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„Get into the Alpine Groove“. Othering, Stereotypes
and versions of Authenticity in Tourism Marketing of
Austria and the Tyrol“

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1 Introduction

People's reasons for going on holiday certainly are manifold. Tourists frequently aim for relaxation, exploring new countries, getting to know new cultures or the prospect of an adventure. In their analysis of the three tourism segments hedonistic, independent and responsible tourism, Caruana & Crane (2011) identify the notion of freedom as one main drive behind the touristic process. They identify the factors from which each respective type wants to be freed (freedom from) and the freedom the participants in each field want to gain by going on holiday (freedom to) (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1495). For independent tourism, which is the segment under analysis in this work, they detect "freedom from the masses" as the liberation purpose of tourists choosing this kind of tourism and "freedom to make experiences off the beaten track of mass tourism" as its licence purpose (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1506). However, they conclude that these perceived forms of freedom again are regulated and controlled by the tourism industry, as "[t]he normalizing discourse of independent travel renders tourists' targets of institutionalized knowledge and practices constantly (re-)produced by an industry of travel writers, brokers and fellow tourists" (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1506, referring to Bhattacharyya, 1997; Cheong & Miller, 2000; Matthews, 2009). An example for such a "cultural broker" (Reimer 1990, quoted in Caruana & Crane 2011: 1496 oben) and simultaneously an indispensable tool for the traveler that unifies textual and visual input is the guidebook. This is why the purpose of this work is to undertake a semiotic analysis of a guidebook from the world's largest publisher in this sector, *Lonely Planet* (henceforth LP) (Cadwalladr 2007; Welk 2008, quoted in Iaquinto 2011: 706). By adopting a constructivist perspective, we will examine how the Other, stereotypes and authenticity are conveyed in the textual as well as visual representation provided in LP *Austria*. As analyzing the entire 415 pages of the guidebook would go beyond the scope of this diploma thesis, we are going to focus on the general introductory chapters dealing with Austria and take one of the in-depth descriptions of the provinces as model example in order to determine how the aforementioned aspects are composed in the textual representation in the guidebook. As the authors of LP themselves state that "[t]here's no place like Tyrol for the 'wow I'm in Austria' feeling" (Haywood et al. 2014: 284) and due to the author's familiarity with this province, the Tyrol has been chosen to function as sample province. Furthermore, the present study strives to answer several research questions: firstly, the question of what image of Austria in general and the Tyrol in particular shall be answered. Secondly, the extent to which stereotypes about the Tyrol form part of this image

will be discussed. And lastly, the question of what consequences may arise out of the created image for tourists as well as the host community shall be answered in the course of the analysis¹.

Apart from being on the lookout for freedom, Caruana & Crane (2011: 1505) also name another important motivation in tourism practice: tourists visiting a destination frequently perceive their host environment as different from what they experience back home, and hence “the perceived ‘otherness’ of hosts and visitors during encounters in tourist destinations” (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1505, referring to Cave, 2005) is a further impetus for going on holiday. Therefore, we are going to consider the way in which the exotic Other is constructed in LP Austria. With Edward Said’s concept of *Orientalism* (1979 [1978]) in mind, the ways in which the Other is constructed in relation to indigenous tourism (Pomeroy & White 2011; Taylor 2001; Niskala & Ridanpää 2016) are examined. Furthermore, the construction of European destinations as “other place” and “other time” (van Gorp & Béneker 2007) is examined. Our analysis shall reveal on what level the Other is constructed in LP Austria.

Bhattacharyya’s (1997) adapts Cohen’s (1985: 12, quoted in Bhattacharyya 1997: 373) tourguide roles to the guidebook. We are going to examine how LP Austria operates on the three levels of instrumental leadership, interactional mediation and tourist-local relationship and hence mediates the touristic process. Bhattacharyya (1997) undertakes a semiotic analysis of the guidebook *Lonely Planet India* with regard to narrative voice, images of the destination that are conveyed, and the tourist-local relationship that is promoted in the text. She concludes that apart from the “constructed presentation of India” (Bhattacharyya 1997: 387) the book does not feature the depiction of everyday life situations of locals, normative cultural patterns such as politics and contemporary sociocultural developments². Our analysis shall reveal how these aspects are handled in LP Austria and what image of the destination is conveyed through the featured representations.

A further feature of analysis will be stereotypical depictions that possibly are featured in LP Austria. After having established the cognitive processes involved in stereotype formation, we will see which of the stereotypes about Austria identified by Bruckmüller (1996)

¹ “Furthermore, the present study strives to answer several research questions: firstly, the question of what image of Austria in general and the Tyrol in particular shall be answered. Secondly, the extent to which stereotypes about the Tyrol form part of this image will be discussed. And lastly, the question of what consequences may arise out of the created image for tourists as well as the host community shall be answered in the course of the analysis”. This passage has originally been written in the diploma thesis proposal, handed in WS2016

² “Bhattacharyya (1997) undertakes a semiotic analysis of the guidebook *Lonely Planet India* with regard to narrative voice, images of the destination that are conveyed, and the tourist-local relationship that is promoted in the text. She concludes that apart from the “constructed presentation of India” (Bhattacharyya 1997: 387) the book does not feature the depiction of everyday life situations of locals, normative cultural patterns such as politics and contemporary sociocultural developments”. This passage has originally been written in a Literature Review for the course EAP attended in the SS2016

and the ones about the Tyrol as detected in Pümpel-Mader (1999; 2009; 2010) can be found in our source text and how the image of the destination is shaped by them.

The construction of authenticity in LP Austria will also be considered in our work. We will determine whether instances of staged authenticity (MacCannell 1973: 595f) can be traced in our source text and point at the possible consequences such a construction of authenticity may have. Furthermore, the levels on which authenticity is constructed in the source texts shall be identified.

Finally, our analysis will also comprise the visual input that is provided in LP Austria. In order to meet this purpose, the 30 color pictures employed in the guidebook will be analyzed with regard to Barthe's (1967, quoted in Storey 2012: 93) concept of denotation, connotation and myth. We will determine whether the formerly identified aspects of the construction of the Other, stereotyping and authenticity are mirrored in the visual representation and point at possible consequences of the employed form of representation.

The work is divided into two parts, one that deals with the theoretical reading that has been done with regard to the core features of the study, i.e. the processes of Othering and stereotyping, the construction of authenticity and visual analysis. Subsequently, the corresponding chapters in the analysis part will reveal the findings gained in the analysis of the source text. Thereafter, the conclusion will summarize our findings and present an outlook at possible implications for further research in the field. But to begin with, we shall start our journey by investigating the concept of Othering more closely.

2 Othering, Stereotypes and Authenticity in Tourism

2.1 Othering in the touristic process

Alterity is one key concept of cultural studies (Mikula 2008: 6) and relates to the 'otherness' tourists seek when going on holidays described above. Alterity can mean both 'one' and 'other' and therefore is a more than adequate term to underline the interconnectedness between identity and alterity. In an age of globalization, mass consumption and an increased use of technology and information exchange, alterity is an ever-more-important term (Mikula 2008: 6). It is also closely linked to Edward Said's concept of Orientalism (Mikula 2008: 7), which shall be considered next.

In 1978, Edward Said identified the West's projection of the Orient that was communicated to the readers of the discourses he analyzed, and identified

the ways in which the Orientalist discourse generated and disseminated stereotypical representations of the Orient as romantic and exotic, but at the same time irrational, backward, dangerous, violent and despotic. In contrast, the West constructed itself as an embodiment of rationality, progress and individual freedom” (Mikula 2008:145).

To Said, this construction of the Oriental other is invariably tied up with power the West asserts over it. He argues that

Orientalism is – and does not simply represent – a considerable dimension of modern political-intellectual culture, and as such has less to do with the Orient than it does with “our” world” (Said 1979 [1978]: 12).

This idea that what is told about a certain Other also reveals much or even more about the way in which the producer of this narrative perceives him or herself will also form part of our analysis. In fact, we are going to examine in what ways Austria is represented in LP guidebooks and how the Other – in our case Austria and its inhabitants in general as well as the Tyrol and Tyroleans in particular – is constructed in the discourse featured in LP. Simultaneously, we will pose the question regarding which conclusions might possibly be drawn about the self-perception of the producers of the guidebook, i.e. the editors and owners of the company.

MacKanzie (1995:4) emphasizes the enormous relevance of *Orientalism* for various research disciplines:

Indeed, few books have at the same time stimulated so much controversy or influenced so many studies. Colonial literary theory, anthropology, women’s studies, art history, theatre history, media and communication studies, the history of philology, historical geography, even the modish study of ‘heritage’ and tourism have all come under its sway.

It is precisely this lastly stated relation of Orientalism and tourism studies that is of interest for the present thesis. Representing the inhabitants of the host destination as exotic Other is a widespread marketing strategy applied in tourism, particularly when it comes to representing indigenous people in Australia (Pomeroy & White 2011) as well as New Zealand (Taylor 2001) and Europe (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016). For instance, Pomeroy & White (2011) discover the efforts of the Australian tourism board to present indigenous Aborigines as “boomerang throwing, didgeridoo playing, dancing and [telling] tales of the Aboriginal *Dreamtime*”. This representation has been observed at Tjapukai Centre, a touristic attraction that informs visitors about indigenous culture. Similarly to this representation, an advertising brochure of 1965 Pomeroy & White (2011: 171) analyzed presents its aboriginal protagonist in the following way:

[T]he near-naked Indigenous actor whispering to over-worked and over-stressed executives in New York and Tokyo, ‘ Sometimes you ’ve got to lose yourself to find yourself. Sometimes, you’ve got to go walkabout ’. With the visual accompaniment of a Disney-like sprinkling of ochre-hued pixie-dust, the *extraordinary world* (Hummon, 1988) of Australia was portrayed. But it is a staged authenticity that is presented. The shamanistic power attributed to the Indigenous figure that magically gains entry into

each executive's home and unconscious, and the visual image of the protagonist's nakedness and child-like innocence resonates with the romantic notion of the *noble savage*.

The noble savage certainly is the epitome of the Other that is worthy to be gazed upon. The Otherness described in the representation of Aborigines in Australia's advertising campaigns positions this ethnic group as exotic, extraordinary and worthy to be gazed upon. This strategy has also been observed in relation to Maori tourism in New Zealand (Taylor 2001). Frequently, it is a distance in space and time that is created between tourists and local cultures (Taylor 2001: 10). The indigenous people is presented as still being in contact with nature and purity, a bond that the Western tourist has lost due to the dominance of technology in his world outside the leisure experience. However, this lack can easily be overcome, namely through traveling to New Zealand. As Taylor (2001: 10) formulates it:

It would seem that in the "natural wonderland" that is New Zealand, the fallen technocrat may purchase the lifestyle of the primitive. Here, if much of the advertising is to be believed, tourists may expect to confront an authenticity of experience that may enable them to (re)discover a lost authentic and primitive self.

A pejorative depiction of primitive indigenous life cannot only be traced in an Australian context, but is also employed when it comes to indigenous tourism in Europe (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016). In their study on the representation of indigenous Sámi people in Finland, Niskala & Ridanpää (2016) investigated tourist brochures and the image about Sámi people created in the discourse featured in them. They (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016, referring to Müller & Petterson 2001) argue that the inclusion of the Sámi as an exotic element is a sign of commodification in tourism, a topic we will return to in our chapter on authenticity (cf. theoretical reading pp. 28-35). Furthermore, they also point at the political dimension and positive as well as negative consequences such an inclusion of Othering comprises:

The use of ethnicity as a resource in tourism promotion is possible to comprehend, in a positive manner, as a step towards the respect of cultural multitude, but in practice it has rather signified a political process of marginalization, "othering". The exoticizing and stereotyping of ethnic minorities is elementarily linked with the violation of the basic principles of human values and ethics. Representing ethnic minorities as inferior takes place everywhere in our society, but what makes tourism promotion a particularly relevant subject is the (ostensible) banality of tourism, that is, in case of tourism the political dimensions of it are easily left unnoticed (see Haldrup 2009) (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016: 376)

As has been pointed out in the quote above, the subliminal use of stereotypes in tourism discourse, in this case about the indigenous Sámi people, plays a crucial role in the representation of ethnic minorities and in tourism promotion in general. It will therefore also constitute a considerable part of this work (further discussion: see chapter 4 on stereotypes and stereotyping). Including such stereotypical depictions in destination promotion in general and advertising material in particular certainly influences the tourists' perceptions about

destinations (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016: 377f). Referring to Said's *Orientalism* (1978), Niskala & Ridanpää (2016: 378) underscore the objectification that also takes place with regard to indigenous people and that is constructed in advertising material in tourism. Stereotyping that is involved in this process frequently also is in line with a connectedness to the nature surrounding indigenous people. This nature-connectedness may lead to a rather static picture of the presented culture (further discussion of static depictions in the touristic process: see chapter 4 on authenticity). This ties in with the previously mentioned noble savage position that Pomering & White (2011) identified for the depiction of Aborigines in Australian tourism promotion, which can also be traced for the Sámi people in Finland (Saarinen 2011, quoted in Niskala & Ridanpää 2016: 379). Niskala and Ridanpää applied discourse analysis to 23 travel brochures of municipalities of Finnish Lapland with regard to their visual as well as textual representation of the Sámi. The tourist brochure is still a main source of information for tourists visiting the country, and function as "a crucial part of wider global media in which ideologically charged discourse are put into practice" (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 382f). Against their expectations, the presence of exoticized Sáminess in the visual representation was quite limited in the analyzed brochures. However, the pictures that did present Sáminess in a traditional way drew on stereotypical depictions of the Sámi as connected with nature, wearing traditional clothing and watching reindeers. Similarly, a recourse to traditional, static and historical depiction and hence exotization was traced in the pictures regarding museal information. Here, traditional clothing and cultural artifacts prevail. (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 385f) Furthermore, the recurring but uncommented use of Sámi symbols such as shaman drums or other decorative objects is criticized for replicating colonial strategies to commodify the exotic Other (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 386, referring to Alia & Bull 2005). With regard to textual representation, a lack of inclusion of Sámi history in favor of Finnish historical accounts was identified by the researchers and interpreted as feeding into a "dated colonial narrative" (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 388). Furthermore, the ways to refer to Sámi people were marked by the use of colonial or stereotypical expressions (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 388). Hence, the brochures construct an Other that is worthy to be seen via the use of exoticism and museumification and create a "categorical distinction between "strange" and "familiar"" (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 389). However, some ambitions to present the Sámi in a more modern light could also be observed, for instance when regarding the fact that the number of brochures representing Sámi people in traditional clothing was rather low or when using white children shown wearing it (Niskala & Ridanpää 2011: 387). It will be interesting to trace the textual representation of Austrianness in our source texts and see whether the discourse also

features stereotypical descriptions to create a lacuna between the tourists and the locals or if measures are taken to reduce this gap. Furthermore, we are going to determine in what ways Austria/the Tyrol and its inhabitants are constructed as exotic and worthy to be gazed upon despite the shared Western cultural background of the producers and consumers of the LP guidebook have.

The connection between the process of Othering and tourism is not only drawn with regard to the representation of indigenous people. It can also be transferred to the construction of a country or parts of it as a whole, as has been done by Bouke van Gorp and Tine Béneker (2007) in their study on the construction of Holland as other place and other time in various guidebooks on the Netherlands. On the one hand, they analyzed unintentionally (as autonomously produced by guidebook editors and not by the official tourist promotion) projected images of the Netherlands (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 294, referring to Kozma & Ashworth 1993: 129). Referring to Hopkins (1998, quoted in van Gorp & Béneker 2007:294), they argue that not only persons are constructed as the Other, but also the places as a whole the travelers are about to visit. Furthermore, Bhattacharyya's (1997) analysis of the role of the guidebook as cultural mediator in the touristic process is mentioned (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 294), a phenomenon of great importance for our analysis that we will return to in the following chapter. With relation to alterity, Hopkins (1998, quoted in van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 78) argues that "the rural is presented as some place other than the urban, as some time other than the present, as some experience other than the norm". Furthermore, studies with guidebooks as text source identified the selective geography featured in them and their predominant focus on monuments, churches and museums and the resulting stereotypical idealization of places is pointed out (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 295, referring to Van der Vaart 1998 and Argreiter 2000). According to the researchers, the primary purpose of such a representation is "to create an experience that is different from the daily life of the tourists. For Western countries this difference is found in 'other times' and 'other experiences'" (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 295). On the other hand, the intentional projected image (as devised by the official tourism board of the Netherlands) of Holland was investigated in the study. The researchers' analysis reveals that

the Netherlands is a country of clogs, windmills, tulips, and cheese. Furthermore, the Netherlands is presented as an open, flat, green country with lots of water and an occasional windmill: a 'typical' polder in short. It is a highly nostalgic picture of the Netherlands, reinforced by the inclusion of images of women in traditional dress. This repertoire is used a lot by the Dutch tourism industry (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 296). Furthermore, the predominance of the representation of nostalgic 'old Holland' cities from the 17th and 18th century and the exclusion of modernity in the projection is mentioned. This

strategy helps to create the impression of ‘other time’ (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 299). Furthermore, spatial selectivity can be traced in the fact that it is predominantly Holland that is represented in the image conveyed by the Dutch tourism industry, not the Netherlands as a whole country (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 298f). Stereotypes are also commonly used in the touristic representation of Holland, and van Gorp & Béneker (2007: 299) suspect that in the case of the Netherlands they compensate for the lack of iconic sites such as the Parisian Eiffel Tower.

