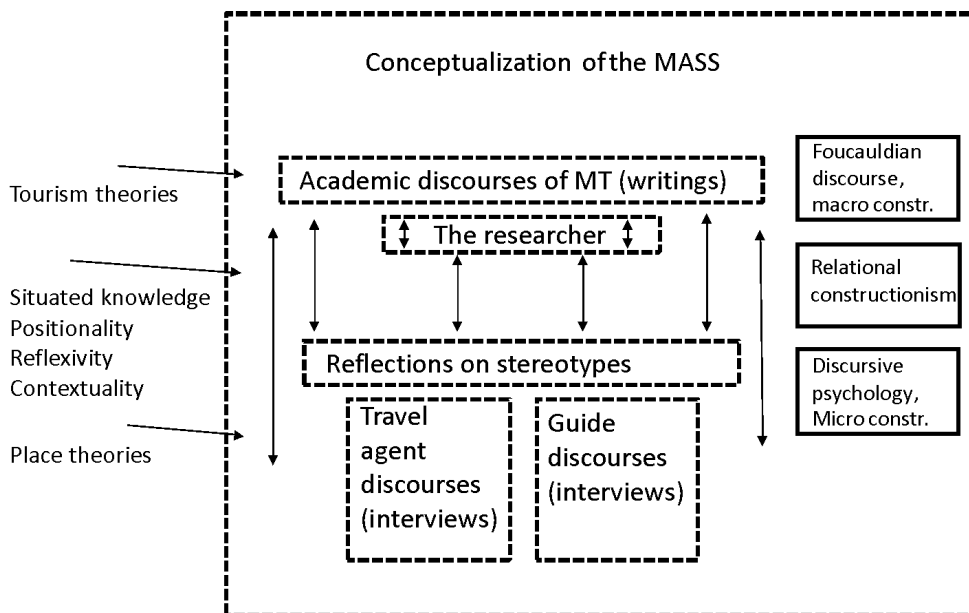


Figure 2. Theoretical-methodological structure of the thesis.

writings on mass tourism. Section six focuses on the empirical interview materials and introduces the mainstreamed analyses of three articles as well as their results (Articles II, III, IV). Different sub-studies are also brought together, and similarities and differences of their findings are addressed. The last section includes the discussion, conclusions and future research ideas by answering the main research question as well as introducing “auto-touristography” as one of the future ideas of research on mass tourism originating from this PhD process and returning to the issue of (researcher) positionality. The lists of interview themes as well as the four research articles are included as appendices.

2 Contextualizing mass tourism

2.1 History and development of mass tourism

“When I wandered in the forest, the lights of the airplanes were visible in the sky. I thought that the privileged people of the world were travelling there. Now that I am myself sitting as a privileged on the plane, I am thinking that down there, right now, underneath my plane, some people are desperately trying to cross the border. Doesn’t this tragedy ever end?” (author Hassan Blasim 2014, translated).

The above example serves as a reminder of how talking about ‘voluntary’ leisure travel is still about the global elite, not entirely global nor democratized (see Aramberri 2010; Bianchi & Stephenson 2014). Mass tourism does not imply ‘tourism for all’, in its strictest sense. There are large groups of people who cannot or do not want to travel globally, also in Western countries (e.g. Honkanen 2004; Honkanen & Mustonen 2007). Julio Aramberri (2010) reminds that even though tourism is a growing phenomenon, modern mass tourism is still very much a regional phenomenon in which domestic and intracontinental arrivals outnumber those who travel between continents. International tourism tends to get exaggerated in intra-European travel since national borders are numerous within a relatively small area (Aramberri 2010). Therefore, mass tourism needs to be considered in a ‘right’ context.

There are already several historical volumes available on mass tourism (e.g. Löfgren 1999; Inglis 2000; Segreto *et al.* 2009; Popp R. 2012), so I will address its historical development here only to contextualize my study. The development of the so-called mass tourism has been attached to the overall development of Western societies in terms of democracy, organization of production, technology, infrastructure, leisure-time, affluence, wealth and tourism motivations (Urry 1990; Löfgren 1999; Shaw & Williams 2002). The roots of contemporary mass tourism are found in the growth of seaside resorts in England and Wales with the development of public transport systems and efficient railway networks in the 19th and 20th centuries (Urry 1990; Honkanen 2004; Manera *et al.* 2009). Though these British roots are generally accepted, other important work locates the first phase of mass tourism in the USA as the first modern market-based mass society in the 1920s and 1930s (Shaw & Williams 2002; Aramberri 2010). In the USA, the development of mass tourism was based more on ‘individual paths’ in domestic tourism supported by private car, motorways, standardized roadside camps, motels, and later on (multinational) hotel chains, airlines and business travel (Löfgren 1999; Shaw & Williams 2002; Kopper 2013). Whereas in Europe, tour operators, leisure travel, charter flights and package tours to the Mediterranean were promoters of fast mass tourism development starting from the 1950s (Löfgren 1999; Shaw & Williams 2002; Kostianen *et al.* 2004; Kopper 2013). Later, mass tourism internationalized and became more global in nature (Shaw & Williams

2002). Aramberri (2010) separates modernity 1.0 and 2.0, the former having taken place in the period before the Second World War, the latter after 1945. Aramberri sees some similarities with mass travel before these periods, such as cyclical character, but highlights their differences in order to understand contemporary modes of mass tourism: modernity 2.0 is more inclusive and based on market-based mass societies.

The Mediterranean can be thought of as the first mass tourism destination, in which new destinations were developed in a rather stable and homogenizing framework and promoted both exotic and sun and sand tourism (Löfgren 1999). It first became a destination for northern European elites with motives of classic culture. Later it was an educational project for young aristocrats in the form of 'the Grand Tour'. Since the 1850s upper middle classes joined with the help of Thomas Cook's packages and railways including middle class women, and after the Second World War the time of the masses started with travelling by bus and charter flights (Löfgren 1999). The importance of the Mediterranean as the world's largest destination region is well known but in the future its status will be challenged by the multiplication of destination possibilities elsewhere (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a,b). The region is also growingly a contested arena for different kinds of mobilities including refugee and immigrant flows from Africa and the Middle East (Fargues 2009; Garelli & Tazzioli 2013).

As travelling has become easier with the development of air transport, travel services and internet booking systems and social media, the masses have also become more scattered and segmented (e.g. Torres 2002; Bramwell 2004; Aguiló *et al.* 2005). For example, Bill Bramwell (2004) stated that not all destinations of mass tourism are based on package tourism. Scholars have acknowledged that tourism supply and demand is in transformation towards more independent, active, individual and flexible forms (e.g. Feifer 1985; Poon 1993; Boissevain 1996; Ioannides & Debbage 1998; Torres 2002; Kontogeorgopoulos 2004; Swarbrooke & Horner 2007). Since the 1990s the rise of the low-cost air travel and carriers revolutionized tourism, influencing travelling networks in Europe with increased travel choices, reduced air fares and greater flexibility (Dobruszkes 2006; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009b; Casey 2010). It has to be remembered that the way the development of mass tourism is seen is not without controversies. Auliana Poon (1993) saw Fordist mass tourism to be in crisis and to be replaced by post-Fordist 'new tourism'. But other researchers call for more nuanced understandings of mass tourism. They argue that mass tourism is not homogenous but instead dynamic mixtures of Fordism and neo-Fordism take place in tourism production and also the consumption is diverse, suggesting that the homogeneity might be a narrow reading (Ioannides & Debbage 1998; Wright 2002; Honkanen 2004; Weaver 2012b; Kopper 2013). International tourism is spreading wider. Nevertheless, the growth of international tourism in BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) is still about the rich elite, not democratic (Bianchi & Stephenson 2014) and much tourism is domestic/intra-regional in the Southern context (Ghimire 2001; Buckley *et al.* 2015). We might therefore recognize that the category of mass tourism does not necessarily take a

similar form through different eras; various and varied forms may develop and unfold in different ways in different places.

From this historical perspective wider possibilities to travel have opened for different social groups and a certain democratization has taken place, especially in the Western context, and the development “has created its own divisions and tensions between popular tourist practice and a mythical ideal of travel, between the pursuit of pleasure and the moral purpose of ‘travail’” (Dunn 2005: 99). As travelling became gradually more democratized the elites found the newcomers to be a threat or doing something wrong and being lesser travellers in relation to the ideas, of the time, about the ‘right’ kind of travelling (Löfgren 1999). Also the package tours and destinations were targets of hierarchization (Urry 1990; Berghoff & Korte 2002; Kopper 2013). But the critique has also worked in the other direction. In Orvar Löfgren’s book *On Holiday* (1999) on the history of vacationing, this kind of setting can be seen to have existed throughout the history of this voluntary movement. According to Bob McKercher (2008) the continuous basis for stereotypes of tourists are the new groups of first-generation mass tourists on package tours that, in his opinion, maintain the separation between locals and tourists in a mediated fashion. But I argue that also the way package tours are often seen is stereotypical. Even though democratization is a generally positive term, Antti Honkanen (2004) reminds that travel ‘as a right’ has many implications. If everyone across the Globe were to adopt the same travelling habits as North/West Europeans serious consequences for the planet would result (see also Hares *et al.* 2010). The same is applicable to many other aspects of lifestyle, too. Democratization, the right to travel and mass tourism are thus globally serious issues that should be explored in greater depth in the future.

2.2 Finnish mass package tourism and tour operators

Researchers have argued for better contextual understandings of mass tourism (e.g. Hazbun 2009; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a) because tourism does not take place in a vacuum. After all (mass) tourism always involves a connection between the destination and the sending culture. Travelling to the ‘South’ is a familiar concept and part of everyday language related to mass tourism in Finnish culture (Veijola & Jokinen 1990; Selänniemi 2001), and in the Nordic context more broadly (Löfgren 1999). It refers to travelling to the sun of the Mediterranean or further afield. Finland has gradually transformed from a peripheral northern country to a more important market for air travel (mainly from Helsinki Airport). More frequent flight connections and low-cost carriers have in recent decades increased the role of non-charter tourism (Finavia 2012).

The origins of Finnish mass package tourism can be understood in relation to the passage of Finland from a poor northern periphery into a Nordic welfare society. The national ideal was built around equality among citizens and this has included ‘modesty

as virtue' attitudes. "Education, hard work, the development of democratic institutions, fairly equal opportunities for everybody to earn his or her living and the spirit of free enterprise have all played important roles in this process" (Heinonen & Autio 2013: 50). Although social classes can be said to have existed (and still do), 'public parlance' placed emphasis on equality (Kolbe 2014). Eeva Jokinen (1987) identified different periods in the early decades of Finnish mass tourism, in which package tourism has played a central role. Jokinen describes how a pre-touristic period took place before the end of the Second World War during which travelling abroad was only a realistic possibility for the small upper class and the *intelligentsia* (Jokinen 1987).

The birth period of mass tourism has been dated to 1946–1959 (Jokinen 1987). A significant moment that marks this period is the first charter flight made by Aero Ltd in 1949 to Nice, France (Falkenberg 2000). These early charter flights included several stopovers and in the 1950s travelling abroad by Finns was still mainly conducted via a combination of several transport modes: ship, train, bus and planes. These trips took weeks and toured several countries and cities (Falkenberg 2000). In the middle of the 1950s different kinds of organized group- and package holidays (*seuramatkat*) started to become more common (Falkenberg 2000). In this period, a consumption-based lifestyle was gradually being formed (Jokinen 1987). Package tours were organized to other Nordic countries and Europe but tourism was not produced for the masses. The cultural and leisure industries became known in the cities and among the young. Trips abroad remained out of reach for most, except in the vicarious form of postcards and pop music (Jokinen 1987).

Also of importance is Finland's geographic and geopolitical location between east and west, a location that has had undoubted influence on its political, economic and cultural climate (Anttila 2013). The introduction and absorption of more Western oriented and market-driven culture took place only since the late 1960s onwards (Anttila 2013). The development of leisure time activities and their moral guidance for the (industrial) working classes was developed from the earlier employer-directed model to unions and individual-based models (Anttila 2005), with which the whole idea of leisure transformed. This development went hand in hand with private car ownership and later took the form of flight-based package tours. Industrialization and urbanization took place relatively late in Finnish society compared to western Europe. In the decades following the wars up until the late 1970s urbanization and industrialization made dramatic structural changes to the Finnish economy, society and livelihoods. The post-war(s) (the Winter War, Continuation War) reparations paid to the Soviet Union with mainly industrial products facilitated and forced the development of Finnish industries. The initial period of mass tourism has been identified to have occurred the 1960s, during which large-scale migration from the countryside to cities took place, consumer lifestyle continued to develop and different ideological movements affected the culture (Jokinen 1987). Some of the earliest tour operators, for example, Aurinkomatkat and Spies started operating in 1963 and 1966, respectively. The media shaped knowledge of the world and as mass modes of production

began to take hold, trips became cheaper though, trips abroad were still mainly enjoyed by a privileged minority (Jokinen 1987). According to the Association of Finnish Travel Agents (AFTA 2010a) between 1965 and 1968 annual air-based package holiday passenger numbers grew from 16,600 to 62,600 passengers. Visa Heinonen and Minna Autio (2013) argue that the mentality of scarcity was part of Finnish consumer culture up until the 1960s (including self-sufficiency and disapproval of unnecessary consumption) and the mentality of abundance began to become more prevalent around the early 1970s. Of course, at the same time also criticism of consumerism was slowly rising (Heinonen & Autio 2013).

Perhaps the most significant period of expansion in Finnish mass tourism took place between 1969 and 1978 (Jokinen 1987). Minimum salaries for unorganized sectors, were for the first time, also guaranteed by a general income policy agreement and overall worker incomes were on the rise. During this period, the 'legendary' tour operator Keihäsmatkat operated charter packages based on an ideology to take ordinary people of lower middle classes abroad and make them comfortable (heavy drinking included!). The people taking part in these trips abroad came from all social groups. At the same time there were other tour operators as well with more diverse selections (Honkanen 2004). Over these years numbers of people taking air-based package holidays grew significantly from 72,600 in 1969 to 334,700 in 1978 (AFTA 2010a). The Finns were learning to travel abroad.

The period 1979–1981 might best be understood as a period of stagnation largely owed to the oil crisis and the resulting overheated economy (Jokinen 1987). During the 1980s, Finland caught up with the other Nordic countries in terms of economic and social development. The Nordic welfare state has been said to have been at its peak in the 1980s and it has since gradually transformed according to more market-based models (Heinonen & Autio 2013). Leena Jokinen (1987) identified the periods during the new expansion period of mass tourism and in 1989 air-based package holiday passengers exceeded 1 million (AFTA 2010a). According to Tom Selänniemi (1996) during the 1980s travelling to the 'South' also became popular among rural populations. The numbers of package tours peaked in 1990 with nearly 1.2 million people departing on package holidays (AFTA 2010a; Rääkkönen 2014). It is important to note that this large number of people came from a range of social classes (Selänniemi 1996).

Looking at the years that followed these periods, we can at least mark the severe recession in the first half of the 1990s which had the effect of greatly reducing the number of people taking package holidays to 550,000 in 1993 (Selänniemi 1996; AFTA 2010a; Rääkkönen 2014) and could be referred to as the reduction period. Recovery started to take place in the latter part of the decade, but the peak numbers have never been achieved since (AFTA 2010a; Rääkkönen 2014). At the end of the 1990s several large corporate acquisitions were made and tour operators (affiliate companies) were sold to other concerns. Spies and Tjäreborg were sold to Scandinavian Leisure Group and Hassen matkat to the Swedish Fritidsresor Group (Falkenberg 2000). Between 2000–2014 only three years (2002, 2003, 2014) have seen numbers lower than 900,000 passengers

departing on air-based package holidays (including tailor-made packages and for the last year the long cruises without flights) (AFTA 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010b, 2012, 2014, 2015). Minor fluctuations in package tour numbers have later happened at the end of the 1990s and after 9/11 and since 2008 the economy has been in depression. Since Finland joined the European Union in 1995, perhaps the most remarkable development has been the multiplication of airline connections to Europe and Asia as well as the introduction of low-cost carriers to Finnish outbound tourism (Finavia 2012). This transformation has meant that the number of package holiday passengers has remained level, but overall the outbound leisure tourism has grown to over eight million trips in 2013 (Statistics Finland 2012, 2014). If we define mass tourism as the overall masses of Finnish tourists, then we have been having expansion periods.

In terms of consumer culture, “at the beginning of the 21st century, Finland has slowly reached the same stage as Sweden as a modernized consumer society” (Heinonen & Autio 2013: 43). Attitudes towards the enjoyment of consuming have become more permissive, although there is a long history of a self-controlled consumer ideal (Heinonen & Autio 2013). Antti Honkanen and Pekka Mustonen (2007) state, based on materials from 1997 and 2004, that both lifestyle issues and socio-demographic factors play a part in tourism consumption although the desire to travel is more affected by consumption habits. They also argue that the consumption decisions of tourism are competing with other appealing forms of consumption and they find that the desire to travel has diminished between the timeframe of study in the middle income categories.

In terms of Finnish media and cultural products, mass package tourism has had a visible role since its birth. Antti Honkanen (2004) reminds that a comprehensive history of Finnish tourism to the ‘South’ (*etelänmatkailu*), which is not based on generalizations of novels and movies, still has not been written. Honkanen also states that the reputation of Keihäsmatkat has had a long-term influence on the overall image of Finnish tourism to the ‘South’ because the media has been more interested in those who are seen to be ‘ruining’ the reputation of the Finns. The media representations were part of the democratization of tourism and spread the image of tourism as accessible, often following a tone of irony (Salmi 1998). There have been songs, movies, novels, and so forth based on Finnish tourism to the South. Especially in the 1960s–1970s, Keihäsmatkat holiday concept of sea, sun, sand, sex and spirits became especially prevalent (Korpela 1998). The newest semi-parodical reality tv shows continue to represent colourful personalities and a sense of embarrassment (e.g. Riemuloma Kanarille 2013, Matkaoppaat 2010–2013). However, there are also plenty of examples from travel and womens magazines, among others, that offer more ‘serious’ versions of mass package tourism. In terms of research, Finnish mass package tours have attracted a limited amount of interest. There have been studies on its history (often focus on cultural products) (e.g. Korpela 1998; Salmi 1998), on cultural and social aspects with tourists or consumer perspectives (e.g. Jokinen 1987; Veijola & Jokinen 1990; Selänniemi 1994, 1996, 2001; Honkanen 2004; Honkanen & Mustonen 2007; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013; Rääkkönen 2014), or on the role of

the travel agents, guides or tour operators (Takanen 2009; Renfors 2013; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013; Rääkkönen 2014).

This study concentrates on (mainly charter-based) package tourism, so there is a need to define exactly what is meant by a ‘package tour’. Package tours have been secured by legislation since 1995 determining the economic and security responsibilities of tour operators. A package tour (*valmismatka*) is:

”combination of pre-arranged services offered for an inclusive price, entailing at least: (1) transport and accommodation; or (2) transport or accommodation, together with some additional travel service essential to the package as a whole; services ancillary to transport or accommodation, such as meals, entertainment or conference facilities, or other comparable services with only an incidental effect on the content or price of the package tour, do not constitute an additional service as referred to in this subparagraph. [and] (1) The travel is offered, other than occasionally, by a business organizing or retailing travel services for payment; and (2) the travel covers a period of more than twenty-four hours or includes overnight accommodation” (Package Travel Act 1079/1994).

What is included in the package or is possible to purchase at an extra cost depends on the tour operator. The Finnish Competition and Consumer Authority (2014) maintains a webpage and a registry of package travel agencies informing the public about “what security the agency has lodged as collateral against payments made by customers”.

Charter-based mass package tourism from Finland operates (markets itself) during the summer and winter seasons. During the summer season destinations are mostly located in the northern and eastern coasts of Mediterranean, thanks to relatively short flights and a significantly warmer climate. Summer in Finland is relatively short and unstable which has effects on the success/failure of the (package) holiday season. Greece was the most popular summer-time destination country for Finns in 2013 with 172,000 holidaymakers visiting, Turkey was another popular destination, receiving 128,000 Finnish tourists (AFTA 2014). In the winter season popular destinations include the Canary Islands, which has been traditionally the largest package holiday destination overall (above 253,000 passengers in 2013, Spain in total 294,000). Other (mainly) winter destinations include Thailand (57,000) and Caribbean destinations (AFTA 2014).

The three largest tour operators covered 77 % of the package tour passengers and 76 % of the revenue in 2013 (AFTA 2014), which shows the great concentration of the package tour industry in the Finnish context. It serves to recall that tour operators, have not necessarily always been in the same form that they are today or were at the time of the research interviews. The names, concerns, organization and products have changed. For instance, the current Oy Aurinkomatkat – Suntours Ltd Ab was founded in 1963 and it is the oldest Finnish tour operator (Marttinen *et al.* 2003). It became part of the Finnair Group later in the 1960s together with Suomen Matkatoimisto. Nowadays it forms the Aurinkomatkat Group and has an affiliated company in Estonia called Aurinko Oü

(Aurinkomatkat 2014). At the time of the travel agent research interviews, the company sold package holidays to both coastal resorts and city destinations (and combinations/variations), and golf and skiing packages. Aurinkomatkat is no longer only a package holiday tour operator, as it also sells other tourism products following the merger of leisure travel sections of Suomen matkatoimisto and AREA in 2010 (Hirvelä 2010). Aurinkomatkat does not own hotels. The company was for a long time the largest tour operator according to passenger numbers and revenue but in 2013 it became the second largest after Finnmatkat (AFTA 2014).

The history of current Oy Finnmatkat Ab combines also those of Vingresor/Finnmatkat, Hassen Matkat and Fritidsresor. In 1964 Vingresor was registered in Finland and later named Finnmatkat (Finnmatkat 2014). Finnair bought Finnmatkat in 1973, and Hassen Matkat was founded in 1979. Fritidsresor Group bought Hassen Matkat in 1997. In 2000 Fritidsresor Group bought Finnmatkat (the second largest tour operator in Finland at the time). In the same year the German Preussag AG bought the British Thomson Travel Group, owner of the Fritidsresor group and became Thomson international holidays (Fritidsresor, Hasse and Finnmatkat). In 2001 Hassen Matkat was merged with Finnmatkat and in 2002 Fritidsresor was in turn merged in Finland with Finnmatkat and Preussag AG changed its name to TUI AG (Tourism Union International). The current TUI travel plc is the largest travel concern in the world and owns charter airlines and concept hotel chains (Finnmatkat 2014). At the time of the research interviews the company organized package holidays to coastal resorts (variations) and TEMA round trips. The main brand in Finland continues to be Finnmatkat and it became the largest tour operator in Finland in 2013 (AFTA 2014).

The history of Oy Tjäreborg Ab includes different merges too (Tjäreborg 2014). Oy TR-Matkat began operating in Finland (flights from Stockholm) in 1966 with its first direct flights from Finland (Helsinki) in 1974 and was named Tjäreborg in 1974. Tjäreborg's and Spies' offices were merged in 1993. Tjäreborg Group was owned by Spies Group until 1996, when Airtours plc bought Spies group and Tjäreborg became a part of Scandinavian Leisure Group. In 2001, the group was renamed MyTravel group and in 2007 MyTravel and Thomas Cook were merged. In 2002, Spies was merged with Tjäreborg and its most popular hotels and destinations were added to the production of Tjäreborg. Thomas Cook Group plc is one of the largest travel concerns in the world. The concern owns concept hotels and the concern charter airline. At the time of the research interviews the company organized package holidays to coastal resorts and had Flex-selection of more flexible packages (flight + hotel) to wider variety of destinations. Tjäreborg was the third largest tour operator in Finland in 2013 (AFTA 2014).

Beyond the scope of this research are other possible forms of contemporary mass tourism, movements that are popular, visible and traditional in the Finnish context. These could include skiing resorts in Lapland, cruise ships between Finland and Estonia/Sweden, low-cost carriers and other airlines connecting to European cities and further (Thailand,

China) and elderly residents' residential tourism the Mediterranean. The Finns move in masses also during the Finnish holiday seasons (including visiting friends and relatives), as well as participate in a mainly summer-time cottage culture (also caravanning).

2.3 Mass tourism and me – Researcher positionality in mass tourism research

“I do not personally enjoy being in destinations such as Playa del Inglés (I would not go there for a holiday), although I do acknowledge that they offer possibilities for more sustainable tourism development with their minimal cultural contacts and controlled limited-to-one-place environmental impacts” (Selänniemi 1996: 27, translated).

The above citation is one that has raised serious thoughts in my mind. I started to wonder what it means to the analysis or research if a researcher does not have a feeling of ‘belonging’ to the researched topic? I also appreciate Tom Selänniemi for being open and telling this, because the researcher is not often as visible in research reports. The challenge is many-fold: How is the researcher positioned in relation to the researched topic or people (e.g. Rose 1997; Löfgren 1999), and how, with what kinds of frameworks, is the researched approached (Noy 2007; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a), but also how is the researched positioned (e.g. McCabe 2005)? The last two questions will be discussed later in this thesis. The issue of researcher positionality has been discussed for example in feminist geography already since the 1990s (e.g. Haraway 1991; England 1994; Rose 1997; Kobayashi 2009) and to some extent in (mass) tourism studies (e.g. Tribe 2006; Noy 2007; Ren *et al.* 2010; Hoogendoorn & Visser 2012; O’Gorman *et al.* 2014). Positionality emphasizes that “all knowledge has a geography” (Kobayashi 2009: 139) and that all knowledge is partial, local and embodied (Haraway 1991). The knowledge is also produced in specific circumstances that have influence on it (Rose 1997). This discussion would highly benefit tourism studies as we are talking about a phenomenon that connects different places, different worlds – tourist-local, research-practice/industry. I will discuss my positionality to mass tourism later in this chapter, because the topic and my approach to mass tourism has been influenced by my personal history. First, a couple of words more about situated knowledge and positionality in general.

