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Guided tours and the city – Proceedings

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Managing Big Cities



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Introduction

The Guided tour – Blood, Stone and Identity

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A city consists, to a large extent, of different proportions of stone, concrete, oil, metal, flesh and blood, but we cannot experience it as such. It needs an order. For the people who live in a city, an order is generated by their being there, moving in patterns that create meaning. Over time, they learn the way the city functions and thus how its ingredients vary in correlation. What one learns depends on one's movements through the city. Young people view the city one way, parents of small children another, senior citizens a third.

For visitors, the situation is different; they must learn quicker. Sometimes they only have a few hours at their disposal to understand what the city looks like, in which case they need to purchase other people's stories. There are many ways this can be done, but guided tours are probably the most common. Guided tours are like any other businesses, except their specialty, and main task, is to show, in a very short time, the city to its visitors. Ok, sometimes we accompany our guests on a guided tour of our own city, and we are indeed often surprised by what is shown; it appears as something quite different than the city we meet in our everyday lives where we take it for granted.

The guided tour gives a view of the city to those who visit it and allow themselves to be influenced. Paradoxically enough, there are, over the course of a few years, more people who learn about the city through guided tours than by living in it. What the guided tour exposes thus becomes the prominent truth about the city. Luckily, there are various types of guided tours, but it is likely that to find tours that most people do not find, one has to be fairly initiated.

All in all, it is about creating an identity, what something is experienced as, and to some degree is said to be. In this project we ask ourselves how the identity-generating image is constructed. We give a number of examples of how cities and other places are represented in guided tours that we see as contributing to the making of their identities.

Research regarding guiding involves several aspects of sustainable spatial planning, place marketing and tourism; it studies who informs, develops and manages knowledge on companies, rural- and city planning and the managing of cultural heritage. Guiding is thus part of the large attention given to factors driving tourism and development in cities. These workshop proceedings

represent a truly interdisciplinary attempt to focus on aspects of guiding that have not yet been regarded or extensively investigated. Still, presentations and representations of cities are considered issues of formal leading and organizing of urban spaces. Not that the aspects focused in these proceedings are unimportant. Rather, guiding is commonly considered a professional practice and craft, but often taken for granted and thus rendered invisible. It is therefore even more important to note its role in the production of urban places. Guiding is foremost part of the experience industry where the meetings between humans and new environments can be augmented through technologies and media. The study of guiding in this report is an attempt to present alternative voices of the producing of places, within literature, music, art and other cultural expressions.

Hallin and Dober's empirical study of sightseeing buses, *The Production of Stockholm*, shows how alternative images of the city are being produced by different types of guiding. What is important are the effects and values produced by these different guides. Zillinger's work on the image of Sweden in German guidebooks shows how crucial product placement is in the book industry, and how sharp competition in the quest for tourists makes it important to actively produce images of places. Sjöholm discusses "crime tourism" and takes us on a murder walk following in the steps of Henning Mankell's fictitious literary character Kurt Wallander. Forsemalm lets us discover the small city of Gränna where he shows us that street signs in the city are more than a side phenomenon. Ohlsson focuses on self-guided tours to reach a broader understanding of the practices of this type of guiding and how it has changed over time. Adolfsson investigates images produced during a television broadcast of a marathon through the city of Göteborg. She is concerned for whom and with what intention these images are being produced, and if the producers are aware of the potential impact their image production may have on the marketing of places? Karrbom takes us along on a guided tour of a power plant and investigates what is unpacked and packed walking through its engine halls and storage buildings. Solli takes us on a ride through the streets of Palma to show us an example of how a guide produces place. He also documents on film the performance of guiding as carried out by a guide in the region of Skåne, and captures in the process some unintended consequences of taking people out in groups. Jonasson makes an attempt at conceptualizing the practice of guiding and of being guided, by considering the non-representational aspects of walking, telling stories, being lead and listening in a group. The abstracts included in this report are written by authors working at universities in Swedish.

The common trait, and collective product of this workshop, is an emerging awareness and knowledge of guided tours as an important tool for actively and patiently producing images of cities. This knowledge is important for anyone who has the intention of producing these images for the purpose of marketing and informing.