In their comparison between the intentional projected image devised by the tourism board of the Netherlands and the unintentional projected image that is presented by guidebook editors and their authors, the researchers detect a lesser degree of stereotypical representation than they expected. The stereotypical features included in the intentional projected image quoted above are not overrepresented in the analyzed texts and pictures. However, congruent with the intentional image, the representation of Holland at the expense of the entire Netherlands was found in LP, as it featured the most pictures of Holland. With regard to Othering, van Gorp & Béneker (2007: 301) identify depictions of “ ”other times” and “other experiences” ” as the prevailing strategy by which alterity was created in the guidebook representations. For instance, to create the impression of other times, images feature rural settings, cultural heritage or castles. Other experiences are communicated to the tourists by showing people in cities as leisure activists or service providers for tourists. With regard to the depiction of rural areas, on the other hand, a more static image of past times is created (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 301). Van Gorp & Béneker (2007: 302) also emphasize the “(art) historic gaze” shown in guidebooks.

The previous pages of this chapter have demonstrated the importance of the process of Othering in tourism. Tourists look for an Other that leads a life that is different from their experiences back home and this Other might be presented by drawing on a stereotypical representation. However, as Lew et al. (2004: 274) suggest, it is not merely the extraordinary that might be sought by tourists when engaging in the touristic process. It might as well be that tourists also seek familiarity in their holiday experiences, as Prentice (2004: 274) point out:

[T]his [looking for familiarity] can be inferred through simple profiling of visitors in several ways: as visiting the same place, being a tourist within one’s own country, visiting countries with similar cultures, or doing the same things in different places. Hence, tourists from the UK that are likely to buy the English LP Austria share a rather similar Western cultural background and might also look for similarities in their encounters with Austria and its inhabitants. Hence, this work strives to discover whether the Other constructed in the discourse of LP Austria is rather presented in the eroticized, static and primitive way as

was identified for indigenous people in the examples discussed above or whether the familiarities between the cultures are emphasized.

In every case, strategies to construct the Other will be present in LP Austria. The image that is created in the discourse and visual representations shall be demonstrated and critically reviewed with regard to the stereotypes that might be involved in the image that is conveyed and the way in which Austria/the Tyrol is represented and whether this representation is up to date. Our analysis will deal with the textual as well as visual description of the locals, their ways of life and customs as well as the possible construction of Austria as “other place” and “other time”. Furthermore, the power relations intertwined in this discourse that Edward Said already identified in the discursive depiction of the Orient shall be transferred to a tourism context and also be discussed, and the juxtaposition between the tourist and the Other he or she encounters and the hierarchy possibly resulting from this process shall be identified. As all this construction process of the Other takes place within the 416 pages of LP Austria, the focus of the next chapter will be on the guidebook and its function of cultural framework it takes.

2.2 Guidebooks and the touristic process

Having established the role Othering plays in the touristic process, this chapter will now focus on the guidebook and its function as cultural mediator where this Othering discourse takes place. When looking for inspiration on where to go on vacation, what to expect, what to see and to experience once the destination is reached, people are likely to turn to guidebooks for advice (Zillinger 2006: 231, referring to Lew, 1991; Scott, 1998; McGregor, 2000). This compressed ‘placed framework’ (Zillinger 2006: 231) in the form of a guidebook has been available for tourists from as early as the 1820s onwards, when, due to the rise of mass tourism and the increased desire of tourists to engage in a more individualized travel experience, room for the guidebook market arose (Iaquinto 2011: 707, referring to Therkelsen & Sorensen 2005; Koshar 1998; Koshar 2000). This desire for seemingly unique involvement can be traced to the present day, and “the guidebook has increasingly become the mediating link between the tourist and the tourism destination, and in that process replacing, to some extent, the tour guide and the travel agent” (Therkelsen & Sorensen 2005: 49).

As giving an extensive summary of the history of the guidebook would go beyond the scope of this thesis and can for instance be found in Parsons (2007), we will focus on the general role of the guidebook in present day tourism industry and particularly the situation of *Lonely Planet* (LP) guidebooks. It makes sense to focus our investigation on a guidebook of the LP

series, as LP is today's largest guidebook publisher (Cadwalladr 2007; Welk 2008, quoted in Iaquinto 2011: 706). Thus, its potential to address a vast number of customers and consequently influence the representation of places in the tourism market is considerable. Despite the fact that the number of studies regarding guidebooks and their readers is rather small, some surveys regarding LP and the representations featured in it have been conducted (e.g. Bhattacharyya 1997; Lisle 2008). However, these studies focused on Third World destinations such as India (Bhattacharyya 1997) or Burma (Lisle 2008). Contrary to this, our study focuses on a European destination, namely Austria and subsequently takes a closer look at the representation of one specific region in Austria, namely the Tyrol. It will be interesting to discover how a destination that is situated within the same Western cultural background as the one to which the guidebook readers will be presented is promoted, and what strategies are employed by LP to depict this nation as unique, exotic and worth seeing.

As one can imagine, power relations play a decisive role in the tourism industry, and consequently also in guidebook sales. So-called 'cultural brokers' (Reimer 1990, quoted in Caruana & Crane 2011: 1496 oben) to which one can also add guidebooks, brochures, postcards and other tourism texts, constitute what is judged as worth seeing and to be consumed. King's (2006: 239) observation regarding the representation of culture in museums can easily be transferred to guidebooks: the contents featured in them also reflect an organization's financial resources, the accessibility of the places promoted in the guidebook and the personal taste of the authors. As LP currently is the largest guidebook publisher, its customer reach will be extensive and many people are likely to turn to it for guidance on their journey and adhere to their choices of places. Furthermore, "larger marketing and promotional strategies" (King 2006: 244) surely not only are a feature of presentations in museums, but also of guidebooks. One such promotional strategy is nation branding (Pomeroy & White 2011: 166), which can also be traced in tourism texts. Pomeroy & White (2011: 166, referring to O'Shaughnessy & O'Shaughnessy 2000) observes that "To portray the paradise that is the extraordinary tourist world, fragments of national identity that might be used include heritage, lifestyle or the physical environment". As we will discover at a later stage of this thesis, national identity is also closely related to stereotypes (cf. chapter stereotypes & stereotyping), and we will examine to which extent they are featured in the texts under analysis. In her study on humanitarian travel promoted in LP guidebooks, Debbie Lisle (2008: 163) found that

the national stereotypes perpetuated by the 'country profile' arrangement of guidebooks covers over the wider structural and class inequalities of society. In this sense, guidebooks operate as 'agents of blindness' because their caricatures and stereotypes fail to depict the complex conditions of ordinary people.

Hence, investigating in what way a stereotypical image of Austrians/Tyroleans is created in LP and considering the possible consequences such a depiction might have on tourist's perception of Austrians will be worthwhile. Furthermore, as has already been pointed out above, the notion of freedom is inextricably linked to tourism (Caruana & Crane 2011). In the case of independent tourism that is promoted in LP guidebooks, Caruana & Crane (2011: 1510) claim that the independent tourist strives to be free from the license of mainstream tourism in order to experience authenticity. The notion of authenticity will also be discussed and traced in our source texts. We will examine how authenticity is constructed in LP Austria and discover what the possible limits to this authenticity are. A freedom of choice is frequently put into the minds of independent travelers by the presentation of the content in guidebooks. However, this freedom of choice again is restricted to authors' and eventually also editors' choice. This notion of freedom promoted in guidebooks – and particularly its limitations – has already been traced in American 19th century guidebooks. As Stowe (1994: 45) observes:

The rite of travel also provides its votaries with an exhilarating sense of freedom and power. Traveling is as close as most people come to truly independent action; the security of organized group travel has always commanded less prestige than the independent traveler's putative freedom. (Boorstin 1961:87f; Fussel 1980: 35–50; Cohen 1972) [...] Of course, few nineteenth-century travelers used their freedom to do anything except follow the standard tourist itineraries, but within these fairly narrow limits guidebooks encouraged them to think of themselves as the knowledgeable creators of their own European experiences.

A similar claim has been made by Caruana & Crane (2011: 1499, referring to Hollinshead [1994: 388], quoted in Caruana & Crane, 2011: 1498)

Thus, the freedom articulated in tourism accounts would be understood less as an expression of individual agency and more as a normalized practice constituted by power relations among tourism actors.

Hence, the domination tourists may exert on the nations they are visiting and the sense of power they may feel through this again is restricted by the domination of the aforementioned cultural brokers that control and shape the perception of tourists. As for LP, their growth towards the world's number one guidebook seller has also led to an increased editorial control. Lisle (2008: 166) argues that due to their opening to the mass market in 2004, the target audience of LP has changed and the guidebooks today are no longer only aimed at independent travelers searching for an exotic experience, but at 'richer, fussier sorts of travelers' (Friend 2005: 79, quoted in Lisle 2008: 166; also available [\[online\]](#)). This opening also entailed a higher responsibility with regard to ethical communications (Lisle 2008: 166) and political correctness, and the guidebooks have given up on their earlier "strongly countercultural" (Parsons 2007: 265) communications, for instance promoting drug abuse (Cadwalladr 2007, quoted in Iaquinto 2011: 708). In relation to this editorial control, Iaquinto (2011: 708) observes that writers "need

to censor such views due to commercial requirements enforced by editors, making the production of guidebooks an enterprise potentially fraught with contradictions, compromise and trade-offs". In his study that deals with guidebook author anxieties and the potential threat of the power of LP's editorial control, the interviewed authors stated concerns about the fact that guidebooks frequently are taken too seriously by their readers. According to the respondents this would lead to a deteriorated tourism experience as the tourists frequently tend to blindly follow the guidebook instructions and do not visit other places (Iaquinto 2011: 711). With regard to LP's expansion to the mass market, authors are also worried about the increased employment of unexperienced writers (Iaquinto 2011: 712, referring to Taylor 2008). Furthermore, the writing of LP authors is restricted by writing guidelines imposed on them by the editors and misrepresentations also form part of the writing process, as the following quote of one of the interviews illustrates:

the most irritating people in the world are described as warm and friendly, the dulllest museums are intriguing and worthwhile, the most oppressive governments have only the best intentions, and so on (Iaquinto 2011: 713).

Given the fact that the sample of Iaquinto (2011) only consisted of 11 interview partners, it is clear that one cannot draw general conclusions about the editorial proceedings of LP (Iaquinto 2011: 710). However, it is well advisable to keep the editorial control operating in the background of the touristic process in mind when doing our analysis of the guidebook, as it may lead to a restricted representation that some tourists might take for granted when reading LP guidebooks.

Deborah P. Bhattacharyya (1997) exemplifies the immense influence the representation of LP's famous guidebook for India (Bhattacharyya 1997: 371) had on tourists visiting the country: in her example taxi drivers anticipated their passenger's desire to stay in a hotel advertised by the guidebook and offered to drive them there without having been asked (Bhattacharyya 1997: 371). Furthermore, Bhattacharyya argues that in the tourism industry guidebooks play a crucial role, namely the one of mediator between the tourist and the destination as well as between the local host (i.e. the Other) and the Western tourist (Bhattacharyya 1997: 372). The discourse about this Other then is constituted in the guidebook (Bhattacharyya 1997: 372). Hence, this is why the aspects about Othering that have been pointed out in chapter 1 will also form part of our analysis of LP Austria.

In her article, Bhattacharyya describes three roles a guidebook can have. To do so, she modified Cohen's (1985) model of the social role of a tour guide. She describes the three roles of instrumental leadership, interactional mediation and communicative mediation. Firstly, instrumental leadership refers to how the guidebook helps the tourist to navigate through un-

known terrain. This is done by providing the tourist with sections such as 'Facts for the Visitor', 'Getting There and Away' or 'Getting Around'. In these chapters the tourist is provided with 'essential' knowledge he or she will need for the visit, e.g. country access, healthcare or working prospects (Bhattacharyya 1997: 373). Secondly, in order to make sure that the tourist will be able to effectively communicate his/her needs to the local (or better impose them on him or her), the guidebook also mediates the interaction between the Western tourist and the local Other. In sections such as 'Places to Stay' or 'Places to Eat', the opinions and expectations of the tourists are shaped by the judgments the guidebook makes (Bhattacharyya 1997: 373f). And finally, not only does the guidebook mediate the relationship between the Western tourists and the local Others, as a so-called culture broker it also mediates the relationship between tourists and the sights they are visiting. Certain underlying Western discourses are validated and legitimated by the use of a guidebook (Bhattacharyya 1997: 375).

A guidebook doubtlessly also speaks to the tourist with an authorial voice. The ideas of the publisher are presented as straightforward, undisputable facts and hence a certain subjectively formed picture of a destination is communicated to the consumer. The authorial voice that is speaking to the tourist may well make moral judgments regarding the Other, but on the other hand it is very lenient with the tourist and its role in the tourist industry (Bhattacharyya 1997: 376). Furthermore, guidebooks also promote the ideas that the local Other is there to offer certain services to the travelers. If the needs of the tourists are not met by the locals, this is condemned. Also, colonialism or other intrusive steps taken by travelers frequently are justified by guidebooks (Bhattacharyya 1997: 377). When reading a guidebook, certain images about a destination are created in three ways. Firstly, certain sights are selected and find their way into the guidebooks while others are excluded. Additionally, the previously mentioned desire for authenticity of the independent traveler is also addressed. The guidebook takes authenticity judgments from the tourist and presents particular surroundings, buildings or social events as tourist-worthy. Secondly, information about the sights is provided in the guidebooks. Again, the authors of the text decide which information is included and which is omitted. Thirdly, this information is also filled with valuations and interpretations of sights. Again, these interpretations are presented matter-of-factly and leave no room for negotiation or personal judgments of the tourist. Hence, the authors insistently shape the image of the destination that is created (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379-382). And, despite the fact that frequently more than one author has written the guidebook (in case of LP Austria it are three, namely Anthony Haywood, Kerry Christiani and Marc Di Duca [Haywood, Christiani & Di Duca 2014: 416]), their opinions are presented to the reader in one unitary voice (Bhattacharyya 1997: 375).

Hence, Lisle (2008: 1561) argues that the information one can gain from LP guidebooks is predigested and shaped by the ethical (and general) vision of the company.

Another aspect Bhattacharyya discusses in her article is the tourist-local relationship. She argues that the locals are primarily presented as middlemen who have to ensure that services (food, lodging, logistics etc.) are provided to the tourists and have to serve as so-called 'tourees' or 'picturesque others' (Bhattacharyya 1997: 383) that are interesting to gaze upon. Paradoxically, by doing so, guidebooks actually keep tourists from gaining authentic experiences with locals. Their day to day life is not of interest for the tourist. In contrast, stereotypical pictures of the exotic Other are presented as authentic and legitimate (Bhattacharyya 1997: 384-385). By presenting the local Other in such a way, power differentials are sustained. As Bhattacharyya puts it '(...) The usual commercial dictum that the service provider must please the customer reinforces the dynamics of race, class and gender. *LP India's* implicit message that the tourist has a right to be served legitimates the existing hierarchy (Bhattacharyya 1997: 386)'. The featured power relations in LP Austria will also be a part of our analysis.

In order to give a full analysis of LP's portrayal of India, Bhattacharyya (1997: 382) also analyzed the visuals that were used in the guidebook and referred to the depiction of humans, nature and sights. She concluded that "LP India reinforces a very Orientalist view of India, where India is represented through images of its past glory and present exoticism" and that "India represents an escape from the modern" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 383). Hence, we will find out what conclusions can be drawn from the pictorial analysis of the photographs used in LP Austria. Therefore, we intend to replicate such an analysis of visual representations used in LP Austria (further discussion: see chapter 5).

Finally, Bhattacharyya criticizes the analyzed *Lonely Planet India* for the absence of three topics: there are no references to ordinary daily life of people or their normative and cultural patterns such as religious beliefs or practices and no references to contemporary sociocultural developments (e.g. artistic, intellectual, scientific efforts) (Bhattacharyya 1997: 387f).