Löfgren (1999: 266) wonders “What is it that makes some people define some experiences as shallow or rich, meaningful or meaningless, sublime moments of personal bliss or just another prepackaged item from the tourist industry?”. This question has interested me for a long time, not only in everyday life but also in relation to tourism research. The ways the researcher interprets their material surely affects the outcomes. According to Robina Mohammad (2001: 108, 113) both the researcher and the researched perform roles in interactive research and neither part “really knows the ‘truth’ of these

roles”. The whole play at work remains unseen for the both parties, the “total reality of oneself let alone others” and instead what we learn are “snippets of information about each other”. The central question is thus not asking ‘is this true?’, but ‘which truth?’ or ‘whose truth?’ is being told (Mohammad 2001: 108, 113). This question is reflective of this study and the critical approach to how mass tourism is conceptualized.

What caught my eye while reading the research about mass tourism was the near absence of discussion about researcher positionality. I do not mean that each study should be highly self-reflexive, but in general, I think that the research community’s own values and differences in treating, for example, different forms of tourism should be discussed more thoroughly. There are several scholars who have written about the problems of knowledge creation of mass tourism specifically and wished for more discussion (Butcher 2003; Hall 2012; Sharpley 2012). In our scholarship there are after all researchers with many different attachments to tourism phenomena. Löfgren (1999: 266) considers the attempts of scholars to take distance from their objects of study ‘those tourists’, to be often naïve or overambitious:

“Whereas many tourist writers and researchers formerly positioned themselves as anti-tourists, today they are likely to assume the role of post-tourist, bashing the naïveté of both anti-tourists and vulgar tourists. The game of distinction also feeds on another tendency in the tourist industry: that of trying to categorize tourists, to label them” (Löfgren 1999: 266).

Löfgren (1999: 266) attaches the eagerness to identify and quantify lifestyles for targets of marketing to marketing research, but sees that classification has had a “strong impact on much tourism research” (see also Henning 2002; Hall 2012). Thus the challenge between the ideal types or categories and the practices of tourism is culminated in the question of who decides?

I wish now to open up my relationship with mass tourism from the point of view of a question, why am I so interested in mass tourism? I need to start from the beginning because it has been a somewhat long journey. My father is a teacher at a vocational institute (MSc) and my mother has been a house wife for most of my life. I have a little sister, five years younger than me (MSc). I am now in early thirties and I have lived in Finland all my life. As a child (in the 1980–90s) my family did travel: we lived in Turku, southwest Finland, and our relatives lived in northern Finland (appr. 600 km) so we visited them regularly and I got used to travelling and the boredom of the eight-hour car drives. We also visited Sweden quite often and once to Denmark on car trips and cruises (popular forms of tourism in Finland). We never took package tours or travelled by airplane further abroad, and this was explained in terms of a lack of spare money. I do not remember that travelling would have been so usual at that time in my reference groups. It was exciting to start the journey, wherever it was we were going. I do remember that sometime in

upper secondary school I developed an interest in Italian language and looked forward to going there some day. I have been socialized into dreaming about travelling abroad but also accepting that it is not always possible to make it a reality. Thus I have not 'known' about mass tourism in the form of package holidays in an experiential way during my childhood and it has made me perhaps more interested in the topic. I do not, at least, remember having any negative thoughts about travelling or package tourism at that time.

The next phase of my tourist career would be early adulthood (student), which was the most active tourist phase (1998–2008) including different kinds of trips both short- and long-haul. My first long-haul trip was to Brazil in 1998 and it proceeded a friendship with Brazilian Rotary exchange students. It was not possible for me to go on exchange for a year as some of my schoolmates did, but for a shorter period of nearly two months. The trip included living in a host family but also a guided tour around Brazil. Later I went there in 2000 to visit a dear Brazilian friend who I met just after my first visit, she had come to my high school as an exchange student for a year (I chose not to have a driving licence, rather the trip to Brazil as a graduation gift). The last visit so far to Brazil was on a package tour in 2002 with my father. So my first independent trips abroad were to visit friends. It was somehow very coincidental how it ended up being Brazil that was to form such an important part of my early tourist career. I remember thinking as many young people during that time that it was cool to spend time abroad, especially to visit far-away places.

When I enrolled in tourism studies at the vocational institute after highschool (failed university entrance exams twice) and started studying tourism I remember being interested in sustainable tourism, 'saving the world' and looking down on the seemingly excessive consumption of mass tourism. The courses, text books, commercials and so on provided the main forums for learning about mass tourism. I also remember thinking and writing in an essay for a psychology course that in travel agents jobs you do not encounter aggressive customers as it is such a happy thing to be booking a trip (the reality was a bit different). After the first year of studies I got an internship from tour operator Aurinkomatkat in 2001 and stayed working there as a part-time travel agent for six years until 2008. This experience was a life-changing one in a number of ways. It was only after 2001 that I had experiences with package holidays. This means that I have, in my opinion relatively late gained experiences with package tours, and the tours have always happened at the same time as I have been studying/working in tourism. I got to experience the inspiring, but challenging profession of customer service. I had to meet the clients face-to-face and listen to them and communicate with them, even though their ideas (their motivations, habits and ways of behaviour) were sometimes different from my own. Before this I had been very limited in interaction with people whom I did not know. Later on I realized that those 'difficult' clients were not the same as 'bad tourists' but they were evaluated by me in that situation, from that point of view and I noticed how I did not actually know them. I had thought that working for a tour operator was easy as they only have one product,

but it turned out that I was getting a whole new view of ‘mass tourism’. While working I started to wonder about how the interpretations of tourism text books were different from the phenomenon I witnessed while working (Whose truth? Whose reality?). I am still on the same journey.

In 2002 I finally began my studies at the University of Turku in the Department of Geography and my minor subjects were tourism (in the Finnish University Network of Tourism Studies) and sociology, and I took many courses in Italian language. Again I was travelling outside the ‘normal’ tourist motivations: visiting my boyfriend on exchange in Sheffield/London, visiting a friend on exchange in Stockholm and in 2006 I myself spent half a year in Bologna, Italy as exchange student studying and travelling. Shorter educational trips organized by universities took place in Iceland (geography course/excursion) and twice to the Canary Islands (FUNTS course/cruise and master’s thesis fieldwork). I also organized some of these group trips (Iceland and Gotland, with a student organization). I realized that although I had worked in tourism I still had a lot of things I did not know about it, and noticed that others also had working experiences with tourism. Even though I had been a somewhat ‘ground breaking traveller’ within my family I came to see that so many had been on trips even more frequently, had different experiences and workplaces in tourism. This also reflects differences in one generation but also between generations. I started gradually to think about what it means to be a professional in the field of tourism, let alone know about tourism?

During the years I was working as a travel agent (2002–2008) I was travelling once a year with package holidays because of the nice employee discount that suited a relatively low student budget. I also felt a need to gather more experiential knowledge of different places for work purposes, because the catalogue or other material provided by the company were not enough. I visited, Assuan-Luxor in Egypt (I actually won a ticket through a lottery!), Fortaleza and Camocim in Brazil, Albufeira in Portugal; Parga in Greece, Playa del Inglés, Gran Canary (fieldwork trip) and Panama City-Bocas del Toro-Gamboia in Panama. I travelled with my family members (sister and/or father, boyfriend). These trips always included several excursions or visits to neighbouring areas or cities and a mixture of activities: relaxing, shopping, sightseeing. I was able to make sense of the places more sensitively. The atmosphere of Parga cannot be compared directly to the one in Albufeira. Playa del Inglés made an impression on me: it was the largest, city-like formation based on tourism infrastructure I had ever visited. At first, I did not know how to react, but I noticed the kind of atmosphere which ‘allows tourists to be tourists’ in a place made for them. This continued to interest me more. What was significant about the package holidays I took was the way I perceived the other tourists. As I was working as a travel agent they were clients to me, more than ‘just’ tourists. This created some challenges as I was afraid to overhear their complaints. This was not so much about my belief in the product but psychological hardship.

Since 2008 the international trips have become less frequent, done approximately once a year, often for work (conferences in Cyprus, Malta, Copenhagen, the fieldwork in

Crete for this dissertation or short city breaks in Paris and Stockholm and a honeymoon to Mauritius-Réunion). Buying a house, having a child, living in Oulu, northern Finland and working have made this period more stagnant in terms of travelling. Perhaps I have also wanted to avoid the need to have a new trip planned and test my own relationship with not travelling. We are still travelling, several times a year to southwestern and southeastern Finland to the grandparents'. The way I perceive myself (or others do) as a tourist is also dependent on who I compare myself with and I find it hard to define what kind of a tourist I am. Many of my friends travel more than me but compared to my grandmother I seem like a global traveller. What I am trying to say is that I entered and have been mainly involved with mass package tourism in a triple-role, as a tour operator worker, as a student/researcher and as a tourist. This positionality has provided me with some critical and different insights as I have seen the phenomenon from more than one (simultaneous) entrance point and I have been socialized into several different discourses of it in different contexts.

My research history has been influenced by these experiences as they have made it 'easier' for me to address mass tourism than some other tourism topic, but I do not mean that researchers with other kinds of backgrounds could not arrive at similar themes. I merely want to write myself into the thesis for the reader to evaluate the process. At the vocational institute I studied the suitability of the Luxor-Assuan tour as a package holiday product. My bachelor's thesis was about mass tourism's impacts and sustainable tourism in Mallorca. The master's thesis was titled "Tour operator's role in constructing image of a destination – Suntours' Playa del Inglés" (2008) for which I travelled to the Canary islands, Gran Canary, Playa del Inglés for the first fieldwork trip. I had visited the islands once before on a course of FUNTS during which we visited every island on a cruise which was another kind of view of the islands. By visiting the mecca of Finnish mass tourism I felt pressure for 'intellectual criticism', returning to Tom Selänniemi. However, the visit strengthened my interest in the mass tourism phenomenon and relationship between images and 'reality'. As for my own holidays, I could travel there again. It has been habitual for me to go on different kinds of trips and I do not know yet what motivations I will have for future trips.

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Positioning the study within the research traditions of mass tourism

In 2013, I was at an international tourism conference. During the keynote speech, the speaker, who was introducing research on religious tourism, asked the audience a rhetorical question, but who is studying mass tourism? By this question he underlined the paradox between the growing research interests in more segmented issues in tourism, such as religious tourism, and the lack of interest in the big picture, or the large flows of tourism. This brings the question about what traditions has mass tourism research had during the decades?

Within the traditions of management, marketing and development studies the interests in mass tourism research have been very practically oriented, to offer solutions for the mass tourism industries or destination management to improve their product, marketing, management or impacts of tourism (e.g. Aramberri 2010; Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011; Anton Clavé 2012). In these traditions, research efforts have been directed at identifying and improving destination development, management models and performance (e.g. Butler 1980; Knowles & Curtis 1999; Agarwal 2002, 2012; Torres 2002; Dredge & Jenkins 2003; Aguiló *et al.* 2005; Capó Parrilla *et al.* 2007; Divino & McAleer 2010; Weaver 2000, 2012; Ivars i Baidal *et al.* 2013; Sanz-Ibáñez & Anton Clavé 2014), or tourist satisfaction, their expenditures and motivations (e.g. Aguiló Perez & Juaneda Sampol 2000; Baysan 2001; Kozak 2001; Klemm 2002; Budeanu 2005; Alegre & Cladera 2006; Figini & Vici 2012; Bujosa & Rosselló 2013; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013; Jacobsen *et al.* 2014), or industry and business models, corporation strategies, performance, products and impacts as well as market analysis (e.g. Pearce 1987; Quiroga 1990; Enoch 1996; Yamamoto & Gill 1999; Baloglu & Mangaloglu 2001; Torres 2002; Papatheodorou 2003; Bastakis *et al.* 2004; Claver-Cortés *et al.* 2007; Papageorgiou 2008; Leiper *et al.* 2008; Rosselló & Riera 2012; Alegre *et al.* 2013; Hadjikakou *et al.* 2014). Also local perspectives on tourism from workers/entrepreneurs to inhabitants have been studied (e.g. Andriotis 2005; McKenzie Gentry 2007; Gursoy *et al.* 2010). Comparative studies between or inclusive of different forms of tourism or segments have also been made (e.g. Shepherd 2002; Weaver & Lawton 2002; Andriotis 2011; Marzouki *et al.* 2012; Figini & Vici 2012; Weaver 2000, 2014; Hadjikakou *et al.* 2014). These lines of inquiry form the mainstream of mass tourism studies that actually address the category directly. However, Konstantinos Andriotis and his colleagues (2007: 14) state “hardly any studies of mass tourists’ activities have been undertaken” and Jens Steen Jacobsen and his colleagues (2014: 2) state “the motivations of ordinary foreign holidaymakers [...] along [...] Mediterranean shores have only been sketchily dealt with in empirical academic research”. This listing is not exhaustive nor rigid as a classification

but it gives an overview that these lines of inquiry on mass tourism are not averse to its business or management dimensions, consumer or production roles in mass tourism.

According to Pau Obrador (2012: 402) the overemphasis of management, marketing and development perspectives in mass tourism research has contributed to “a productivist bias”. While I acknowledge that tourism is also a business and an agglomeration of institutional actors, I wish to take a step toward more complex theorizations than tourists as rational individuals and consumers. Much work has been done in the positivist tradition with survey-based quantitative methodologies. I take a rather different route of inquiry as I focus on the knowledge creation in and of mass tourism from a constructionist standpoint. Some scholars have aimed to build bridges to more multilogical/diverse theorizations of mass tourism, also in relation to ‘other forms’ (e.g. Torres 2002; Papageorgiou 2008; Leiper *et al.* 2008; Agarwal 2012; Anton Clavé 2012; Ivars i Baidal *et al.* 2013; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013; Apostolakis 2013; Weaver 2014). Building on the aforementioned contributions and conceptualizations on mass tourism that address the multiplicity in mass tourism, how different forms of tourism intersect or how, for example, package tourism is ‘partially administrated’, I position (partially) my research in relation to the management and development aspects of mass tourism.

The cultural and social dimensions of mass tourism have not been studied frequently, if we take into consideration those studies that concentrate on ‘mass’ tourism (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). Some of the most seminal writings of mass tourism have been done in cultural and social studies and they continue to have influence, but also bias the entity of mass tourism theorization (MacCannell 1989[1976]; Cohen 1972, 1979; Smith 1977; Urry 1990). According to Pau Obrador Pons and his colleagues (2009a: 3), “dominant perspectives on tourism have failed to provide an adequate basis for exploring the cultural dimension of mass tourism”. Most recent work conducted in this line of inquiry has been aiming at theorizing the complexity of contemporary mass tourism experiences, practices and performances in so called mass tourism (e.g. Selänniemi 1996, 2001; Wickens 2002; Wright 2002; Diken & Laustsen 2004; Andrews 2005, 2011; Caletrío 2009; Knox 2009; Obrador Pons 2009, 2012) or comparing different forms of tourism (Kontogeorgopoulos 2003), looking beyond the host-guest model (Aramberri 2001, 2010) or utilizing alternative theoretical frameworks (to modernization/americanization) for adaptation of the locals or different nations in mass tourism (Boissevain 1996; Hazbun 2009; Kopper 2013; Pattison 2012). This dissertation is taking part in these discussion in its own framework of looking into the conceptualization of mass tourism by different professional social groups, a dimension that has not been discussed to great extent (see Miller & Auyong 1998; Singh 2007; Jenkins 2007). The culture-orientated tourism research has been mainly interested in the specialist forms of tourism that are treated separate from mass tourism, such as ecotourism, literary and heritage, adventure tourism, dark tourism, backpacking (e.g. Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). I do not want to argue that research on marginalized groups (such as social tourism or indigeneous peoples) or ‘segmented’ tourisms (dark tourism, creative tourism, volunteer tourism) (e.g. Lyons & Wearing 2008; Richards 2011) would

not be important or not reflective of current times. However, I want to challenge the conceptualization of mass tourism as being separate from these developments which has partly resulted from the lack of attention to the categorization of mass tourism. I also do not wish to concentrate solely on the cultural level, but as was said before, recognize the multidimensionality of tourism that makes possible accommodating its cultural, social, economic, spatial and environmental aspects.

Aramberri (2010) blames tourism research in general for the “scissors crisis”, in which two main lines of enquiry, the *how to* research (the engineers/business administration) and *why* research (postmodern), do not discuss with each other. The former line refers to research that is concerned with improvement of management techniques or best practices, whereas the latter is research interested in the theorizing about modernity and revealing the problems contending that another world is possible (Aramberri 2010). Within mass tourism the body of research on the former is a lot larger than for postmodern studies, which in general have been more concentrated on the niches as already discussed. I wish to contribute to the discussion between these main traditions of mass tourism research including studies on niches. In all the traditions of mass tourism in particular and tourism studies in general one of the central problems is that mass tourism is used as a simplified, self-explanatory category (Miller & Auyong 1998; Torres 2002). Tribe (2006) has argued that tourism research has resulted in gaps, silences and misconstructions based on researchers’ choices and lack of cooperation between different knowledge fields of tourism (academia and practice). In my study, both academic knowledge creation and the views of the industry professionals of mass tourism are combined in order to rethink mass tourism. Some efforts have already been put into theorizing the relationship between mass tourism and other forms of tourism, not as a dichotomy but more complex relations (e.g. Clarke 1997; Honkanen 2004; Weaver 2014). This study will seek to provide a further ideas on the possible conceptualizations of mass tourism.

3.2 Conceptualizing the ‘mass’

“Fellow tourists speaking Finnish force you to face the unpleasant fact that you are, after all, not a courageous adventurer, the one-of-a-kind, but someone else has also dared to enter the unfamiliar waters” (Härkönen 2014: 85, translated).

“There are in fact no masses, only ways of seeing people as masses” (Williams 1990[1958]: 300).

The above excerpts reinforce the idea that the ‘mass’ is not an essentialist category but a social construction to which ideas and meanings are projected. Mass is not a term in a vacuum, but it is seen from the perspective of each situation and temporal context. For some, mass production meant liberation from timely household chores or to travel in

the 1950s and 1960 whereas for some it was the symbol of destruction and lowering of cultural values. So far, I have discussed about mass tourism without going into detail on what could be meant by it, especially by the 'mass' in it, as a category of analysis (Brubaker & Cooper 2000). The ideas of the 'mass' give more space for different interpretations than 'mass tourism' and its historical stereotypes. For Sagar Singh (2007) 'mass tourism' is simply a misnomer and should not be used anymore, because, he doubts there has ever been such a homogeneous mass. Peter Burns (1997) argued that 'mass tourism' is a demeaning term, framed by value judgements, like alternative tourism, and does not carry any usable meaning especially in the setting of smaller developing countries. These ideas encourage to rethink possibilities of the mass in perhaps other terms than traditionally the case.

Within tourism studies the mass is most often linked with mass production (Poon 1993), but it seems that researchers have crossed the boundaries of mass production and consumption long time ago and the mass has had more profound meanings and effects on tourism theory than that. This means that certain kinds of behaviours, motivations, interests, capabilities have been categorized as mass tourism resulting in separate tourist role(s) of a mass tourist(s) (See Löfgren 1999). Obrador (2012: 406) claims that in tourism theory there is a biased view of the crowd as "an unpredictable and instinctual body, with animalistic behaviour, which pose a threat to the established social order, including the family".

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (2012) 'mass' has many meanings but one that is applicable in the tourism context is its definition as "A large number of human beings, collected closely together or viewed as forming an aggregate in which their individuality is lost". This definition of the mass highlights either the closeness of the human beings collected together, often the case in mass events or on the beach, or the viewpoint of the evaluator who sees it as an aggregate in which their individuality is lost. I would emphasize that this 'viewed as' holds a weakness to the homogeneity of the mass. For sure mass is a term that collects together, it is one word, one term for that "large numbers of people", but the viewpoint gives the meaning, not necessarily the quality of the mass itself. The next three paragraphs have been devoted to different ways to approach this 'mass': as numerical, plural and social. They are not mutually exclusive, on the contrary.

Mass as numerical might be the easiest idea for all researchers to accept, though not necessarily as an exhaustive dimension. Carson Jenkins (2007: 113) states even that "Perhaps as a *quantitative* rather than as a descriptive term is the last refuge of 'mass tourism'" (emphasis on original). The largeness of the phenomenon or something that can be counted in numbers of tourists or currency, or proportions of income by industry sector. Within this framework the mass could be seen as a large number of tourists, hotels, money, workers. Arthur Burkart and Slavoj Medlik (1974) highlight the mass as a quantitative notion referring to the proportion of something: local workforce working within tourism industries or part of inhabitants taking part in traveling. Of course, there is no certain universalist number to define mass, it is a relative term and anything from

five to 100 people or thousands can be seen as a mass. Peter Burns (1997) stated that mass tourism is not usable because one cannot compare a destination with millions of tourists and other destination with tens of thousands. I do not see this as a problem, rather as possibilities to contextualize the mass. In a similar fashion, we call something a mass event or mass demonstration or mass movement, based on the 'exceptional' largeness of it exceeding 'regular' events or movements that are more scattered or less numerous. Or the steady stream of those large numbers can be highlighted (Boissevain 2000). Different temporal and scalar issues can thus be raised in the discussion of mass as numerical. As a quantitative notion the mass can have linkages also to democratization of tourism (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). Jenkins (2007) continues to attach the mass in tourism to the concept of carrying capacity: for example, the maximum number of visitors that the site can hold without damages. This is however, quite a problem-orientated basis easily leading mass to mean inherently 'too much' or 'too many'. Mass as (social) crowding can have both negative and positive aspects for example in an urban setting (Popp M. 2012). One more version is the notion of 'critical mass', which refers more to 'enough': a collection of people that make a difference, a cluster of activities to attract visitors or groups of visitors that guarantee the profitability of a service, for instance (e.g. Weaver 2007; Benur & Bramwell 2015). The numerical idea of the mass allows flexibility so that the mass can be both a successful and problematic issue.

Mass as a plural is another way to approach mass. Referring to the earlier definition in the Oxford English Dictionary (2012) mass is a term that holds a pluralistic meaning. The mass, is in itself a singular form (one mass) which has plural meaning and is composed of, for example, a large numbers of tourists. So there are many individuals who get collected into the mass, and form some kind of entity that can be called mass. The masses, in plural, can be used to refer to even larger numbers, or masses in different places or a more established condition. Whether the quality of the mass defines the plurality or whether the plurality defines the mass is a question of the direction of inquiry and what is emphasized. Is this united entity homogeneous and to what extent? Mass as plural does not hold in itself an answer to these questions but the next stage, mass as social, has included several insights on the concept.

The third context in which we consider 'mass' is the social theory, which will be discussed here briefly in order to show how differently the mass can be approached from this direction. Determining mass as social we come to a field of discussions about mass culture, mass production, mass consumption and mass society, about how the mass is considered to be organized. What is the relationship between individual (agency) and the mass (also product)? Who is producing the mass? I will now present shortly different views to these questions much debated in social sciences and humanities, because I want to maintain some distance from them in my analysis in order to open new directions for how mass could be seen within the tourism context.

The mass is often linked to mass culture and often refers to the work of the Frankfurt school in which the modes of production, the 'culture industry' creates oppression and

false reality for the masses, the faceless ordinary people (e.g. Horkheimer & Adorno 1972 [1944]). For Theodor Adorno mass is ‘baby food’, the filtered and pre-digested outcome of processes of the culture industry that create uniform schemes, or as a basis for modern totalitarianism (1992: 67, see also Boorstin 1964). In another discussion concerning urbanization the intellectual tradition arose that saw the ordinary people as urban masses who consume and to whom mass-produced products are sold (Storey 2014). The rural folk represented a ‘positive’ but disappearing popular and the urban mass the ‘negative’ counterpart, with brain-numbed and brain numbing passive consumption (see Storey 2014: 6–7). One part of the discussion about the mass is a thesis about Americanization according to which the developments were seen to spread the American culture and way of living (see Kopper 2013).

Criticism towards these standpoints have attacked the condemnatory stand they take and their too narrow ideas of authenticity (Miller 1987) or organic community or culture (e.g. Duncan 1980; Obrador Pons 2009a) or the too simplified ways in which mass tourism was seen to have spread (Kopper 2013). Scholars have argued “against the mutually exclusive positions that mass culture was *entirely* a manipulative industrial product or *entirely* an authentic cultural creation”, but also refused the separation of the progressive popular culture from the reactionary mass culture (Hall 1979; Jameson 1979 cited in Denning 1991: 255). For Alan Swingewood (1977) there is no mass culture, only a myth of it, an ideological term; so ‘mass culture’ is neither good or bad, revolutionary nor exploiting. For Raymond Williams (1990[1958]) the mass is created by seeing people as such.