The Production of Stockholm for Tourists

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I turn on the local news and hear that the number of tourists coming to Stockholm has increased lately. An Italian who just got off one of the guided boat tours in the City is interviewed: "It was fantastic! All the water... I really understand why Stockholm is called 'the Venice of the North!'"¹

"The Venice of the North"?! Where does this image come from? As Stockholmers we recognize the saying, but is it really well-known also among Italians? Or is this something tourists are told when they are in Stockholm – an old image, used and reused? And is the image of Stockholm as the "Venice of the North" really an image we want to use today? Isn't Venice known for its dirty waters and sinking houses, and haven't we heard the same phrase used for St Petersburg, Amsterdam or Brügge? Who is interested in sustaining this particular image of Stockholm – or other images for that matter - and why?

The short segment on the local news made us ask a lot of questions. Earlier, we had taken an interest in the image of Stockholm such as we had perceived it in modern fiction and in visionary documents produced by city planners, politicians and city managers. (Dobers 2003, 2006; Dobers and Hallin 2006) Now we asked ourselves: who is in charge of the images of Stockholm? And how are they produced?

Our argument, based on ideas from Saussure, Barthes and Baudrillard, is that images are just as relevant as substance to understand society of today, as images not only refer to substance, they also create substance. Therefore, in order to understand Stockholm of today, we must understand the images of Stockholm and how they are produced. The purpose of our work is thus to shed light on the relationship between the images of Stockholm and Stockholm as a place – the substance of Stockholm. The substance of Stockholm is not only that which the images refer to, but also the activities which constitute the production process through which the images are produced.

¹ This is a quote from Anette's memory of a small part of the local (Stockholm area) "ABC-news", late summer, 2005.

This paper is a first report from the investigation we decided to carry out in order to understand how Stockholm is produced for tourists in and through guided tours. The empirical material includes interviews with a number of people involved in the production of guided tours given by the family-owned company Strömman AB – a company which operates a large part of the guided boat and bus tours for tourists in Stockholm. We also participated in several of the tours ourselves, to understand how they were set up and what was said. Additionally, we interviewed a representative from “Royal Arena Tours” that, during the summer of 2006, offered tourists an alternative guided tour as part of a marketing activity for the left-wing/liberal, monthly magazine *Arena*. In the paper we contrast what the Strömman-tours and the Royal Arena Tour say at different locations in the City to illustrate the political dimension of guided tours. We also discuss the role of technology and music, as well as aspects of the production of guided tours such as competition, partnership and development.

Dobers, Peter (2003) Image of Stockholm as an IT city: Emerging urban entrepreneurship. In Chris Steyaert and Daniel Hjort (eds.) *New Movements in Entrepreneurship*, pp. 200-217. Aldershot: Edward Elgar Publishing.

--- (2006) Empty Spaces or Illusionary Images? ”Stockholm as a Mobile Valley”. In Stewart Clegg and Martin Kornberger (eds.) *Space, Organization and Management Theory*, Malmö/Copenhagen: Liber and Copenhagen Business School.

Dobers, Peter and Hallin, Anette (2006) Slipping into Darkness: A Study of the Role of ICTs in the Making of Stockholm’s Image, *Journal of Urban Technology*, 13 (3): 119-122.

Guidebooks and the City

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Joining a guided tour is above all a popular tourist activity, but can also be pleasant for locals who want to get to know their hometown better. Some people may go on tours lead by a tourist guide. Others might want to go sightseeing on their own. When the latter alternative is chosen, sightseers can seek advice from guidebooks. This paper looks into walks recommended in guidebooks and treats these as guided tours. The paper also includes a study of which factors influence the selection of particular tourist sites in guidebooks.

Despite the wealth of information to be found about the worlds' tourist sites on the Internet, guidebooks serve as some of the most important information sources. By guiding their readers to certain places, they have a great amount of power. Guidebooks exert a strong influence on the traveler, both in terms of their construction of place, such as a city, and which cities and regions are chosen as destinations. For destinations located far away from the tourist's home country, guidebooks constitute the most important information medium. They provide tourists with spatial and social information and thus both identify and frame cities as tourist destinations. By separating desirable from seemingly unattractive experiences, guidebooks direct tourists' movements through the city. Hereby, they have been likened to human tourist guides. They are also said to contribute to the consolidation of beaten tracks.

The importance of guidebooks is culturally contingent. While Swedish tourists are not especially enthusiastic about reading this kind of information, tourists of other nationalities find it to be of great significance. Germans constitute one of the most important incoming tourist groups in Sweden and they consider the guidebook the most important neutral source of tourist information. For this study, a number of guidebooks on Sweden sold on the German market were selected and analyzed with regard to their selection of tourist sites. The result was correlated with overnight statistics in order to establish a potential link.