In our analysis of LP Austria we will work according to Bhattacharyya's (1997) model and identify what is considered essential knowledge communicated to the tourists through LP Austria on the level of instrumental leadership. Furthermore, the way in which interaction between the local Other and the tourists is mediated will be examined. Here, it will be interesting to identify which mechanisms are used to present a local Other as exotic and worth to be gazed upon, even though the readers of the English version of LP Austria are likely to

share the same Western cultural background as the tourists coming to visit the country. Possibly underlying reified power differentials shall be exposed. Then, the communicative mediation will be a further point of analysis. Certainly, stereotypical depictions and the construction of authenticity will be involved in this process and it is going to be interesting to see which stereotypes about Austria/the Tyrol will be reproduced and hence communicated to the audience of LP readers. Another point of analysis will be the photographs used in the guidebook. They will be analyzed with regard to the image about Austria/the Tyrol they convey. But to begin with, our point of departure will be the main focus of our analysis: stereotypes about Austria/the Tyrol and their representation in the LP guidebook. We therefore need to identify the mechanisms involved in stereotype formation and discover which stereotypes about Austria and Tirol already exist that might also form part of the communication in LP. This shall be done in the subsequent chapter.

2.3 Stereotypes and Stereotyping

What cognitive processes are involved in stereotype formation and what are the functions behind them? And what processes are involved when it comes to differentiating between different classes? What kind of features are assigned to people and what criteria must be fulfilled in order to denote them as stereotypical? These are the questions that shall be answered in the course of this chapter about stereotypes. We will take a closer look at social psychological mechanisms involved in stereotype formation on the collective level and investigate how these mechanisms contribute to the formation of stereotypes about specific persons. As a further step, the processes involved in national identity formation will be examined. They certainly are related to the presence of stereotypes, and we will learn why distinguishing between an in-group and an out-group is an important aspect in identity formation and what its benefits and drawbacks are. As we will discover, social needs are addressed when we distinguish between ‘us’ and ‘them’ by using auto- or heterostereotypes, and the power such a categorizing way of belief has is considerable. National stereotypes of Austria will be of special interest to us because they form part of stereotypes about the Tyrol and will certainly also be involved in our subsequent analysis of the source texts. As a final step, we will narrow down our scope to the national stereotypes that are of particular interest for this thesis, namely the ones about the Tyrol. In order to meet this purpose, the research results of Maria Pümpel-Mader (1999; 2010) will be discussed and the criteria she used in her research will be adapted for the purpose of identifying the stereotypes about the Tyrol in LP guidebooks. But to begin with, we shall explore the topic of stereotyping from a social

psychological perspective and learn more about the reasons for their emergence and the mental processes involved in their formation.

2.3.1 Reasons for stereotype formation

In the literature dealing with stereotype research, two recurring motives for stereotype formation can be traced. Firstly, stereotypes help humans to orientate themselves in the world. According to Mackie et al. (1996: 44f) “people are continuously engaged in a complex, social stimulus world and can make more demands on information processing than the system can handle”. Stereotypes then help us to deal with the “stimulus overload” (Mackie et al. 44f) that results from this engagement. Similarly, Hahn & Hahn (2002: 41) argue that complexity reduction is reached via stereotype usage, which helps to rearrange disordered material. Sander Gilman (1985:12) puts the aforementioned aspects in a nutshell:

[S]tereotyping is a universal means of coping with anxieties engendered by our inability to control the world.

The second main reason why humans make use of stereotypes in their daily interactions is their need for social orientation (Hahn & Hahn 2002: 41). By perceiving themselves as part of one social group as opposed to another, by differentiating between ‘us’ and ‘them’, one’s own position in this constellation can be established and negotiated. Hence, to say it in Stangor & Schaller’s (1996: 23) words,

In order to function capably, people need to feel good about both themselves (Solomon, Greenberg & Pyszczynski 1991; Steele 1988; Tesser 1988) and the groups to which they belong (Cialdini et al. 1976; Crocker & Luhtanen 1990; Greenberg et al. 1990; Turner 1975). Thus, stereotypes and prejudices have traditionally been considered in terms of their relations with the need to maintain self-esteem or self-valuation.

We will return to the aspect of using stereotypes as one measure to establish differentiation between social groups at a later stage of this chapter, namely when we will look deeper into the formation of national stereotypes. For now, it is enough to remember that the maintenance of self- and group-esteem are another important reason for the presence of stereotyping in societies.

Neither stereotypes for the purpose of finding orientation in the world nor stereotypes used in order to establish group boundaries can be investigated without taking the context in which they occur into consideration. Stereotypes can also be considered mental pictures that establish a sense of belonging (Lippmann 1964: 71). An important question arises in relation to this thought. How do individuals with their unique ways of perceiving the world, nevertheless come up with similar, if not identical stereotypes? Mackie et al. (1996: 42f) answer this question as follows:

Because each individual's experience and interpretation of experience are unique, each individual's social stereotypes might also be different. At the same time, because so many of the influences on stereotype formation derive from a common social context, the content of many social stereotypes become widely shared among members of various groups, and even within society as a whole.

Hence, after all, it is the mentioned common social context that enables stereotype formation.

Certainly, the formation of stereotypes about certain members of society entails consequences for the interactions of people not only on an individual but also on a collective level. It has already been stated that the stereotypical pictures about others that are created in society may involve simplification, prejudices and unfair judgments about the group that is being stereotyped. If we now talk about stereotypes that are "[...] consensually shared within a society, their consequences become more pernicious, because they affect entire groups and people in a common way" (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 4).

The fact that people are not born with stereotypical world views has already been stated in Lippmann's (1964: 71) work "public opinion" at the beginning of the 20th century. Rather, stereotypes are passed on over generations and learned from the people the individual has most contact with, i.e. family and friends or they are handed down via institutions like schools or churches (Lippmann 1964: 71; Hahn & Hahn 2002: 22). In contrast to this view, Stangor & Schaller (1996: 6) opt for stereotype formation through direct contact with the opponents. They argue that "“bottom-up” determinants" are involved in the process of stereotype formation, and hence "[...] stereotypes are learned, and potentially changed, primarily through the information that individuals acquire through direct contact with members of other social groups". They then go on to explain the three ways of mental storage of information about social groups, namely group schemas, group prototypes and exemplars, of which only the former two are relevant for our analysis. Firstly, according to Stangor and Schaller (1996: 7), "group schemas are collections of beliefs about the characteristics of a social group". When it comes to remembering such convictions, stereotype-confirming information is remembered more easily due to the alleviated assimilation into the schema (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 7). The fact that the concept of group schema is so broad results in a difficulty to come up with prognosis about which peculiar stereotypes may be formed. Secondly, the connections between a label for a certain group and the features typically associated with this group are referred to as group prototype. For instance, the group label "Italians" is closely associated with "being romantic" (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 8). Below we will identify the features that are associated with Austrians/Tyroleans. Group prototypes allow a more specific representation of stereotypes in comparison with group schemas.

Another inner-psychic process that takes place in relation to stereotype formation is categorization. The ability to categorize people is learned on a very early stage, for instance, children are already able to differentiate gender categories at a very early age (Mackie et al. 1996: 46). This ability might also lead to an early formation of gender stereotypes, and the ability to form national stereotypes, which will be of particular interest for our analysis, can already be traced in middle childhood (Mackie et al. 1996: 47).

As the analysis undertaken in this thesis focuses on stereotypes about the Tyrol used in tourism marketing, the collective level of stereotyping, will be of particular interest for our analysis. In their article about national stereotypes Hahn & Hahn (2002: 27) point out that, in contrast to what one might assume, stereotypes do not primarily inform us about the persons they are aimed at, they rather enable us to draw conclusions about their users. As we have already heard, stereotype users form part of a certain culture and use the stereotypes within this cultural context, which must be taken into account when analyzing the stereotype usage within certain groups of people. Hence, “cultural models consider society itself to be the basis of stored knowledge, and stereotypes as public information about social groups that is shared among the individuals within a culture” (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 10).

One of the primary mechanisms mentioned in relation to the collective stereotype formation process is the previously mentioned categorization. In this process “individuals are categorized into different groups that are somehow perceived in relation to each other” (Mackie et al. 1996: 44f). As has already been pointed out, this grouping of people has the purpose of complexity reduction and serves to help people to orientate themselves in the world. Furthermore, as Mackie et al (1996: 44f) point out, group categorization also has a unifying function:

Although categorization involves “information loss” through the failure to recognize the individuality of each category member, categorization also provides “information gain” through ascribing characteristics to individual members. That is, once an individual is categorized as a group member, the observer can assume that that person possesses many features characteristic of group members, even in the absence of empirical evidence about that individual.

A further function of the group formation process in societies that has to be mentioned is dissociation. By using collective stereotypes when referring to other groups, people clearly differentiate between their own and the opposed out-group. This differentiation frequently involves emotional judgments about the other group. Here, the aforementioned need of esteem-maintenance through group formation and stereotype usage comes into play. In their role as group members, people will always try to position the group they belong to above the opposing group (Mackie et al. 1996: 56f). Hence, an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality is created and shall be

maintained. This mentality then can be fortified by the usage of stereotypes (Hahn & Hahn 2002: 34), by integrating one's own group and differentiating the out-group. The process of depicting one's own group as superior to the out-group is frequently aided by the use of devaluing stereotypes, the hostile 'us' versus 'them' mentality is being preserved and even fortified on an emotional level (Hahn & Hahn 2002: 35). This leads Hahn & Hahn (2002: 36) to conclude that the process of stereotyping is needed in societies in order to establish a sense of unity. The 'us' versus 'them' juxtaposition will reoccur when we discuss the process of exoticism and Othering that are also frequently involved in the touristic process (cf chapter exoticism/othering).

As has been stated above, the group formation process certainly also involves mutual perception of the two opposing groups, as well self-perception of each respective group. The so-called auto- and heterostereotypes play a crucial role in intercultural communication and therefore are also important for our analysis. As Michael Imhof (2002: 58) points out, a consensus of the respective *Stereotypenhaushalte* of each group is essential when it comes to effective communication in intercultural exchanges. Hence, when using stereotypes in conversation, a certain consensus about them must exist between interlocutors in order to ensure that conversation will not break down. Furthermore, auto- and heterostereotypes also play a role when it comes to esteem-maintenance. As Hahn & Hahn (2002: 30) point out, the use of negative heterostereotypes automatically implies a positive autostereotype and therefore serves to enhance in-group esteem. In contrast, when positive heterostereotypes are used, members of the in-group shall be motivated to follow the example of the out-group (Hahn & Hahn 2002: 31f). Pümpel-Mader (2010: 17) also states that autostereotypes usually are positive, while heterostereotypes frequently are used in a pejorative way.

Nations are a cultural phenomenon where group categorization, and particularly the aforementioned auto- and heterostereotypes and the sense of unity they establish play a crucial part. Frequently, intercultural exchange also involves national stereotypes, which makes them particularly interesting for our analysis. The parallels between stereotype usage and nationalism have been pointed out by Hahn & Hahn (2002: 27f). They argue that social dissociation works through stereotype formation and the entailed juxtaposition between the in-group ('us') and the out-group ('them'). Hence, differentiating between 'us' and 'them' groups via the use of stereotypes is an essential component of the process of forming and maintaining a nation. However, as Benedict Anderson (2006 [1983]: 6) famously claimed, the sense of unity people may feel is a constructed one and a nation merely is an imagined community:

It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the the image of their communion.

How is it possible, then, that not only a small group of people who know each other come up with the same stereotypes, but that entire countries know that Germans are punctual or Spanish people proud? In the next section, we will focus on the way in which stereotypes are spread among people.

2.3.2 The transmission of (national) stereotypes

Stereotypes about ethnic groups appear as part of the social heritage of a society. They are transmitted across generations as a component of the accumulated knowledge of society. They are as true as tradition, as pervasive as folklore (Mackie et al. 1996: 60). We have already discussed the fact that stereotypes are handed down to people on an individual level. Hence, children who use the same stereotypes as their parents can frequently be observed (Epstein & Komorita 1966; Patchen, Davidson, Hofmann & Brown 1977; Stephan & Rosenfield 1978; all quoted in Mackie et al. 1996: 61). And again, the fact that cultural context matters also in the transmission of stereotypes is emphasized by Mackie et al. (1996: 60) when they argue that “people learn them [stereotypes] as part of growing up. To participate in a culture means, at least in part, learning and accepting what the culture believes about one’s own and other groups.” They argue that the transmission of the stereotypes is done via the media and that “the expression of group norms in art, literature, drama, and film both reflects and transmits the stereotypes deeply ingrained in a culture” (Mackie et al. 1996: 61). Stangor & Schaller (1996: 12) use the persuasive metaphor of an “information highway” on which the stereotypical information is forwarded to consumers:

The tangible artifacts of consumable mass media thus comprise an “information highway” for the transmission of social stereotypes. These representations of stereotypes are bought, sold, traded, checked out, and otherwise shared by millions, even billions of people across boundaries of distance and time untraveled by ordinary interpersonal communication. That the mass media are an important collective repository for group stereotypes is recognized explicitly by individuals who attend to the way groups and group members are portrayed in the media, [...] (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 12).

The mass media and its way to transmit stereotypes is frequently related to texts. For Hahn & Hahn (2002: 43f) it makes sense to focus research on texts that are aimed at the public, as well as literary or visual text sources. Pümpel-Mader (2010: 59) mentions the importance of text types in relation to stereotype research: certain text genres, and mentions travel or tourism reports as texts that tend to contain many stereotypical references. This information certainly is relevant for the purpose of our analysis, as it is going to deal with texts from the tourism

industry. It is going to be interesting to investigate the degree to which stereotypical depiction of the ‘other’ are employed in these texts, and how the “idealized definition of the other” (Gilman 1992: 21) has been done in the *Lonely Planet* texts. The stereotypes that are communicated in LP will certainly shape reader’s perceptions about other nations and contribute to the reification or formation of national stereotypes about the visited destinations.

Having established the means by which stereotypes are spread across nations, we will now turn to stereotypes about one specific nation that is particularly interesting in the context of this work: Austria. Since the Tyrol is one federal country of the Austrian state, stereotypes about Austria on a larger scale will definitely also form part of the stereotypes about the Tyrol.

2.3.3 Stereotypes about Austria

Ernst Bruckmüller (1996: 87) mentions the study undertaken by Reiterer et al. (1988) in his book chapter on Austrian stereotypes. According to this study that was conducted in 1988 and dealt with national consciousness in Austria, various autostereotypes could be identified: First, Austrians identify their country with beautiful landscapes, recognition from foreign countries, art treasures, the lack of inner-national conflicts, athletic successes and more recent cultural achievements (Reiterer et al. 1988, quoted in Bruckmüller 1996: 87). In the following, Bruckmüller (1996: 92f, referring to Schweiger 1992) elaborates on the fact that one of the primary features in the perception of Austria is the fact that a considerable part of the country is covered with mountain chains and a further point of association is classical music, such as the Waltz “An der schönen blauen Donau” by Johann Strauß. Furthermore, the annual event of the New Year’s concert played by the Viennese Philharmonic Orchestra is broadcasted worldwide and therefore represents another occasion for which Austria is famous. Other aspects he mentions are the importance of capital cities in Austria, because they were of historical relevance for the monarchs or Kaiser residing in Austria (Bruckmüller 1996: 97). Innsbruck, for instance, was the home of Kaiser Maximilian I., and famous landmarks like *Goldenes Dachl* or the *Triumphbogen* still bring his residence into locals’ and visitors’ minds. Referring to a study conducted in the 1980s (Österreichbewußtsein 1980) about the consciousness/awareness of Austria among Austrians, the Tyrol ranks second after Vienna when it comes to representing the prototypical Austrian (Bruckmüller 1996: 101). This study also gathered information on the knowledge of people about prominent Austrians (Bruckmüller 1996: 107), a further aspect that might have found its way into the LP representation of Austria and that will be worth investigating in the course of our analysis. A further aspect that Bruckmüller (1996: 111)

considers important for the tourism process is the celebration of anniversaries, which he regards as potential compensation mechanism for other far-reaching/dramatic events that took place in the history of Austria, which people probably do not want to remember, as for instance its leading role in World War II.

Ernst Bruckmüller also refers to auto- and heterostereotypes about Austria. Reiterer et al. (1988: 101ff, quoted in Bruckmüller 1996: 114) enlisted the following features regarding self-perception of Austrians in his study:

Gemütlich (laid back), *lustig* (humorous/a fun person), *musikalisch* (musical), *fleißig* (hard working), *tüchtig* (capable), *hilfsbereit* (helpful), *friedfertig* (peace-loving), *intelligent*, *kompromißbereit* (willing to compromise), *sportlich* (sporty), *beredsam* (eloquent), *konservativ* (conservative), *mutig* (brave), *mittelmäßig* (moderate), *genügsam* (modest), *schön* (attractive), *großzügig* (generous), *risikobereit* (daring), *schlamping* (sloppy), *streitsüchtig* (quarrelsome), *teilnahmslos* (indifferent), *gruasam* (cruel)

With regard to heterostereotypes about Austria, the *Neujahrskonzert* that makes Austria particularly famous in the world has already been mentioned and is one of the most prominent events Austria is known for on a global level. Further aspects that are associated with Austria are classical music, the production of skis and the classical Viennese coffee house culture. Additionally, more unpleasant features that are associated with Austria are antisemitism and neo-Nazism (Bruckmüller 1996: 115). Furthermore, Austrians are also perceived as being supposedly anti-intellectual (Bruckmüller 1996: 118).