For Daniel Miller (1987) and John Storey (2012) it is important to acknowledge that we live in a world of multinational capitalism and our culture is a material culture. Storey (2012) claims a need to see all people as active participants in culture and Miller (1987) sees consumption as a process with the potential to produce inalienable culture. Miller takes thus a positive stance of possibilities of mass consumption but from a critical perspective, stating that the many positive developments of modernism are not exclusive achievements of leaders or individuals, but rather of large-scale social movements “which have enabled the ever expanding sector of the mass population to appropriate these advantages”, to be sustained in a continuous struggle (Miller 1987: 5). He was interested in the activity, fluidity and diversity of strategies by which people turn resources into expressive environments. For example, Pierre Bourdieu’s (1984) ‘distinction’ focused on control over matters of taste and the ways cultural values, tastes and hierarchies are established in France, but was not directly concerned with the centre. Miller (1987) criticized that the world of distinction is ‘given’ and it lacks consideration of mass consumption’s nature as a historical phenomenon. Miller highlighted that (1987: 166, 188–190) instead of reducing consumption to the mass quality of the commodity, it is worth investigating the relationship between the purchaser and the item, which colours the specificity of the item being purchased and replaces the “vast morass of possible goods”. For example, in cultural studies, the mass is not nowadays taken as solely negatively, but the interpretations

of the users are acknowledged even though entertainment (or tourism) would be produced for the masses (e.g. Storey 2012).

Julio Aramberri (2010) states that in order to talk about mass tourism today one needs to understand it in the sense of modern mass tourism, shaped since the 1950s. Although mass tourism can be linked to mass consumption and production of a certain period based on mass societies the way is too restrictive, if it is the only way to see it. Waleed Hazbun (2009) criticizes modernization theory concentrating on diffusion of practices and representing lifestyles of a few countries not being able to recognize local special characteristics and transformations. In his historical research on mass entertainment, Jeffrey Knapp (2013) challenges the idea of mass as distinctively modern phenomenon linked to the technologies for its production and distribution and instead argues that mass entertainment can be defined in relation to the audience for whom it is intended.

In later work the masses have been approached more from within rather than as a separation. Michel Maffesoli (1996) argues for a more fluid and ephemeral version of the mass, based on emotions, lifestyles and ambiances. He sees that contemporary masses are postmodern neo-tribal groupings that are heterogeneous fragments based on lifestyles and tastes, remainders of mass consumption society. “The social configurations that seem to go beyond individualism, in other words, the undefined mass, the faceless crowd and the tribalism consisting of small local entities” (Maffesoli 1996: 9, see also Diken & Laustsen 2004). Obrador (2012: 406–407) claims the emotional productivity of the mass and plastic qualities of the crowd, which help to avoid the current negative connotations that tourism theory has, by foregrounding the crowd as a threat. Soile Veijola (2014) looks for the social as forms of ‘witness’, ‘in-between’, being-with-strangers that would disrupt the ways in which the masses (tourists), as products of tourism theory have been turned from the subjects into objects of production.

This discussion was intended to show that the mass is not a natural category, nor should it be taken for granted as the research community produces different versions of the ‘mass’ in tourism. In order to create a more open and multilogical base for defining mass tourism, it would be important to acknowledge the restrictiveness of individual assumptions that lie behind the approaches we use. There are consequences that the used limited frameworks have for the overall knowledge of the mass tourism category. This study aims to look beyond simplistic ‘truths’ about mass tourism.

3.3 Mass tourism and place – Geographical contribution

One of my arguments in this thesis is that in conceptualizing mass tourism it should be seen to include not only cultural, social or economic/business aspects but also historical (temporal) and spatial dimensions that all play their part in tourism. Additionally, tourism takes place as part of contemporary life practised in space and time. According

to Sanjay Nepal (2009: 2–4), geographers have “the tradition to address very complex, diverse and dynamic issues about tourism”, which include multifaceted characteristics, inter-disciplinary perspectives and spatial and temporal dimensions. This dissertation is positioned in tourism and cultural geography, in which interest has been directed at complicated and fluid ways tourism brings people and materials into encounters (Gibson 2010) as well as at discursive practices (Dittmer 2010). Several reviews or commentaries of tourism geographical scholarship have been done in recent years that show a wide array of topics already discussed ranging from political economy to destination development and encounters in tourism (e.g. Butler 2004, 2012; Gibson 2008, 2009, 2010; Hall & Page 2009; Nepal 2009; Saarinen 2014). However, Richard Butler’s (2012) concern about tourism geographers is quite similar to the arguments towards mass tourism researchers discussed earlier, that the interest has been more in the minorities and special interest groups than on the large numbers of international and national tourists on holiday. In this chapter, I discuss the possibilities of simultaneously using multiple perspectives to linking mass and place.

Different place theories are used here to approach mass tourism destinations more flexibly as relationships between a person (the masses) and the location, but also combining industry and tourist views to a place in the form of tourism professionals (see Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004). The relationship between people (the masses) and places opens possibilities to reflect on different ideologies of tourism motivations (part of life), and taking into consideration both the origin and the destination. If we only cut the perspective to the destination, we easily lose the idea of people coming from somewhere, visiting somewhere and returning somewhere (see Leiper 1979). After all tourism continues to be physical movement and being in another place.

When reading literature on mass tourism destinations, I found that a mass tourism destination as a place is often linked to a specific physical environment, historically produced material environment or a territorial unit, resort, with a name such as Playa del Inglés or Platánias (Knowles & Curtis 1999; see also Bærenholdt *et al.* 2004). Thus a mass tourism destination is a specific kind of place made through specialization from the surrounding region and enclavic developments (Elliott & Neirotti 2008; see also Torres 2002; Edensor 1998). It is dealt with in much research as an entity to be developed or managed to improve visitor satisfaction or control impacts (Butler 1980; Knowles & Curtis 1999; Ashworth & Voogd 1990; cf. Saraniemi & Kylänen 2011; Anton Clavé 2012). These resorts are literally consumed (Urry & Larsen 2011) and materially transformed by tourists or different stakeholders. The perspective of mass tourism destination as a territorial unit emphasizes it as an entity which is a suitable approach for many uses but I would like to stress that they are not only material units, products, nor experienced as units on one scale or in one way. This notion simplifies mass tourism into certain spaces and excludes more multiple perspectives.

Places have been made meaningful according to humanistic geography by ‘insideness’: the degree of association of involvement that someone has with a place (Relph 1976;

also Horton & Kraftl 2014) and strong emotional bonds (Tuan 1977). Thus, place is in connection with space by needing it to be made meaningful (Horton & Kraftl 2014). Both Edward Relph and Yi-Fu Tuan considered that this meaningful relationship needs time and with too much moving it is not possible to build roots to place. The mass tourism destinations became symbols for this kind of rootless, meaningless existence. The placelessness thesis developed by Edward Relph (1976) has been one basic idea projected at mass tourism destinations. They have been seen as places that have lost their uniqueness and originality, like Marc Augé's (1995) non-places that do not have history nor identity and their meanings/experiences are made of signs and images. The category of mass tourism destination is seen in research both as a destructed place, often in terms of authenticity or local life, both the tourist herds and industries being responsible (e.g. Boorstin 1964; Turner & Ash 1975; Relph 1976; Poon 1993), but the complexities of the category and the ways it has been produced beyond organic ideas of place have also received interest (e.g. Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a; Anton Clavé 2012). Dan Knox (2009: 146) reminds that tourist studies might have failed in theorizing the attraction of mass tourism places: "Certainly, we could argue that the Spanish coastline has become relatively unattractive in relation to an idealized notion of pristine nature, but [...] without understanding what motivates people to continue to visit such apparently unattractive places". Relph (2000) himself later argued against his own thesis and said that back then the world seemed more black and white, but he thinks that places should be evaluated in their own terms instead of against some universalist ideas of place and placelessness. The label mass tourism destination in itself gives certain meanings to place that are not neutral.

To develop the humanistic arguments further towards social construction of place and with reference to the quote in the previous paragraph, places like mass tourism destinations can be seen differently by different social groups. The mass tourism destination, or places in more general, can additionally be theorized by addressing the categorizing practices that define it and give meanings to it by different social groups and people (Jackson 1989; Crang 1998; Squire 1998; Young 1999; Saarinen 2004). Places are symbolically consumed (Urry & Larsen 2011), thus the meanings form part of the experience (see also Rakić & Chambers 2012). Places may be difficult to pinpoint on the map, even the mass tourism destination from the user perspective. This is because places are negotiated so their meanings are not static or same for everybody (Jackson 1989). This is why there is not necessarily one logic to apply, for example, to the attractiveness of a mass tourism destination. Mass tourism destinations, along with many other places are both places of belonging but also arenas of struggles and destructions depending on viewpoint (see Cresswell 1996).

Relational thinking is one dimension of geographical theorization of space and place. I think it is a fruitful one in terms of thinking about mass tourism destinations as places where people (the masses) come and go, and which are never done, finished and always in relations to other places (Massey 2005; Agarwal 2012). This means that these spaces would not be considered as mass tourism places unless there would be a movement of tourists from somewhere and back. The term destination in itself includes the idea of

movement. With the 'performative' and 'mobility turns' more interest has been directed in the complexities of place-making (e.g. Sheller & Urry 2004; Edensor 2007). Tourism spaces are simultaneously shared, consumed and produced by tourists, (Local) workers, tourism professionals and the 'embodied' encounters between them (Edensor 2001; Sheller & Urry 2004; Urry & Larsen 2011). The practices and performances of the human subject in the role of a tourist, are performed in relation to themselves, each other and diverse cultural contexts (Crouch 2005). In tourism places there may be highly regulated and choreographed space as well as sites for improvisation and contestation (Edensor 2001). The increased contemporary mobility is highlighted for example in addressing the social networks that create tourism (e.g. Larsen *et al.* 2007), but the 'mobility turn' has also been criticized for passivizing anything that is left outside these flows (Franquesa 2011). The relations that produce (im)mobilization should be taken into consideration, not to think that they are characteristics of the objects (Franquesa 2011) and that this is not a dichotomy of 'good' and 'bad'. Thus vocabulary and framework without hierarchy is forwarded. Doreen Massey (1994, 2005) has also commented on the mobility paradigm for forgetting that different social groups and individuals are situated in different ways to these flows, and the mobile class purported by the paradigm is an exclusive category that has also been part of conducting such research (western academics and journalists). A growing amount of research in the field of cultural geography has been focusing also on immobility and regulations, and border-makings (Horton & Kraftl 2014).

The last geographical issue regarding places that I want to address here is the scale. Cultural geographers have contested scale as a pre-given platform for society to operate on (Horton & Kraftl 2014: 275). In this study, scale is considered as a discursive frame (Kurtz 2003), an 'everyday category of practice' and as such, contingent, contested and continually made and remade (Moore 2008). It is negotiated by discourses, use of language and practices. Jarkko Saarinen (2004) has stated that tourism destination can be a country, resort or single tourism product, which makes it a challenging concept. Different scalar practices can be used to achieve particular aims and rescale social life both materially and discursively (Fraser 2010). In this research, different social groups and the research itself is a process of constitutive negotiation (Rose 1997) in which we shape the understanding of the category of mass tourism destination. Therefore there is no given idea of mass tourism as only global or local, or a mass tourism destination as local but different scalar adjustments are made.

In terms of thinking about mass tourism destinations research should allow different kinds of (multidimensional) assemblages of places to evolve, instead of concentrating on one specific location, such as a mass tourism resort (e.g. Baysan 2001; Claver-Cortés *et al.* 2007) or a sight (e.g. Edensor 2001; Rakić & Chambers 2012) which I see as simplifying the phenomenon to certain scalar thinking. The mass tourism destination or place label becomes thus explained by the mass infrastructure or usage of mass products. This is an exclusive way to divide what is and what is not mass. From the user perspective every trip (or visit) to a place is different because a variety of different places are visited and the

visit takes place in a different moment, in a different part of life with different people in different weather and so on. Influenced by Hägerstrandian time-geography the destination can be theorized as an accumulation of all those places and paths that one visits and takes during a period of time, and this contributes to a unique spatial assemblage (Pred 1984; see also Hottola 2005, 2014). Destination is also extended to the everyday life, not only tied to the duration of the trip (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). In this sense, mass tourism destination would not be a pre-given entity but partly a 'handmade' formulation of different encounters as well as different kinds of places, a result of "complex emerging spatialities or spatiotemporalities" (Sheppard in Merriman *et al.* 2012). Thus an additional way to see it is that the fragments of the masses that arrived on the same charter flight make the destination as an agglomeration of the places they visited, meanings they attached/consumed in different phases of the trip. These do not need to be all of mass quality. I argue that the mass tourism destination as a place (including framing its boundaries) should be considered simultaneously as processes consisting of stability and mobility, materiality, mentality and sensuousness. Thus in multivocal theorization mass tourism destination would not be defined based on just one viewpoint.

4 Research methodology, methods and materials

4.1 Social constructionism(s)

Within geography the so called ‘discursive turn’ since the 1990s has directed the focus onto the taken for granted geographies of the world and how such worlds are constructed and performed (Dittmer 2010). In this study, my aim is to critically address the ways in which mass tourism is constructed by both academic and industry professionals. For this purpose, social constructionism is a suitable methodology (Berger & Luckmann 1967; Burr 1995). Social constructionists are particularly interested in phenomena that are contingent upon the theories, texts, conventions, practices, and conceptual schemes of particular individuals and groups of people in particular places and times (Mallon 2007: 94). The matrix in which the idea of mass tourism is formed is a complex of institutions, universities, companies, magazine articles, commercials, researchers, teachers, books and journals (Hacking 1999), but also friends, relatives and other people we come across. The research plays part in this, having the generative power to construct and frame tourism (Tribe 2006). The ways we frame certain practices and meanings into mass tourism, perhaps as opposed to something else, construct our knowledge of the mass. Who decides what is included in mass tourism and what is not? What is included and what is not? Why are some things included in the mass tourism category and other things are excluded from it? Mass tourism is conceptualized by the academia as a category of analysis, but also outside it as an everyday category of practice (Brubaker & Cooper 2000).

Ian Hacking (1999) argues for making a distinction between the construction of ‘ideas’ (concepts, beliefs, attitudes to, theories, groupings and classifications) and ‘objects’ (like people, practices, behaviours, classes) and ‘elevator words’ (such as facts, truth, reality, knowledge). The focus of this study is on the construction of the ‘idea of mass tourism’: the classification under which certain things are included and others excluded. Some reference is also made to the construction of ‘objects’ because once there is a mass tourism or mass tourist label, we get the notion that there is this kind of people or practices/behaviour and people start to think that these kinds of things are mass tourists or mass tourism. These mass tourists are aware of the theories of mass tourists and either, adapt to, react against or reject them. So the additional perspective is the ways in which mass tourism/tourists are being tourism/tourists (see Hacking 1999).

Following Hacking’s (1999: 6, 12) thoughts I clarify the social constructionist position taken in this study. The precondition for social construction is that in the present state of affairs, the idea of mass tourism is taken for granted and the idea of mass tourism appears to be inevitable. The claim made in this study is that the idea of mass tourism need not have existed, or need not be at all as it is. The idea of mass tourism, or the idea of mass tourism as it is at present, is not determined by the nature of things; it is not inevitable.

The aim is not to suggest an alternative definition that would replace the existing ones but rather to bring something in addition that would help the discussion about mass tourism.

In this study, the ontological ideas of both relativism, realism and relationism are considered. Constructionism is known to be relativist, but its connections to realism have been a subject of debate. In Ron Mallon's words "the move to radical anti-realism is only one way to develop the central idea of constructionism" (2007: 93). He also stresses that there is a need to explore constructionist and non-constructionist theses together. This is why I am not averse to addressing both representational and more-than-representational aspects, nor phenomenological and hermeneutical traces in this research. Thomas Pernecky (2012: 1122) urges us not to confuse realism with objectivism, which is an epistemological notion and indicates that meaning exists in objects independently of consciousness. He insists that weaker varieties of realism are "capable of accommodating constructionist epistemology" (Pernecky 2014: 295).

Constructionist epistemology is not a one clear approach but different versions of it have been applied in social sciences. Vivien Burr (2003) discusses macro and micro social constructionism as two strands of constructionist thought, preferring them over alternative versions of 'light' and 'dark' (Danzinger 1997 cited in Burr 2003) or 'strong' and 'weak' constructionism (e.g. Pernecky 2012). In this research both macro and micro are utilized. They can also be referred to as two kinds of discourse analyses (Burr 2003). These constructionisms, added with relational constructionism, could be said to form a triangulation or spiral in which different aspects of constructing are introduced and added along the way. The aim is not to confuse the reader but to offer a study and dialogue in which the thinking about mass tourism takes into consideration the multiplicity of our reality, shades of grey rather than black and white (Pernecky 2012, 2014). I will introduce the utilized strands in the next three chapters.

4.1.1 Macro constructionism and [Foucauldian] discourses

Macro constructionism is used to frame the analysis in Article I that deals with the academic discourses of mass tourism. Macro social constructionism refers to a constructionist approach focused on social structures, social relations and institutional practices, but which acknowledges the constructive power of language (Wetherell 1998 cited in Burr 2003: 22). This strand has been influenced by the work of Michel Foucault (1980) and his ideas of power/knowledge articulated through discourse (Rose 2012). Discourses are broad sets of ideas and practices, that give particular kinds of meanings to statements, texts, rhetorics, and narratives and practices which are used to articulate the surrounding world (Berg 2009). Attitudes and opinions are manifestations of discourses and outcrops of representations of events upon the terrain of social life (Burr 2003).

Surrounding any one object, event or person, in this case the idea of mass tourism, there are a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about it (Burr

1995). Dave Elder-Vass (2012) highlights the separation between language and discourse in this strand: language shapes how we can express meanings by providing the tools, but discourse is the regulation of the content of what we say and think. Also what we can do and what can be done to us (Burr 2003). The idea of discourse thus goes beyond the immediate contextual language use of a writer or speaker (Burr 2003). Mass tourism, in this case, is framed with different limited relevant questions, though not fixed: in another discourse the same is not as relevant as in the other (Barnes & Duncan 1992). The thinking about mass tourism has been structured in discourses, competing ‘truths’ and at a certain moment of time there can be a more hegemonic discourse ruling the research/knowledge. The discourses of mass tourism are intertwined with discourses of ‘other’ tourisms and the ways mass tourism is constructed is not innocent act.

The reason for utilizing the macro constructionist perspective or Foucauldian ideas of discourse as part of this study was that I wanted to direct the focus at the research community itself and critically approach the ways individual researchers are surrounded by schools of thought and research themes or ideas about mass tourism that seem to be naturally such. Who is speaking and from what institutional location is important (Foucault 1972; Cheong & Miller 2000). “The power of discourses derives not so much from the abstract ideas they represent as from their material basis in the institutions and practices that makeup the micro-political realm” (Barnes & Duncan 1992: 9). The research community constructs, sustains, renews and circulates discourses of mass tourism within the academic community and ‘new’ students and researchers are socialized into those discourses. It is in an institutional setting with certain practices, hierarchies and funding instruments that sustain, renegotiate and construct them. These discourses matter also as they are circulated outside as ‘academic knowledge’, which in turn might be contested, rejected or absorbed. The academic community is also part of the surrounding world and its discourses.

4.1.2 Micro constructionism and discursive practices

Micro social constructionism, employed in discursive psychology, for example, concentrates on issues around the situated nature of accounts (Wetherell 1998 cited in Burr 2003) and the “situated use of language in social interactions” (Burr 2003: 62). The social construction takes place within everyday discourse between people in interaction (Burr 2003). Language is not considered to reflect ‘reality’ in a mirror-like fashion but it is instead a construction yard, which Jonathan Potter (1996) preferred to be understood in a pragmatic sense to mark how constructions are put together. In this sense, language is seen as functional, a form of social action (Potter & Wetherell 1987). The interest is not so much in how language structures our thinking but in the ways it is used (Burr 2003). In this study, the interest is in how the language use of different industry professionals (Articles II, III, IV) contributes to our shared understandings of how the mass tourism

category is put together in particular ways and with particular effects (Tuffin & Howard 2001). There can be variation and flexibility in people's practical reasonings about social issues (Billig *et al.* 1988; Potter 1998; Burr 2003). Between theory and practice there can be wide discontinuities in different realms and ideological arguments tend to have dilemmatic form. The dilemmatic form is a two-sided, or many-sided, debate without easy answers (Burr 2003).

According to Gillian Rose (2012), "the social location of a discourse is important to consider in relation to its effects". Thus, contextual sensitivity and variability within talk are central issues to address (Potter & Wetherell 1987). The context is considered to inform "organizational understanding which, in turn, clarifies the action orientation of the talk" (Tuffin & Howard 2001: 198). 'Talk' is considered to be performative and to have tasks: it explains, defends, blames and these tasks are the centre stage of the analysis (Tuffin & Howard 2001). This form of discourse analysis pays more attention to the notion of discourse as articulated through various visual images and verbal texts than to the practices entailed by specific discourse (Rose 2012). Although discourses are situated in immediate conversational contexts, rhetorically but also institutionally, a position of contextual determinism is not employed (Potter 2012). This means that not all interaction in a specific institutional setting, such as the doctor's office is intrinsically medical. The focus is on how the coherence of institutional talk, in that case medical, comes from "the regular collection of interactional tasks that are being managed" (Potter 2012: 107). In this sense, in the interviews the travel agents and guides do not only employ tourism professionalism but also other aspects of their unique life experiences and roles as tourists, daughters, seasonal inhabitants and so on. In a relative contrast to macro constructionism, in micro constructionism some degree of strategical position is given to persons for their accounts, as is stated that people build accounts for purposes that are motivated by practical and moral considerations (Burr 2003).

4.1.3 Dialogue between macro and micro constructionisms

In this compilation part I wish to bring the analytical discussion between the different parts of the research onto another level that sees macro constructionism and micro constructionism not as mutually exclusive (e.g. Burr 2003). Both macro and micro constructionism abandon coherence and unity for fragmentation and multiplicity, and bring the forum from an individual's head into the social realm (Burr 2003). This study thus offers a dialogue between the macro and micro, between the research community discourses (through their knowledge production of mass tourism) and the accounts of micro social groups (as an everyday category). The research community can be seen to theorize and define the concept mass tourism and offer limited, competing/complementary discourses on it. And the social groups not only socialize into these discourses but they create accounts of their experiences and the phenomena that link

them to these wider societal discourses on mass tourism (McCabe 2005); positioning themselves in relation to the wider discourses.

The concept of positionality serves to address the dialogue between macro and micro (Burr 2003). Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré (1990) suggest that positioning acknowledges simultaneously both the power of culturally available discourses to frame experiences and constrain our behaviour, and allows room for the person to actively engage with those discourses, negotiate and employ them in social situations. People orient to predominant cultural discourses in different ways (McCabe 2005). This is a more dynamic approach to encounters than the roles that entail ritualistic and normative aspects (Davies & Harré 1990). Thus beyond a travel agent's and guide's 'roles' they may take varying subject positions to issues. There is a place for the individuality of the person: "In speaking and acting from a position people are bringing to the particular situation their history as a subjective being, that is, the history of one who has been in multiple positions and engaged in different forms of discourse" (Davies & Harré 1990: 48). The personal history and unique life experiences influence the extent to which one wants to occupy and feel able to occupy particular positions within interactions (Davies & Harré 1999 cited in Burr 2003: 114). The person, after taking a certain subject position, sees the world "from the vantage point of that position" (Davies & Harré 1990: 46). What is being said changes as the conversation develops and one can position her/himself differently in different discussions and produce a diversity of selves (Davies & Harré 1990). Positioning is not necessarily made intentionally and interactive positioning of another as well as reflexive positioning of oneself can take place (Davies & Harré 1990). There is also a chance that in positioning the oneself and the others in the storyline, that the another person would not position her/himself in the same manner or that oneself gets positioned by another person in the way one has not intended (Davies & Harré 1990). Also cultural stereotypes, though understood differently by different people, may be utilized as resources within positioning.

Taking one step further to discuss the 'findings' of the macro and micro constructionist analyses within this study I will take a relational constructionist stance from which the main findings of this dissertation are articulated. "A relational constructionist orientation invites attention to the rationalities (as forms of life) that are invited and supported, or perhaps suppressed" in practices such as science or destination development (Hosking 2011: 61). Relational constructionism aims for dialogues in which all ways of approaching the reality (including social science perspectives and relational constructionism) are seen as constructed local ontologies and it does not privilege one local rationality (e.g. science) above others (Hosking 2008, 2011). I see this as a way to address the relationship between academic knowledge and practical knowledge in conceptualizing mass tourism by not separating them as binary hierarchy as was done before but now reflecting them by centering the relational process in which theory, method and data are intervoven (see Hosking 2011). Attention is directed at the ways particular relational realities are

(re)constructed and construct limits on other possibilities and offers a view of inquiry as a process of (re)constructing realities and relations (Hosking 2011: 48). According to relational constructionism: ‘construction’ is ongoing in local-cultural, local-historical processes and many simultaneous inter-acts (con-texts) contribute to the ongoing (re) constructions of reality continuously (Hosking 2011). These relational realities are not necessarily quick but can create stability.