The paper assumes that the content of guidebooks is dependent on the underlying purposes of both authors and publishers. Publishing houses set the conditions under which the authors have to perform their work. A growing competition on the guidebook market has put publishing houses under a lot of pressure the last few years, which has limited the freedom of the authors. Since it is increasingly difficult to make a living writing guidebooks, many authors today decide to write books in their free time, while holding a regular job with a fixed income. Ultimately, the authors' situation influences which tourist sites they choose to write about.

The selection of tourist sites is found to be dependent on five factors. *Personal factors* are related to the authors' occupational backgrounds and personal passions. *External factors* include which publishing house they work for, the size and the characteristic of the intended audience, the length of the piece they are to write, and business contacts. A third factor is the *geographical location* of the selected site; the farther a tourist has to travel, the more important is the rating of the site. In addition, thinner guidebooks focus on city centers, while more comprehensive books usually comprise suburbs. A fourth factor is *sponsorship*; if an author is sponsored by a business, the book usually features a presentation of the sponsoring company. The last and fifth factor is that guidebooks tend to focus on *local favorites*, that is, on places where the locals like to spend their time.

The study shows that the content of guidebooks does influence tourists' choices of tourist sites. For the whole of Sweden, the relationship between the space dedicated to a tourist region, and the number of overnight stays there, is significant, and rated $r^2=0,639$. The correlation increases the farther north the tourist site is located. The books' presentations of city attractions were either thematically or geographically arranged. Popular themes were, for example, shopping, culture, and dining out. The different districts were either presented one by one, or as part of a sequence - a suggested tour. As many sites were selected in order for readers to be able to cover them during a walk, it was concluded that the locations of the sites played an important role in selecting them; for example, sites that can quickly be passed by were often chosen. The intention seems to be not to have the tourist spend too much time at each of the presented sites, but to get an overview of the city. In this, guided tours that are suggested in guidebooks do not differ from tours that are guided by human tourist guides. They are designed to keep the tourist in motion, be it on a walk, on the bicycle, or on a bus. One might argue that on a guided tour, people are not primarily interested in getting to know the details about a site, but rather to get a general idea of the city. The tours are usually designed on the basis of tourist supply rather than demand. In addition, depending on the readership of the individual guidebook, attractions are presented in a variety of ways and with varying language. Some guidebooks describe tourist attractions in a neutral way, while others imitate the style of speech of a human tourist guide.

In some cases, it can be difficult for the reader to follow a guidebook tour through the city; it might not be shown on a map over the city, or, if a map is provided, the quality may be poor. While focus is put on the places where the reader stands still (at the tourist sites), less information is given on how to walk in between them, although the presented itineraries are designed in order to keep the readers in motion in the city. It is concluded that if guidebooks are to compete with human tourist guides, the quality of their presentations must be improved.

Murder Walks in Ystad

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Fictitious places can make real places worth seeing. Many people travel to experience how a real historical person might have lived. However, it has also become popular these days to travel in the tracks of fictional characters. Paradoxically enough, a tourist can experience the fictional place as the more authentic one: the real or documentary ones need forms to appear as real. I want to show how fiction and concepts of authenticity interact within the limits of a specific – and growing - cultural tourist genre: *the murder walk*.

I here study a place where “crime tourism” has had a breakthrough, Ystad, which has become an important regional film centre. The region has implemented a policy to market the place (including also Skåne and Österlen) by emphasizing its filmmaking and taking advantage of the interest that exists in the crime writer Henning Mankell, his books and his fictitious literary character Kurt Wallander.

The performative dimension of, and the importance of the senses in, the making of experiences is an important part of the tourist industry. This is obvious in crime tourism and movie induced tourism. Being guided and gazing at are traditional tourist experiences; nowadays one is also expected to interact with. The place where the murder walks are produced is the small town Ystad in the south of Sweden, which is the setting for the films and books about the police inspector Kurt Wallander, created by Swedish author and playwright Henning Mankell. As said, Ystad is also the place where the new regional centre for film production is situated, and the Wallander movies play an important part for the economic success of this centre. Cultural tourism thus hinges upon the existence of the film studio. To map the touristic experience of the murder walk, a number of observations and interviews were carried out on location in Ystad. The investigation is an empirical case study dealing with the mixture, transformation, interaction and production of meaning within and between different media forms (fiction, different forms of travelogues, feature films etc). For its analysis it uses modern ethnological theories of body and space, and treats the murder walks both as fiction and narrative as well as socio-historical events.