Now that we have established the numerous auto- and heterostereotypes about Austria that may be exchanged between cultures, it makes sense to compare them to the stereotypes that exist about the Tyrol, as the second-most western federal country that forms part of the nation and which is therefore likely to evoke similar stereotypes. Furthermore, as analyzing the entire 400 pages of LP Austria would exceed the framework of a diploma thesis, we focus our analysis on the chapter of the Tyrol as model example of how the Other is constructed in LP Austria. We will discover that some of them are reoccurring in Maria Pümpel-Mader's (1999) research and also see which other aspects can be added to the picture of this group of Austrians.

2.3.4 Stereotypes about the Tyrol

Maria Pümpel-Mader is an associate professor at the department of German studies at the University of Innsbruck and part of her research is dedicated to stereotypes. Within this research, the Tyrol frequently was the focal point of her work. (Pümpel-Mader 1999; 2002; 2009). In the following we will discuss the stereotypes about the Tyrol that have been discovered in Maria-Pümpel Mader's research. Her results and the categories she determined that are used to describe "the Tyrolean" will be helpful for our purpose of identifying the

stereotypes about the Tyrol that are used in our source texts and therefore shape the reader's perceptions about the Tyrol's inhabitants and the country as a whole.

In her article about "the Tyrolean" Maria Pümpel-Mader analyzed two texts that examine the Tyrol from an internal perspective, with both authors being Tyrolean themselves (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 256f). The text written by Joseph Rohrer (1796) is being touted as the first folk work published about the Tyrol (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 255, referring to the introduction to the reprint of Rohrer's book in 1985, edited by the *Dachverband für Heimatpflege und Heimatschutz in Tirol*). The second text under analysis was published some 100 years later. *Über den tirolischen Volkscharakter* (1901) is only one of several works Ludwig von Hörmann has published about customs and traditions in the Tyrol (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 256). Hence, one can argue that the stereotypes Pümpel-Mader (1999) has identified in her work represent autostereotypes. It will therefore be interesting to compare them to the heterostereotypes used to describe Tyroleans in LP and to identify possible similarities and differences between them.

By adapting Lakoff's (1988: 68, quoted in Pümpel-Mader 1999: 254f) "Idealized cognitive model" to what she calls an *Identitätsmodell*, Pümpel-Mader (1999: 254f) proceeds to define which conditions have to be fulfilled in order to be able to say that somebody is "Tyrolean". For her, "*in Tirol geboren [sein]*" (having been born in the Tyrol), "*dort aufgewachsen [sein]*" (having been raised in the Tyrol) and "*dort den ständigen Wohnsitz haben*" (the Tyrol being the dominant place of residence) are the fundamental criteria to be regarded as "Tyrolean". The degree to which one can be perceived as being Tyrolean then varies according to how many of the criteria are fulfilled (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 255). The "prototypical effects" (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 255) resulting from this categorization process are summarized as follows:

Es handelt sich dann nicht um Zugehörigkeitsmerkmale, wie es für Junggeselle die Merkmale ‚männlicher Erwachsener‘ und ‚unverheiratet sein‘ sind, sondern um typische Eigenschaften, von denen angenommen wird, daß [sic!] sei ein XY bzw. ein Junggeselle „normalerweise“ hat.

So, which are the typical features a Tyrolean has to display in order to be perceived as belonging to this group? Rohrer as well as Hörmann came up with several core features of the Tyrolean which shall be set out in the following.

Referring to Rohrer's (1985: 20; 121) and Hörmann's (1901: 114) explanations, Pümpel-Mader (1999: 256) identifies the features "*in Gebirgstälern lebend*" (living in the mountains) and "*Tiroler sind Bauern*" (Tyroleans are farmers) as being rather outdated for the modern perception of Tyroleans. However, the previous chapter that dealt with stereotypes about Austria revealed that mountains still form part of the self-perception of the people living

in the country and another article by Pümpel-Mader (2002) deals with the depiction of female Tyroleans as farmers. In her work about “the Tyrolean” Pümpel Mader (1999: 259-261) came up with a list of further aspects that can still be regarded as relevant when investigating common features of the people living in the Tyrol, which shall be presented in the following.

Core features of the Tyrolean (adapted from Pümpel-Mader 1999: 259–261)

Körper/Körperliche Fähigkeiten (body/physical abilities)

Groß (tall)

Stark/kräftig (strong/powerful)

Geschmeidig/gelenkig (agile/supple)

Kognitive Fähigkeiten (cognitive abilities)

Mäßig/ungelenk (moderate/awkward)

Sozialverhalten/Charakter (social behavior/character)

Selbstgenügsam/sparsam (modest/economic)

Humorvoll/spöttisch (humorous/mockingly)

Grob/rauh/roh (coarse/rough/raw)

Naturwüchsig/unverdorben/unverfälscht (natural/unspoiled/unadulterated)

Staatstreu/kaisertreu (loyal to the state/Kaiser)

Traditionsverbunden/konservativ (old-fashioned/conservative)

Heimatverbunden (home-loving)

Religiös/fromm (religious/devout)

Sittlich/unsittlich (in Geschlechterbeziehungen) (moral/immoral [in relationships])

If we now compare the core features Pümpel-Mader (1999) associates with Tyroleans to the one Reiterer et al. (1988, quoted in Bruckmüller 1996: 114) identified in their study from the 1980s, we can conclude that some of the features mentioned in Pümpel-Mader (1999) have been preserved over time and still correlate with the self-perception of Austrians today. For instance, the fact that Tyroleans (and consequently Austrians in general) were perceived as cognitively inferior was already known in Rohrer’s and Hörmann’s times. However, both of them did not agree with this perception and strived to convey a different picture of the Tyrolean (Rohrer 1985: 105, 77; Hörmann 1901: 102, 115, both quoted in Pümpel-Mader 1999: 259f). As has already been stated, anti-intellectuality also forms part of modern heterostereotypes about Austria (Bruckmüller 1996: 118, cf. theoretical reading p. 22) and it will be interesting to investigate whether this feature is going to be prominent in our source texts.

Two further parallels that can be revealed by comparing the autostereotypes about the Tyrol and the more recent ones about Austria are the fact that people think of themselves as being humorous and conservative. However, many other features can no longer be found in a more modern perception, which can be attributed to the considerable time span that lies between the various investigations.

Pümpel-Mader (1999: 264) then proceeds by relating one of the core features of “the Tyrolean” as depicted in Rohrer and Hörmann, namely the fact that Tyroleans are perceived as being strong, to more modern, present day usages of this still relevant feature. However, she points out that the traditional standpoint of perceiving ‘strength’ only in a work-related context has been replaced by the fact that Tyroleans today rather are regarded as being very sporty, i.e. the physical or athletic strength has become more important (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 264). Additionally, the notion of strength is also used in a more figurative sense, for instance when relating to economic strength in the slogan of the Tyrolean furniture house ‘Föger – der starke Tiroler’. Furthermore, “the Tyrolean” today is still perceived as male (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 265). Pümpel-Mader (1999: 267) also mentions the fact that making general inferences about the Tyrolean is complicated due to the considerable differences in the diverse geographical regions and valleys and points out the fact that due to this diversity many references to various valley inhabitants are featured in the texts of the two authors (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 268). In our analysis, we will see what the situation is like in our source texts and how *Lonely Planet* differentiates between various valleys and their inhabitants.

Pümpel-Mader has not only done research about the Tyrol from a historical perspective. She also investigated the stereotype usage in more modern source texts related to advertising and the tourism industry, which is precisely what we aim to do with our analysis of LP Austria. As has already been stated in the guidebook chapter, nation branding forms part of the touristic process (Pomeroy & White 2011: 166). Hence, ‘Tirol’ is not only a designation for a federal country of Austria, it is also a brand name under which services and products are sold. As a further step, we will look closer into Tirol’s brand concept and the image the brand wants to convey and ask ourselves role stereotypes play in these processes.

2.3.5 Stereotypes, brand concepts and the image of a country

Pümpel-Mader (2009: 509) focuses on stereotypes. Pümpel-Mader wrote her postdoctoral thesis about the so-called *Personenstereotyp*, which refers to the predicative structure “*generalisierende Personenbezeichnung + sein + Adjektiv*” (generalizing reference to persons + a form of *be* + adjective) Pümpel-Mader (2010: 7), and has devised four categories that usually modify this structure (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 509). They shall be briefly summarized in the following.

To begin with, stereotype usage involves “evaluative/valuing characteristics/properties” (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 509). In her article Pümpel-Mader (2009: 511) poses the hypothesis that her source texts taken from the field of

advertising will embellish the product, i.e. the Tyrol. This hypothesis is subsequently verified, and Pümpel-Mader (2009: 511) mentions the strengthening self-enhancing function of stereotypes that has previously already been discussed above in this context. The second category in relation to stereotypical references is validity judgment (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 509). They are used in a way that shall establish trust among consumers, and evoke feelings of appreciation, entertainment and joy (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 515). Stereotypical references certainly can also provoke negative perceptions and have negative effects (such as the aforementioned ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality), but usually they are not featured in brand communication. We will see how this second category is handled in our analysis. As the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality could play a role in the tourist-local relationship, negative stereotypical references to the local Other might be observed in our source texts (see chapters 1 and 2). Pümpel-Mader’s (2009: 510) third category in relation to stereotypes is schematization. Here, certain characteristics are repeatedly mentioned in relation to a person (or country) and therefore become schematized (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 510). Pümpel-Mader (2009: 518) mentions ‘mountains’ as such a schematic feature of the brand Tirol, an example that is consistent with her earlier findings (Pümpel-Mader 1999: 256) mentioned above. Similarly, Pümpel-Mader (2009: 518) indicates mountains as a “weltweit eingeführtes Tirolkonzept-Merkmal”. Finally, the fourth category for stereotypes is quantification, which aims at generalizing actually individual qualities for a larger unit of people, such as the well-known stereotype that “Germans are punctual”. This stereotypical phrase that makes use of the previously mentioned classical predicative structure to make stereotypical references strives to convey the impression that being punctual applies to all Germans, without exceptions (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 516).

It is now time to make a final point about stereotyping. Certainly, stereotyping has crucial effects on societies and as we have heard, their ability to divide them and evoke the ‘us’ versus ‘them’ mentality frequently has groundbreaking impacts. In the penultimate section of this chapter we shall therefore take a closer look at negative consequences that might arise from stereotyping and their application, for instance in tourism texts such as LP guidebooks.

2.3.6 Taking a critical stance towards stereotyping

In their article about national stereotypes Hahn & Hahn (2002: 54) refer to the stereotypical German view prominent in the 19th and 20th century that Slavs are incapable of modernization. This retrospective orientation of stereotypes is also mentioned in relation to Austria in Bruckmüller's (1996: 121) text. He argues that artistic accomplishments, in order to become part of a stereotype, have to be perceived as classics already, and this again emphasizes the orientation towards static, unchangeable entities in relation to stereotype formation. He refers to the paintings of *Hundertwasser* that due to their increasing presence on postcards and other advertising material have become a prominent stereotype about Austria in the course of time. In relation to the stereotypes about the Tyrol, Pümpel-Mader (2009: 513) points at the potential threat of regarding stereotypical features about the Tyrol such as being traditional and home-loving as past-oriented and static. She elaborates on the attempt of Tirolwerbung to counteract this perception by using the features in a positively connoted context.

Nagiller (1993) criticizes the Tyroleans as being „[ü]berkommerzialisiert und kulturlos“ (Nagiller 1993: 245f, quoted in Pümpel-Mader 1999: 270). Pümpel-Mader (1999: 270) agrees with him and adds that

[h]eute wird dieses Bild vom Tiroler immer noch schuhplattelnd und lederhosenklatschend auf den verschiedenen "Tiroler Abenden" an den Gast "verkauft".

Certainly, it is of vital importance to keep in mind that the stereotypical depictions of people, and in our case of Tyroleans, is also applied in a strategic way, and that consequences arise out of this application: tourists shape their perception about Tyroleans by the information they gain from advertising material, like the *Lonely Planet* guidebooks. And the stereotypical depictions evoke the impression that the behavior that is described in such materials is real, and 'authentic'. We will learn more about authenticity in the touristic process in the chapter 4 on authenticity, which will also be a feature we are going to examine in relation to stereotypes. Additionally, the above mentioned threat to convey a static, outdated picture will be resumed in this chapter. With regard to stereotypes covered in LP Austria, it will be our task to determine whether the explanations in our source texts are similar to the "*Naturburschen-Abziehbild*" (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 270) which Pümpel-Mader identifies in her source texts or whether our text convey a more realistic picture.

As has been noted above, the notion of authenticity is closely related to stereotype formation. We shall therefore examine the construction of authenticity in the touristic process in the following chapter.

2.4 Authenticity in tourism

In the early 1970s, Dean MacCannell (1973) was the first to introduce the concept of authenticity to the field of tourism research. MacCannell draws on Erving Goffman's (1959, quoted in MacCannell 1973: 590) distinction between front and back regions:

The front is the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons, and the back is the place where members of the home team retire between performances to relax and to prepare. Examples of back regions are kitchens, boiler rooms, and executive washrooms, and examples of front regions are reception offices, parlors, and the like (MacCannell 1973: 590)

He emphasizes the primarily social nature of this division and describes the tourist's wish to cross the border between the regions and by doing so being able to fulfil their "desire to see life as it is really lived, even to get in with the natives" (MacCannell 1973: 592). He compares tourists to religious pilgrims (MacCannell 1973: 593), as tourists like pilgrims also are on the lookout for authentic experiences. However, as he states further, the tourist's desire to "get off the beaten path" [...] [and] "in with the natives" (MacCannell 1973: 594) is not met, as the commodification of the touristic experience continuously hinders the tourists to achieve their goal. Touristic offers such as guided tours are deliberately opening back regions for the access of tourists. However, MacCannell (1973: 595f) emphasizes that "there is a staged quality to the proceedings that lends to them an aura of superficiality, albeit a superficiality that is not always perceived as such by the tourist, who is usually forgiving about these matters" (MacCannell 1973: 595) Hence, the differentiation between front and back regions is difficult for tourists (MacCannell 1973: 597).

The concept of staged authenticity is discussed and researched until the present day (Taylor 2001; Halewood & Hannam 2001; King 2006; Avieli 2012; Boonzaaier & Wels 2017) and can be considered in relation to products offered to tourists such as food (Avieli 2012) or souvenirs (Halewood & Hannam 2001), and particularly in relation to heritage tourism, which will be the main focus of this chapter as its analysis also constitutes a part of our analysis of LP Austria. As we will see, the investigation of staged authenticity is spread all over the world, from Third World countries (Avieli 2012; Boonzaaier & Wels 2017) as well as New Zealand (Taylor 2001) to the United States (King 2006). In a European context, Viking heritage tourism in Finland has been observed by Halewood & Hannam (2012).

A recent example for the front/back stage differentiation has been given in Avieli (2012). In his study about the authentication of 'local food' in Hoi An, he discovered that the outsourcing of food preparation was deliberately hidden from tourists in order to maintain the impression of authenticity and to make the tourists believe that they were eating genuine "local specialties" (Avieli 2012: 126). Furthermore, in order to make sure the food tourists consumed

in restaurants would be perceived as ‘to die for’ as advertised in LP, certain precautions were taken to adapt the food to the taste of foreigners (Alievi 2012: 126). Simultaneously, tourist-oriented restaurants serving food advertised as ‘local’ or ‘local specialty’ were opened.