Dialogue is at the core of relational constructionism as “dialoging can help to bring forth and support appreciation (rather than judgement and critique), discussion of what can be done (rather than what cannot) and as sense of relational responsibility (Hosking 2011: 61). Multiple self-other relations co-emerge in ongoing processes and emphasize dialogical view of a person (Sampson 1993). Dialogical processes can facilitate several views and voices and can help participation so that “other realities can be ‘allowed to lie’” (Hosking 2011: 61). The context in which Hosking, for example, writes is organization studies but I see that these kinds of approaches could serve the thinking about mass tourism. The theory of mass tourism would not then be based on blaming or critique but actually addressing the many simultaneous processes that re-make it turning attention to possibilities and what could be made out of the situation. The scientific community is not separate from the world but it has its own perspectives and institutionalized schools of thought that control and limit the possibilities; this is also true of the practical world. By combining the spheres into dialogue and centering the focus on the in-between process could bring new ideas. This does not mean that one cannot criticize, but the base for the conceptualization of mass tourism should be wider-based.

4.2 Material 1: Research articles and writings

Research texts and the ideas they hold are the contribution of the researchers to the academic knowledge of tourism and they shape the ‘truths’ about tourism. This knowledge is never the ‘full truth’ (Tribe 2006). I found that often researchers seem to be reluctant to define mass tourism at all (see Miller & Auyong 1998), and despite using their own words (contextualizing) they rather cite others, which is, of course, the way we do things in research. But this might also lead to reproduction of ‘old’ categories rather than renewing them. In these cases the analysis was done also from the other parts of the text. Another issue was the writings in which the definition of mass tourism was replaced by a historical narrative of the development of mass tourism in that region (e.g. Seckelmann 2002; Bramwell 2004). In cases where some other term was used, such as sun and sand, mature charter or package (e.g. Kozak 2001; Alegre & Cladera 2006; Alegre & Garau 2010; Andrews 2011), it was difficult to evaluate the linkage to mass tourism or what kind of definition they would have for mass tourism in a more general sense. These characteristics of mass tourism discussions led to material which is by no means exhaustive.

My interest was not in mass tourism research based on a specific theme such as sustainability or management, instead I have concentrated, in a more general way, on geographical, sociological and anthropological discussions as they form a rather coherent bulk of literature. The material consists of books, book chapters and research articles from the 1960s up until the time of the writing in 2010–2012 and some updates have been made for this synopsis. Mostly I wanted to find pieces that directly use the term mass tourism but some materials have been included that used charter tourism, sun and sand tourism or some other terms. The collection has been conducted in a snowballing method by following the references of the texts, but searches with different databases have also been utilized (Scopus, Web of Science and Cab abstracts). Especially writings with ‘mass tourism’ or its variants in their title, abstract or keywords have been searched for. Not all references were found, and the material had to be limited in order for an individual researcher to be able to conduct the analysis.

4.3 Material 2 and 3: Interviews and mental maps

Thematic semi-structured interviews were chosen as the method for material collection in order to collect self-formulated accounts of mass tourism (Botterill & Platenkamp 2012). In total 20 interviews took place, and 29 tourism professionals participated. Interviews included different questions under several themes. The aim was that the interviewees would talk as much as possible about mass tourism. I see interviews here as dialogues between research and practical professionals, and research as a process of constitutive negotiation (Rose 1997). As a researcher I have been influenced by the discourses within research and everyday life, and I have constructed the questions based on interest in certain themes that have links to the previous engagements in work and my commitment to broader philosophical positions and ways to work (McDowell 2010). All themes were covered in every interview but the order of some of the questions may have varied depending on the interview and different questions/themes can have been given more emphasis in some of the interviews “reflecting the ebb and flow of the conversation” (Botterill & Platenkamp 2012: 122).

Both travel agent and guide interviews were structured in the same way (Appendices 1 and 2). First, open-ended questions were asked about different themes beginning from personal information to the description of their typical work tasks, and for guides the personal relationship with the destination. For agents the following themes were the description of the operational environment, Finnish package tourism and destinations. For guides the corresponding themes were destination, description of the product and Finnish package tourism. Second, I introduced several statements (material in Article II) about mass tourism to both groups of interviewees (see Table 1 on page 49) and they were asked to comment on them. The statements were intended to present alternatives (Hitchings 2013) that possibly made the interviewees to think about the phenomenon

from different (possibly conflicting) aspects. Ready-formulated statements represented stereotypes of mass tourism and were intentionally provocative and oversimplified. Third, the interviewees were asked to define, in their own words, the concepts mass tourism and package tourism.

Another important character in the research design was that the questions of the first part of the all interviews utilized the term package tourism (*valmismatkailu*) instead of mass tourism. The 'mass tourism' term was addressed later, so that the interviewees would interpret the phenomenon they are working in before the term that might raise negative connotations or they might be stuck with. In this case, package tourism represents a good alternative for several reasons. Firstly, package tour or holiday is the official, practical term for the product they sell or work with (mostly charter based one to two weeks trips including flights, accommodation and often guide services) and package tourism is more likely to be the term used to describe the phenomenon in their daily working life rather than mass tourism. Secondly, it is a juridical term for the product and used in the legislation that guides the responsibilities and rights of the clients and the tour operators in Finland (Package Travel Act 1079/1994). Thirdly, package tourism of the kind has served to a great deal as a central form of mass tourism in the context of Finnish outbound tourism: it was democratized, gained popularity, visibility and has been a large steady flow. Different companies, such as airlines and specialized travel agencies and so on offer nowadays many more options to explore the world than in the 1960s and 1970s. Even though package tourism and mass tourism are not synonyms, in this case they form a rather close relation. This composition and dialogue between package and mass tourism terminologies is especially focused on in Article III which analyses their usage in the case of travel agent interviews.

In addition to verbal communication a task of drawing mental maps (Gold & White 1974) was included in the guide interviews, in order to help their answering and to provide an innovative alternative for open-ended questions. The drawings were made, based on the interviewee's preference, to the map of Crete or/and of the Chania (or Rethymno) region to form their spatial representation of the 'destination' as they know it through their (Bell 2009) a. daily physical movement, b. discussions about destination and c. their leisure time movement.

The idea that the interview exchange is more of a collaboration than an interrogation has permeated geographical research (McDowell 2010), and this is what I wanted to follow. The interview method represents a similar kind of situation as travel agents and guides work in: discussing issues (places, services) with strangers that are not present or are not 'their' issues, rather their clients' issues. This study is not about their work *per se* but about how they see the phenomenon around them. And based on my own experiences spontaneous discussions are held about changes and situations among personnel to cope with challenges or to reflect on happenings. This is why these groups were considered to be able to discuss their routines, even though the research interview setting is probably unfamiliar to them (see Hitchings 2013).

In the interview situations I let the participants know that I was looking for their opinions, which did not need to be in line with their tour operator's official strategies and that there would be no right or wrong answers. I also explained that I had previously been doing my master's thesis with Aurinkomatkat and gave them the information from my first Finnish article based on the thesis. Already during the research permission request (to tour operators' contact persons) and invitation for interviews (to office managers) I explained that the research was conducted under the working title of "New mass tourism – alternative views to mass tourist destinations", concentrating on different professional perspectives on mass tourism. A couple of the interviewees knew me from my master's research or from my travel agent career, but for others I told about my work experience only after the interviews. I tried to show that it was valuable for me to hear their daily accumulation of knowledge concerning their work environment and that the intention was to contribute to academic knowledge that would benefit from their views of the industry practices. I noticed that some interviewees were a bit reserved when they came to the interview. Some guides told me after the interview that it was easier or nicer than they thought it to be. This shows that one cannot fully control the way the another person reacts to you.

The interview location was also a practice towards empowerment of the interviewee. Interviews held in places that are familiar to interviewees might give further insight into their lives, in this case perhaps into professional lives, but might also affect the interviewees in regard to what they are willing to discuss or how they respond to questions (Bennett 2002). I was the one who suggested the back rooms/negotiation rooms for travel agents, and all but one interview (sales desk) took place in such rooms. On a couple of occasions some interruptions were made by colleagues passing by. The back rooms are in-between spaces, the back stages in the work environment, not meant for leisure nor for work (customer service). The guides chose a separately booked hotel room as they did not have suitable back room in their offices, but one interview took place in a café in Chania and two in my own hotel room. Although a hotel room is not a guide's workplace, I as a researcher came from Finland and in that sense it was neither 'my territory', with the exception of my own hotel room. The settings were intended to highlight their professional role (and its institutional setting) that was also the focus of my research and make them feel that the researcher was the one visiting their 'territory', in terms of academic knowledge and the geographical idea of place (Elwood & Martin 2000). It was of utmost importance that there were no clients or other personnel, for example from the management, that would be able to overhear the conversations (not possible in one interview), for the ethical reasons. This was important so that they would be able to discuss more freely their clients and work in general.

All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribing them word for word was necessary in order to accommodate more accurate discourse analysis. Recording might very well feel awkward for some of the interviewees as they might not be used to that. However, it was also something that made the researcher a bit nervous, because I knew it

was important to get everything on the tape. The interviewees had a chance to refuse the recording but no one said they had a problem with it. I also told them that the recording was taking place only because I wanted to make the analysis based on the exact responses of the interviewees rather than on my vague memories. The handwritten notes I took during the interviews would not have been sufficient. This way the recording was also something that secured their trust in the interviewer. It was also said that the analyses and further reports would maintain anonymity. When some quotes of the interviews were translated into English for this report nuances of the Finnish language were lost. The analyses were done in Finnish.

4.3.1 Pair interviews and context of travel agents

It is a historically important time to collect data on travel agents (and also guides) because developments in reservation systems have challenged the role of face-to-face meetings that have some elements that emails or phone discussions do not have. Also within guides' work the internet has become a forum for service encounters already before the trip. Both of the groups are included in this study because they represent different phases of the trip: before/after trip and on trip. Both of the groups are working in mass tourism and are in daily contact with clients and production members of the tour operator. Travel agents located in Finland and tour guides in destinations offer different perspectives on phenomena.

Tour operators' travel agents have been studied quite tangentially in tourism research, perhaps because it is seen as a growingly marginal profession, although they would have a lot to give also to the theoretization of tourism (e.g. Klenosky & Gitelson 1998; Cheong & Miller 2000; Baloglu & Mangaloglu 2001; Yläne-McEwen 2004; Renfors 2013). The human dimension of tour operating has been brought up by Georgios Papageorgiou (2008) emphasizing human diversity (emotions, personalities, cultural differences) in addition to the idea of faceless corporations. This is one of the reasons for concentrating on people that work at the ground level and are present in "everyday (micro) interactions of tourists and institutional actors in localized settings" (Cheong & Miller 2000: 378). In this dissertation, the term 'travel agent' refers to the sales personnel of tour operators, who work either in their sales offices or in call centers. Their daily work is based on being available to address their clients' needs. Cheong and Miller (2000: 383–384) analysed travel agents as Foucauldian agents of power and stated that they are 'experts' and have 'knowledge' that is legitimized by the tourists and that the success or failure (also for guides) lies in their "ability to 'read' tourists and to judge motivations and elicit attitudes". They sell and make reservations and alter or cancel reservations, they search information and have conversations and negotiations with their clients before the trip. But sometimes also after the trip or even though a trip never takes place.

Sanna-Mari Renfors (2013) studied the quality of the performance of travel agents and states that in organizations it is often superseded by looking at the statistics of selling instead of feedback. She studied travel agents as primarily salespersons but also finds out that the service encounter is a collaborative interaction (including emotions, knowledge) between the seller and the client and it is aiming for mutual understanding (see also Rääkkönen 2014). The discussion is a set of complex issues not only about the product. In this dissertation, I am not seeing them only in their role as salespersons and focus on their flexibly changing positions (Davies & Harré 1990).

Permission to conduct interviews during working hours was first requested from the management personnel and then the interview invitations were sent to the office managers. I did not take part in selecting travel guides, but instructed the office managers or equivalents to allow interested travel agents to volunteer and wished for these travel agents to be of various ages and have differing lengths of working experience. In total, nine pair interviews and one individual interview took place. Interviews conducted in pairs (travel agents) was one of the practices towards empowering the interviewee as in the interview situation they would outnumber the interviewer possibly contributing to a more relaxed or comfortable situation. Pair interviews are not widely used in tourism geography. According to database engines pair interviews have been used within social sciences in, for example, psychological and educational studies for interviewing couples or parent-child pairs as opposed to individuals. In this study, pairs are composed of colleagues. Pair interviews were chosen as a method for travel agent interviews to make the situation comfortable for the interviewees but also to stimulate conversations about the themes brought up by the researcher/interviewer. This was the chosen interview design to highlight the social group of travel agents and an institutional setting without losing the connection to the individual. It is a method characterized as being in between individual and group interviews/focus groups. It has to be acknowledged though that pair interviews are also different from individual ones in terms of the dynamics between the two interviewees and this has serious impacts onto the success of the situation. The amount of discussion on certain issues depends on the participants and whether they are talkative or if one dominates the conversation.

The interviewees were travel agents except for one, who was another staff member. Some of the participants had previous working experience as guides. The voluntary participants included 16 women and three men. The interviewees were of different ages: seven were ≤ 30 years old, nine 31–50 and three $51 \leq$ years old. Their career length with the same tour operator varied: seven had less than six years of experience, six of them 6–10 years, four 11–20 years and two 21 years or more. The variation in the ages and career lengths was welcomed as the aim was to get diverse interpretations. Four interviews were conducted with Aurinkomatkat personnel, four with Finnmatkat personnel and two with Tjäreborg personnel. The interviews varied between 28 and 70 minutes, but were most often approximately 40 minutes. The interviews were conducted during working hours in order to lower the barrier for them to participate.

At the time of the travel agent interviews Aurinkomatkat had four travel agencies in addition to the one in Helsinki: Turku, Lahti, Tampere and Oulu. The interviews took place in Oulu and Helsinki for research-related economical reasons and also because Oulu was the location for pilot interviews and the location where I live. It is a good representative of an office outside the national capital and might multiply the material. Finnmatkat and Tjäreborg had already shut down their other offices. Finnmatkat still had a first floor office whereas Tjäreborg's office was in another floor (attached to the head office, though in the centre of Helsinki). Both of the remaining offices were sites for interviews. Finnmatkat interviews mainly (except for one) took place at their call centre which was located in Espoo.

4.3.2 Interviews, mental maps and context of tourist guides

Previous studies on tourist guides have included many kinds of guide positions and different roles they take in guidal practices: the original and professional guides (Cohen 1985), tour operators' representatives or guides (Andrews 2005, 2011; Scherle & Nonnenmann 2008), official guides, alternative guides, entrepreneurial guides (commercial, event and coach tours) and relational guides (private, independent) and residential guides in a regional context (Bryon 2012). In addition, at least urban guides, government guides, driver-guides, business or industry guides, adventure guides and tour managers have been identified (Pond 1993). Tourist guide research has emphasized complexity in the roles of tourist guides (Pond 1993; Weiler & Black 2015). In their recently published volume, Weiler and Black (2015: 42) identified spheres of key guide roles, based on the corpus of previous research: "instrumental (tour management), mediatory (experience management) and interpretative/sustainability (destination/resource management)". In addition, guides work at various locations: museums, cities, resorts, national parks.

There has been some research on Finnish tour operators' guides (e.g. Takanen 2009; Räikkönen & Honkanen 2013; Räikkönen 2014) and local guides working at Finnish destinations with multinational clients (e.g. Veijola *et al.* 2008; Rantala 2010). Areej Aloudat (2010 cited in Weiler & Black 2015: 176) highlights that guides possess an important day-to-day role in which they observe tourism processes and gain valuable insights from the 'ground-level'. This is a perspective that is not necessarily available for the managers. The same applies, of course, to the travel agents. These groups of people work in the mass and meet with the continuous flux of tourists. They evaluate the products in the actual encounters with clients in the servicescapes (Veijola *et al.* 2008), but also the phenomenon more generally.

The second group of interviews were conducted with Finnish tourist guides working for tour operators. The interviewees, all women, represented two tour operators Finnmatkat (TUI group) and Aurinkomatkat (Finnair group), seven and three participants respectively. I did not take part in selecting guides, but instructed the destination managers to allow

interested guides to volunteer and wished for these guides to possibly have diverse titles and career lengths. Four of the guides were less than 25 years old and four were over 25 years old and two were over 30 years old. In regard to their experiences as guides four had ≤ 1 year of guiding at the time of the interviews, four of them had >1 but <5 years, and two had >5 years of guiding. Time spent in Crete during their guiding career varied among guides: three had been there for one month, five had spent several months there but less than a year, and two had been there for several years in total. Most of the guides, nine, had worked at more than one destination and seven of them had previous experiences in Crete, whereas three had not worked in Crete before this season. Seven of them had not visited Crete before their guide role there, three had been there on their own holiday.

The interviews varied between 23 minutes and 87 minutes but were most often more than 40 minutes. I had told beforehand that the interviews would take up to one hour, but in some of the cases we had less time than that, which affected some questions to be cut to accommodate the new schedule.

4.4 Fieldwork in Crete

The fieldwork destination was chosen after the travel agent interviews and was partly based on their choices during the interviews. I asked them to recommend and introduce one central destination in Finnish package tourism during the interview theme 'tourist destination' (see Appendix 1). They chose destinations that they perceived positively. Alongside Thailand, Crete was most frequently chosen as a positive mass tourism destination. In my previous research (see Takanen 2009), on the contrary, I chose perhaps the most controversial destination in Finnish package tourism, the Canary Islands, that were seen in a negative light by travel agents but more positively by guides. The choice of Crete is also justifiable because it has a long established relationship with Finnish package tourism, although not as long as with Rhodes or the Canary Islands. Package tours have been conducted to Crete since the 1970s for example to Agios Nikolaos (Selänniemi 2003). The island and its several resorts have an image of a family-friendly destination with possibilities for the three S's as well as cultural, heritage, culinary, activity-based and nature tourism. It is also known for repeat visitors who return there for decades. Probably almost all Finns have some ideas about Crete or know someone who has been there, even though they have not.

Out of all of the destinations in Crete, the Chania region was chosen based on its multi-resort character. The Chania region that was the 'homebase' for the interviewed guides has been on selection of Aurinkomatkat since 1992 (Selänniemi 2003). Near the city of Chania at least Kato Stalos, Agii Apostoli, Agia Marina, Platanias, Gerani and Maleme locate close together along the coastal road and inspire to rethink the concept of mass tourism destination. It has been promoted by tour operators as the combination of a city

and beach/village holiday (Aurinkomatkat 2015; Tjäreborg 2015). This region was also on the selection of both of the tour operators Finnmatkat and Aurinkomatkat participating in this part of the study and it is a central tourist region for Finnish package tourists.

Crete, with 600,000 inhabitants, is the largest island and the most popular destination in Greece outside Athens (e.g. Apostolakis 2013). For Finns Greece is the largest summer season destination country and the second largest in all-year statistics of air based leisure package tours (AFTA 2014). In 2013, more than 172,000 out of the total 938,000 Finnish charter package tour passengers visited Greece (AFTA 2014). Charter flights during the summer season (late April-October) have traditionally been the only direct route from Finland to Crete but at least one low-cost airline has started operating the route directly (Norwegian 2015).

The fieldwork took place in early May 2013 for two weeks. I chose a Finnmatkat package, because I had only participated previously in those of Aurinkomatkat. It was the beginning of summer season and there were relatively few tourists (also because of the economic recession). Another effect is that new guides in Crete had only started working there. The time was chosen based on better chances for guides to volunteer, but also because it was good timing in relation to the research process and other work tasks.

I had never been to Crete before the fieldwork trip. The only time I had visited Greece was in Parga (mainland) in 2005. What Crete symbolized for me as a previous travel agent and Finnish tourist was a safe family destination which has a rich cultural heritage. But I have to admit that the image was not the most appealing to me as I was, in a sense, missing the visions based on the 'landscape' features. This might have also resulted from the fact that I have been interested in other destinations without paying too much attention to Crete in particular. I had been selling trips to Crete for years but still did not have very unique ideas about it. I knew Chania and its resorts and remember describing this setting to clients so many times. The image did transform during the visit.

4.5 Conducting discourse analyses

Discourse analysis is not a clear method but rather a theoretical framework for analyzing material (Potter & Wetherell 1987), a specific way to read material. Laurence Berg (2009) has argued, among others, that human geographers have been very reluctant to tell in detail how they have conducted discourses analysis. The discourse analysis aims to remind readers, with its reflexive emphasis that researchers and the research community are part and parcel of the constructive effects of discourse in using language producing texts, and drawing on discourses (Phillips & Hardy 2002). At least two general lines of discourse analysis have been identified (Burr 1995, 2003; Rose 2012) and used in this study: one which is influenced by the structuralist/post-structuralist debate and interested in the issues of regimes of truth, institutions and power relations (macro constructionism) and

the other tradition to be interested in performative qualities of discourse: what people do and want to achieve with their talking or writing (micro constructionism). In this study, the Foucauldian notion of discourse is more clearly utilized in Article I as I analyse the mass tourism discussions within academia that set the broader ideas of mass tourism. In the analysis of the interview materials (Articles II, III, IV) I utilize more the discourse analysis concerned with the analysis of talk in interaction influenced by discursive psychologists (Burr 2003) which concentrates on (micro) discourses of social groups.

Archive materials, texts and passages of talk which have been produced without the researcher are utilized often in (Foucauldian) discourse analysis (Andersen 2003). The research writings analysed in this study have been published regardless of this study, but of course the collection of them was influenced by me. The research text material that I collected covered only the products of research processes, not for example, funding strategies and so on. My aim was to address how these end-products function as discursive practices. Institutions and naturally occurring talk are not the only ones we can study for discursive 'reality', although Phillips and Hardy (2002) state that research interviews are rather a researcher-instigated discourse. They add that if researchers are interested in broader societal-level discourses, then they will likely have to consult texts that are disseminated widely (by institutions). As my intention was in addition to address how the social groups from their context construct the idea of mass tourism, this idea does not form a problem. I want to highlight that in this study the interest is not in discourses that 'exist out there', but also which are acted out in the interview situation, in a conversation between professionals. I am not interested in how they participate in construction of their institution towards their clients or the markets (see Cheong & Miller 2000). Nor am I interested in how they talk with their clients or in their everyday life (see McCabe 2005; McCabe & Stokoe 2010), which I am sure would produce different conversations and some things would be highlighted differently (Davies & Harré 1990).

I merely wanted to explore how the academic researcher and travel agents or tourist guide in a shared situation produce versions of mass tourism (question themes + answers = versions) (see England 1994). Both the researcher and the researched influence the situation and the research and practice are mutually constitutive. My interest is, how, in these instances, language is actively used as a form of social action, not as a way to get into some of their inner thoughts or all-encompassing discourses (Wetherell 1998 cited in Burr 2003). It also brings forth the situational and momentary characters of discourses and the researcher as always influencing the outcome. The different research theme sets (open questions, statements, maps) are part of this collaboration as well as the different analysis compositions discussed later. The aim is thus not to say that this is what interviewees think but how they reflect on the given tasks and using different kinds of compositions different elements of the material can be focused on.

In Article I (Rethinking mass tourism), my focus was on Foucauldian power/knowledge discourses of mass tourism reflected in research writings. Berg (2009: 219–220)

summarizes, based on Gillian Rose's (2012) and Gordon Waitt's (2005) writings, seven key methodological issues in discourse analysis: "suspending pre-existing categories", "absorbing oneself in the texts", "coding themes", "identifying 'regimes of truth'", "identifying inconsistencies", "identifying absent presences" and "identifying social contexts". In summary, these meant that I stepped back from the previous categorizations of mass tourism and listened to the material in their creation and I re-read the text so that it felt familiar. I concentrated on the ideas and ways mass tourism was distributed with the research practices, and in addition I focused on three central elements of mass tourism: mass tourism production, destination and tourists. In the coding, I paid attention to how the producer and consumer of the text were positioned and how the discussed objects themselves (mass tourists, destinations) were positioned. These inconsistencies and silences were also marked and who or what were erased from the discourse. Finally, the social context for the discourse was discussed. These questions are not only related to the use of language, but practices, power relations and social structures behind the academic text. I identified different mechanisms in which that particular discourse was seen to be valid and valuable and what kinds of contents were included or excluded. These texts are products of processes that continue to have effects: they are re-read, re-interpreted and their ideas are re-distributed.

I will do my best now to explain how I conducted the discourse analysis, influenced by discursive psychology, with the research interview materials. In this type of discourse analysis passages of talk are analysed as a process through which a successful account of events are built (Burr 2003). The interest is in the consequences of these practices and in the process that leads to those consequences (see Hall 1997). I was influenced by the ways Keith Tuffin and Christina Howard (2001) describe openly the different procedures that take place in the discourse analysis, instead of mystifying them (See Potter & Wetherell 1987). The first step was to transcribe all the interviews into a written form. This allowed me to get to know the material well and I even listened to the interviews later on to validate the analysis. After that, 'close reading' took place and several steps of coding, resulting in the final categories of speech, were formed with respect to the material (Tuffin & Howard 2001). If one sentence or part of an answer belonged to more than one of these pre-coding categories it was placed in all of them, implementing the inclusivity principal (Potter & Wetherell 1987).