The results show that the concept of *authenticity* is revised during the murder walks, since fictitious characters and places during the tour are mixed with real ones, that is, in the hybridization of the hero of the crime stories and their author. The geography – fictitious as well as real – is *embodied* by the participants in the murder walks; they place themselves inside the fiction, and thereby transgress the traditional border between fantasy and reality, otherwise upheld in crime stories and movies. As murder-walk participant you are part of a team that given clues

is supposed to find out who the murderer is. During the walk you do not only get clues but also stories about the history of the place/town, the writer Mankell and the character Wallander, both from the books and from their adaptations for the screen. It is interesting to see how the walks are set free from their first inspiration, the books, and become a travel of experience where people not only look at, but interact with, by acting a role.

Striped: From Sugar to Steel. The Transformation of Sweets into a Guiding sign.

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On the other side of the glass stands Peter, an old friend from nine-year compulsory school. He is making peppermint sticks in various colors. On my side of the glass, which separates the spectators from the chef at work, stand fascinated children and their parents, wallets in hand. The making of the peppermint sticks is dramatized; it really takes only peppermint, sugar, water and vinegar, but the dramatization makes the candy something else. For the small southern Sweden community Gränna, wonderfully situated by Sweden's second largest lake Vättern and just off the European highway E4, Sweden's most heavily trafficked, it means everything. On the highway, some 10 kilometers before the Gränna exit ramps, a road sign calls the driver's attention. It urges you to "choose Gränna" for your break. A road sign made out of two gigantic steel bars, looking just like peppermint sticks, carrying a message: "Welcome to Gränna – The Polka Pig Town". "Road signs are more than a side phenomenon", states Science and Technology researcher Daniel Normark.² They add technology to cities brands to make them more durable.³ Gränna becomes "the peppermint stick city" by the striped bars at the road-sign. Gränna is also known as the home of air balloon dare-devil Andrée, who at the end of the 19th century sought fame by attempting to fly a hot air balloon to the Arctic with the objective to geographically map its, then, unknown terrain. Furthermore, Gränna's surroundings bear the mark of count Per Brahe, founder of the town in 1652. Ruins of his castles and "small" cottages are found throughout the former countship. When visiting the Gränna tourist website, both count Brahe and explorer Andrée are "clickable" (as are Gränna the "Pear town" and the lake Vättern island Visingsö, with its medieval features). Of all these "clickables", possible Gränna's, it is the supposedly "sticky" peppermint stick that should make the E4 driver, on the road from somewhere to some place else, reduce speed and take a break in Gränna.

Ordinary sweets, or? On the website we learn that it all started in 1859, when "aunt" Amalia Eriksson, shortly after becoming a widow, applied for permission to earn her living by making the sugar candy called "Polkagris" (Polka Pig, if one is to try a direct translation). The polka dance, popular at the time, lent it its name, according to the tourist website. In this story of the birth of what today, in the age of city branding, is "selling Gränna" are traditions which thus are incorporated into the construction, the fable, needed to make this simple candy into something out of the ordinary.

² Normark 2006

³ Cf Latour 1991



Left: Staff from one of the peppermint stick factories. Right: the window between the area of manufacturing and the shop, creating both secrecy and openness to the traditional craftsmanship.

A statue of Aunt Amalia has been erected in the town park. And the striped candy, by way of dramatization, legends and traditions, makes Gränna famous. Road signs – the ones designed to create attraction and reduced car speed to get cars on exit ramps - are, for sure, in these times of post-industrialization, something more than just a “side phenomena”. They come in various forms and shapes with the common denominator of guidance and marketability. What can be worthy of being punched into metal and mounted as a selling slogan on the side of the road? What would make the car driver put the foot on the brake? As ethnologist Per-Markku Ristilammi discusses in his account of the inaugurating events at the Öresund Bridge opening, for something to be remembered, something else must be forgotten.⁴ Each including action also entails exclusions. What is being forgotten when something is made memorable? What is being forgotten in the acts of making Gränna a peppermint stick town?