Instances of staged authenticity have also been observed in relation to heritage tourism (Taylor 2001; Mkono 2012; Boonzaaier & Wels 2017;). In his analysis of advertising material regarding Maori heritage tourism in New Zealand, Taylor (2000: 22) detects that

For the vast majority of international tourists, Maori culture will be presented to them in the form of “staged authenticity”. Such stagedness, which ultimately denies contact between tourist and local identities, tends towards the reinscription of an already overinscribed image of essential “Maori-ness”. In the absence of any sustained dialogue, ethnic subjects become “strangers” whose concrete existence and reality are denied. The oft-repeated images too commonly found on other markers (including brochures, postcards, and other media representations) are thereby certified, duplicated, and returned with a new found validity

A similar alienation through the staging of authenticity as described by Taylor (2000) above has been observed by Boonzaaier & Wels (2017) in their investigation of cultural villages (institutions dedicated to the conveying and preservation of indigenous culture) in South Africa. Drawing on Van Veuren’s (2004: 141, quoted in Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 5f) three types of cultural villages, namely *privately owned*, *private sector-owned comprising indigenous entrepreneurs* and *villages established by various bodies of the public sector*, Boonzaaier & Wels (2017: 10f) conclude that only Thomo Living Cultural Heritage Museum, an attraction supported by a government initiative that also involves locals (Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 8) manages to “contribute significantly to a historically authentic conservation of cultural heritage” (Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 11). In contrast to this, the privately owned Lesedi Cultural Village functions as “deliberate attempt to satisfy the expectations of visitors by means of the presentation of objects and performances which are mostly based on stereotypical images of different peoples in different parts of South Africa” (Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 11). The fact that the indigenous performers at Tsonga Kraal Open-Air Museum do not actually live in the village leads Boonzaaier & Wels (2017: 10) to conclude that it “serves as a fairly good example of ‘staged authenticity’. Hence, as in Taylor’s example of New Zealand, a reinscription of the image of essential Africanness takes place in two out of three of the cultural villages. The notion of Africanness has also been explored by Mkono’s (2012) netnographic analysis of restaurant reviews by tourists at Victoria Falls. As in Avieli (2012), food functioned as cultural signifier and eating ‘traditional African fare’ and getting a ‘taste of local culture’ enhanced the perception of African/Zimbabweanness of the visitors (Mkono 2012: 391). Furthermore, the presence of local people in the restaurants also enhanced the perception of authenticity of

visitors (Mkono 2012: 392). In relation to the front/back stage division, Mkono (2012: 392) observes that

in contrast with and against the advice of MacCannell's (1971, 1973) theory, tourists perceive authenticity in "front regions" (Goffman, 1959). This is central to the case for constructive authenticity: authenticity can be found anywhere and in everything, as long as the mind sanctions it. Consuming food in a restaurant is arguably a front stage experience; and commercial tourist restaurants are separate from the locals' 'normal' day to day lifestyle. But even in these instances; in the blatant staging of culture (thus staged authenticity), as with the Boma and Mama Africa, tourists still perceive authenticity.

Despite this positive instance of the perception of staged authenticity, numerous voices have also criticized the concept for the fact that it risks to convey a stereotypical, static or anachronistic picture of society (Boonzaaier & Wels 2017; King 2006; Halewood & Hannam 2001). Boonzaaier & Grobler (2012: 61, quoted in Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 5) observe that

once a particular stereotypical image of a place... has been constructed..., people tend to accept and internalize the image, even in the absence of any supporting evidence. Such naivety makes stereotypes tenacious and resistant to change. The success of the tourism industry relies heavily on the (stereotypical) images used to represent Third World destinations."

Such a stereotypical depiction could be observed for the privately owned Lesedi Cultural Village in their study (Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 7). Likewise, King (2006) discovered the stereotypical construction of the primitive blues subject at Delta Blues Museum in Mississippi. By conveying a picture highly influenced by the myth of the destitute, crude blues musician and by presenting blues as "static historical object belonging to some bygone era", the museum clearly is oriented towards fulfilling the touristic needs of Whites frequenting the museum (King 2006: 237). Staging of authenticity also happened through the composition of the exhibition space, where an "authentic early twentieth-century Delta culture that seemingly satisfies tourists in search of a "pure" blues culture" (King 2006: 237) is presented. King (2006: 247f) describes the impact curatorial work at museums has on public memory and how it influences the reinscription of stereotypes to the objects presented, a fact that we are going to return to below. The deliberate absence of modernity as mirrored in the "low-tech approach" (King 2006: 246) and its complementing depiction of the rural past of the South observed by King at the Delta Blues Museum (King 2006: 246f) could surely also be expected in relation to Viking heritage tourism in Europe, as investigated by Halewood & Hannam (2001). However, this strategy can only partly be traced in the attractions under investigation in their study. For example, the in-door time-car-ride at Viking Land, a Norwegian theme park dedicated to the reconstruction of Viking life, is criticized for its final stage where a laboratory simulation using mannequins and mere informational texts instead of interactive activities contributes to a rather inauthentic experience (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 570). Furthermore, the ride is seen as being

“anachronistic” (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 575), and this “hyper-reality experience is exhibited in a semi-mythical setting indoors – away from the “real” earthly world of Vikings” it attempts to stage in its outdoor-recreation of a Viking village (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 571). Despite the time-car-ride that certainly involves modern day technology, the depiction of Viking life in the village simulation goes in line with the static way to present reality that has been observed by King (2006). The script for this play comes from a well-known Norwegian children’s author, and the proceedings the visitors get to observe are scripted and staged (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 571). A better, more authentic alternative to such tourist attractions has also been identified by Halewood & Hannam (2001). At Viking markets the negotiation of authenticity is more open as the place of selling simultaneously also functions as the place of production of goods (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 574).

According to Wang (1999: 351) concepts like staged authenticity are focused too much on the authenticity of toured objects (i.e. objective authenticity) and disregard the authenticity of tourist experiences (i.e. subjective authenticity) made when going on vacation. He therefore provides the “first systematic account of the two diverging sub-discourses [...] of objective [...] and subjective authenticity” (Cohen 2007: 76). He differentiates between objective, constructive and existential authenticity (Wang 1999: 351). First, objective authenticity is concerned with the authenticity of the toured object, which in turn determines the authenticity of the touristic experience. However, tourists risk being exposed to instances of staged authenticity, which they themselves might not be aware of. Second, constructive authenticity focuses on the construction of authenticity as a social process. Hence, “[t]hings appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed as such in terms of points of view, beliefs, perspectives and powers” (Wang 1999: 351). Stereotypes, expectations and projections can therefore form part of such a construction of authenticity in relation to toured objects (Bruner 1991; Silver 1993, both quoted in Wang 1999: 351). Third, existential authenticity relates to the perception of the Self in the touristic process. Hence, the focus is no longer on the toured object but on the tourist him/herself. By engaging in the touristic experience, new ways of self-perception are opened to the tourist and “existential authenticity is a potential existential state of being which is to be activated by touristic activities (Wang 1999: 351f). The social construction of authenticity in the touristic process always involves power relations and commodification. As Cohen (2007: 80) puts it

Rather than create opportunities for ‘existential’ experiences, the institutionalization of all forms of tourism, including such initially ‘counter-cultural’ ones, as drifting and backpacking (Cohen 2004 [1973]; Richards and Wilson 2004), in reality stifles them. Tourists can in reality achieve such experiences only incidentally, particularly when they escape, not just their everyday roles, but the tourist role itself. The very promise of

unique experiences in the promotional literature, denies that uniqueness. This is the reason that the most exalted sights, thoroughly institutionalized and heavily promoted, like the Mona Lisa, the Egyptian pyramids or even Machu Pichu in the Peruvian Andes, do not (any more) elicit the most exalted experiences. These are encountered on the receding liminal margins of contemporary tourism.

The possible (negative) effects of commodification and political consequences the communication in the guidebook may have on the perception of tourists visiting the Tyrol and Austria in general shall be identified and highlighted. To do so, the mechanisms involved in commodification in tourism and its political dimensions shall be explored next.

2.4.1 Constructive authenticity, commodification and power relations

Schwandt (1994: 125, quoted in Wang 1999: 354) claims that the world is always a construction. According to Wang (1999: 355), stereotypes form part of this construction. As we have already discovered in the chapter on stereotypes (cf. theoretical reading chapter 4) and stereotyping, certain identity constructions are part of this process. Here, certain generalized, stereotypical features assigned to one's own nation and consequently also to the nations oneself wants to know oneself distinguished from are involved. In the touristic context Olsen (2002: 164) notes that "authenticity emerges in a social process marked by power relations". Hence, the various actors in the touristic process gain power by viewing authenticity as cultural value emergent in a social process that is related to power (Olsen 2002: 163f). Tourism research does not only investigate social processes but also constitutes them (Giddens 1991:2, quoted in Olsen 2007:83) and assigns different roles to the various participants in this process. The tourist role Cohen (2007 80) also refers to above therefore is also a constructed one (Olsen 2002: 169) and it is important to keep in mind who assigns roles to whom and be aware that the social processes involved in authenticity construction may "elevate specific aspects and relegate[] others in tourism research (Olsen 2007: 84). It is therefore important to bear in mind that the "touristic narratives of authenticity" (Taylor 2001: 10) employed by tourism as well as the rhetoric strategies used by cultural organizations to convey certain (stereotypical) images and the narratives told always simultaneously reflect certain societal power differentials. These strategies for instance draw on nostalgia and romanticism to construct an 'imagined authentic past' as Boonzaaier & Wels (2017: 1) observe in some of the investigated cultural villages or they use a (constructed) 'tragic experience of modernity' as for instance in Taylor (2000: 10), where according to him Western experiences of authenticity are presented as being impossible due to ubiquitous technology and progress and therefore have to be sought in the "authentic savage life" of Maori people. Furthermore, tour operators, guidebook authors or museum curators also heavily influence public memory (e.g. King 2006). By depicting the blues culture

in the stereotypical way that has already been outlined above, visitor's understanding of the past is deliberately shaped by the curators of the Delta Blues Museum (King 2006: 247). To say it in King's (2006: 235) own words:

[a]s cultural authorities rhetorically craft and package the past, efforts to construct an authentic heritage site often serve to solidify and privilege cultural memories. Moreover, appeals to authenticity often mirror a larger cultural struggle between powerful institutionalized voices and marginalized communities over the issues of representation of identity.

In relation to the stereotypical depiction of the blues subject, the fact that certain myths that form part of public memory are reactivated by the way in which a museum presents its content is mentioned (King 2006: 237). Hence, drawing on myths present in public memory is a further strategy to present authenticity in the tourism context and also in general.

The rhetorical strategies employed by cultural organizations to convey certain images and the narratives told certainly relate to power differentials in society and to political ideas that are represented in them. Olsen (2002: 172) observes that "[t]he media in use and social organization of the ritual context ascribe different positions to the participants". By taking on the tourist role, the tourist also becomes responsible for the creation of the touristic product, i.e. the touristic experience. Here, certain social hierarchies also come into play, and the tourist takes a subordinated position to the seller of the products, such as tour operators, museum curators or guidebook publishers. If tourists do not bow to their role, access to touristic experience will be denied (Olsen 2002: 172f). However, it is clear that the pen for writing the screenplay for touristic experience lies in the hand of cultural authorities. They are well aware of touristic perceptions and that the tourists themselves frequently do not want to be regarded as such and adapt their rhetoric according to the tourist needs. For example, Olsen (2002: 167) assumes that Lonely Planet is well aware of tourism research results and adapts its rhetoric to the wishes and needs of tourists. This fact is part of the commodification processes involved in touristic experience. In this process, the notion of authenticity employed by the institutions in power to add value to touristic experience (Olsen 2002: 161; Taylor 2001: 11) is a crucial factor. It is also in the process of commodification where staged authenticity comes into play (Pomering & White 2011: 166). Pomering & White (2011: 166) argues that "the reality remains that the [tourism] industry can only offer commodified authenticity in a 'packaged' format. Thus, authenticity is effectively a contradiction in terms that can never be fully achieved." This packaging of a certain image stretches out on the level of place and nation branding, as we have already seen in the chapter on stereotypes and stereotyping where we discussed the branding strategies of the brand Tirol. Referring to the previously mentioned power relations in tourism, Morgan et al (2004: 8, quoted in Pomering & White 2011: 168) point out that nation branding

is a “political act”. The potentially positive or negative consequences of this shall be outlined in the following.

2.4.2 Consequences of commodification of authenticity

Referring to FutureBrand (quoted in Ooi & Stöber 2010: 69), Ooi & Stöber present authenticity as ‘key branding component’. This goes in line with the already stated added value that the incorporation of authenticity into marketing strategies entails (Olsen 2002: 161; Taylor 2001: 11). Referring to Anholt (2007: 25), Pomering & White observe that “Tourism promotion is often the loudest voice in ‘branding’ the nation, as the ‘tourist board usually has the biggest budgets and the most competent marketers’ “ (Pomering & White 2011: 166). Not only does authenticity add value to certain touristic experiences advertised by the tourism board, it also enhances the position of a nation as a whole. Hence,

Chosen tourism imagery fragments should serve to convey the extraordinary characteristics of the nation as a vacation destination and add to the values inherent in the nation brand. (Pomering & White 2011: 167).

If we continue with the positive aims of nation branding in relation to authenticity, it can be argued that underlining the extraordinary characteristics of a nation creates a unique selling proposition and therefore will not only contribute to economic growth of the nation, but also serves to protect and preserve it (Ooi & Stöber 2011). Similarly, Payne Daniel (1996: 783) points out that “authenticity aims for historical, geographical, and cultural accuracy” and Boonzaaier & Wels (2017: 11) underline the effect of “cultural conservation and education” the right use of authenticity in the touristic context might have. However, the numerous negative effects regarding commodification in tourism cannot be disregarded. For example, Olsen (2002: 160) argues that the tourist in his tourist role is doomed to fail in experiencing authenticity (see also Cohen’s quote on authenticity above), as the touristic process itself with its inherent staged, commoditized nature does not allow to genuine experiences to be made. Hence, social relations such as front/back regions are consumed in tourism and therefore cannot provide authentic experiences. As we have seen in the discussion of staged authenticity at the privately owned cultural village in Boonzaaier & Wels (2017), the consumption of such staged front/back regions may only reinscribe the stereotypical images that already form part of peoples’ public memory. Other negative factors of commodification are the risk mass production (e.g. of souvenirs) represents for authenticity (Halewood & Hannam 2012: 567), the fact that products might be presented as authentic but in reality are not, as Alievi (2012: 130) found out for the promotion of “local food” at Hoi An, or the risk of conveying a stereotypical, static picture that has already been discussed. Despite all the good intentions tourist operators may have, one may

never forget that tourism is always a reflection of the control that entertainment industry has over us (Halewood & Hannam 2012: 578). As we are living in an ever more visual culture today, tourism operators will certainly also commodify their products by using visual aids. The photographs used in LP Austria are an instance of such a tool to enhance the attractiveness of a destination and the guidebook itself. Therefore, the final chapter of the theoretical reading of this study is focused on visual representation and its analysis.

2.5 Visual analysis

Nowadays, one is not able to imagine life without any form of visual representation. As Nicholas Mirzoeff (1999: 1) identified in the late 1990s, “[h]uman experience is now more visual and visualized than ever before from the satellite picture to medical images of the interior of the human body.” Seen from today’s perspective, one would certainly have to add the possibilities modern interactive devices like smartphones or tablets offer to produce visual representations to this list. Indeed, we are living in a visual culture and seeing “is not just a part of everyday life, it is everyday life” (Mirzoeff 1999: 1) and “the world-as-a-text has been replaced by the world-as-a-picture” (Mirzoeff 1999: 7). In today’s society where people take pictures to share them for fractions of a moment on platforms like Snapchat only to have them vanish after a few split seconds, these observations are more true than ever.

Visual representation is also a way to aid the process of meaning making in our world. Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 13) observes that

language and systems of representation do not reflect an already existing reality so much as they organize, construct, and mediate our understanding of reality, emotion and imagination.

This chapter is going to focus on photography as one such system of representation. We take visual culture and the fundamental concepts used to analyze it as a starting point before briefly examining the history of photography and its effects on present day culture. Then, we shall focus on advertising photography, as it is the kind of photography used in LP Austria to enhance the appeal of the destination for prospective tourists. Hence, the functions and effects of tourism photography will also be discussed. For the purpose of our analysis, we will subsequently determine which elements of semiotics we are going to employ to analyze the photographs used in LP Austria. We will also determine which successful proceedings of conducted studies that have been discussed in previous chapters (Bhattacharyya 1997; van Gorp & Béneker 2007, Niskala & Ridanpää 2016) could be of use for our analysis of the photographs used in LP Austria.

Social constructions as the ones we have observed in the previous chapters certainly also play a role when it comes to visual culture (Mirzoeff 1999: 14). Representation is a process that is involved in meaning making in cultures and that helps us to make sense of the world. Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 14f) summarizes the practice of representation as follows:

Representation is thus a process through which we construct the world around us [...] and make meaning from it. We learn the rules and conventions of the systems of representation within a given culture.