In Article II (Stereotypes and professional reflections) the two interview materials were combined and the focus was on the material around seven statements and responses to them (Table 1). The statements can be seen as stereotypes of mass tourism, which are traces of surrounding wider discourses in society and culture that are products of historical processes, not necessarily stigmas (see McCabe 2005; Nelson 2007). In general, stereotypes and representations are important tools used by people to manage the world around them (Berger & Luckmann 1967; Hall 1997). They are complex sets of beliefs that are "sometimes held together by cultural clues or prejudice, but more often through theories that reflect some combination of experience and culture" (Schneider 2004: 566).

Table 1. The statements about mass tourism introduced in the interviews (Originally published in *Revue Etudes Caribéennes*, Vainikka 201X in press).

Tour operators:

1. Tour operator wants to control the tourist in order to make larger profits
(‘during the trip’ was added for guide interviews)

Mass tourism destinations:

2. All mass tourism destinations are similar
3. Mass tourism destinations are predictable and familiar even though it would be the first visit (only for guides)
4. Mass tourism is based on the sea, sun and sand (only for guides)

Mass tourists:

5. Mass tourists are not interested in the local culture of their destination
6. Mass tourists travel for entertainment, not to learn
7. Nobody wants to admit that she/he is a mass tourist

For Bob McKercher (2008) stereotypes of tourists are kept alive by the new groups of first generation mass tourists on package tours, due to their mediated nature, that endures separation between locals and tourists.

In the phase of constructing the statements there is a loose reference to Q-methodology, a method in which statement format is used “on topics over which there is much debate and contestation” (Eden *et al.* 2005: 414). In this case, I formed the statements about mass tourism based on the *concourse* (the sum of discourse) that focused on and consisted of a large amount of academic literature on mass tourism: what has been said in that context about mass tourism and why has mass tourism research been criticized? The oversimplified and even provocative statements are not direct reflections on the deterministic discourse of mass tourism research (Vainikka 2013) but formulations that were intended to create one kind of composition or context in which to discuss mass tourism. In many parts, they have already been challenged and discussed in tourism studies by flexible discourse. It was not possible, nor necessary to open the academic discussion further for interviewees, because these stereotypes are partly also used in everyday life outside academia. This composition is not meant to prove the stereotypes wrong or right, but instead to raise culturally situated discussions about them from the perspective of industry professionals. They could be interpreted in different ways by the interviewees, who can also give new meanings to them (Hall 1997). The statements were formed in a universalist tone on purpose, but as Petri Hottola (2012) has stated the formulation of stereotypes is culturally specific and one’s own reference groups are used rather than ‘global average’. Discourse analysis was applied here as a loose framework concentrating on the discursive practices by which each statement was responded, one statement at a time. In total seven statements were included in the analysis. Travel agent and guide responses were first

analysed separately, but combined if no differences were analysed. The importance was placed on those characteristics of the talk that were in contradiction or similar between these groups or in relation to the statement.

With Article III (Travel agent discourses) the focus was on the package tourism and mass tourism talk of the travel agents. With package tourism the material included all the open-ended questions and passages in which they talked specifically about package tourism. With mass tourism all those passages were included in which they used the term mass tourism. First, the material was 'close read' and coded preliminarily into categories (Tuffin & Howard 2001). Two separate analyses were conducted. First, mass tourism coding was initiated by searching all mass tourism terms or derivatives of it from the answers and coding them. This was a straightforward way to code how mass tourism is framed and reframed by the interviewee. Package tourism passages were separately coded by asking three questions, each resulting in one pre-coding category for practical reasons: How is package tourism production (re)framed in the talk? How is consumption/ tourist (re)framed? How is mass tourism destination (re)framed? The second round of coding resulted in as many new categories as emerged from the material, not imposed on (Tuffin & Howard 2001). These categories were later re-examined and checked resulting in emergence of some and exclusion of some, based on their varying support from the material. In the case of package tourism, the three pre-coding categories were examined individually, but the further coding resulted in shared categories of package tourism narratives analysed from the talk and each one has a collective way to make sense of the phenomenon. Behind each category there is a common way and style to interpret the phenomenon.

In Article IV (Tourist guide reflections) the analysed part of the interviews were the open-ended questions. The aim was to address the discursive practices in terms of spatiality of mass tourism. The special interest was in the variability of talk in relation to talking about guides' own spatiality and that of their clients as well as to different spatial practices and strategies. The analysis was done in three different parts. The first part included a 'light' analysis of the guide context which was made by their talk. The second part included the analysis of the discursive practices regarding the mental maps and associated talk in three parts according to the themes of the drawing task: physical movement, area of discussions and leisure time movement. The emphasis was on the verbal material of justifying talk while drawing and mental maps were illustrations rather than material (although the sizes of the drawn areas were compared visually between interviewees and by one interviewee). The third part was a discourse analysis in which the material of open questions was analysed by several rounds of close-reading by asking the question: How do the guides articulate mass tourism's spatiality? The material was coded preliminarily into several categories that emerged from the material after which the categories were close-read and some emerged resulting in two categories based on support from the material (Tuffin & Howard 2001). Two categories are both separate 'hegemonic' entities and intertwined in many ways.

5 Academic discourses of mass tourism – Two ‘mass tourisms’

5.1 Mass tourism 1: Deterministic discourse

In the academic writings of mass tourism, ideas about mass tourism are constructed, circulated, negotiated and remade. These ideas do not born in a vacuum but are historically and spatially contextual. The academic discourses represent wider accepted ‘truths’ of mass tourism (Vainikka 2013). Researchers are socialized into these thoughts in their training, in the networks where they work and practices of tourism scholarship. Defining mass tourism is not a value-free practice and discourses are always constructed with ideological and value-based arrangements (Tribe 2006; Hall 2012).

“Mass tourism exists if the following conditions hold.

- 1. The holiday is standardized, rigidly packaged and inflexible. No part of the holiday could be altered except by paying higher prices.*
- 2. The holiday is produced through the mass replication of identical units, with scale economies as the driving force.*
- 3. The holiday is mass marketed to an undifferentiated clientele.*
- 4. The holiday is consumed en masse, with lack of consideration by tourists for local norms, culture, people or the environments of tourist-receiving destinations” (Poon 1993: 32, emphasis on original).*

Poon’s characterization is a good representation of the discursive practices within the deterministic discourse. It frames the so called mass tourism as a separate form of tourism that can be defined by certain set of parameters. The definition starts with production, extends into consumption and behaviour, and it is meant to be read as representing something negative. Mass tourism is seen not only as encompassingly quantitative, but qualitative. Such characterization understands that mass tourism has an essence that is manifested in the attitudes of tourists or in the oppressive nature of production. The values that are seen to relate to this ‘mass tourism’ are not as good as the values of the so called new tourism. Mass tourism is seen to be in crisis and to be replaced by more individualist and flexible forms of tourism (Poon 1993). This creates an idea that mass tourism is something static and homogeneous by its very nature, not able to transform.

For Spilani and Vayanni (2004: 272) mass tourism is not a form of tourism or a conceptual approach, but a way the activity is organized, that is mass, standardized, low cost and controlled by tour operators. This is a lighter version of the former definition, but this is also rigid and exclusive, and seizes mass tourism into a somewhat static idea of a package tour. Following this idea, “the island of Crete is considered as a mass tourism destination due to the trend toward inclusive tour packages organized exclusively by foreign

tour operators” (Andriotis 2003; Andriotis *et al.* 2007: 15). Thus, deterministic discourse in its weakest form frames mass tourism as a model or structure of production that has been implemented in certain places (created as/creating mass).

The commentators in deterministic discourse see mass production to have pervasive effects on the consumption of mass tourism. The package tour is the standardized product which is inflexible and predetermined leading mass tourism to be culturally poor and commoditized (e.g. Boorstin 1964; Cohen 1972; Turner & Ash 1975; Poon 1993; Enoch 1996, Shaw & Williams 2004). The category of mass tourists is seen to be embedded with insignificance or superficiality, as well as stating that they are not interested in the local culture, only in the risk-free sea, sun, sand and sex waiting to be served (Boorstin 1964; Turner & Ash 1975; Krippendorf 1987; Poon 1993). This has led to a situation in which the activities and experiences of mass tourists are often categorized as a more passive ‘mass type’ (e.g. Andriotis *et al.* 2007) and the future recommendations for destination development often suggest in an instrumental way more quality instead of mass, referring to a preferred diversification of the ‘mass segment’ (e.g. Claver-Cortés *et al.* 2007; Scherle 2011). It is no surprise that mass tourists have been seen as a more or less homogeneous group due to their positioning as marionettes controlled by tour operators. Erik Cohen (1972, 1979) did criticize the approach that treated tourists as a general type and demanded the acknowledgement of multiplicity of the tourist phenomenon. Both Cohen (1972, 1979) and Valentine Smith (1977) created typologies of tourists in which mass tourist role categories were represented as the other end of the continuum, separating mass tourism from ‘other forms’. The ‘hordes of barbarians’ causing serious impacts (Turner & Ash 1975) remain one part of the academic narrative about mass tourism. The same has happened to mass tourism destinations that are in this discourse often found to have lost something in relation to the ideal of organic idea of place/culture. These ‘pleasure peripheries’, purpose-built, artificially and sometimes hastily erected resorts or holiday towns are restricted to offer the same products (SSS) and to standardize the ‘local’ (e.g. Cohen 1972; Rivers 1972; Turner & Ash 1975; Butler 1980; Krippendorf 1987; Shaw & Williams 2002). This is not only the case with researchers but also by the general public as for some groups certain destinations became to symbolize inferior places of mass tourism (Urry 1990).

Deterministic discourse can be seen to have originated from the cultural critiques towards the changing cultures of travel to tourism and its Western democratization (e.g. Boorstin 1964; Rivers 1972; Turner & Ash 1975) and continued in the alternative and sustainable tourism discussions since the 1980s (see Clarke 1997). What is often common with these discussions is that they seem not to be interested in mass tourism particularly, nor generally, but in the ‘other’ ‘better’ forms of tourism. Mass tourism serves as an opposite or a comparison partner (e.g. Khan 1997) to forms of alternative tourism or sustainable tourism. Listings of different characteristics have included the design of text books and research writings (Cohen 1972, 1979; Smith 1977, 2001; Poon 1993; Shaw & Williams 2002, 2004; Weaver & Lawton 2002; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003;

Jovicic 2014; see also Butler 1990). The categorizations are often used in this discourse aiming to separate or alienate mass tourism as a strict category. Greg Richards (2011: 1225) maintains that “Creative tourism is also arguably an escape route from the serial reproduction of mass cultural tourism, offering more flexible and authentic experiences which can be co-created between host and tourist”. Sometimes, it seems, almost anything ‘out of ordinary’ can be excluded from mass tourism: such as hiking or golfing in the case of sun and sand destination (Baysan 2001). But in another example, David B. Weaver (2014) uses the categorization of mass and alternative as a dialectical relationship looking for integration of mass tourism and alternative tourism in the light of sustainability, based on the perspective that all tourism is related to mass tourism structures.

Before moving to the flexible discourse it must be said that there have been some moves towards more dialogical relationships between the different genres of tourism scholarship. For instance, the categorizations have been challenged as they have become blurrier and more multidimensional, also recognizing that alternative tourism is not homogeneous or without challenges (e.g. Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Reichel *et al.* 2007; Collins-Kreiner & Israeli 2010; Weaver 2014). Often this is done to mark the growth of alternative forms into the mainstream, instead of taking a look at what is happening to the ‘mass tourism’ category. I also identified a wave-like movement between the chosen frameworks and ‘surprises’ that made the researchers question the usability of such categorizations (e.g. Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; McKenzie Gentry 2007; Gursoy *et al.* 2010).

5.2 Mass tourism 2: Flexible discourse

The second identified discourse, the flexible discourse turns more attention to the ways mass tourism discussions and research have been conducted. The complicated effects of the locked situation in which mass tourism is treated as the other of the polar opposites are addressed and researchers have aimed at contributing to new, additional approaches to mass tourism and researcher reflexivity (e.g. Miller & Auyong 1998; Aramberri 2001, 2010; Butcher 2003; Hazbun 2009; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009b; Sharpley 2012; Weaver 2014). Flexible discourse takes a different stance on the idea of mass tourism. It is not considered so much as a separate form of tourism but a loose umbrella concept for contemporary global tourism, including domestic tourism, or a multidimensional combination of many different popular and large-scale forms of tourism, acknowledging its dynamic character (Wheeller 2003; Aramberri 2010). In other words, it is an enduring modern (worldwide) phenomenon (Wheeller 2003; Aramberri 2010). It is not something that would be going away, but rather something that takes different forms in different temporal framings. In this discourse, criticism is directed at the deterministic discourse’s idea of the so called (separate) alternative tourism being able to replace mass tourism, which is considered misleading as the scales of the categorized phenomena are so different and alternative tourism could not even function independently from mass tourism (transport, financial

support) (Butler 1990; Aramberri 2010; Weaver 2014). Mass tourism and new tourism (Poon 1993) or sustainable/alternative tourism need not be treated as dichotomies but as relations in which both adopt features (e.g. Clarke 1997; Honkanen 2004; Weaver 2012b, 2014). Among others, the blurring of the mass and alternative through product diversification, has been recognized (Weaver 2001; Duval 2004). In flexible discourse, an inclusive strategy seems to be purported in which forms of tourism, although not completely identical, can be categorized as part of the mass tourism phenomenon (or as its variants), such as ecotourism (Weaver 2001), business, visiting friends and relatives and religious tourism (Aramberri 2010). This is because several elements and services that are used have linkages to the mass tourism industry and leisure markets such as major airlines, mass vehicles, hotels, credit cards or sights (see Weaver 2001, 2014; Aramberri 2010).

The discourse is directing our attention to the growth of tourism, its changes, multiplicity and does not concentrate so much on the particular type of product, such as package tour as defining the mass tourism. The discourse highlights the quantitative side of mass tourism (e.g. Burkart & Medlik 1974; Stamboulis & Skayannis 2003; Jenkins 2007; Divino & McAleer 2010): “Arrivals [...] have now reached high enough levels to be described as ‘mass tourism’” (McKenzie Gentry 2007: 480). This gives more space to the diverse qualitative conceptualizations of mass tourism and as the numbers to be named mass are not universal, mass can be seen very dynamic and flexible. The contextuality is considered an important issue in this discourse. It is believed that by recognizing that mass tourism takes place in a society, culture and place at a certain time, and that it has histories and geographies of its own (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a) a deeper understanding of mass tourism can be reached. Although tourism is globalizing rapidly, its regional and local characteristics need to be considered because of the continuing regional emphasis of modern mass tourism (Hazbun 2009; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). Mass tourism in the British (Andrews 2005; 2011) or in the Finnish context (Selänniemi 2001; Rääkkönen 2014) are thus not considered the same, even though both are inside a Western context.

Different theoretical frameworks have been used to challenge the narrow theoretical and methodological base of former studies (e.g. Pattison 2012) for more multilogical approaches. Hazbun (2009) recognized with a postcolonial approach that the local is being able to use foreign influences for their own purposes, and makes visible the micro-stories of local practices if we lose the modernization thesis as the basis for evaluation. Helen Pattison (2012), on the other hand conducted a postcolonial (Global) framework of Foucauldian relational power to investigate the host as active in resisting, adapting and negotiating influences. Julio Aramberri (2001) criticized the host-guest model as it does not consider the complexity of interactions within tourism. The contextualization of mass tourism has led to recognition of the roles of tourists as customers and the destination and the local populations, among others, as service providers (Aramberri 2001; Sharpley 2012). This is not made in the tone of all-compassing negativity but taken as one dimension of the phenomenon, that is taking place in the global and regional market

systems that affect the tourism actors (e.g. Britton 1991; Aramberri 2001; Bastakis *et al.* 2004; McKenzie Gentry 2007; Anton Clavé 2012; Weaver 2014). Thus these frameworks have framed mass tourism as more active and complex from both visitors' and local inhabitants' perspectives.

Mass tourism through flexible discourse is a dynamic agglomeration of different modes of production and consumption (Ioannides & Debbage 1998; Bramwell 2004; Leiper *et al.* 2008). According to Rebecca Torres (2002) the clientele is increasingly segmented and the large Fordist tour operators have started to cater to more specialized tastes (Urry 1990: 49), in the form of 'sun-plus' products, in addition to 'sun-lust' (Bramwell 2004). Tour operators are seen more as providers/satisfiers instead of modifiers (Sharpley 2000; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013). Package tours have become integrated products with various choices in the form of complementary services and unique features, and in their basic form only including airfare and accommodation (Aguiló Perez & Juaneda Sampol 2000; Torres 2002; Aguiló *et al.* 2005; Travel and Tourism Analyst 2009). Thus mass tourism and its products are considered dynamic.

In the flexible discourse the standardized marketing or product is not considered to standardize the mass tourists and prevent the tourist from having personal, unique and strong experiences (Rojek 1993; Löfgren 1999; Selänniemi 2001; Wright 2002; Jacobsen *et al.* 2014). Researchers characterize mass tourism as travel for all, and in this regard the unrealistic expectations of often middle class tourism commentators have been criticized for not being sufficient (Crick 1989; Sharpley 2000; Henning 2002). Not all travel for cultural authenticity which some commentators have seen as the only acceptable motivation. In mass tourism there are multitudes of different people in different phases of their lives and from diverse backgrounds travelling with different parties as socially bound members (Klemm 2002; Obrador 2012). Mass tourism can be fun, social, entertaining, familiar and hedonistic, but also educational, aesthetic, novel and adventurous, just like all tourism, including obstacles of achieving authenticity and having impacts (e.g. Wickens 2002; Wright 2002; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003, 2004; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a; Collins-Kreiner & Israeli 2010; Obrador 2012). The flexible discourse thus reminds that experiencing the destination is not done in a vacuum.

The focus is also directed at the wider interests of tourists venturing on beyond the so called mass tourism resorts, to natural, cultural, heritage or rural sights, leading to more active and heterogeneous roles of 'mass tourists' (Löfgren 1999; Baysan 2001; Torres 2002; Wickens 2002; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Bramwell 2004; Aguiló *et al.* 2005; Bardolet & Sheldon 2008; Weaver 2012b). In addition to the familiar, social, embodied and everyday aspects (e.g. Diken & Laustsen 2004; Andrews 2005, 2011; Obrador 2012), the dynamicity of destinations as relational spatial formations is acknowledged (Anton Clavé 2012). The mass tourism destination is not locked into the coastal resorts, but also cities are locations for mass tourism (Agarwal 2002; Klemm 2002; Papatheorodou 2003). The 'spoiled' character of mass tourism destinations is rejected as one side of the

story but their attraction serves more interest (Knox 2009) beyond the ideas of organic place or culture or community. Thus mass tourism and place discussions is far from over (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a,b).

5.3 From a grand story to stories of mass tourism(s)

Article I, was built around two research questions: *How is mass tourism defined and represented in academic literature? What kinds of implications do different definitions provide?* Mass tourism is constructed in two ways which result in two diverse formulations of the phenomenon, or even two different ‘mass tourisms’. The deterministic discourse leans on an idea of the mass as a separate model or form of tourism from seemingly ‘better’ or other forms of tourism (travelling) which are more up to date. It follows in many ways the paths of critiques towards mass culture, mass production and mass society as oppressive forces, too controlled and problematic (mass as social). The mass in tourism is seen as a homogeneous idea. Thus the approach to mass as plural is based on the singularity of the mass in a top-down fashion objectifying tourists and practices (see Veijola 2014). The focus is on what is seen to be common in the homogeneous mass and extending that to define the mass. As soon as some flexibility or individuality appears, it is not included in the mass. Mass as a numerical idea was also taken into consideration but as a way to emphasize the challenges (impacts) or as a challenge in itself (herds, crowd, uncontrolled, low spending power). This discourse alone does not leave much room for multiplicity (in consumption/production/places) possibilities or meaningfulness of the mass nor even ethical encounters, as it privileges and criticizes certain groups. Mass tourism is placed at a distance from the author (the ‘judge’) and a critical tone is directed at the practitioners and the phenomenon. However, their own positionality, ways of seeing or restrictions of a single view are not critically thought of.

In the flexible discourse mass tourism is something of a more dynamic, loose umbrella term either for contemporary tourism or popular parts of it (partial models)(cf. Singh 2007). Several tourisms and segments together can form the mass. The idea of mass with plural meaning was thus approached as an interest to construct the plurality from the bottom up, but the mass (or masses) was even left more to the background when the common features did not exhaustively define mass tourism. In the flexible discourse mass as numerical was used to inform its scale and democratization (also importance). This discourse focuses perhaps so much on the plural that often mixed signals are received from its definition of the mass. In the flexible discourse frameworks that do not get intimidated by the mass culture/production but instead immerse it as the starting point for more complex relationships in and with the mass (in production and consumption) are utilized. Mass as social was thus not reflected as a one way street, although important tourism structures that keep alive all forms of tourism are acknowledged. It discards

clear 'universal laws' keeping the mass together and recognizes its dynamic nature and individual agency.

These discourses originate from different disciplines and theoretical frameworks and their power should be acknowledged, also when evaluating the usefulness of the category of mass tourism. Neither of the discourses alone serves as a sufficient basis but future dialogues and collaboration is needed. The strength of mass tourism as useful category comes from the wider problematization of the 'mass' and recognition of the dynamic ways it is put together in the changing tourism contexts, something that is not too rigid or fixed. These discourses of mass tourism are in many ways intertwined and related to other discourses of tourism/travelling.

6 Travel agent and tourist guide perspectives to mass tourism

6.1 Reflections on stereotypes of mass tourism

This analysis focuses on the answers that the travel agents and tourist guides gave in response to several statements about mass tourism, which can be thought of as stereotypes, persistent simplified representations and meanings of it, but not necessarily stigmas. I present the analysis here in a streamlined way. The justifications of each statement and linkages to tourism research are presented in Article II (Vainikka 201X in press).

Discussing ‘tour operator wants to control the tourist in order to make larger profits’ (e.g. Cohen 1972; Poon 1993), the interviewees first scale tour operators operating within global capitalist market economy justifying that it is the context in which they have to survive and market profitable products to possible clients (see Cheong & Miller 2000). Moving on from framing the global scale they add that the developments, like increased competition, have put a stress on their work as well. Thus making a reference to both flexible and deterministic discourse. The transformation was brought up especially by the more experienced interviewees. Professionals also scale to more intimate dynamic service encounters described as negotiations in which the suitability of different aspects of package tours are discussed: “Tourism as a business is not a charity, the aim is profit. However, nobody is ever forced into anything [...] we take into consideration the client and what would be suitable for her/him” (Interview 8: guide). Critical attention is paid to how the profit making needs must be enacted sensitively in the actual service encounters. The fruitful end result is framed positive for both, the client and the company. The relations between the company and global markets, company and the workers, worker and client and company and client have multiple characters, demands and practical adjustments in both directions, thus relating more to flexible discourse. The interviewees position themselves in between, to serve both ends. Noteworthy is also the frequent use of the term ‘client’ (during the interviews) instead of the ‘tourist’ in their talk, which is a more specific contextual category marking their relationship and in which the active agency of the clients is highlighted.

In terms of ‘all mass tourism destinations are similar’ (e.g. Relph 1976; Turner & Ash 1975) travel agents more often both agreed and disagreed, whereas guides mostly directly disagreed. This might be due to their position *in situ*. The similarities between mass tourism destinations were referred to (especially by the agents) as common elements such as infrastructure, services (hotels, restaurants) and products (e.g. guiding, packages) on offer at a global or tour operator scale. The travel agents left their answers a bit more open than the guides, but for both groups the disagreement with the statement was justified by the possibilities to find the unique characteristics of place: “Local culture

influences it always. It is a totally different thing if you go to Turkey or whether you come to Greece” (Interview 8: guide). They thus separate the mass tourism destination’s physical (standardized) elements and it as a place, challenging the views of the ‘South’ without location (cf. Selänniemi 2001). They activate dynamic scaling between the more general resort standardization and the user perspectives, creating a dialogue between deterministic and flexible discourses.

The next two statements were introduced only to the guides. They both agreed and disagreed with the statement which was introduced to only seven of them: ‘Mass tourism destinations are predictable and familiar even though it would be the first visit’ (e.g. Cohen 1972; Relph 1976; Meethan 2012). In addition to more deterministic ideas of familiar, standardized elements such as restaurants and hotels, the guides do not see that there would be a *tabula rasa* encounter between tourists and destinations. For them predictability and familiarity of destinations is justified by prior knowledge (internet) and experiences (travel) that clients nowadays growingly have. However, the unpredictability and unfamiliarity are also framed as emotions and sensations of the client, thus the place experience (predictable/surprise) is not seen as totally controllable but also performed (Löfgren 1999; Wright 2002; Edensor 2007; Caletrío 2009), which is in contrast to deterministic views. “Those physical things can very well be predictable [...] but what is the local character, that culture [...] many say that [...] ‘Wow, I never would have guessed that it is like this’” (Interview 9: guide). The clients themselves are also seen to have agency with their attitudes towards exploring the places further. Thus approaches to familiarity or predictability are many.