The city is localized, by the moves of many, by humans and non-humans. City districts’ “characters” are assembled by many “characterizers”.⁵ Aunt Amalia becoming a widow and in need of a new way of earning a living. A popular and traditional dance giving its name to the Polka Pig. Traditional aprons, as visualized in the image above. The “mysterious”, yet clearly visible, manufacturing of the sugar-dense candy. The website retelling the history. And the road sign by the side of the E4 highway, held up by a steel structure in the shape of two peppermint sticks saying “Gränna – the Polka Pig Town!”. The road signs are there to guide us, obviously in many different ways. Not only traffic signs and “sleeping policemen” make us reduce speed; the steeled stripes makes the children in the backs of cars cry out for a stop. Gränna makes it in the media noise by the aid of the road side signs: it is not passed by easily, at least not if you have kids. I leave the store with my childhood favorite, the blueberry flavored.

⁴ Ristilammi 2003.

⁵ Cf. Forsemalm 2007, and also Latour 2005.

Forsestalm, Joakim (2007) *Bodies, Bricks and Black Boxes: Power Practices in City Conversion*. Göteborg, Digressiv Produktion.

Latour, Bruno (1991) Technology is society made durable. In J. Law (ed.) *A Sociology of Monsters: Essays on Power, Technology and Domination*. London: Routledge.

Latour, Bruno (2005) *Reassembling the Social. An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. Oxford University Press.

Normark, Daniel (2006) *Enacting Mobility. Studies into the Nature of Road-related Social Interaction*. Göteborg, Section for Science and Technology Studies.

Ristilammi Per-Markku (2003) *Mim och verklighet. En studie av stadens gränser*. Stockholm, Symposion.



Peppermint manufacturer and dentist sharing premises.

Guidebooks and Google Earth. A Role Perspective on Self-guiding Texts over Time

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The use of language, spoken or written, has a crucial role in all guiding. The archetypical guide situation is the guided tour, which usually is led by a professional person that communicates in spoken language with a group or with an individual. This type of guiding can also be performed informally and in a more private context, for example, in situations where visiting friends or relatives are guided by their peers. A different setting surfaces with the *self-guided tour*, which also is the main issue of this project. In all types of guiding, it is obvious that spoken or written language is the channel between the guided person and the source of information. A self-guided person can usually rely on information from different types of texts – books, maps or information from the Internet. The research question in this project proposal concerns the roles that texts play as sources of self-guiding information and also as parts in different institutionalizations of self-guiding practices.

The framework of this project is a combination of different aspects of text studies. A description of the historical development of self-guiding texts forms the introduction of the study. This historical overview moves from self-guiding texts in pre-modern days over texts of the modern day tourism explosion to the impact of guide texts on the Internet. It also underpins the selection of texts included for closer analysis. For the main analysis, I make use of theories of genre and discourse – summarized as studies of texts in context (Ohlsson 2007). I include, in my analysis, the content and structure layout of the selected texts and a focus on the circumstances of the texts and a discussion of the model reader (Eco 1984).

The selected texts come from different time periods and make use of different genres (book types, maps etc.) as well as different channels (print, the Internet or mobile phones). To structure the analysis further, I make use of a few general themes.

The first theme concerns the collective or individual use of these texts. Are the texts aimed for a larger group of readers or do they include possibilities of individual adaptation? A second theme concerns multimodality in the texts. This includes the use of different (mainly) non-verbal text elements such as maps, pictures and similar. How are these elements meant to interact with the verbal text (see Kress & Van Leeuwen 2004)? Is the verbal text always the default main information source? A third theme is the proposed tour or "must-see highlights" that may

exist in a guidebook or in an Internet-based application like Google Earth. The main question in this theme is the interplay between official, "standard" versions of a self-guided tour and non-official, "underground" versions of "must sees" on a tour. An important implication to investigate is how new technology facilitates the spreading of non-standard tours for self-guiding.

A supposed outcome of the project is to reach a broader understanding of the practices of self-guiding. A better knowledge of the use and roles of texts in this process is obviously another aim.

Eco, Umberto (1984) *The Role of the Reader*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kress, Gunther & Theo Van Leeuwen (2004) *Reading Images. The Grammar of Visual Design*. London/New York: Routledge.

Ohlsson, Claes (2007) *Folkets fonder? En textvetenskaplig studie av det svenska pensionsparandets domesticering*. Institutionen för svenska språket, Göteborgs universitet.

Marathon on TV as a Guided Tour of the City

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This on-going study aims at describing how sports events can be seen as guided city tours. The study is based on an analysis of the European Athletic Championship marathon race in Göteborg 2006 as broadcast by Swedish television, and analyzed with a focus on what stories of the city the journalists are telling the TV viewers. The first pilot phase of the study showed that it is the well-known places of the city that get presented. A second, coming, phase of the study aims at interviewing the journalists and organizers of the event in order to understand what aspects they deem important to include in the planning of the race.