In the case of photography as one system of representation, one must not forget the fact that taking an image involves a high degree of subjectivity and “it remains the photographer who frames and takes the image, not the camera itself” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 16). When photography first was introduced at the beginning of the 19th century, it replaced painting as a means to reproduce reality. The invention of the daguerreotype subsequently also rendered reproduction of images possible and photography from then onwards was not only considered a means to scientifically preserve reality for coming times but also a new art form (Mirzoeff 1999: 66f). It was considered “the closest thing there is to a knowledge of the present” (Mirzoeff 1999: 67). In fact, the invention of photography coincided with the advent of modernity, the emergence of the railway, mass communication, city rebuildings (like the one of Paris in the 1850s and 1860s) and the increasing gap between the Western colonizers and their colonized lands in Africa, Asia and Australia (Mirzoeff 1999: 69). Photography then offered the opportunity to document all these events and to preserve them for future generations. This opportunity was subsequently also opened to the ordinary family, and private recordings of memories could be done (Mirzoeff 1999: 71). However, the then popular idea of people that photography could be used to preserve reality for past generations can be regarded outdated today as digital image processing as it was done from the 1980s onwards and is available to the broad masses today renders the authenticity of images questionable and leads Mirzoeff to talk about the “death of photography” (Mirzoeff 1999: 88, see also: Lobinger 2012: 60, referring to Wortmann 2003:220).

Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 17) mentions the myth of photographic truth in this context and refers to the fact that despite present day’s opportunities for their manipulation, the perception that photographic images are objective and truthful still prevails. In line with this argument, Lobinger (2012: 56) argues that “*besonders visuelle Zeichen lassen uns deren Zeichenhaftigkeit oft vergessen*“ because we have become accustomed to their “*charakteristische, authentizitätserzeugende Darstellung*” (Lobinger 2012: 56, referring to Huxford 2001: 67). Furthermore, it is a photograph’s capacity to evoke emotion that makes it so powerful (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 19). Mirzoeff (1999: 15) argues that “there is an

undeniable impact of first sight that a written text cannot replicate”. This is also where Roland Barthe’s concept of denotation, connotation and myth comes into play. Denotation means the primary signification, or what we see when we are looking at an image, connotation describes the secondary significations or associations that are triggered when hearing/reading a word or seeing an image (Storey 2012: 93, referring to Barthes 1967 → taken from literature review EAP)³. Hence, the denotative meaning serves as “documentary evidence of objective circumstances” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 19), while the connotative meaning refers to “the cultural and historical context of the image and its viewers’ lived, felt knowledge of those circumstances – all that the image means to them personally and socially” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 19). The myth entailed in a picture then is created on the level of connotation and makes people believe that what is actually a constructed denotation is “literal and natural” (Sturken & Cartwright 2011: 19f). Therefore, power relations are not only presented to a reader on a written level, as we have discovered in previous chapters, they also operate on a visual level. Hence, “[i]mages are an important means through which ideologies are produced and onto which ideologies are projected. [...] Visual culture is integral to ideologies and power relations” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 21f).

In order to read images, a process of encoding and decoding has to take place on the producer’s as well as the recipient’s side. Or, as Mirzoeff (1991: 13) argues: “seeing is not believing but interpreting”. In relation to photographs, Lobinger (2012: 58) argues that “*das Verstehen von Fotos [basiert] auf einem konventionalen Code*”. Just like othering, stereotyping and the creation of authenticity are bound to a certain context, visual analysis cannot be done without contextualization (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 26; Lobinger 2012: 66). This in turn enables the investigator to draw conclusions about the aforementioned power differentials that might be encoded in images (Lobinger 2012: 67). In order to do such contextual interpretations, Saussure’s concept of signifier/signified can be applied to images. In the case of the Benetton ad analyzed by Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 29), The image of the burning car depicted on the poster functions as the signifier, and it stands for concept of terrorism that is evoked through looking at it in the context of the 1990s, a period where attacks were ubiquitous in society. Terrorism thus is the signified concept in the ad. Hence, as mentioned above, construction work is involved in the process of advertising photography and “[d]iese Konstruktionsarbeit ist für Betrachter und Betrachterinnen zwar nicht sichtbar, fügt dem anscheinend codelosen Bild aber

³ “Denotation means the primary signification, or what we see when we are looking at an image, connotation describes the secondary significations or associations that are triggered when hearing/reading a word or seeing an image (Storey 2012: 93, referring to Barthes 1967)” This passage has originally been written for the Literature Review in English for Academic Purposes, attended in SS2016

Konnotationen hinzu, denn jedes Bild ist in gewisser Form bearbeitet, ausgewählt, zusammengesetzt oder konstruiert” (Lobinger 2012: 59, referring to Doelker 2002)

What we aim at with our analysis is a critical decoding of the images used in LP Austria. While the intended meaning of the producers of the images, presumably professional photographers, may be to promote the destination and ultimately sell it to the readers of the guidebook, our purpose is to do a negotiated reading according to Hall (1993, quoted in Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 57). Hidden ideologies, power relations and connotations shall be discovered. Furthermore, the ways in which a sense of authenticity is constructed in the images shall be traced. Possible stereotypical depictions shall be identified and interpreted with regard to the image that is created of Austria. The construction of the other certainly also takes place in the visual representation of LP Austria. Sturken & Cartwright (2001: 95) argue that “[p]hotographs [...] often function to establish difference, through which that which is defined as *other* is posited as that which is not the norm or the primary subject”. Similarly, Mirzoeff (1999: 25) argues that “[a]t present, it must be argued that visual culture remains a discourse of the West about the West” and that “Western culture sought to naturalize [...] histories of power”. With regard to exoticism, Sturken then argues that it is through the depiction of places in travel literature (to which one can also count LP) that “categories of the normal and the exotic are established” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 102f). Hence, it will be interesting to discover in what ways the visuals used in LP serve to construct Austria as an exotic, other place worth visiting. More generally speaking, exoticism frequently forms part of present day advertising photography and “products are often sold through ads that attach notions of exoticism to their products through images of places that are coded as distant and elsewhere” (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 105). This goes in line with Mirzoeff’s (1999: 27) observation that “[c]apital has commodified all aspects of everyday life, including the human body and even the process of looking itself”.

Studies show that images frequently function as eye-catchers (Garcia & Stark 1991; Poynter Institute 2008, both quoted in Lobinger 2012: 78). Furthermore, it has been found that

Bilder erzielen eine größere Aufmerksamkeit und Aktivierungswirkung als Texte; bildhafte Kommunikationselemente werden im Wahrnehmungsprozess also schneller und länger betrachtet (Geise/Brettschneider 2010, quoted in Lobinger 2012: 78).

This probably also is the reason why advertising makes intensive use of visual stimuli. The above mentioned possibility to trigger the viewer’s emotional responses through the use of images will certainly also play a role in this process (Lobinger 2012: 83, referring to Bartsch et al. 2007:9). Here, emotional responses can be evoked through color choice (Detenber & Winch 2001; Winn & Everett 1979; both quoted in Lobinger 2012: 84), dynamics featured in the

images (Wegener 2001: 140, quoted in Lobinger 2012: 85) or perspective (Wegener 2001: 140; Wolf 2006; both quoted in Lobinger 2012: 85). Due to their capacity to involve and convince viewers, images are also called “advertising’s darlings” (Lobinger 2012: 124). They are frequently used to attract the viewer’s attention and determine whether an announcement is perceived to be worth reading or not (Lobinger 2012: 125, referring to Schierl 2005: 16f). As advertising campaigns today are frequently aimed at a global market, producers strive to create images that are universally intelligible. However, this is a difficult project as “*Bilder kulturell gebunden sind und das Verständnis ihrer teilweise symbolischen Aussagen und Stile in starkem Maße von der Interpretation der Rezipienten und Rezipientinnen abhängig ist*” (Lobinger 2012: 125). As recipients are well aware of the constructed nature of advertising, they already anticipate and also expect exaggerated and persuasive features when consuming advertising images (Lobinger 2012: 126f). However, these anticipations do not detract consumers from enjoying well-made advertising (Lobinger 2012: 128, referring to Zurstiege 2005: 26f; 2001). The advertising photography used in LP is a special case in this respect. We have already revealed that LP talks to its readers with an authorial voice in chapter 2. It is therefore probable that also the images used in the guide will be presented to the prospective visitors as natural, authentic depictions of the destinations they are about to visit. In every case it is an embellished version of reality consumers are confronted with when viewing advertising photography and therefore enable the consumer to identify with the people or places that are depicted (Lobinger 2012: 134). Hence, viewing Austria as a destination in the guidebook will trigger the tourist’s imagination as what to visit the country might be like and encourage them to imagine how they themselves experience the events and places depicted in the images.

In chapter 2 we have already identified the fundamental role the guidebook plays as a mediator in the touristic process between tourist and destination. In relation to Suassure’s signifier/signified distinction, Garrod (2009: 347) observes that “[t]he tourism industry presents these signs by means of the imagery and particularly the photography it employs in its brochures and other marketing materials”. The function of determining place discourse Garrod (2009: 349) ascribes to picture postcards that he analyzes in his study can easily be transferred to the photographs used in our analysis of the LP guidebook:

Such discourses go on to shape, perhaps even determine, destination images, thereby influencing tourists’ expectations of a place, their interactions with it, and their post-experience evaluation of the destination.

Referring to Jenkins (2003, quoted in Garrod 2009: 348) and her study about the pictures Australian backpackers took from their holiday destinations, it could be proven that tourist actually try to replicate the “photogenic” or “iconic” spots they were introduced to in

advertising material. Hence, the study supports Urry's idea of the "closed circle of reproduction of the tourist gaze" (Garrod 2009: 348), i.e. the idea that tourists are highly influenced by the advertising material they consume and subsequently strive to reproduce precisely what they have been presented as being worth to be gazed upon and consumed. In his own study, Garrod uses so-called visitor-employed photography (VEP) and compares the pictures of Aberystwyth/Wales provided by the tourism industry on picture postcards with the images randomly selected tourists equipped with single-use cameras captured of the destination (Garrod 2009: 348; 350–355). Findings (Garrod 2009: 352–355) reveal that "tourist photographs tend to replicate the visual imagery that has been (and is still being) created for Aberystwyth by the tourism industry" (Garrod 2009: 354). With regard to the location professional photographers and tourists chose for taking their pictures, it was found that professionals are more willing to ascend hills in order to attain a panoramic shot, while tourists tend to choose locations at the seafront promenade for taking pictures. In line with the professional photographs, the pictures taken by tourists focused more on scenery than on the depiction of people. However, a difference that could be found was the prominence of water bodies and natural features ("the sea, the beach, the nearby wood or mountain ranges" [Garrod 2009: 353]) in picture postcards, an aspect that was not as prominent in the tourist imagery. Furthermore, with regard to the depiction of buildings and attractions, the picture postcards and VEP analysis revealed the same results.

Garrod (2009) is not the only one to include visual analysis of material provided by the tourism industry in his study. As we have seen above, the landscapes represented in tourism photography can be one focal point of visual analysis (Voulvouli 2012; van Gorp & Béneker 2007). In her analysis of the cultural construction of the Namibian landscape, Voulvouli (2012) selected advertising material of Namibia and undertook a classification of the images. Furthermore, she follows the semiotic approach of Albers & James (1988: 145, quoted in Voulvouli 2012: 466) that shall be quoted here:

[Semiotic analysis] is treating each picture as a totality – marking the patterned relationships in its contents, connecting these to parallel and contrasting structures in other pictures, and relating both to the written narratives that accompany them (Albers & James 1988: 147, quoted in Voulvouli 2012: 466f).

She then analyzed the categories she identified (picturesque landscape, animals, historical landscape, nature and technology, places familiar to the Western eye, within the landscape, conservation [Voulvouli 2012: 466]) in relation to their captions and the image of Namibia they conveyed. Findings reveal a picture of Namibia that is congruent with the well-known myth of Namibia that presents the country as "wild and unspoiled" place (Voulvouli 2012: 474f). The construction of Namibia as such a place is supported by the text that accompanies the pictures

in the advertising material. As Campelo et al. (2011) point out, place promotion frequently also involves “misrepresentation (including people) or creating or perpetuating stereotypes” (Campelo et al. 2011: 3). The highly romanticized picture of the Namibian landscape traced by Voulvouli (2012: 467) could be an example for such a stereotypical depiction. Similarly, van Gorp & Béneker (2007) analyzed pictures of the Netherlands featured in guidebooks of the country and how Holland was constructed as “other place”. Stereotypical depictions could also be traced in the visual analysis of LP The Netherlands (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 300), with the cover showing yellow tulips, a stereotypical feature commonly associated with the Netherlands. However, a predominance of stereotypical images was not found in the subsequent detailed analysis of the guidebook. LP The Netherlands was also the leader when it came to the next feature of analysis, namely spatial selectiveness. 65% of the images used in the guidebook depicted images of Holland, not the Netherlands in general (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 301). Furthermore, a sense of “ ‘other times’ and ‘other experiences’ ” (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 301) is created through the depiction of historical sites such as castles or the use of images of nostalgic rural settings (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 301).

As we have identified above, questionable representations in advertising material provided by the tourism industry is not only traced in relation to places and landscapes, but also with regard to the visual representation of people. The analysis of the visual representation in tourism brochures of Finnish Lapland revealed a not too prominent occurrence of the indigenous Sámi people (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016: 385). However, when featured the Sámi “were depicted through a traditional stereotyped conception, as an indigenous group being part of the natural landscape, placed definitively in their traditional livelihood of reindeer herding. [...] Exoticization is manifested through pictures in which Sámi people are costumed in their traditional clothing and situated in their traditional livelihood out in the wilds of nature” (Niskala & Ridanpää 2016: 385).

The findings discussed previously in relation to the visual representation of landscape and people in advertising material was found in a similar way in Bhattacharyya’s (1997) analysis of the pictures used in LP India. As in the case of van Gorp’s & Béneker’s (2007) analysis, historical sites were one of the main themes among the analyzed photographs used in LP India. The category of social life was the only one that was even more frequently featured, and a third frequent motive was the natural world (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379). With regard to the depiction of the category of social life, the tendency to merely represent events presumed to be of interest to tourists is pointed out by Bhattacharyya (1997: 380):

[I]t is clear that only certain aspects of social life are deemed worthy of tourist attention: the folklore, the ethnic, the colorful, the traditional. Several examples illustrate this fascination for the exotic and the ethnic [...].

Hence, one can argue that the perception of the place is also shaped by the selection of LP's editor and by the decisions made regarding which photographs to include or not. Furthermore, the presence and absence of people in images used in LP India is another aspect that has been considered by Bhattacharyya (1997: 382). She identifies a significant correlation between what is being depicted and whether people are featured in the images or not. As historical sites might also be used to create a sense of "other time" (van Gorp & Béneker 2007: 301), people are predominantly absent in the scenes depicting such places. Bhattacharyya (1997: 382) also suspects that the fact that "the natural world is of tourist interest to the extent that it remains pristine and "uncorrupted" by human inhabitants" could be the reasons for the absence of people in images of historical sites. Furthermore, Bhattacharyya (1997: 385) points at the fact that photographs also play a role when it comes to depicting the tourist-local relationship. As has been previously mentioned, the locals are predominantly presented as middlemen and service-givers for the tourists or as picturesque Other worthy to be gazed upon (Bhattacharyya 1997: 383f). The photographs used in LP India then serve to reify this message conveyed by the discourse used in LP India: "as objects of sightseeing, they and their daily life activities are presented as commodities" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 385). Furthermore, traditional gender roles could also be identified in the visual representation of LP India, as women were depicted as interesting objects, a fact that violates the common cultural conventions of India, but goes in line with the gender roles the West ascribes to the two sexes (Bhattacharyya 1997: 386).

3 The Lonely Planet Guidebooks

3.1 General information on LP Austria

The LP Austria guidebook comprises 415 pages with the cover page showing an ancient castle (further discussion: see section on visual analysis) and the back page describing special features of the book and quoting one of the authors. The content itself is divided into the four "easy-to-use sections" (Haywood et al. 2014: inside coverpage): Firstly, the "Plan your trip" section provides general information to prospective tourists in order to attune them to their destination and probably also shaping their expectations as a first geographical overview is given via a map of Austria, "Austria's Top 23" sights and experiences are presented, and the possibility to inform oneself how to "eat and drink like a local" (Haywood et al. 2014: table of contents) is promised. Secondly, the "On the road" section presents Austria's provinces and the authors' suggestions for places to stay, what to see and where to eat and drink. Due to the spatial

limitations of this analysis part of the study, we will focus our analysis on the pages about the Tyrol. This reason is chosen as the authors themselves argue that “[t]here’s no place like Tyrol for the ‘wow I’m in Austria’ feeling” (Haywood et al. 2014: 284). We will discover which aspects about the Tyrol are highlighted in order to construct this feeling in the discourse of the roughly 40-page-chapter. Interestingly, the fact that the Tyrol and Vorarlberg are treated as one region despite the fact that they are individual provinces of Austria already is a first proof of the spatial selectiveness of LP that shall be discussed in greater detail below. A third section entitled “Understand” deals with the theme of ‘Understanding Austria’ (Haywood et al. 2014: 342-376). As we will discover in the next chapter, people learn to ‘understand’ the country through the excessive use and reification of stereotypes about the nation. Finally, the “Survival guide” section (Haywood et al. 2014: 382-415) deals with administrative information, ranging from types of accommodation to opening hours and a final section dedicated to the various forms of transport available in Austria. Furthermore, LP Austria comes with 30 color pictures (including the identical photograph on the front and back cover) that are all to be found in the first section of the guidebook. They will be part of our visual analysis (see chapter 5). A legend that helps the reader to read various symbols used in the guidebook is also provided on the inner cover page.