‘Mass tourism is based on the sea, sun and sand’ (e.g. Turner & Ash 1975) received agreement from most of the ten guides and it was mostly seen in a positive light. They contextualized the three S’s as a relation between the destination offering it, and the country of origin, Finland, with its long and dark winters and unreliable summers. They also referred to hectic everyday life ‘back at home’ and the three S’s as a preferred travel motivation. It is seen as way to make sure there is light in the summer or to ‘survive’ the winter, to relax or to enjoy. The three S’s is not seen as motivation or practice in a vacuum, which resembles the tone of flexible discourse: “Those who come to Greece are overall the kind who go and enjoy the place. And of course the sun and sea are important issues but also that they are willing to do things here (Interview 9: guide). Thus, a further step was taken past the three S’s as exhaustive category of practices or places in Greece, particularly but also more generally (see Bramwell 2004): “That is what mass tourism is, isn’t it, but on the other hand, there are lots of destinations within cities and there is something else than sea and sand to be found” (Interview 1: guide). The three S’s were also linked to the changes and diversifying requirements of their contemporary clients. Agents commented on the three S’s during the interviews although the statement was not introduced to them. An experienced travel agent stated that “we sell beach-holiday-packages to beach-holiday-destinations”, but she added in a later part of the interview that ‘in the old times it was enough to go to the warmth and see what there is, but now

you want to know precisely what awaits there” (Interview 3: agent). The interviewees saw the three S’s as a ‘natural’ part of mass tourism but it is considered more as a façade than an all-encompassing ideology (see Jacobsen *et al.* 2014).

The first statement about tourists: ‘Mass tourists are not interested in the local culture of their destination (or anything ‘local’)’ (e.g. Cohen 1972; Turner & Ash 1975; Smith 1977) was introduced to all participants. The guides disagreed with the statement more than the agents but nobody solely agreed: “Mass tourism is in itself already a large ‘ball’ and it accommodates plenty of different tourist types” (Interview 8: guide). The lack of interest was attached to certain roles or practices of their clients: sun and relaxation, staying at a hotel, last-minute trips, young friend-groups and heavy alcohol consumers. However, they rejected the idea of the universal nature of the disinterest in the statement; they acknowledged that different phases in life, different motivations for different trips (e.g. repeaters) or even within one trip made ‘interest’ a fluctuating position of diverse degrees: “It is definitely not so that they go for one and the same, instead they want to get to know and to see (Interview 10: agent)”. “They do not necessarily come here for that [...] but you notice that many are very interested in hearing about it” (Interview 1: guide). The ideas of the interviewees reflect a sense of struggle to make sense of the mass and can be seen also as a form of dialogue between the ideas of deterministic and flexible discourses. In this light, the case seems to be more about a confusing mixture of diverse hybrid performed motivations than a homogeneous strategy of consumption, which is reflected more with the next statement (see Wright 2002; Wickens 2002).

I want to show here one example of how the pair interview might be challenging in terms of telling one’s opinion or deciding what is the ‘truth’ about these issues. A case is a piece of conversation between a younger (former guide) and a more experienced travel agent:

“A: Part of them are very interested. B: If you think about Kanaria [vernacular name for The Canary Islands] and then the clients, so are they hanging around the hotel and supermarket and back [laughing]? A: Well on average they are more interested in the basic things in their close environment and own destination. Probably most of them are more interested in the nearby areas at their own holiday destination than in deepening their knowledge about the [local] culture [...] but on the other hand, on the feedback forms clients always express that they would like more local information during bus transfers. But on the other hand I do not know... Maybe they want to hear about it in a relatively easy manner” (Interview 9: agents).

The older agent takes an ironic position to the topic whereas the younger one based her thinking on experiences as a guide. The way they see ‘interest’ and ‘local’ might be different as well.

‘Mass tourists travel for entertainment, not to learn’ (e.g. Boorstin 1964; Turner & Ash 1975; Poon 1993) was mostly both agreed and disagreed stating that it is hard to generalize

or evaluate. For the respondents the term 'learning' had an echo of a school-type of learning (new skills/knowledge) or it was left unexplained. The idea of a holiday-trip was seen with an understanding tone to be more about relaxation than learning: "They do not come here to study, they want to relax" (Interview 1: guide). But in line with the previous answers they evaluated that there are (groups of) clients who are/might be more interested in learning: "A: A safe and easy setting [package tour/resort] and then they go by themselves to explore [...]. B: For sure there are both kinds [not interested and interested]. Someone who is not the independent type might pay to get [into a course] to learn cooking in a Cretan style with someone" (Interview 4: agents). Learning also took on abstract dimensions in the responses in the form of possible inspiration to learn the language or about culture later, after first visit or the ways one 'interprets' the locals while meeting them, including the service encounters. Entertainment was not seen to be the best of terms to describe their interpretation of their clients' practices in the Finnish context and they rather used relaxation, explained as feeling comfortable, and enjoying. Thus the key concepts, learning and entertainment, were challenged or considered in more than one way.

The last statement 'nobody wants to admit that he/she is a mass tourist' (see Miller & Auyong 1998; Löfgren 1999; Jacobsen 2000; McCabe 2005; Andrews 2011) was presented to all travel agents and six guides. The answers, mostly in agreement with the statement, were closer to the idea of the mass tourist as a universalist role category as if part of deterministic discourse. On the one hand, the mass tourist was considered a label that has negative connotations, also produced by media (without individuality or independence) in contemporary culture. Therefore they consider it logical that nobody wants to admit being such: "One wants the trip to be their own" (Interview 3: travel agent). Evaluating the surrounding attitudes in Finland they state it is not bad to belong to the mass but other terms would be used: "Probably everyone might tell 'I am going on a package tour'" (Interview 7: guide). They see that there are false stereotypes towards package tours (travelling in groups) but admit that mass tourism is a terrible word: "Mass in itself hits you inside 'the porridge'" (Interview 9: guide). But on the other hand, they describe their clients being pushed to state that they are not mass tourists, even though they were (not able to be independent, asking for help and services, laying on the beach): "It is ideal for everyone to be a little independent and to want to experience the culture and do something other than laying on the beach all vacation. But not everyone is able to keep up with those ideals and own goals" (Interview 6: guide). We can ask whose aims, ideologies, values, attitude, disappointments are talked about here (see Löfgren 1999; Noy 2007). Why does someone feel they should be something else? And why is the mass tourist a negative label? Is that 'other' a better tourist? Not all clients were thus considered mass tourists, only a specific part. Mass and independent are considered as opposites that have naturally positive and negative meanings, instead of challenging the ways the mass tourist category is seen.

6.1.1 Re-contextualizing and re-scaling the stereotypes of mass tourism

Article II focused on the following research questions: *How do travel agents and tourist guides perceive mass tourism and its stereotypes from their dialogue-orientated point of view? How do they use scale to frame their perceptions?* Mass tourism stereotypes were not taken for granted but each was negotiated further. According to the analysis the mass expressed numerically was almost completely absent from the answers. Instead, mass tourism was approached with plural logic by breaking it down into multiple positions and contexts (groups of clients, motivations, practices, place characters) but also balancing it (or some part of it) as a collective singular (something to belong to or to be part of) (see Maffesoli 1996). The sun and sand was most prominent as a collecting frame for the coastal mass tourism, however this category was also broken down into multiple formations. Mass tourism was to a great extent not separated in the answers as the 'other' but multilogical perspectives were applied to the ideas that the stereotypes projected, probably because the statements were seen as a 'common enemy' that say something also about 'their' field of expertise. In summary: from the perspective of the mass as social the interviewees did not frame mass tourism as an oppressive force, rather they were balancing between the ideas of collective and individual/independent, structures/services and practices/experiences in mass tourism. Perhaps the clearest exceptions to this (in terms of plural/social) were the responses to the last statement where the mass tourist was seen as a separate category with strong preconnotations, forming part of their clientele, a role opposite to the more idealized independent traveller (see McCabe 2005). In this part of the study the interviewees produced versions of mass tourism, not separate discourses of mass and package tourism as in Article III. Thus, overall mass tourism was not locked into a form of tourism defined by mass product or mass mode, although elements of standardization were present.

The statements were for the most part universalist and deterministic (all-encompassing), but the framings by interviewees were not tied to the scale of the statements. Rather they framed their views in flexible, dynamic ways with different scalar adjustments with the purpose of opening different perspectives and contexts for discussion: global, national, regional, company, local, group, between individuals, individual. The more intimate end, but also simultaneous multiscaling, was the most used and the spatial was frequently intertwined with temporal (longer-term changes, situational, future possibilities). The scaling gave more varied meanings to practices and places than what the stereotypes provided. Reflecting the results from the other articles in this dissertation, the scalability of the mass is one of the central issues in discussing mass tourism. In Articles III and IV, different scalar adjustments and arrangements (including temporal) are made as well, including simultaneous multiscaling that result in different contextual definitions of the mass. The mass is thus not approached by these professionals as a single scaled idea. Especially in Article III, the use of terms package and mass provoked separate scalings of the phenomenon. In the discourses analysed in Article I, the questions about scale were

also visible, embedded in the ways ideas are put together about mass tourism in tourism academia. In the deterministic discourse the extremes of global and local emerged more straightforwardly, whereas in the flexible discourse there was more negotiation of the ways in which ideas (such as standardization and experiences) unfold in different settings among different groups. The inclusion in and exclusion out of the mass tourism category, can be seen as a scalar framing of places, tourists and practices, which can address global tourism or a certain resort/city setting.

Because the answers were relatively short (though longer in pair interviews) and often justifications had to be asked, it was a challenge to analyse them. This is one drawback of this type of interview technique and would require careful attention in future research. The answers were most probably short because statements were introduced at the end of each interview, the list was quite long and even though the mass tourism term was introduced for the first time, the issues and themes had for the most part already been discussed at the beginning of interviews (open-ended questions/themes) resulting in possible tiredness. I also thought about how the strong tone of the statements may influence the subsequent expressions of agreement or disagreement. Although it might be that some things were accepted more straightforwardly because it was mass tourism that was talked about (Vainikka 2014), the variation in the talk and tasks of talk indicate that the interviewees were able to step back and reflect on the issue. At least, compared to Article III with distinct discourses of mass and package tourisms, this method brought a more variable tone to mass tourism talk. Nonetheless, I noticed that certain terms such as ‘interest’, ‘local’, ‘predictability’, ‘familiarity’, ‘learning’ and ‘entertainment’ could have been explored more, because the ways they were understood by the interviewees directed their views of the statement and could be explored further from the ‘user perspectives’.

6.2 Travel agents and mass tourism

6.2.1 Travel agent discourses of ‘package’ tourism

In this part of the research, I focus on analysing the usage and application of two terms, mass tourism and package tourism (*valmismatkailu*) in the talk of travel agents (Article III: Vainikka 2014). The idea is to see how they interpret the terms and adjust their talk accordingly (construct them discursively) in relation to wider discourses.

I analysed three discourses of package tourism: restriction, possibility and dynamism. The restrictive talk by travel agents is similar to wider deterministic discourse, but I also see great differences between them. In restrictive talk travel agents set limits to their product, package tour, at a company level or compared to a general idea of travelling. One cannot make many changes into package tours (pre-selected choices, durations) or entirely avoid other tourists. This could be seen to be in line with Auliana Poon’s (1993) ideas, but I would mark a certain degree of ‘realistic tone’ in this talk by travel agents:

they are not condemning package tours but rather setting the context in a rather neutral manner. One other difference is that in this travel agent discourse the focus is not only on the product or production but on the attitudes and prejudices in the surrounding culture towards their products. Especially young agents in their 20s or 30s discussed their friends' attitudes or more generally: "A: In reality it's better than its reputation but... B: ... I feel that people sometimes feel a little ashamed that 'oh, we're taking this package this time around. We've always gone the other route before'... [laughter] A: Yeah, you sort of have to... B: Explain it" (Interview 4/25y&30y). This passage is an example of a pair interview discussion that is mutually constitutive. A dominating theme in this restrictive discourse is the perspective of the prejudices or false ideas from the 'outside'.

The agents thus tie restrictiveness into the attitudes and sense of non-belonging. Similarly, the client and product may not fit together in terms of attitudes or unmet demands. But also in a more neutral light, people are considered to be restricted in their lives in many ways (hectic life, inexperienced travellers, special needs), which emphasizes different starting points of their clients in terms of travelling. Travel agents activate a restricted subject position (Davies & Harré 1990) also for themselves as they feel challenged sometimes by the need to consult a client on a destination they might not have ever visited and in their talk they too evaluate their clients/destinations by attempting to judge the tastes of those who they do not relate to (Bourdieu 1984).

In the discourse of possibility travel agents contest and adjust their previous restrictive discourse and turn their focus to the enabling character of package tours, which has linkages to flexible discourse. In addition to the restricted dimensions, package tourism exhibits in the talk of travel agents possibilities to individualize and customize the products (to certain extent) and especially experiences. The organization of package tourism is thus separated from the experiences (see Löfgren 1999; Wright 2002; Rääkkönen & Honkanen 2013; Jacobsen *et al.* 2014). Clients are given an active role in shaping their trips (see also Ateljevic 2000; Rakić & Chambers 2012) and their spatial scale. Travel agents take the position of an insider of package tourism, who have been able to realize the full potential of package tours, places and practices through their own experiences (see Davies & Harré 1990): "I used to be a dedicated backpacker who would never go to the Canary Islands [...] but now I use these package deals, too. I see no reason why they couldn't be recommended to individualist travellers like me" (Interview 2/25y). This discourse is in contrast to the deterministic discourse's strictest ideas of package tours as prefabricated, spatially or temporally restricted and more inclined to the flexible discourse.

In terms of their clients, travel agents highlight the suitability of package tours for a vast diversity of different kinds of clients and continue to be an important part of democratization of tourism (see Casey 2010 on low-cost air travel). They see a diversity that ranges from the ones who want or need a more collective trip, including socializing with other tourists, taking part in guided day-excursions and being in more contact with the tour operator to those who are keen on doing things by themselves and customizing the product as much as possible. This diversity is seen also in terms of interest in local

culture and the ways these motivations can be practised: “If one takes a package tour to some familiar, safe tourist resort, he/she can still, to various extents, move from there to the surrounding environment by him/herself” (Interview 7/28y). This is a more inclusive and flexible way of categorizing compared to deterministic discourse on mass tourism. The destinations in package tourism are not a homogeneous group for agents, rather they are seen to be distinctive in terms of atmosphere, multidimensional space and distances and style, such as cosy, massive or unattractive. These are considered as unique features that are made to be experienced *in situ* and there is occasional intertwining of the roles of agents as professionals and tourists, consumers and producers (see Ateljevic 2000; Rakić & Chambers 2012). Thus in the possibility discourse a package tour is not seen as exhaustively explaining the phenomenon itself, it is given the status of a product, part of the phenomenon.

In the last discourse dynamic package tourism is constructed, with a starting point of refusing an idea of a static or homogeneous package tour as a concept and practice, again challenging the deterministic discourse or universalist stereotypes. It also mobilizes the previous discourses of restriction and possibility. The dynamism is thus a character of package tourism and agents’ talk emphasizes multiple relational versions of it. Agents acknowledge that package tourism has changed through the years (temporal scaling) and the future is open for different developments: “They want to know a lot about destinations now. We used to just check if there was room or not... but now you practically need to know what kind of churches there are and how far it is to the nearest store and what you can do at the destination” (Interview 9/60y). Some changes are considered to be more slow (destination selection) than others (diversification of consumption, product flexibility, internet services). Another aspect of the long-term changes in package tourism is the change regarding their role as travel agents. In the era of the internet their clients already have more knowledge than before about destinations, so travel agents are required to know more, like guides, and perform resembling guides as storytellers (Bryon 2012) and conduits (Pond 1993).

The dynamic talk does not only frame long-term changes but also momentary and continuous (temporal scaling) negotiations. The service encounter is one of these moments. They consider their consultative task to make ‘possible’ out of the ‘restriction’ and to balance the ‘truths’ and stereotypes of package tours, for example in relation to their generation: “I think we are ambassadors of this new age [of package tours], we are not ashamed of taking a package tour” (Interview 4/25y). They see their clients as a co-existing diversity of ‘groups’ of clients and motivations that are on the move. They did not base these groupings solely on ideas of market segments (families, couples, all-inclusive, sports), but more fluid categories emerged in trip-based contexts. Although an individual can engage in different trips in different roles at different points of time (Feifer 1985), tourists are not necessarily individuals in a vacuum on a trip, rather socially bound members (e.g. Wright 2002; Obrador 2012). Destinations are consumed and constructed in continuous relationships rather than as separate entities, in an organic sense

(e.g. Sheller & Urry 2004; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a): “Depends on what one wants: to be more alone or whether one wants a lively atmosphere around her/him” (Interview 1/41y). The destination is considered to have a purpose, but one which is dynamic and negotiated, embodied and performed, imagined and remembered in these different contextual arrangements: “Thailand is a bit like Greece. It is a country that is easy to tour, and people want to tour the country and see things” (Interview 10/35y). There is thus no grand story about destinations, rather multiple narratives.

6.2.2 Travel agent discourses of ‘mass’ tourism

Discourses of mass tourism are focused on the material in which the travel agents talked about ‘mass tourism’. Scale, negatively distinguishable, cultural tradition and uncertainty are the discourses identified in the mass tourism talk.

Scale is the first of travel agent discourses of mass tourism and it is perhaps the most neutral in its tone. Agents define mass tourism as destinations on the Finnish mass tourism map that attract large numbers of tourists, such as the Canary Islands, Rhodes and Phuket. Mass tourism thus exemplifies established connections and specific attention is paid to the viewpoint of the tour operator: “I think mass tourism is such that a full plane [of clients] goes to *Kanaria*, but if our thirty travellers go to Paris, even though on a package tour, that is not mass tourism in my opinion” (Interview 9/60y). In this discourse, mass tourism is not a form of tourism but a nationally (or company-based) scaled and directed visible quantitative phenomenon, which is in line with the flexible discourse (contextualization). This is, however, not straightforward, as talk analysed in uncertainty discourse often followed this talk.

Mass tourism as negatively distinguishable phenomenon refers to talk in which mass tourism is seen as a negative essence. Instead of challenging the stereotypes, the term itself activates negative attitudes and emotions, taking distance and making accusations. In this sense, the hierarchy between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ tourism is renewed as distinctive tastes (Turner & Ash 1975; Bourdieu 1984): “I mean, it’s a horrible word [mass tourism]... I always get the association that Samos, for example, cannot be a mass tourism destination because it does not have all-inclusive hotels or long sandy beaches and different types of people go there; they are people who want to go to Samos (Interview 4/25y)”. Yet again, agents did not consider that all of their tour operator’s production is ‘mass tourism’, rather only the restricted packages and certain ‘other’ destinations/tourist groups. In this discourse, agents are making a more exclusive categorization of mass tourists, based on qualitative characters, than they were in the case of package tourists and this discourse is more in line with the wider deterministic discourse.

Mass tourism as cultural tradition focuses on mass tourism as thick with rituals, to its institutionalized role and its historical narratives of the shared cultural background. This is intertwined with the previous discourse but a sense of awkwardness, embarrassment

and indifference prevails, though often humorously expressed towards the ‘others’. This discourse is embedded in certain kinds of behaviours and signs of Finnishness at destinations: “They have some Matti Nykänen-type [former ski jumper] singing at Ulvova Mylläri” [Finnish restaurant named after a novel *The Howling Miller* in Puerto Rico, Gran Canary] (Interview 2/25y). Although Finnish package tourism was considered to have transformed in the dynamic discourse, agents continue to frame mass tourism by the same learnt stereotypical features with an exclusive strategy leading to the idea of static mass tourism. Thus a struggle reflecting wider flexible and deterministic discourses seems to take place with the terms package and mass.

In the final, uncertainty discourse agents shape mass tourism in a way that can be seen as attacking the weak points of the wider deterministic discourse, but also questioning their own previous discourses. Travel agents challenge their own ideas as well as general ideas of mass tourism based on their differing experiences: “I am not sure if it’s just because I don’t like that term, but I don’t think X [tour operator] is mass tourism... Well, okay, I do have some experiences with those big [mass tourism] destinations with some not-so-happy holidaymakers, but people still knew how to behave” (Interview 10/35y). The uncertainty unfolds also around the difficulty in fitting the learnt content of mass tourism and signs of contemporary tourism which do not seem to fit: “You know, every place is packed with tourists these days so what is the mass?” (Interview 5/42y). The same agent asked me a counter-question: “How do you see things, who is a mass tourist?”. The interviewee was confused about what was meant by the term and continued in a later part of the interview: “That mass tourism term really baffles me. Is it our clients or mass tourists? [...] I think that nowadays people are very self-directed (independent)”. Other uncertainties are related to the perspective from which mass tourism should be defined or discussed: “...of course whether one thinks of it as [trips] made from Finland or as a local’s [perspective to] mass tourism” (Interview 3/58). Ideas raised in this discourse are some of the central ones also in terms of flexible discourse and deterministic discourse.

6.2.3 The implications of the ‘mass’ and ‘package’ terminology

The research questions for this second empirical part were: *How do travel agents define mass tourism? How do they interpret the relationship between mass tourism and package tourism, i.e. how do the used terms affect the discursive practice?* Mass tourism received much attention as a separate category. Mass tourism was considered as forming a part of package tourism: a large numerical category (cf. Burkart & Medlik 1974). In this sense, the travel agents attached social dimension to refer to mass tourism as only the most popular part of package tourism. However, added with the discourses of ‘negatively distinguishable and ‘cultural tradition’ that attach a negative/embarrassing essence to mass tourism (the term) that makes it uniform, the limits of the mass, however, are defined a bit differently in each case (scalability). Distance was taken from the mass tourism term with an outsider subject

position (Davies & Harré 1990) and also emotional reactions took place, opening the possibility to align with deterministic discourse. The term and category of mass tourism worked, with its 'pre-given' (static, old meanings) content, as lenses through which agents selectively analysed the phenomenon around them, emphasizing a 'top-down' perspective: the singularity of the mass was the focus, not its plural meaning (see Singh 2007). Producing mass tourism to be one 'clear' part of package tourism is somewhat contrary to Article II in which only a couple of statements evoked an exclusive conceptualization of the mass. It must also be noticed though that the discourse of uncertainty represents a rupture in otherwise relatively straightforward articulations of mass tourism. Thus, the mass (as social/plural) was challenged with more questions raising about the basis of the definition and the largeness of contemporary travel. This problematizes the mass more widely in dynamic tourism and implies that the usefulness of the category itself might originate from these different perspectives that construct it beyond the conventional definitions.

Comparing the ways the talk was constructed with package tourism or mass tourism terms provides interesting insights into categorization practices. This strategy of dividing the analysis of course highlights the two extremes, which in the previous section of analysis (Article II) were treated from another strategical point of view focusing on talk directed at a statement. Travel agents considered package tourism from a more 'insider' subject position (Davies & Harré 1990) and the phenomenon was evaluated as a more practical, renegotiable and complex; something more than the stereotypical characters of the product alone: the package tour (see Miller 1987). Inclusive strategies took place in travel agents' talk including introducing different experiential knowledges and contexts in package tourism, whereas the exclusive strategy was something mainly seen to be played by the outsiders of package tourism and whose prejudices came to the surface. Package tourism was not treated as a term that has to have one clear meaning, it was seen as a 'naturally' fluid and contested term that has different versions (changes in legislation, products, customization). Agents evaluated package tourism by building more on what they saw around them, quite the opposite of what they did with the term mass tourism. Package tourism talk was much more flexible in social terms, linking it to the way the interviewees articulated most of the stereotypes of mass tourism in Article II. Perhaps with all statements participants did not focus so sharply on the term mass tourism. In terms of the Article I, charter-based mass tourism is widely considered the most archetypal and standardized form of mass tourism, but deterministic discourse approached it as a problem whereas flexible discourse did not consider users of package tours as standardized and also recognizes the partiality of the package in the trip context. As an everyday category of practice, package tourism was more useful in order to describe the phenomenon in which these professionals work. Thus, so far in this thesis mass tourism has been seen to represent some bygone age of tourism with static and rigid meanings, both in academia and among industry professionals but also from the perspective of dynamic mass tourism, without the need for it to be a strict homogenizing categorization.

The interviews with travel agents were based on more general level discussions about different dimensions of tourism, but the next material and analysis takes one step closer to the spatial thinking and *in situ* perspectives in the form of tourist guide's discursive practices. These embodied experiences remain, for travel agents, in the past, as memories, for the guides, however, these embodiments are very much of the immediate present.

6.3 Tourist guides, spatialities and mass tourism

This last empirical part of the study includes the analysis of the open-ended questions of the guide interviews (Article IV: Vainikka 2015 in press). The interview themes take the discussion in two directions to both the guides' relationships with the place and how they see the relationships between their clients and the place, which is intended to provide yet another composition/context for discussing mass tourism. The interest is in how the spatiality of mass tourism (the Finnish clients of the guides) is constructed.