Earlier studies have shown that broadcasts of sports events can have an effect on viewer' perception of the locality where the sports event takes place. Hede (2005) has shown that the general opinion of Greece in Australia changed, after the Olympic Games in Athens 2004.

In general, the amount of broadcasting of sports events has increased since the 1960's. NBC, for example, covered 1210 hours of the Olympic Games in Athens; nearly 4 million viewers watched the event. The viewers in Hede's study watched approximately 12 hours of the games during the 16 days that they lasted. In addition to focusing on the sports, the broadcasts also offered opportunities for presenting the place where the event took place.

The pilot study of the marathon was conducted as an analysis of the TV program that broadcast the race live from Göteborg. The program lasted for almost 3 hours and was commented on by several sports journalists and a former athlete acting as expert. The cameras followed the runners mainly on the ground but also with helicopter. Now and then, the picture and the comments of the race were interrupted by pictures from the area where other competitions were taking place, for example, the discus. The journalist and the expert discussed the conditions of the course, the weather but also the names of the streets. The race was visualized on a map and a few of the buildings along the course were commented. The moving pictures of the marathon were also interrupted by short features of various places in the city. These features were recorded in advance by one of the sports journalists and the athlete expert. These features of the program presented mostly well-known places of the city and were all performed with a sense of humor, which to Swedes is known as the 'Göteborg sense of humor'. There was also a sequence from a lesser known place where one of the journalists and the expert commented on the slope of the course in combination with a humorous discussion of the course creator who also had been involved in football. During the program a journalist also made comments on the places that

came into sight along the course like: ‘and now the runners arrive at the Avenue, the most fashionable street in town’. The on-going constructions in the city, the scars of the city so to speak, were limitedly exposed and there were also very few comments on one of the city’s major constructions.

In a second, future, phase of the study the persons behind the program and behind the sports event will be interviewed in order to grasp to what extent the image of the city is a major part of planning of the course and the comments and features of the TV-program.

Hede, Anne-Marie (2005) Sports-events, tourism and destination marketing strategies: an Australian case study of Athens 2004 and its media telecast. *Journal of Sport Tourism*, 10(3), 187-200.

Story of a Technical Tourist

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Imagining a guided tour you often think of a temporary journey in time and space. The guide can either be a person walking in front of you, or a voice in headphones, telling you stories about the things you pass, a park, a museum or a building. Guided tours may also take place at the workplace. This paper focuses on three guided tours all of which took place at the construction sites where I was doing my empirical research on project management for my doctoral thesis (Karrbom Gustavsson, 2005).

At these sites, a diesel power plant was under construction. However, these tours did not highlight the physical objects, the engines, separators, generators or the fuel tanks, despite the fact that all of them were grand objects. The engines for example had a weight of several hundred tons each. What was in focus was work forms and work norms. Why? The question raised in this paper is what the purpose of a guided tour at a workplace may be.

Projects may appear chaotic. Diesel power plant projects are no exceptions. They feature permits that are not in order, time schedules that immediately fail, and members that are late, material that is wrong, missing, or broken or never have been ordered. However, there are no projects with total chaos, total disorder. If so, we would not talk about projects – but chaos. According to project management handbooks and manuals, the project organization is created at the beginning of the project and dissolved at the end, and during the execution, the organization is fairly stable. However, in practice on construction sites, the project organization is continuously changed depending on what competences are needed and available. The project organization is thus created in parallel with the creation of the power plant, and not before hand.

The guided tours can be interpreted as examples of standardized social rituals and social responsiveness (Asplund, 1987a, 1987b), introduction and learning (Lave & Wenger, 1991), and moralization and the creation of control (Ekman, 1999, Gustavsson 1994, Löwstedt & Stymne, 2002). At the dusty, messy and continuously changing workplace, the construction site, the guided tours are sense-making activities, a vital aspect of project practice.

Asplund, Johan (1987a) *Om hälsningsceremonier, mikromakt och asocial pratsambet*. Göteborg: Korpen.

Asplund, Johan (1987b) *Det sociala livets elementära former*. Göteborg: Korpen.