3.2 The construction of the Other in LP Austria

References to the Other as persons is strikingly absent in LP Austria. Few text passages refer to interactions between tourists and local others, as for instance the references to courtesy in the introductory section ‘Plan Your Trip’:

Greetings Use the *Sie* (formal ‘you’) form unless you’re youngish (in your 20s) and among peers, or your counterpart starts using *du* (informal ‘you’). Acknowledge fellow hikers on trails with a *Servus*, *Grüss di* (or the informal *Grüss dich*) or *Grüss Gott* (all ways of saying ‘hello!’) (Haywood et al. 2014: 23).

It is surprising that LP advises its readers to use the form of courtesy when interacting with others in spite of the fact that it is a very complex structure that will be difficult to master for any learner of German as a foreign language – let alone a tourist only briefly visiting the country – and, without further instruction, will not be easy to apply in spoken discourse. In this section that deals with etiquette in Austria, a further reference is made to Eating and Drinking:

Bring chocolate or flowers as a gift if invited into a home. Before starting to eat, say *Guten Appetit*. To toast say *Zum Wohl* (if drinking wine) or *Prost* (beer), and look your counterpart in the eye – not to do so is impolite and reputedly brings seven years or bad sex) (Haywood et al. 2014: 23).

This reference to the drinking etiquette – and the way of ‘doing it right’ – is a first indication of the importance that is assigned to it. As we will discover, a considerable amount of attention is dedicated to drinking culture in the Tyrol, particularly to excessive drinking while being involved in après ski. However, this again cannot be regarded as a reference to the local Other, as après ski is a passtime that is predominantly staged for tourists. We will get back to this phenomenon at a later stage of this chapter.

In the investigated chapter about the Tyrol, a depiction of the local Other as noble savage as has been identified for the locals in the studies mentioned in the theoretical reading cannot be traced. This is probably due to the fact that the readers of the guidebook share the same cultural background as the English speaking tourists visiting the destination, and there is no strong colonial past between the guidebook producers and its readers. However, a tendency to provide a rather parochial, retrospective – and above all stereotypical – image of the Tyrol and its inhabitants can be determined, for instance when reading the introductory paragraph to the chapter entitled ‘Why Go?’:

There’s no place like Tyrol for the ‘wow, I’m in Austria’ feeling. Nowhere else in the country is the downhill skiing as exhilarating, the après-ski as pumping, the wooden chalets as chocolate box, the food as hearty. Whether you’re schussing down the legendary slopes of Kitzbühel, cycling the Zillertal or hiking the Alps with a big, blue sky overhead – the scenery here makes you glad to be alive. Welcome to a place where snowboarders brag about awesome descents under the low beams of a medieval tavern; where *Dirndls* (women’s traditional dress) and *Lederhosen* have street cred; and where *Volksmusik* (folk music) features on club playlists.

Leaving the reference to the modern present day snowboarder that we will get back to below aside, the depiction of Dirndl and Lederhose as fashionable clothing gives rise to the impression that the modern Austrians still wear them in their day to day life. Similarly, when discussing the Zillertal in greater detail, a blue box that seemingly provides ‘local knowledge’ further reifies this impression:

Get into the alpine groove

As well as skis or walking boots, the Zillertal is one place you’ll be glad you packed that figure-hugging *Dirndl* (women’s traditional dress) or extra pair of Lederhosen. This valley is the Austrian Alps’ land of song and thigh-slapping tradition, where down-to-earth locals tune into *Alpenrock* (alpine rock), every *Gasthaus* (inn or restaurant) worth its weight swings to accordion-loaded *Volksmusik* (folk music) in summer, and names like the *Zillertaler Haderlumpen* (literally ‘Zillertal good-for-nothings’) are sacro-sanct. Go, enjoy! (Haywood et al. 2014: 299)

Just like the Dirndl/Lederhosen reference above, this passage works with overarching generalizations and gives the impression that the ‘down-to-earth locals’ hardly wear anything else. One would not like to imagine the disappointment of tourists visiting the Zillertal and discovering that people are actually wearing the same clothes as they do. As the remark in the brackets in both quotes says, *Dirndl* and *Lederhose* are traditional dresses women and men

might wear for ecclesiastical events like processions, or if they are part of one of the associations still quite common in the rural areas of Austria, like the *Schützen* or the local brass band. Another occasion where traditionally dressed people may be seen is at hotel receptions or bars, restaurants or the mentioned inns in tourist destinations, but if they do so the pieces can be regarded work clothes that have been established by hotel or *Gasthaus* owners in order to meet the tourist's expectations that have been shaped accordingly by tourism industry texts like the two passages featured in LP Austria. Modern day Austrians and Tyroleans definitely do not wear Dirndl or Lederhosen if there is no special occasion for it and are dressed like everyone else.

Apart from the stereotypical depiction of the Other as *Dirndl* or *Lederhosen*-carrying person (further discussion of stereotypical references in LP Austria: see section on stereotypes), Haywood et al. (2014: 286) historical figures as representatives of the Other are also referred to in the 'History'-section in the introduction to the Tyrol chapter (Haywood et al. 2014: 286). Here, the most important leading figures such as Kaiser Maximilian I. or Andreas Hofer are mentioned. However, the passage closes with a reference to Hitler's and Mussolini's friendship and the fact that South Tyrol therefore is part of Italy since 1919, and conclude with the remark that "since then [the proclamation of Austria's neutrality in 1955] Tyrol enjoyed peace and prosperity, and tourism, particularly the ski industry, has flourished" (Haywood et al. 2014: 286). There is no reference to the events that happened in the 60 years between this last event considered historically relevant and the publication of the present guidebook in 2014. There are no references to present day relevant personae in the Tyrol or the current way of living of locals that could give a hint to what image shall be created of the Tyroleans. The only instance where locals are being referred to is in the descriptions of the sights and particularly the hotels and gastronomy places. Here, they are described as service providing hosts. The benign, customer-friendly nature of the hotel owners or restaurant chefs is emphasized and their willingness to fulfill the tourists' every wish is emphasized:

Rooms are supremely comfortable, staff charming and breakfast is a lavish spread. (Haywood et al. 2014: 292, cf. description of *Hotel Weisses Kreuz*).

The owner is a keen hunter, so it's no surprise that the restaurant (mains €9 to €18) has a meaty menu (Haywood et al. 2014: 293, cf. description of *Weisses Rössl*).

Guests can wind down in the small sauna and Mrs Brindlinger lends out bikes free of charge (Haywood et al. 2014: 302, cf. description of *Gästehaus Brindlinger*).

In the capable hands of the fourth-generation Kröll family, this place has spacious rooms with chunky pine furnishings and balconies (Haywood et al. 2014: 304, cf. description of *Hotel Rose*)

Some of the hosts even are referred to by their first names, hence reinforcing the impression that the Tyrolean hosts are amicable and benevolent:

Your kindly hosts Klaus and Veronika let you pack up a lunch from the breakfast buffet and serve delicious five-course dinners (Haywood et al. 2014: 309, cf. description Hotel Edelweiss).

Helga and Franz bend over backwards to please at this homely chalet, with sweet and simple rooms dressed in traditional Tyrolean style [...] (Haywood et al. 2014: 313, cf. description of *Hotel Helga*).

Rainer and his kindly mum are the heart and soul of this wonderful B&B [...]. Nothing is too much trouble for the family, so whether you need a pick-up from the station or Nordic poles for a hike, just say the word (Haywood et al. 2014: 321, cf. description *Hotel Garni Ernst Falch*).

Having established how the Other as a person is constructed in the discourse of LP Austria as friendly service provider striving to meet every tourists' expectation, we shall now also focus on the way in which the text constructs the Tyrol as other place, other time and other experience, the three categories that could be identified for the depiction of Holland in van Gorp & Bédeker (2007). Instead of depicting locals and their way of life in order to evoke a sense of Otherness in its' readers, LP Austria makes far more use of the construction of Austria as exotic other place that is worthy to be seen and experienced, the strategy that van Gorp & Bédeker (2007) also identified for the representation of Holland in travel guides. This is done through extensive reference to the alpine landscape and picturesque scenery, as is perfectly illustrated in the following quote from the chapter introduction to 'Austria Outdoors' in the section "Plan Your Trip":

One look at the map of Austria says it all: jagged peaks and glacier-gouged valleys, mighty rivers and lakes cover almost every last lovely inch of the country. Be it hiking in wildflower-strewn pastures, schussing down Tyrol's mythical slopes or free-wheeling along the Danube, Austria will elevate, invigorate and amaze you (Haywood et al. 2014: 31)

It is this "Austria Outdoors" chapter (Haywood et al. 2014: 31-45) that sets the scene for the imagery that is created about Austria, and as we will discover, the Tyrol plays a crucial part in it. The chapter presents the types of sports that can be practiced in Austria in their descending importance from winter to summer activities: Skiing & Snowboarding, Cross Country Skiing, Walking & Hiking, Cycling and Mountain Biking and Adventure & Water Sports. As we will discover below, this sequence of presentation of the various types of sports is also maintained in the presentation of the destinations in the Tyrol chapter. The introductory page enlisting the activities that are "Best Outdoors" (Haywood et al. 2014: 31) already hint at the focus on the Tyrol in this respect: best skiing can be done in St. Anton am Arlberg, best climbing in the

Zillertal Alps and best rafting in Landeck. In line with this observation, four out of five “best slopes” (Haywood et al. 2014: 34) are detected in the Tyrol and the featured Tyrolean skiing areas (Ski Arlberg, Kitzbühel, Zillertal Arena, Silvretta Arena and Sölden) by far outweigh the ones of other provinces (Ski Amadé and Zell am See–Kaprun in Salzburg and Silvretta–Montafon in Vorarlberg) (Haywood et al. 2014: 34f). Furthermore, the “top five long-distance hikes” are also located in the Tyrol (Adlerweg, Berliner Höhenweg and Stubai Höhenweg) (Haywood et al. 2014: 38). From what one is able to conclude from the representation in LP Austria, the Tyrol only seems not as prominent when it comes to cycling (the Danube Cycle Path ranking before the Inn Trail that also passes “fertile farmland, alpine valleys and castle-topped towns in Tyrol” [Haywood et al. 2014: 42] and followed by the Bodensee Cycle Path, Salzkammergut Trail and Tauern Trail [Haywood et al. 2014: 42f]), while on the other hand three out of five mentioned mountain bike areas are located on Tyrolean grounds (Silvretta Mountain Bike Arena, Kitzbühel, Stubai & Zillertal [Haywood et al. 2014: 43]). The Tyrol is also presented as the place to be for daring adventurous tourists who prefer “Going to extremes” (Haywood et al. 2014: 42): the “Austrian Outdoors” section promotes bungee jumping from the *Europabrücke*, ice climbing at Stubai Glacier or Lech or feeling the “alpine rush” (Haywood et al. 2014: 42) when trying out “Igls’ hair raising Olympic bob run” (Haywood et al. 2014: 42). The only thrilling activity that is not explicitly located in the Tyrol in this info box is sky diving, which is presented as being “available all over Austria – from Vienna to Salzburg” (Haywood et al. 2014: 42). Apart from these extreme sports option, Tyrolean destinations are predominantly mentioned with regard to adventure and water sports, such as rafting and canoeing, paragliding or canyoning (Haywood et al. 2014: 44f).

After having established that the Other in LP Austria predominantly is constructed via the references to Austria’s exceptional landscape and outdoor activity options, we now turn to the detailed analysis of the Tyrol chapter and how the Other is constructed in it. Findings reveal a tendency to construct the Tyrol as other place by referring to the scenery and as other time by including historical references in place or accommodation descriptions.

Firstly, with regard to the construction of the Tyrol as other place, the references to the picturesque scenery are frequently found in the introductions to the various cities featured in the chapter about the Tyrol. Here, the authors frequently take their readers with them to elevated positions and refer to the destination’s alpine scenery to construct a feeling of “other place”:

The jagged rock spires of the Nordkette range are so close that within minutes it’s possible to travel from the city’s heart to over 2000m above sea level and alpine pastures where cowbells chime (Haywood et al. 2014: 286, cf. Introduction to Innsbruck).

Seefeld sits high on a south-facing plateau, ringed by the rugged limestone peaks of the Wetterstein and Karwendel Alps (Haywood et al. 2014: 312, cf. introduction to Seefeld).

From the crest there's a magnificent panorama of the main Tyrolean mountain ranges, as well as the Bavarian Alps and Säntis in Switzerland (Haywood et al. 2014: 316, cf. introduction to Ehrwald)

For some of the places promoted in the Tyrol chapter, the scenery might even be presented as one of the main reasons to stay there:

While the town [Imst] itself won't keep you long, its surrounding meadows, rugged peaks and gorges might (Haywood et al. 2014: 315, cf. introduction to Imst).

Landeck is an ordinary town with an extraordinary backdrop: framed by an amphitheatre of forested peaks, presided over by a medieval castle and bordered by the fast-flowing Inn and Sanna Rivers (Haywood et al. 2014: 316, cf. introduction to Landeck).

Shadowing the turquoise Inn River, the Inntal (Inn valley) has few major sights but the scenery is beautiful, particularly around Pfunds with its jagged peaks and thickly forested slopes (Haywood et al. 2014: 317f, cf. introduction to The Inntal).

With reference to the alpine scenery to construct the Tyrol as other place, the description of the Ötztal is a particularly worth mentioning case in point. By means of emphasizing the (perceived) roughness of the place, the Ötztal is constructed as exotic other place:

Over milleniums, the Ötztal (Ötz Valley) has been shaped into rugged splendor. No matter whether you've come to ski its snow-capped mountains, raft its white waters or hike to tis summits, this valley is all about big wilderness (Haywood et al. 2014: 313, cf. introduction to the Ötztal).

Presenting the Ötztal, an outdoor museum dedicated to prehistoric times and build up around the figure and history of Ötzi the ice man and the waterfall Stuibenfall as primary sights, this sense of wilderness is preserved and fortified. Additionally, references to water sport site Area 47 as "ultimate outdoor playground" (Haywood et al. 2014: 314) and skiing options further intensify the 'wild' impression that shall be evoked in the readers and also go in line with the image of the Tyrol as an outdoor activity paradise that has been identified above.

A second strategy to construct the Tyrol as the exotic Other that is worthy to be gazed upon is to present it as other time. Like van Gorp and Bénéker (2007) have identified, the construction of a destination as other time is on the one hand done via the photographs used in the guidebook, which shall be discussed in the section on visual analysis in this study.

On the other hand, however, the construction of a sense of other time can also be identified in the written destination descriptions in the Tyrol chapter. Places are being referred to as "story book Tyrol" (Haywood et al. 2014: 299, cf. introduction to The Zillertal) and "picture book stuff" (Haywood et al. 2014: 286, cf. introduction to Innsbruck; 310, cf.

introduction to Kufstein). The description of St. Anton am Arlberg even goes so far as to actually start the passage that introduces the village with a fairytale-like story:

Once upon a time St Anton was but a sleepy village, defined by the falling and melting of snow and the coming and going of cattle, until one day the locals beheld the virgin powder on their doorstep and discovered their happy-ever-after... (Haywood et al. 2014: 320).

Furthermore, the introductions to cities as well as numerous hotel descriptions refer to the historical roots of the places or buildings and hence also create a sense of taking their readers into other times:

Hall is a beautiful medieval town that grew fat on riches of salt in the 13th century. The winding lanes, punctuated by pastel-coloured townhouses and lantern-lit after dark, are made for aimless ambling (Haywood et al. 2014: 297, cf. introduction to Hall in Tirol).

[Schwaz] [...] was once, believe it or not, Austria's second-largest city after Vienna. Schwaz wielded clout in the Middle Ages when its eyes shone brightly with silver, past glory that you can relive by going underground to the show silver mine (Haywood et al. 2014: 298, cf. introduction to Schwaz).

Beneath the arcades, this atmospheric Altstadt hotel has played host to guests for 500 years, including a 13-year-old Mozart. With its wood-panneled parlours, antiques and twisting staircase, the hotel oozes history with every creaking beam (Haywood et al. 2014: 292, cf. description of Hotel Weisses Kreuz).

Ablaze with geraniums in summer, this rambling 500-year-old chalet has corridors full of family heirlooms, spacious rooms and an outside whirlpool (Haywood et al. 2014: 304, cf. description of Hotel Kramerwirt).