The interviewed guides do not possess only one guide role. Also their titles are different from each other. Three guides worked in theme hotels (all-inclusive concepts), three in more management-orientated positions, two specialized in online guiding and two in basic service guiding. Each of these roles included more tasks ranging from airport duties to excursion guiding, from reporting to customer service at hotel receptions and from organizing activities at the hotel to attending to diverse requests of clients. Guides identified their role nowadays to be more about being available in time and space for possible contacts with customers and to a lesser extent group leading (cf. Edensor 2001; Rantala 2010; see Räikkönen & Honkanen 2013). They evaluated that the guide role has changed towards internet-based work (information, contacts, online guide), which is reflected also in their physical movement. Clients can contact the guide already before the trip.

The guides describe the destination they work in as a mass destination due to the large numbers of clients and an experienced guide acknowledges that the clientele forms "a mass crowd, so that you are not able to make as close a contact as in smaller destinations, where there are fewer clients and you spend more time with them" (Interview 8) (cf. Boissevain 2000). This is one dimension they see as challenging their 'situated knowledge' of their clients' practices. Thus the mass is not inherently something but results in something. They also describe they are not needed in the same way as they used to. Clients find out information by themselves and 'independently' complete tasks that used to be responsibilities of the guides. Still, there are groups of people for whom guides continue to be important (see also Räikkönen 2014): those who do not have time or skills to find information and make reservations by themselves, who appreciate personal face-to-face service and those who are first-timers to a destination. Repeaters were seen as an important informant group for guides, because they have knowledge from several visits even spanning decades, not necessarily the case with new guides.

6.3.1 Tourist guide spatialities

I asked the tourist guides to draw (on a map of Crete or Chania region or Rethymno) three kinds of areas: an area which reflects their daily working area, an area that marks their daily discussions with their clients and an area in which they use their spare time. They were also asked to explain what they were drawing and why. These areas can be seen to form different 'destinations' from the guides' point of view. Guide spatialities reveal and help to explain the practices in mass tourism. While the case study produces a situated reading of mass tourism, I claim that it at the same time tests how adequate the 'resort' framing is in explaining mass tourism. The guides are the personnel of mass tourism, they are longer-term visitors of the destination and their role is an interactive one literally inside the mass. The guides' role is to a great extent shaped by their clients' needs, wants and spatialities. They also co-produce the destination for their clients. Their spatial practices are not directly reduced to their clients' spatiality, and there is no need to make such comparison, but their spatialities are related. Guides and clients also share the same space and this might inspire rethinking mass tourism destination from the user perspective as it is not the traditional tourist perspective nor the local perspective.

The mental maps of physical daily movement or the 'servicescape' (Bitner 1992), show great differences between different guides. For a guide who works in a themed hotel, the area drawn is very restricted (Figure 3a, Interview 5). But even this area consists of different places in the guides talk: the service desk or when engaging in activities different settings are used. Other guides, like the one in the example (Figure 3b, Interview 1), have a more varied job description. She drew a more scattered area, which is however more restricted than her area of discussions (bigger circle). The guide named specific places within the area: the airport, office and locales visited during excursions and in her talk she also adds hotels. The guides thus describe how working within the mass, the physical movement and social relations (Massey 1994) is continuously making the 'destination' (Pred 1984), although here statically drawn onto a map. Their destination as a workplace is not bound by the territorial idea of the resort.

The area that the guides consider central in their daily discussions with their clients is larger than the areas of daily movements. They thus scale two different destinations that are based on two different place relationships, both mental and physical. There are two ways of understanding the area of discussions. For some guides it represents the area where their clients stay and thus, for example a manager guide or online guide might herself/himself be located in Chania and get calls from Agios Nikolaos from the other part of the island (Figure 4b, Interview 2). But for most of the guides, their clients are located in the same area that they are and the area of discussions is drawn based on the places covered in the discussions. In the example, the guide working at a themed resort hotel drew a larger area that her clients ask about (Figure 4a, Interview 4). The area of discussions is not seen to be in complete control of the guides (see Wright 2002) although their favourite places also contribute to it. The dynamicity according to their clients'

interests changes it and they frame different groups of clients in different parties, phases of life and purposes of trips. Both of these areas talked about so far do not correspond with the borders of any specific mass tourism resort or resort area.

The last mental maps that guides drew were based on their own movement during their leisure time (which is known to be approximately one day a week). This area is very restricted in the guides' drawings (Figure 5). They mostly spend time in the resorts (5b: circle with initials VP) and the city of Chania, sometimes going to Rethymno or some other places. They explained this to be a result of their negotiation between tourist and everyday roles in the context of a short amount of leisure time, whether they need to do chores and relax or whether they have the power to travel (Billig *et al.* 1988):

"I will try to see a bit more this summer [of Crete than during last summer]... it is nice to go see local life once in a while [in Chania]... It is nice to get out of [the resort] because otherwise they [clients] come along there on the streets [laughs]. But often... you just want to stay home and sleep and [...] do daily chores: doing the laundry [...] stay on the beach or by the pool" (Interview 1, Figure 5a).

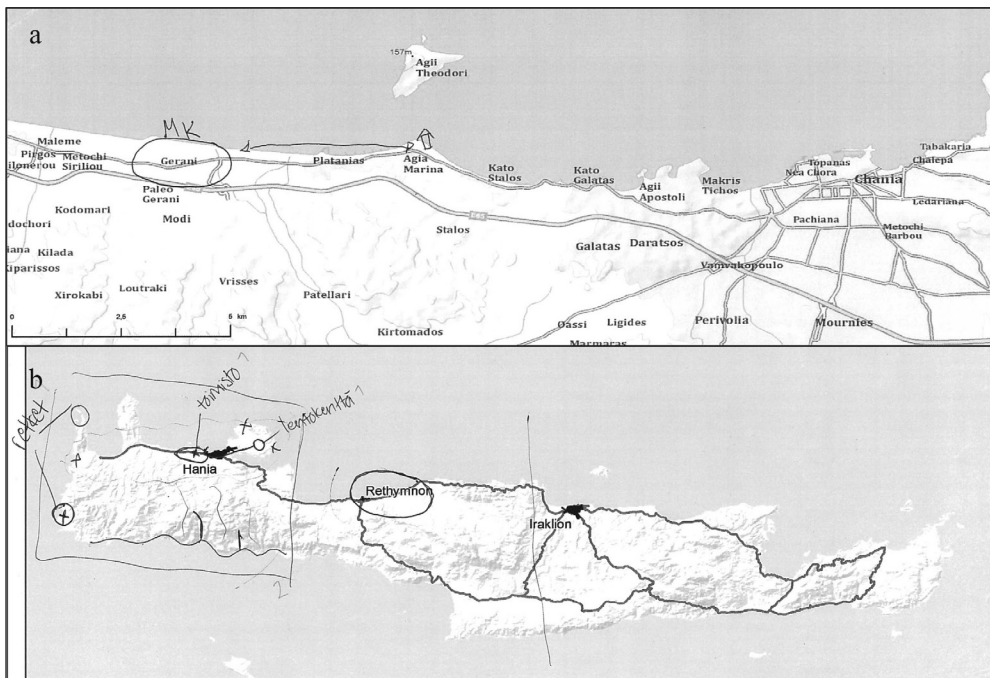


Figure 3. Mental maps representing the daily physical movement of a guide (Interviews 5 and 1, originally published in Fennia, Vainikka 2015 in press).

The resort area is a seasonal home for both, guides and their clients and the guides do not express disturbance by the co-presence of the mass itself (see Obrador 2012), only possible challenges if their own clients would interrupt them on their days off. I have called this a ‘parallax spatiality’ to exemplify the different directions from which tourists (short holiday) and guides (everyday life) approach the same place (e.g. Crick 1989). The guides feel that their clients’ are more ‘free’ to do things thanks to their longer holiday time at the destination, although they can also see limitations to that ‘freedom’. Both guides’ and their clients’ positions are articulated as products of processes and dialogue between mobility and stillness, they are not objects who would be more mobile or still in their character (see Franquesa 2011; Lagerqvist 2013). Thus mass tourism destination is not approached from an universalist position but from a specific life-world perspective that contributes to the place-making.

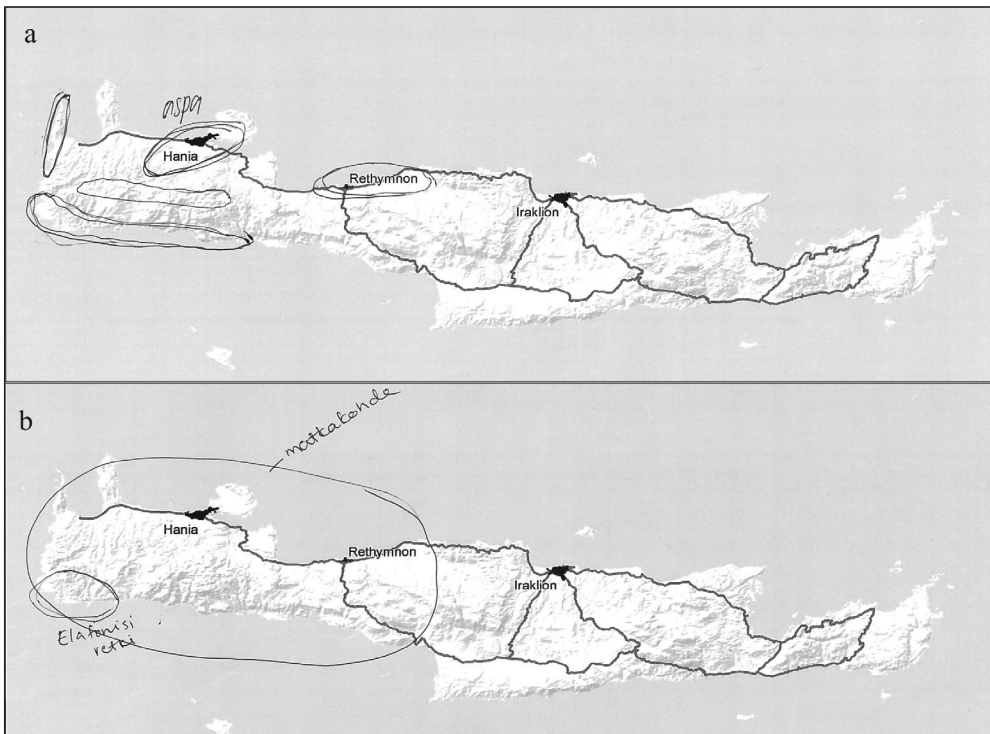


Figure 4. Mental maps representing the areas covered in guides’ discussions with clients (Interviews 4 and 2, originally published in Fennia, Vainikka 2015 in press).

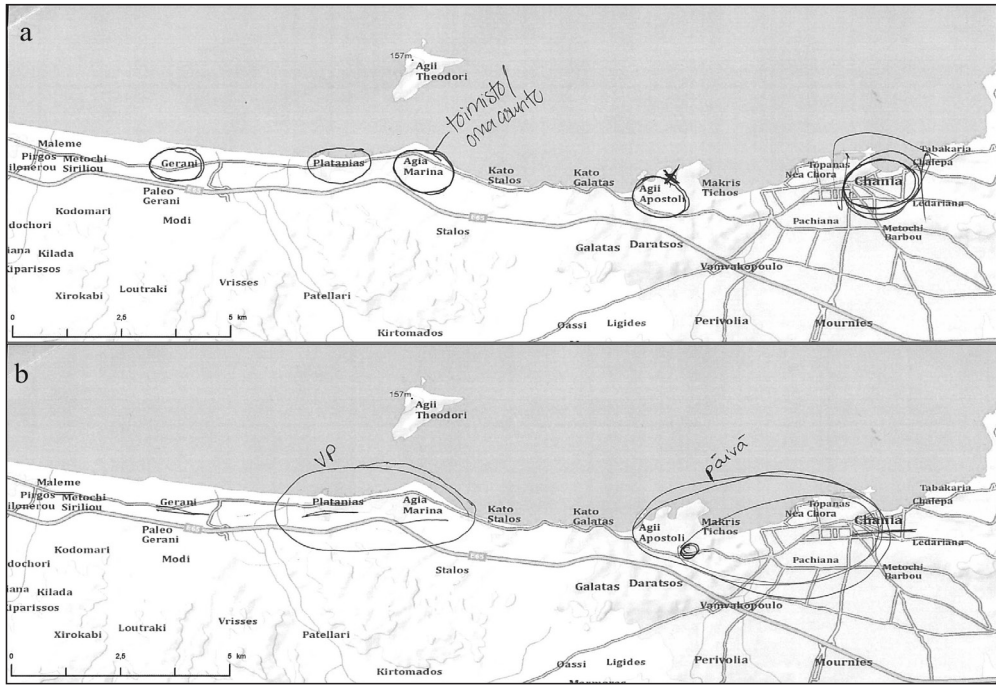


Figure 5. Mental maps of the areas of leisure (Interviews 1 and 2, originally published in Fennia, Vainikka 2015 in press).

6.3.2 Intertwining and competing characteristics of intensive and extensive spatiality

From the guides' talk about the spatial practices around them I analysed two different kinds of spatial categorizations: intensive and extensive. Intensive spatiality is constructed as an assemblage of 'small things', something of an everyday quality and it includes using a rather small area, sensuous and embodied experiences, seizing the moment, relaxation and spending time with the significant others or in the co-presence of others (see Obrador 2012; Veijola 2014). Whereas extensive spatiality is seen to be more about cognitive, intentional exploration: using a larger area, getting to know new places and people. I will present these spatialities here together in a dialogical manner.

At first it seems that intensive spatiality is something criticized, 'not wanted' and extensive spatiality something preferred, appreciated and promoted. At this point these can be seen to refer to deterministic discourse and the value-loaded ideas of 'good' and 'bad' tourism. The guides distinguish resorts, lacking something that is found from the outside in the local places: kind of 'local atmosphere' and everyday life. The guide frames her role here as an encourager and teacher: "If you go to those small villages, the atmosphere is totally different [...] the scent that you get there [in the mountain villages]... the air is so

different, it is fresh there compared to here in Plataniias Agia Marina” (Interview 6). She continues to promote venturing out “I usually highlight to clients that they should go explore the island and that you get a whole different perception of the whole place when you really [...] go to places that are not necessarily the most touristic ones”. In the passage the guide constructs actually both spatialities: in a place outside the resort that required movement, one is sensing the atmosphere, seizing the moment (with reference to idea of ‘pastness’)(see Lagerqvist 2013; see Rakić & Chambers 2012). But the preference is that the extensive spatial practice would take place before the intensive one in the Cretan context, although their clients have already moved from Finland to Crete.

By taking one step further it becomes clear that guides use also an understanding tone towards intensive spatiality, by contextualizing the spatial experiences in relation to their shared cultural background with clients: “Cretan atmosphere [...] that humanity of people [...] it is somehow so tangible [...] here people acknowledge you immediately [...] In Finland you don’t get that in the same way from a stranger [...] also children get noticed” (Interview 9). This is not easy to articulate. In this sense, the ‘local’ is not outside of or excluded from the intensive spatiality and the power of individual encounters in place-making is highlighted (e.g. Crouch 2005). Intensive spatiality might be something for guides to enjoy too in their everyday life (cf. Edensor 2007): “There are several nice cafés in Plataniias Square and this café culture has become totally rooted in me. I like to sit there and watch the course of life [...] This Crete is a little like a summer home to me” (Interview 7). In a similar vein, as they negotiate with intensive spatiality from different subject positions, they also show understanding that extensive spatiality is not always possible for their clients or even their preference: “It is a family hotel, so the nearby areas are more interesting for them, they cannot bear to go as far as Iraklion” (Interview 4). Contextualization gives different interpretations to the same spatial practice, it is also a dialogue between the ideological dimension (Billig *et al.* 1988) and practical level. Sensitivity evaluation of context is also central in their role as customer servers (see Cheong & Miller 2000; Rääkkönen 2014).

Sensitive promotion talk takes place, not only with extensive spatiality, but also toward the practice of intensive spatiality when they contextualize the ‘weight’ of contemporary life and time as a resource for their clients in the theme hotel: “So that we get families to spend quality time together, which they do not necessarily find time for at home; we try to teach people to spend time as a whole family” (Interview 4). Thus mass tourism does not need not to be recovered from banality (Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). The tour operator is seen to offer products for contemporary families (See Obrador 2012) in relation to contemporary ‘needs’ that are reflected through their ‘life story’. Both intensive and extensive spatiality are linked heavily to contemporary Finnish mass tourism. In terms of extensive spatiality, the guides frame it, not only something they wish for but also as a spatial practice and mental attitude of their clients already in play. The ongoing discussions about local, organic food and travelling in the Finnish culture are reflected in guides’ descriptions of the Cretan context: “They ask directly where they can find a really

fully Cretan [restaurant]... whose owner has a little farm where all the food comes from. Those are very popular here” (Interview 6). In addition, the resorts and city of Chania form a symbiotic relationship in guides’ talk, in which both places have a meaning. Crete is seen as an island that gains its importance through the possibility for the intertwining of intensive and extensive spatialities in many different combinations and forms by their clients, thus supporting the spatial creativity of the mass (see Maffesoli 1996; Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a). The intensive and extensive spatialities are taking separate ideas about the meaning of travelling but they are also very much inseparable and intertwined.

6.3.3 Multilogical perspectives to the spatialities of mass tourism

Article IV’s research questions were the following: *How do tourist guides interpret mass tourism and its spatiality? How do they define their own spatiality and that of their clients?* The guides make some separation between the touristic places (resorts, quality of place) with certain related activities (relaxation, sunbathing) and the ‘local’ places found elsewhere (exploration, novelty), suggesting mass tourism to be defined by infrastructure and certain practices. Also in Articles I, II, and III, homogenizing effects to various extents were noticed in the way mass tourism spatiality was discussed, and they took the form of labelling territorial ideas (mass, touristic, SSS) and infrastructure, services and products that define and limit the separation from something ‘local’ or outside the ‘mass type’. However, guides also considered their destination to belong to a mass tourism destination category because of the large numbers of clients, thus mass is numerical (link to Article III ‘uncertainty’/‘scale’). This mass status affects their job descriptions (different kind of organization) and possibilities to know their clients. This can be called the ‘mass effect’ that fades the clear distinctions and distantiates the clients (faceless) from the evaluative eyes of the guides (cf. Boissevain 2000), however not meaning that the mass itself is homogeneous (Obrador 2012; Veijola 2014). Therefore their clients form the mass, singularity whose plurality is under investigation in spatial terms (intensive, extensive, parallax spatialities), in a rather bottom-up fashion. This has linkages to the flexible discourse in Article I, much ‘package’ talk in Article III and much talk in Article II. Guides (also) recognized silences in terms of clients who did not contact them.

Mass tourism is thus framed as including both intensive and extensive spatialities (mass as social, plural) and they in turn are acted out as results of different dilemmatic contexts: mass tourism destination as a resort is not in itself the thing in the vacuum, but it is created and negotiated in several contexts and by different starting points (link to flexible discourse). Mass as social is also linked to mass production (charter flights) but still only partially produced or guided (Jacobsen *et al.* 2014; Rääkkönen 2014), as the client’s active position is acted out in different motivations, purposes, interests, contexts and social groupings. Also in Articles I, II and III (especially package talk, but also uncertainty discourse), mass tourism destination (standardized but unique) was not locked

into one character, but was seen to transform with different user perspectives and scalar adjustments. This partiality challenges the need to think of the mass type as a separate practice or role type (see Andriotis *et al.* 2007; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003) or restricted by a resort area, and instead think about the usefulness of the dynamicity in the mass (Obrador 2012; Veijola 2014).

Guide spatiality, as they framed it, is partially constrained by rituals and tasks that limit and channel their physical movement both in their work and leisure, but it is also very dynamic in relation to their clients, especially the discussion based on spatiality. Value-based ideologies of what travelling should and should not be are attached to the practices and motivations of guides themselves and their clients (McCabe 2005), and thus have linkages to the deterministic discourse (Article I). They justified their own spatial practices and motivations (when differing from tourist preferences) with the limitations of everyday life, but when it came to their clients' spatial behaviours they had also ideas about how they would like them to use their (more 'free') possibilities for spatial practices. In this way, each kind of spatiality, such as relaxation at the beach or exploring the Cretan villages, were approached as contextual dilemmas (see Billig *et al.* 1988) holding ideological and practical levels and the same practice could get different 'reviews' in different cases. For example, lounging at the beach was considered an unappreciated way of holidaying/travelling, as well as a necessary act or understandably desired act in the case of some tourists, or something that they also do during their holidays and needed during days off (or not). The same kind of justifying by contextual arrangements took place also with travel agent discourses in Article III with package tourism practices.

7 Discussion and conclusions

7.1 Rethinking mass tourism(s)

Awareness of climate change and cultural globalization shape the values of tourists. As travelling and the forms of travelling transform, it is fruitful to re-examine the relationship between tourism and its masses and be critical towards older conceptualizations of mass tourism. The academic community has too often limited their own theoretical frameworks and methods, partly because of interest in smaller niches and partly because tourism studies has traditionally held mass tourism in low regard (e.g. Miller & Auyong 1998; Aramberri 2001, 2010). By utilizing social constructionist and situated knowledge approaches, I have sought different ways for the 'mass' to be understood in relation to tourism. I have argued that mass tourism is often used as a simplified, taken for granted or 'bad' concept. How we understand the mass and how we approach it influence whether it is a useful or outdated concept or even a misnomer in tourism scholarship (cf. Burns 1997; Singh 2007; Jenkins 2007). In addition, this study has aimed to understand how the idea of 'mass' plays out in contemporary mass package tourism and in a well-established, or even stereotypical, space of mass tourism. One of the contributions of this dissertation, therefore, is its examination of the construction of the concept of mass tourism, its limits and its possibilities.

In this thesis, I have utilized different materials, methods, and methodologies in order to shed light on how the relationship between the 'mass' and tourism can be conceptualized. This study has been a situated dialogue between academic and practical professional thought. On the one hand, my focus has been on the academic community itself as a 'knowledge creator' (including me), which has the power to disperse different discourses. On the other hand, I have emphasized that knowledge and the categorization of mass tourism is also produced in other settings. Within the industries related to tourism (Tribe 2006) but also in everyday social moments and encounters, mass tourism is articulated in various ways. The perspectives that these arenas provide are not considered to be reflections on reality, or what mass tourism is, rather they take part in constructing the reality of mass tourism. By focusing on the process of 'knowledge creation' from a situated perspective, I underline the attitudes and ideas that surround and frame mass tourism as a term.

I have argued that the conceptualization of mass tourism should be seen as a more flexible, centred and cohesive process in which possibilities and limits are discussed without privileging one perspective over the other, or one local rationality over the other (see Hosking 2011). The exposure to wider discourses of mass tourism directs the ways that people see the phenomenon. In addition, people position themselves differently in relation to those discourses as they have different experiences and cultural backgrounds (Davies & Harré 1990; McCabe 2005). If the discourses available from mass tourism are

seemingly black and white, the result might be that people position themselves to these limited options (also in research) based on quite broad generalizations. Whereas if more multilogical discourses were available, the ways to relate to mass tourism discourses could be more detailed and nuanced. Tourism professionals' interview articulations varied from generalizations to more detailed views.

This study has indicated that although the academic and practical discourses have much in common, there are issues that could be utilized more in academic knowledge creation. In the research interviews, the ways the agents and guides changed positions and acknowledged different contexts and roles dynamically in relation to their clients, contributed a dialogical understanding of mass tourism. The Finnish case provided travel professionals' perspectives from a specific country of origin seen 'through life' and through local rationalities that bring out and create the links between the place of origin and spaces of mass tourism. The interviews paint a picture of a multidimensional understanding of tourism, since the agents and the guides were not averse, although critical, to business or cultural aspects of tourism. The interviewees' reflections on and indications of the term 'mass tourism' provided insight into both the weight of the concept and to its complexity. Thus, this research is by no means exhaustive, but it makes a contribution to situated knowledge of mass tourism. I will now conclude with discussion around mass tourism as a more inclusive assemblage.

The principal research question in this thesis was: *How can mass tourism be conceptualized?* I will answer this now by proposing a flexible conceptual framework based on dialogue between interwoven dimensions recognizing that conceptualization is an ongoing process in time and space. The contextuality and the plural-singular relationship form a basis for three different ways to construct mass tourism: as a quantitative concept, a model(s) in tourism and a super-umbrella concept. The first issue to consider is contextuality. The conceptualization of mass tourism itself does not take place in a vacuum, but is perpetually remade and interwoven in different contextual settings and perspectives. Different theories and methods influence the research understandings whereas representations, categories of practice and experiences control everyday discussions. Mass tourism is contextualized on spatial, temporal and scalar terms. For example, in Article I different research traditions and theoretical frameworks contributed to two different mass tourism. The first was based on an idea of a rather static grand story and the other on more dynamic multilogical situated stories. The studies based on interviews underlined the significance of perspective that challenges universal truths about mass tourism. Through different discourses the professionals utilized different perspectives to evaluate practices and emphasized their fluid character. They framed mass tourism to the contexts of Finnish, the company or an individual (own or client) and to different scales with temporal adjustments. For example in the travel agent discourse of 'uncertainty', agents brought contextuality into discussion when they considered from whose perspective they should define mass tourism (Article III). Also the discourse 'cultural tradition' grounds mass tourism into a specific cultural context. 'Parallax spatiality' clarified the contribution of interviews by describing the

guides' (intermediaries) and their clients' differing positions in relation to the spatiality in a mass tourism destination (Article IV). It also challenged the reader to think about the (mis)understanding of the interviewees about the 'other', tourists, and that one's truth is not more important than another's. Especially the more experienced interviewees underlined transformations in time throughout the interviews and linked them to their own specific roles, to their clients' motivations and behaviour, the products and so on. The interviews contributed a fruitful negotiation of the bases of mass tourism as a concept. The differences between mass tourism talk and package tourism talk revealed how different versions of the phenomenon can be created. Consequently, a more dialogical approach to the conceptualization of mass tourism might serve to accommodate mass tourism as a more adjustable and useful concept. Nevertheless, the different contexts present also a challenge as they can break instead of creating a discussion or 'common ground'. The conceptualization of mass tourism as a category of analysis (Brubaker & Cooper 2000) could be based on multiontologicality, multilogicality and post-/inter-disciplinarity, even partly outside disciplinary constraints, that can accommodate critical inquiries and ethical approaches taking into consideration all parties (e.g. Veijola 2014). Next, the conceptualization of mass tourism is taken further by identifying other relevant aspects in the conceptualization of mass tourism.