- Ekman, Gunnar (1999) *Från text till batong – om poliser, busar och svennar*.
Doktorsavhandling, Handelshögskolan i Stockholm
- Gustafsson, Claes (1994) *Produktion av allvar – om det ekonomiska förnuftets metafysik*.
Stockholm: Nerenius & Santérus
- Karrbom Gustavsson, Tina (2005) *Det tillfälligas praktik – om småprat och möten som
organiserande mekanismer i anläggningsprojekt*. Doktorsavhandling, Institutionen
industriell ekonomi och organisation, KTH.
- Löwstedt, Jan och Stymne, Bengt (red.) (2002) *Scener ur ett företag. Organisationsteori
för kunskapsambället*. Lund: Studentlitteratur

The Guided Tour – A Routine with Abnormalities

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There is some purpose behind organizing guided tours. On one of the extreme ends of the tour spectrum we find the so called tourist traps, on the other, the local folklore society's events. While these identity-generating tours have different backgrounds, they also share some common traits. One of these is that no one is expected to participate more than once. The guided tour is for the consumer a one-time event, but for the producer, it must be possible to repeat over and over.

For now, I will account for only two tours. One took place in Palma, Mallorca in Spain, the other in the little village of Brantevik on Österlen in Sweden, (about 30 km from Wallander's Ystad).

In both cases, the tours were documented with the video camera out and ready at all times. The choice of tours was mostly random since I picked tours which were offered where I for some reason already happened to be.

The tour of Palma starts as we spot a sign that offers guided tours in a horse and carriage. The horse looks fresh and the carriage is made of white leather. According to the guide, the coachman that is, the tour will be around the old city of Palma, take about 30 minutes and cost 40 euros. It is mostly a ride. The guide is a man of few words; after a few minutes he points his finger at a house and utters "Post Office". Sometimes he stops very suddenly, and we are obviously to understand, on our own, that he does so to allow us to take a look at entrances to certain homes. We do not observe any people, but the courtyards are fancy; it is probable that one has to be rich to live in these estates. In total he shows us five such entrances, six churches, two squares, two international shopping centers, two public buildings, one hotel, and seven houses built by rich people – occasionally we are informed who the rich people were.

All in all, 25 places are pointed out/marked. The tour winds through narrow allies, but both the coachman and the horse and the people we meet seem confident in what they are doing. The clip-clopping of the horse and the curve speed make strong impressions. 24 hours after the tour, the most vivid memories seem to be the clip-clopping, the white carriage and the fact that the allies are narrow. A scrutiny of the video a few months later, confirms the impression.

The other tour has the short and sweet name "Grönet" [The Green = The pasture] and is offered by what corresponds to the local folklore society in Brantevik. The place in question consists of two rather large pastures where horses and cows have been grazing from time immemorial. Since Grönet borders on the Baltic Sea, it has been used as a bathing place, for as long as anyone can remember.

Åke, who is a spirited 80 year-old, is not only the landowner but also our guide. In the course of an hour, he tells us about five places in Grönet. He begins with the Hydrophone station that was used during the Second World War. In the middle of the story he says: “One of the men who were stationed there married my sister”, and an older woman (his sister) giggles and responds: “yes, it took a war to marry me of!”, at which everyone laughs. We are part of a crowd of about 20 people taking the tour, most of which already seem to know quite a lot about what they are shown. Åke tells us about the mining that has taken place here on an off since the fourteenth century. From time to time, one has evidently been prospecting for minerals here. A guided tour is necessary to be able to see where. In the Stone Age, a part of Grönet was used as burial ground, which had not been possible to see unless Åke had pointed it out. The tour lasts slightly more than an hour and ends at a wall which is the boundary of Åke’s property. Grönet is even larger, but the rest is not that interesting– he thinks. He ends with a story about the wall itself. “Once there was this man, Pommés, who lived a bit farther down Grönet. He was rather fond of drinking. In those days of rationing, he rode his bicycle into Simrishamn every time there was an opportunity to buy alcohol. Pommés always carried his flask in his pocket. When he was going to lift his bike over the wall, he stumbled and fell towards it. He felt something running down his leg. Pommés cried out loud and audibly across all of Grönet (which is impossible; my comment) ‘Pray that it be blood!’ Everyone laughs. Then everyone thanks Åke, and most of the people linger to chat a while. I think the tour was free of charge.

A horse also figures on this tour. As we are gathered to begin the tour, a horse comes walking and stops right next to us as if to listen in. There are also two dogs on the tour, one male and one she-dog in heat. The dogs get wind of each other rather promptly and make quite a bit of racket. The horse is also interested in the she-dog and starts following her around. Everybody is a bit unsettled since the horse and the dogs are moving more and more rapidly in the midst of the congregation. Eventually, the she-dog’s owner gives up and leaves with his dog. Åke seems to be the only person who is completely unruffled by the event.

After a few months, what stand out in my memory are the stories, the mining, and, not the least, the horse.

What lasts from these two guided tours are not so much recollections of places. What get stuck in one’s memory are the stories that give buildings and places meaning. The image in itself does not seem to generate much of an identity. Rather, the stories say more than a thousand images. We have to go on more tours.

Guiding and the Production of Time-space

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This paper revolves around several concepts by aid of which I am trying to find meaning in the practice called guiding. These concepts are framed by non-representational theory; in particular, emotional geographies in relation to guiding as learning and walking (see Thrift (1996; 1999; 2000; 2002; 2004). In order to better understand the place of emotions in the production of time-spaces it is possible to do as Deleuze (1988, p. xiv, 123; Deleuze and Guattari, 1994, p. 154ff) does, differentiate between emotion and affect. Affect comes from Spinoza's: "...*affection* or *affectus*. It is not reducible to affection of personal emotion, but for Spinoza is rather the passage of a state as increase or decrease of potential power through the action of other bodies" (Paterson, 2005, p. 163). Or, as McCormack, 2003, p. 496, in Paterson, 2005, p. 164) says: "Affect goes beyond the attentional filter of representation that seeks to capture experience as something inner, personal, subjective". Geography and emotions and affect are intimately interwoven in a very basic manner when viewed in terms of proximity. Humans and non-humans in relation (independent of physical or mental proximity) produce affect and intensities. We do not need causal dependence or mapped communication to prove that things are happening when humans and non-humans are engaged in a relation produced by proximity.

The taskscape wherein a guide operates and points at is thus as much a produced experience through co-optimative making, as it is an actual landscape. Guiding allows for displacements, connections, intersections and hybrids of different time-spaces. By slowing down and speeding up temporalities and spatialities – and by extracting them from their trajectories and shuffling them around in new creative contexts – new cosmological fix points are being produced. The states produced by guiding – playful, but yet serious animating of known and unknown elements from now and then, here and there, inside and outside – is argued to produce a topology where new compositions of reality are formed. Time-space is thus shaped through guiding and from where narrative links and assemblages of stretched out materialities are attached, but can also produce a dialectical relation between the stretched out materialities and the social/cultural/economic realities, by transforming the cognitive to the material, and the material to the cognitive. The paper is also concerned with the rhythms and movements of guiding, which are seen to produce different aspects of learning and leading. Finally, it reflects on how the knowledge of guiding can be implemented in different technologies in order to intensify the experience of the emotions produced by guiding.

Paradoxically enough, we might just see time-space as abstract, not solid, containers filled with artefacts combined with abstract technological content. Technologies do not always give us the experience we expect, and that might depend on the paradox that technologies make places immobile, concrete and naked from non-representational aspects and emotions. In order to follow places that move and to engage the energies from participants, technologies have to be constructed in a way that allows ambiguity, creativity, and the integration of silences and the augmented aspects of time-spaces.

I believe that guiding in the future does not discriminate between different materialities and that it appreciates altered states as important elements in knowledge nomadism and its production of time-spaces. Perhaps it is possible to further develop motivating and playful guiding where participants collect stuff or points that serve as substitutes for the emotional aspects of real life guiding? Maybe navigation of combinations of virtual, simulated and real life guiding can be developed with GPS-tools?

I think that more guided tours will be virtual in the future. I also believe that it is possible that we will see a rapid development in technologies that will allow downloading of simple applications through mobile phones, with a GPS receiver. I envision that, upon arrival in a city it would be nice to buy a service called “guiding”, which is complex and includes many of the non-representational features I have discussed in this article. Maybe it is possible to involve a variety of activities such as educational aspects and learning, as well as games such as role plays, where boundaries between space-time categories are being seriously put in motion.

One of the crucial points made in this article is that technologies could be used as catalysts for intensities, emotional and affective dimensions in the composition of time-spaces as a creative and interactive performative activity.

In order to create these intensities it is possible to use an assemblage of sounds, movements and technologies as suggested by Bull, 1999, (see also Pini, 1998; Gomart and Hennion, 1999; Malbon, 1999, from MacCormack 2004, p. 12; Nichola Wood 2002, i Bondi, Liz.; Joyce Davidson, & Mick Smith, 2005:10; Thrift and Dewsbury, 2000; Probyn, 2003; Thrift, 2004).

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