When conceptualizing mass tourism we should be more attentive to the perceived relation between the singular and plural of the mass in tourism, the collective quality of the term. I have referred to this as a 'mass effect'. The meaning of the mass is often explained as a large quantity of tourists, which causes itself to become a faceless/homogeneous mass, or simply the 'other' (e.g. Boissevain 2000) and causes problems, but also as the agency of the perceiver in creating the 'mass' (Williams 1961; Swingewood 1977; Burns 1997; Veijola 2014). Contrary to those who accept the 'mass' as a negatively ideological, homogenizing or othering term (e.g. Burns 1997; Singh 2007), I argue that its usefulness is embedded in addressing the very relation reflexively. Thus reflecting on what the 'mass' symbolizes and what consequences it has, this thesis has shed new light on thinking about the 'mass effect' by finding more ways to understand the relation between the singular and plural. The way the singular-plural relationship is articulated affects the understanding of mass tourism greatly and serves as a point for dialogue and negotiation. This relationship can be seen as the depth and intensity of the engagement that an individual tourist or the perceiver of the mass, for example, is considered to have with the 'mass'. If mass is attached to tourism in a certain predefined way, for example, following the path of the Frankfurt school, then the plurality of the mass is reduced to being exhaustively explained by a certain kind of commonality, rather than seeing the mass to be formed and entailing difference (see Obrador 2012). In this sense, the 'deterministic' and 'flexible' discourses took the dialogue in different directions (Article I). The deterministic discourse taking a top-down perspective (homogenizing) and flexible discourse having a more bottom-up (heterogenizing) perspective to mass tourism. Tourism research has not yet integrated these perspectives into a cohesive theoretical inquiry.

In the interview-based part of the dissertation, both interviewees and the researcher shifted attention to the ‘mass effect’ within the same material corpus. These shifts contributed to the diverse framings of mass tourism and make the effects of certain choices visible. The way in which the interviewees accepted the mass tourist role to represent homogeneity, something that nobody wants to admit to belong by using that term, while making other stereotypes more heterogeneous (even those on interests and practices of mass tourists), reflects different ideas on mass effect (Article II). The mass was considered not to allow individuality or independence, thus taking a top-down view in which the mass was based on homogeneity. The interviewees made this role by only comprising part of package tourists. In the case of travel agents, the discourses of ‘negatively distinguishable’ and ‘cultural tradition’ were differently aligned to mass effect than the package tourism discourses coupled with the raised ‘uncertainty’ discourse (Article III). While the latter ones broke the coherence of the homogeneous mass, it reminds us how hard it is to challenge the image of the term. For the guides, their large client numbers did not produce uniform views talking about the spatialities inside the masses of clients, except for recognizing tourist and local places as separate (Article IV). Thus the mass effect was merely addressed as limiting their capability of ‘knowing’ or evaluating their clients in detail, not that their clients were a uniform mass. In their customer service roles the interviewees were balancing between the learned ideas of mass tourism (more strictly homogeneous) and the experienced, practised aspects of package tourism (often more detailed). Where plurality is articulated as heterogeneity of the mass, there is a tendency to put oneself in another’s place or to understand situational contexts, suggesting that the contribution of industry professionals can be embedded in their capability to see multilogically and reveal limitations of perspectives. I argue that framing the singular-plural relationship of the mass in tourism should not be a one way street, and what would be fruitful in the future is a more open perspective to this relationship.

In relation to the dimensions of contextuality and plurality, three different possible versions of mass tourism can be identified. First, mass tourism can be seen as a quantitative concept (see Burkart & Medlik 1974; Jenkins 2007). The presence of large, visible numbers of people in one place at a given moment as well as longer-term national statistics can be seen as bases for mass tourism labelling, ranging from its grounding to a physical but also/or as mental/affective category. An otherwise globally marginal form of tourism, could thus be labelled mass tourism if seen as such from the locals’ point of view. The possibilities range from positive versions such as success, democratization, or ‘being with’ but also to negative sentiments of disruption and crowdedness as in the ‘deterministic’ and ‘flexible’ discourses presented in Article I. In the interviews, the quantitative notion was utilized within the context of the tour operator and Finland to specify mass tourism (framing its boundaries) as a part of package tourism, not the other way round. The travel agent discourse of ‘mass tourism as scale’ was quite deeply situated in the Finnish and tour operator perspectives in determining which established flows to destinations can accommodate the category of mass tourism, based on its numerical value (Article III).

The same was the case with tourist guides who categorized their destination as a mass tourism destination based on large numbers of their clients (Article IV). In this way, mass tourism was not articulated as a separate form of tourism but a popular or visible portion of a certain specified entity, in this case, of package tourism. In mass tourism, tourism is visible to a great extent in infrastructure or quantity of tourists, but also in a more abstract way, as the 'missing' clients who do not contact the guides. Different framings, masses within the mass, are thus created by different standards. The quantitative version gives possibilities to attach mass in numerous ways to tourism contexts that can provide new knowledge on the contemporary practices of the identified masses.

Second, mass tourism is conceptualized as a model(s) in tourism. Such a model is seen to make and produce the mass or to form part of mass tourism (through institutionalization, modes of production, spatial specialization, democratization and so on). Model-based thinking stresses qualitative characteristics of different kinds (e.g. Poon 1993), although it can have a strong linkage to quantitative conceptualization of the mass. The conceptualization as a model has variations because it is different to state that all the plurality of the mass is based on the same model or that this 'mass' tourism includes a model or models, such as charter package tours, but is not in its entity defined by that model. A model can be also understood as a simplified idea (stereotype, ideal type) of mass tourism through which activities or ideas are processed, resulting in a 'grand story of it'. As I argued in Article I, the model-based conceptualization of mass tourism is not only used as exhaustively explaining mass tourism, but it has been made partial in research. Not only because transformations in tourism models/forms/categories have become more blurry but also challenging the bases for mass tourism to be explained by one model. Mass tourism can be made small or large as a result of seeing it as a model and enforced by contextuality and the 'mass effect'. The deterministic discourse of academia takes a stronger position in seeing mass tourism as a rather static model though ranging from a more rigid form (Poon 1993) to a lighter version of a model in which the activity is organized (Spilanis & Vayanni 2004). Mass tourism is separate from other tourisms highlighting often certain productional or cultural ideas. In the flexible discourse the model is not perceived as central, only loosely giving some idea of what kind of phenomenon is described. The interest is in the variation. But some references are made also to ideas of blurry, mixing and integrating models of mass tourism and alternatives (e.g. Duval 2004; Kontogeorgopoulos 2003; Collins-Kreiner & Israeli 2010). This research showed that in academic mass tourism research strategies, the base is often an ideal type or practices. I argue that when simplistic models of mass tourism lead interpretation, the dialogue between ideal types and actual tourist practices tend to get overlooked.

In the analyses of the interviews, the model based approach to mass tourism was visible in the form of learnt content and presumptions linked to many themes which restricted mass tourism into something smaller than package tourism. They did not, however, consider package tourism to be determined as a practice by its production. The ways the respondents identified certain infrastructural or service-based elements to be common

for all mass tourism destinations (Article II, III, IV) or separated the ‘touristic’ and ‘local’ places (Article IV) attribute to the model-based framing. The separation between mass tourist and independent tourist roles was made based on a certain inflexible idea of what the mass tourist role means in terms of individuality and independence (Article II). With travel agents the model-based approach was present in two discourses: ‘negatively distinguishable’ and ‘cultural tradition’, but also discussed as ‘uncertainty’ by interviewees wondering whether their negative prenotations (learnt ideas) of mass tourism affected the way they saw it (even though they had ‘good’ experiences of it) (Article III). Mass tourism was considered a part of package tourism marked by certain negative or embarrassing parameters. However, mass tourism was also thought of including many different ‘forms’ of tourisms that multiplied the model-perspective. A distinction was made between the mass infrastructure and the atmosphere of the same place (Article II) and both intensive and extensive spatiality (Article IV) were included in mass tourism, based on the evaluation of what they see around them, when not stuck on the ideal type thinking. Often when the stereotype was brought from outside in for them to evaluate (by the researcher or by them as stereotypes of surrounding culture), this resulted in more complex ideas compared to some of their own thoughts drawn from general ideas (Article II, III). Similarly discussions of package tourism possibilities, restrictions and dynamism was often contrasted to the ideal of mass tourism (Article III). The dialogue between different ‘models’ (structure, spatial, behavioural, production, role-based) shed new light on how the concept can take various starting points. The model-based perspectives may serve, for example, in determining what kind of model of tourism infrastructures or transport networks might carry more benefits for the environment.

This framework ends with the third way to see mass tourism, this time as a kind of ‘super-umbrella’ concept for contemporary travelling as the ‘travelling of masses’. This played a small role in the materials of this study (rather a question in the air), considering changes in tourism, but travelling of masses did emerge both in the interviews and in the research writings. I see it as a dimension only starting to gain ground. All forms of contemporary tourism (also visiting friends and relatives, business) are placed under this super-umbrella as variants (see Aramberri 2010; Weaver 2014, see also Sharpley 2000; Wheeler 2003; cf. Singh 2007). This study has raised a question regarding the usability of categorizing mass tourists as a tourist type or role, and highlighted its possibilities as a general category that is quantitative but also something all travelling people belong to as representatives of the ‘super-mass’. When people travel they belong to the same grand discourse of travelling, and become part of flows of travelling. In this sense, mass tourism is a huge collective umbrella category covering many different ways of travelling, applicable and available to larger groups of people than before. Mobility infrastructure is the basis for all travel: networks of transport (airlines, vehicles), accommodation and money (credit cards) each carry a set of exclusions-inclusions that constitute mobility (see Weaver 2001, 2014; Aramberri 2010). The forms of tourism included in mass tourism, do not have to be considered exhaustively ‘mass produced’, for mass tourism, in this sense, is an inclusive

concept for contemporary mobility and it provides a platform for wider discussions on tourism based on mutually constitutive knowledge creation. The flexible discourse I analysed, promoted this kind of thinking (Article I; Wheeler 2003; Aramberri 2010; Weaver 2014). In Article II the way the interviewees framed independent and individual tourists as the ‘contemporary way to travel’ as opposed to the mass tourist role, marks an idea of ‘new mass’ to belong to. Within the uncertainty discourse of the travel agents in Article III this definition is present by renegotiating the learnt content of the term mass tourism and the current situation in which tourists are quite literally everywhere, such acknowledgement led to a question of what is the mass? Within the guide interviews different motivations and spatial practices emerged from the same (smaller scale) mass of (charter package) tourists (clients) and that refers to mass tourism as an umbrella term for holding space for different kinds of tourism practices (Article IV). To conceptualize mass tourism as a ‘super-umbrella’ takes a step away from the idea of separate mass tourism type and stereotypical ideas of the mass as an arena of distinction, thus bringing a challenge to consider the concept in a wider manner. Questions of democracy, ‘rights’ to travel and sustainability could be covered, for instance.

With the proposed framework I want to highlight the importance of dialogue in conceptualizing mass tourism as multidimensional, as the definition of mass tourism is never finished. Mass tourism symbolizes tourism itself as an entity, its numbers, the comparable status of tourists, the production of tourist experiences or concentration of tourists. The ‘mass’ is a tool for making different framings of tourism. Through the different materials and analyses we get a more complex, although situated, view of the possibilities of the concept of mass tourism. This study suggests that mass tourism should be understood as a theoretical abstraction that enables researchers to approach the micro and macro aspects of tourism. This dynamic framework can be utilized to position individual studies or to evaluate different ways to define mass tourism in a certain setting. The empirical cases of agents and guides showed that although there were heavy stereotypical and learnt contents to see mass tourism as well as contemporary values reflected in their evaluation, their diverse roles and experiences in mass tourism had provided them with insights that made the discussion more diverse. Even though this study was situated in the ‘old’ package type of mass tourism it still showed the complexity of views that is not to be overlooked.

The PhD process has raised several future ideas for mass tourism practice and research. For tour operators and destinations the challenges seem to be attached to meeting the demands of a growing diversification of clients’ needs and greater awareness among consumers. Package holidays continue to attract different segments of clients (including the elderly, families, busy people), according to the interviewees thanks to their current characteristics, but for many clients package holidays are evaluated in relation to how they might continue to serve their specialized interests. Participatory qualitative research methods could bring more detailed knowledge of the ways package tours are seen and used ‘through life’, for example, among highly-educated people. In addition to traditional

excursions, tour operators could consider other kinds of local cooperation. As has been stated, mass tourism has rich and conflicting histories and, so far, in destinations this history has not been much utilized. Repeat visitors, for example, have 'long' personal relationships with a destination and they might be interested in, among other things, the history of tourism in 'their' mass destination (museums, exhibitions, meeting places). This is a history of the place (destination) 'shared with' visitors and locals that could help serve for dialogue between different users of the space. There is also a need for more participatory research of these relationships, in which different parties are taken into the same research situations (for example focus groups) and inclusive (ethical) negotiations could evolve.

Dialogue-orientated mass tourism research (and its conceptualization) could also consist of multinational and holistic research groups oriented to bringing together different perspectives of the common topic (See Obrador Pons *et al.* 2009a: 12). For example, researchers who are/have been locals and those who are from the countries of origin (tourists) of mass tourism could discuss and write together, to provide more multilogical knowledge that acknowledges that people in different contexts may see differently (See also Veijola *et al.* 2014). A final direction for future research might emphasize that more interest could be put in the empowerment of 'the researched' (and reflexivity of the research community) (as studies between the mass and the tourists as socially bound members). This idea is discussed further in the next chapter, through the example of auto-touristography. It has resulted from this PhD process and is something to develop in the future.

7.2 For an auto-touristography

During the process of making this dissertation I often came to think about my own positionality in relation to the topic and how I have influenced it in the different phases. I had the privilege to formulate my topic without worries of funding and my supervisors were in favour of it. For a long time, I thought it was my low self-esteem as a junior scholar that made me think critically about who knows what and based on what values, but I am more and more convinced that my research has tried to tell me something. This chapter thus closes the 'circle of representation' that originated from the researcher, went through different theories and materials and ends again with the researcher. Throughout the interviews and analyses I was bothered by the fact that I did not know more about the people whom I researched, their backgrounds and different roles, and the same applies to their knowledge about their clients. The interviews *per se* were relatively short encounters, that I would have liked to re-engage in follow-up interviews after some time. I also noticed that talking about tourism or destinations is not that easy because of the multidimensional and situated character of tourist practices. In addition, I have also been frustrated sometimes answering feedback forms of tour operators (or seen some of the

survey studies) and not being able to express my viewpoints more clearly by ticking the pre-given categories.

Auto-touristography is an idea I have started to develop already before the fieldwork trip to Crete. It is based on someone addressing, reflexively (in their own ways) the question of oneself as a tourist and the multiple positions from which one perceives and approaches mass tourism. The first application of it is exploring myself as a tourist-researcher, including other roles, and in relation to mass tourism and its study. The aim would be to look at 'tourism through life' and the different roles tourism has within peoples' lives during different phases. Auto-touristography is influenced by auto-ethnography and biographies: "Hence through a poeticized and personalized case-study, auto-ethnography forces the tourists – ourselves – to inquire into and to challenge our experiences, which would otherwise be dismissed as 'recreational', 'superficial', 'fun', and so on, in a reflexive and informed manner." (Noy 2007: 143–144). The same idea could be applied to other tourists, such as researcher's friends, looking for more 'research with' rather than 'research of' kinds of practices that allow more innovative ways to approach mass tourism.

Based on the idea of auto-touristography I spent only two weeks in Crete on a fieldwork trip. Ethnographic fieldwork usually takes several months (e.g. Andrews 2005, 2011; Rakić & Chambers 2012), but in this case only two weeks because it is the amount of time regular tourists have to experience the destination (see also Li 2000; Tucker 2005, 2007; Noy 2007). This limited amount of time makes one always miss something one would have liked to do and be forced to compromise, for example in case of sickness. Another thing was that my family, my husband and son (1.5 years) came with me for practical reasons, which made me think that I could make use of the situation otherwise than through traditional participant observation. We were to do things we would always do, or at least try not to be influenced by research. This was a first family trip abroad and it gave more material to work with, so in addition to guide interviews, I observed myself, and us as a part of mass tourism. Part of this was also taking notes only as I felt comfortable, in the course of tourist practices, not distracting them.

When thinking about the trip, the first thing that comes to mind is the family context it was conducted in. This influenced heavily how I (we) experienced the destination. The daily rhythm was affected by nap and eating times. The playground (at the hotel and restaurants) were more in use than the beach or the pool, at least no sunbathing was taking place. In addition, we did not spend time outside the hotel during the evenings in order to not disturb the rhythm. So two things perhaps more commonly attached to mass tourism the beach/pool and the party were out of the picture. I experienced this as a kind of relief and it created clarity to do things our own ways. There were times to relax and times to go. The family also turned my focus, previously on other tourists as clients, to others sharing the same space. Maybe in the future the setting changes and the beach and pool will be placed in a more central position. As our family context was influenced by the age of our child and our ways of being parents, also the excursions we took were affected by the fact that we have been used to driving long drives (compare

with the guides' ideas of families), in Crete the distances felt relatively short for us so we had the capacity to go to places. One more thing was the easiness to find local food/restaurants practically everywhere. This was a surprise. We had negative past memories of this also in metropolitan areas, but on this island the case was closer to us only being able to use but a tiny part of the overall selection. Last thing in the family context was the way having a child affected meeting with others. We had several discussions with a Swedish family on their holiday as well as Cretan workers who approached our son. I felt this was an easy way to get into conversations. This provided a setting to critically reflect on our own culture and how families, and children are approached.

Being at a mass tourism destination is not easy having read the academic discussions about them. I felt that I had different schools of thought in my head advising what is bad and what is good, creating a confusion how one should react on situations and places. And somehow, on the one hand one feels like an intruder, but on the other hand these places welcome you and let you be a tourist. Something to notice was that the trip took place in early May. The masses were almost absent and the places and facilities seemed to be in a mood of 'waiting for'. The work with auto-touristography will continue in the future. Ways to approach the mass from inside could be a way to create valuable new knowledge about mass tourism (Obrador 2012; Veijola 2014).

I will end by citing on Carina Ren and her colleagues (2010: 886, 901):

“There remains a crucial challenge to develop conceptualizations of tourisms that encompass multiple worldviews and cultural differences as well as research praxis that recognizes and reflects the plurality of multiple positions, practices and insights [...] The future development of the field may well depend on our ability to find more such spaces for dialogue, reflexivity, equality, empowerment and co-created knowledge in our scholarship by realizing the role of our research work and interventions in co-constructing our field”.

I agree and hope for many fruitful future discussions about mass tourism. This study is, after all, just another construction of mass tourism.

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The travel agent interview themes and questions [translated]

The background information

- Name, age, working title, working years with the tour operator in question, other working experience in tourism
- Central working tasks

Description of the working environment

- The product or the products on sale?
- Are there any variations?
- Strengths and weaknesses of that product (challenges/possibilities)
- Package tour (*valmismatka*) from the viewpoint of collectivity and individuality
- Who would you recommend a package tour to and are there some type of people you would not recommend it to at all?
- Possible changes in the working environment and job? (recent years, or longer timespan)

Finnish package tourism (*valmismatkailu*)

- What is Finnish package tourism like from your point of view?
- Contemporary trends within tourism (in general) and their possible effects on package tourism or package tourists?
- What kind of tourists are the Finns and possible changes?

Tourism destinations

- Which destinations are important when talking about Finnish package tourism?
- Have there been any changes in (selection of) these destinations?
- How do the different seasons (winter/summer) affect the selection of destinations?
- What kinds of destinations are there in the total supply of the tour operator? Differences or similarities between them?
- How is/are tourist destination/-s present in your job? What kind of role does it/do they have?
- How does it differ to have a discussion about a tourist destination which you have visited yourself, compared to a situation in which you have never visited the destination in question?

- Choose one destination which is central from your work's viewpoint and describe who you would recommend it to and why?
- The Canary Islands, Turkey, Thailand, Greece (top destinations by the volume in Finnish package tourism; AFTA statistics). Similarities? Differences?

Statements or stereotypes that are often present also in research when talking about mass tourism. Comment on these and tell why you agree or disagree?

- Package tours are an easy and safe way to travel, it is kind of travelling in an environmental bubble.
- Package tours are rigidly standardized and tourists do not need to make decisions regarding travel arrangements.
- The most important criteria when choosing a package tour is its price (or its affordability)
- Mass tourism is marketed to an undifferentiated clientele.
- Tour operator wants to control the tourist in order to make larger profits.
- All mass tourism destinations are similar/the same or the same product is on offer at many destinations.
- Mass tourists are not interested in the local culture of their destination.
- Mass tourists travel for entertainment, not to learn.
- Nobody wants to admit that he/she is a mass tourist.
- Mass tourists have remained the same/similar for decades.

Defining the working environment

- Explain your impressions of these terms. How you would you define them?
 - Mass tourism
 - Package tourism, *valmismatkailu*, charter tourism and *seuramatkailu*. Are they the same or not?
- Where is the line drawn between something being a package tour and not a package tour?
- Where is the line drawn between something being mass tourism and not?
- How do you see the future of Finnish package tourism? Are there some challenges etc.?

The tourist guide interview themes and questions [translated]

The background information, working environment and personal relationship with destination

- Name, age, title, education
- How long have you worked for this tour operator/in this destination/as a guide for different tour operators or in different destinations?
- How did you end up in Crete as a guide?
- What are the most central working tasks as a guide? Have the tasks changed during your career? Has there been differences in tasks between different destinations?
- Has the domestic/international character of tour operator had an impact on your tasks?
- In what areas do you work on a daily basis, i.e. how do you define the destination where you work? (draw on the map the area indicating your daily physical movement/discussions with clients?)
- Where and how do you reside in Crete? What do you do in your spare time? (draw on map)
- How do/did you get to know the destination before arrival/ after arrival? Did you get help from the tour operator?
- What image did you have of Crete before you came here? Previous experiences? Did the images stay the same or did they change?
- What is your personal opinion about Crete?

Destination (You can define this in your terms: island, city, village...)

- What role does destination (in this destination) have in Finnish package tourism in your opinion?
- How is it reflected in your work or destination? What information do you need in your work?
- How do different lengths of guiding careers affect destination knowledge?
- How does the travel companion or different categorizations of clientele affect the things they ask?
- What places do you introduce to tourists in your discussions? Which are the most important places to get to know in Crete?
- Why do people travel to Crete when they could choose any other place? Why do repeat travellers come here?
- If one accommodates in Platanias or Agia Marina, for example, does it have an effect on the trip and how?

Product

- Which are the strengths and weaknesses of package tours? Challenges and possibilities?
- Are there individualist characteristics in package tours? Any collective characteristics?
- Any pressures to change?

Finnish package tourism

- What is Finnish package tourism like from your point of view? Differences between destinations?
- What kind of tourists are the Finns and possible changes?
- Is your typical clientele homogeneous or segmented? Based on what?
- What kinds of services do Finns need/want during the trip from guides?

Statements taken from the academic research. Comment on these and tell why you agree or do not agree?

- Package tours are an easy and safe way to travel, kind of travelling in an environmental bubble.
- Package tours are rigidly standardized and tourists do not need to make decisions regarding travel arrangements.
- Tour operator wants to control the tourist during the trip in order to make larger profits.
- All mass tourism destinations are similar/the same or the same product is on offer at many destinations.
- Mass tourism destinations are predictable and familiar even though it would be the first visit.
- Mass tourism is based on the sea, sun and sand.
- Mass tourists are not interested in the local culture of their destination.
- Mass tourists travel for entertainment, not to learn.
- Nobody wants to admit that he/she is a mass tourist.
- Mass tourists have remained the same/similar for decades.

Defining the working environment

- Explain your impressions of these terms. How would you define them?
 - Mass tourism (can it be complex/personal/deep/teaching, why or why not?)
 - Package tourism, *valmismatkailu*, charter tourism and *seuramatkailu*
- How do you see the future of Finnish package tourism in Crete? Are there some challenges ?

- The future of tourism in Crete?
- Crete was chosen as case destination because travel agents named it as a positive destination. How would you like to comment on this?
- Do you have any ideas about how travel agents could learn from Crete, even if they had never been here?