When reading the descriptions enlisted above, one will easily detect a sense of nostalgia and the tendency to romanticize the view on the Tyrol and its places and hotels. Readers might feel taken back in time and be charmed by the medieval image that is created. They are likely to imagine what making the described experience would be like, such as walking the lanes promoted in the text, climb the stairs that even Mozart ascended once, or dip into family secrets of their landlords. Doubtlessly, a high degree of fascination lies in history and the places where it is supposed to be found and offered to be relived. And the high tendency to emphasize the historical building style of the promoted hotels and their longevity might also convey a sense of reliability and continuity. In every case, the fact that the descriptions are made with a high reliance on historic nostalgia and romanticism allows us to draw the conclusion that LP authors and editors are convinced that it is this image of a bygone era tourists will want to read and that it is the kind of difference they want to experience when going on holiday. However, a huge problem arises with such a focus on the past: the authors risk to convey a static, unchangeable image and hinder a balanced view between history and modernity. This does not mean that there are no references to modern hotels or attractions, but a focus on a "rustic" (Haywood et

al. 2014: 309, cf. description of Restaurant Zur Tenne), “rural feel” (Haywood et al. 2014: 292, cf. description Camping Kranebitterhof) and the “old-world grandeur” cited above prevails. Similarly, a tendency to reduce Austria to its scenery and by doing so constructing a sense of “other place” works at the expense of other factors, such as cultural achievements or actually getting to know a different way of life by experiencing local culture.

The third point that can be made about the depiction of the Tyrol is that “other experiences” are created via the focus the chapter puts on the various outdoor activities the destination offers. Here, the importance of the various types of sports that has already been identified for the “Austria Outdoors” chapter above is mirrored in the chapter about the Tyrol: It predominantly is presented as a skiing mecca, and also as worthwhile destination for hiking and outdoor sports. Findings reveal that an image of the Tyrol as place for the daring sports fan is strongly promoted. The “Activities” sections make references to athletic entertainment in the chapter about the Tyrol. Summer as well as winter sports are promoted, and the sequence in which they are presented informs the reader which kind of sport is more prominent in the respective tourist destination (Haywood et al. 2014: inner cover page). To give a first example, after having established the numerous cultural sights Innsbruck has to offer, the “activities” description in the guidebook turns towards the sportive side of the Tyrol’s capital city and already addresses the courageous athletic allrounder:

Aside from skiing and walking, rafting, mountain biking, paragliding and bobsledding tempt the daring (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, cf. section Activities).
The section continues to outline what is meant by “tempt the daring” in the description of Innsbruck’s summer activities when presenting via ferrata trails that are “not for the faint-hearted” (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, cf. Innsbrucker Klettersteig) or “very steep, technically demanding [downhill] track[s]” (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, cf Nordkette Singletrail, emphasis authors’ own) that are “[a] magnet to hard-core downhill mountain bikers” (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, c.f Nordkette Singletrail).

Similar observations can be identified with regard to winter activities, where “boarders can pick up speed on the quarter-pipe, kickers and boxes at Nitro Skylinepark [...] while daring skiers ride the Hafelekar-Rinne” (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, cf. Winter Activities) or Innsbruck’s Olympic bobsled is presented as “800 m of pure hair-raising action” (Haywood et al. 2014: 291, cf. Olympic bobsled). However, despite these numerous references to athletic activities, Innsbruck is surely one destination of the chapter about the Tyrol where sports is not the focal point. The same can be concluded for the smaller towns of Hall in Tirol, Wattens, Schwaz, Kufstein, Stams, Ehrwald, Imst and Landeck. The space dedicated to the description of these places is rather small compared to the elaboration regarding sport-hot spots like the

Zillertal, Kitzbühel, St. Anton am Arlberg or the Paznauntal, where the general focus is put on the description and promotion of winter sports. Here, the same strategy to construct the Tyrol as place for the daring sportsman/woman was found and shall be illustrated in the following by providing the best examples.

For the Zillertal, the very first sentence of the activities section already sets the scene in terms of what the reader can expect, stating that “[a]drenalin-based activities include rafting, rock climbing, paragliding and cycling” (Haywood et al. 2014: 299, cf. Activities). But the most indicative of the findings is probably the one referring to the famous Harakiri slope:

With a 78% gradient, the Harakiri is Austria’s steepest piste. This is half diving, half carving; a heart-stopping, hell-for-leather descent that leaves even accomplished skiers quaking in their ski boots. Only superfit, experienced skiers with perfect (think Bond) body control should consider tackling this monster of a run (Haywood et al. 2014: 303, cf. the Harakiri)

By referring to the Zillertal as a place for adrenalin hunters, expert skiers, “serious mountain bikers” (Haywood et al. 2014: 304, cf. cycling the Zillertal), the image of the Tyrol as sports Eldorado is preserved and fortified. The description of Kitzbühel’s Streif slope is very similar to the one of the Harakiri:

The mind-boggingly sheer, breathtakingly fast Streif downhill course lures hard-core skiers to Kitzbühel – even experts feel their hearts do somersaults on the Mausefalle, a notoriously steep section with an 85% gradient (Haywood et al. 2014: 307, cf. Winter Sports).

Again, a picture of the Tyrol as a place for top fit outdoor experts is drawn. However, the Harakiri seems to lose its reputation as Austria’s steepest piste when reading the part about the Mausefalle just a few pages later. The section about Kitzbühel also features a short digression into the Tyrol’s “legendary skiing” (Haywood et al. 2014: 308) which observes that “even the tiniest speck of an alpine village has its own ski school and lift, so the question is not *if* but *how* you ski” (Haywood et al. 2014: 308). This statement is highly generalizing and can easily be falsified: as I myself was born in a small village in western Tyrol, namely Zams, my personal experience can serve as means to refute the claim the authors of LP Austria make. In line with the statement above, the tiny village of Zams that counted a bit more than 3000 inhabitants in 2014 (municipality of Zams [online]) has its own funicular going up the Krahberg, a mountain that is even featured in LP Austria (Haywood et al. 2014: 316, cf. description Landeck). From the description of the city of Landeck, one might be tempted to conclude that the valley station directly starts in the city. The fact that it is actually located in Zams, a five km ride from Landeck, is not mentioned in LP Austria. This small example points out that the quote indicated above that each and every municipality in the Tyrol has a proper ski lift cannot hold.

Returning to the analysis of the construction of the Tyrol as sports mecca, St. Anton am Arlberg and Ischgl are further cases in point. St. Anton is presented as the “cradle of skiing” (Haywood et al. 2014: 319, cf. introduction to Arlberg Region), and the fairytale like introduction about the birth of this hyped winter sport resort has already been discussed above. In relation our focus on the representation of the Tyrol as winter sport paradise for the braves, numerous instances promoting this view can be found:

It's [Arlrock, a leisure center] also the home base of H2o Adventure [...], offering adrenalin-based activities from rafting on the Sanna River to canyoning, ziplining and downhill mountain biking (Haywood et al. 2014: 320, cf. description Arlrock).

St Anton is the Zenith of Austria's alpine skiing [...] The terrain is vast, covering 280 km of slopes, and the skiing challenging, with fantastic backcountry opportunities and exhilarating descents including the Kandahar run on Galzig. Cable cars ascend to Valluga (2811m), from where experts can go off-piste all the way to Lech (with a ski guide only) (Haywood et al. 2014: 320, cf. Winter Activities).

The entrance on Ischgl, on the other hand, is not only focused on skilled skiers, but the way the passage is formulated will certainly appeal to more experienced skiers reading it:

Suited to all except absolute beginners, the resort has great intermediate runs around Idalp, tough black descents at Greitspitz and Paznauner Taya, and plenty of off-piste powder to challenge experts (Haywood et al. 2014: 318, cf. Activities).

Travellers with beginner children who only are about to learn how to ski will most probably not feel encouraged to pass their winter holiday in Ischgl when reading the passage indicated above. However, when reading the entire “The Paznauntal” entry (Haywood et al. 2014: 318f), it becomes obvious that the authors probably had a completely different target group in mind when writing this passage, which brings us to the final point that shall be made about the construction of the Other in the chapter about the Tyrol. First hints at the topic we are dealing with can already be discovered when we return to the “Legendary Skiing” passage featured in the section on Kitzbühel:

The unrivalled après ski king is, of course, St Anton am Arlberg, where barns like Mooserwirt and Heustadl whip throngs into a frenzy with beer and live music. Rivals to the crown include wild child Ischgl, dubbed the Ibiza of the Alps, with its go-go dancing bars, top DJs and clubs like Pacha. The pubs and igloo bars in Mayrhofen are buoyed by party-loving boarders, particularly during the Snowbobming festival in April (Haywood et al. 2014: 308, cf. Legendary Skiing).

The promoting, even laudatory tone of this passage evokes the impression that it is not exclusively skiing the authors want the Tyrol known to be famous for, but also après ski plays a vital role in it. The fact that the suggestions for après ski options by far outweigh accommodation advices in St Anton as well as Ischgl (St Anton: 4 hotel/9 après ski options; Ischgl: 2 hotel/6 après ski options) are further proof for this claim. A tone that justifies and

supports après ski can also be traced in the other relevant winter sport destinations presented in the Tyrol chapter:

[T]he après ski is the hottest this side of the Tyrolean Alps (Haywood et al. 2014: 303, cf. description Mayrhofen).

Kitzbühel rocks with fun-seeking skiers during the winter season; join them if you can muster up the energy after a day on the slopes (Haywood et al. 2014: 308, cf. Drinking & Nightlife).

Furthermore, the fact that the guidebook considers it important to give instructions as on what to say when toasting in Austria in the “Etiquette” section of the “Plan your trip” section (Haywood et al. 2014: 23) has already been outlined above. Hence, it seems that one further strategy of the authors of LP Austria is to create a sense of “other experience” by promoting a winter holiday experience that is invariably tied to excessive partying and drinking. Such a behavior is certainly something most readers of the guidebook will not be able to show during their every-day work life filled with duties and tasks. Even though local Others and their participation in such après ski happenings are not explicitly mentioned in the text and it is likely that the partying tourists will form an imagined community of their own, the locals again functioning as service providers, the Tyrol is still the location where such a normally not tolerated behavior can take place and hence allows us to draw conclusions about the wider implications for tourism in the Tyrol. For instance, one could argue that such a predominant focus on the Tyrol for daring winter or summer sport fans and the excessive focus on boisterous drinking habits excludes families from the target audience. They will most likely not be interesting in spending all of their holiday partying and, even if there are offers for children in the promoted places, LP Austria is not where they find information on them. Likewise, predominantly promoting action-laden (extreme) sports in summer is not family friendly either and might prevent calmer tourists that mainly look for relaxation during their holiday from choosing to stay in the Tyrol. Of course one could argue that the independent traveler, who is the designated addressee of LP, will require precisely the activities and experiences promoted in LP Austria. However, the claim LP Austria makes through the communication in their chapter about the Tyrol that the vast majority – and also of youngish independent travelers in their 20s – first and foremost aims at going to extremes and drink at night is highly questionable. The result of such a created image in fact is a considerably limited and belittled target audience, a circumstance one would think the world’s largest guidebook publisher would seek to avoid.

Having established the ways in which LP Austria constructs the destination as Other worthy to be visited, we shall now focus our attention on the guidebook and its function in the

touristic process and how the numerous aspects identified by other researchers (Lisle 2008; Bhattacharyya 1997) are represented in our particular sample texts.

3.3 The guidebook as mediator in LP Austria

As we have already discussed in the previous chapter, the consequences a certain way of representing the Other in a text devised by the tourism industry may have considerable consequences. Certain featured topics, the writing style of a guidebook and also its general reputation on the guidebook market may attract a specific target group. In the theoretical reading we have already identified the power that lies in LP as the world's largest guidebook publisher. What then, do they consider the most important information and sights of Austria in general and the Tyrol in particular that they provide their readership with and that eventually will shape their perception about the nation? This chapter shall shed light on this question.

The first aspect that has to be mentioned in regard to the shaping of the idea of what Austria in general and the Tyrol in particular look like is the spatial selectivity of LP. This process of choice already becomes glaringly obvious when looking at the very first map featured in LP Austria that is provided at the beginning of the guidebook. Austria officially has 8 provinces: Vorarlberg, the Tyrol, Salzburg, Carinthia, Styria, Upper and Lower Austria, Vienna and the Burgenland (Austria.info [online]). However, if we now compare this division to the representation in LP, we discover that the distinctions they draw deviate from the official borders: First, Tyrol and Vorarlberg are presented as one region (the graphic even lacks the marking for the national border between Tyrol and Vorarlberg). Second, the Salzkammergut region is explicitly mentioned on the map even though it is no province of its own but forms part of Salzburg, Upper Austria and Styria. Thirdly, in line with the Tyrol/Vorarlberg merger, Lower Austria & Burgenland are presented as one region, again lacking province borders (Haywood et al. 2014: 1). If one subsequently takes a closer look at the table of contents, the indications of the map are mirrored in the blue general chapter headings. At least there are separately indicated chapters dedicated to the regions. However, the space dedicated to them varies considerably: the chapter about Lower Austria comprises 24 pages compared to the Burgenland that is only covered on 9 pages. Similarly, much more space is dedicated to the Tyrol (38 pages) than to Vorarlberg (15 pages) (Haywood et al. 2014: 4f). The same lack of geographical accuracy can also be identified when looking at the more detailed maps of the provinces provided before the introduction to the respective chapter: for the Tyrol, it are predominantly the villages and towns that are subsequently described in the chapter that are

given on the map (Haywood et al. 2014: 285). The Paznauntal, for instance, features the villages Galtür, Ischgl and Kappl. However, the very first village that also forms part of the valley, namely See, is not included on the map. Even more exclusionary, the Stubaital is only explicitly mentioned for a reference to the Stubai glacier in the Tyrol chapter. Neither are villages belonging to the valley featured on the map nor do they find representations in the text describing the Tyrol. So, what does this spatial selectivity employed in LP Austria mean for our analysis? Debbie Lisle's (2008: 163) observation that guidebooks function as "agents of blindness" in relation to stereotypical depictions (cf. theoretical reading p. 9) obviously can also be transferred to the spatial selectivity the guidebook employs: by leaving blind spots on the maps, the reader's perception certainly is affected and may lead to the impression that other places that are excluded from the map and/or the textual representation are of minor importance. This is particularly striking in spite of the fact that the "country profile" (Lisle 2008: 163, cf. theoretical reading p. 10), – or in our case one would more likely talk about a "province profile" – that is devised for the Tyrol is one of a skiing paradise, as has been extensively discussed in the previous section. It is therefore remarkable that one of the Tyrol's biggest and most famous skiing areas (tyrol.com [online]) is excluded from the representation in LP Austria: Serfaus-Fiss-Ladis is not even briefly mentioned in the LP guidebook. Reasons for this exclusion can easily be found: The ski region presents itself as destination with a special focus on families with children, something that would not really match the après ski-affine image that is promoted and communicated in LP Austria and has been discussed in the preceding chapter. Furthermore, Serfaus-Fiss-Ladis is a destination where predominantly German, Swiss and Dutch tourists spend their winter holiday (Der Standard [online]; my own working experience at Fiss-Ladis ski school tells me about the Dutch guests). Therefore, LP's authors and editors might have decided to exclude the destinations from the guidebook. In every case the fact that certain regions are included in the guidebook representation at the cost of others is proof for the spatial selectivity of a guidebook. Tourists reading LP Austria might therefore exclusively be drawn to the destinations advertised in the text and a kind of herd tourism may arise. At the beginning of the guidebook the editors point to the fact that "[a]ll reviews are ordered in our author's preference, starting with their most preferred option" (Haywood et al. 2014: inner cover page). Hence, Serfaus-Fiss-Ladis and other excluded destinations might simply have been excluded from the guidebook because the authors did not have enough time to go there or did not regard the places as tourist-worthy. Or, on a larger scale, editors might have taken overnight stay statistics into consideration and identified the destinations that are most frequently visited by English speaking tourist and hence have decided which destinations to include and which to

leave out. We can therefore safely say that the destination choices tourists will make based on the LP guidebook are restricted ones. English newspapers definitely are in accordance with the destinations that have been selected by the authors and editors of LP Austria (e.g. The Telegraph [online]). Yet the disadvantageous side of such a spatial selectiveness should not be forgotten: due to its exclusion from the LP itinerary, tourists will most likely not bother to stop at See im Paznauntal in the valley or try out the slopes and instead continue their pilgrimage to the highly promoted Ischgl (or maybe to the also briefly mentioned options Kappl and Galtür [Haywood et al. 2014: 318]). Hence, a smaller destination like See will lose its potential customer to its pseudo-luxurious neighbor even though lodging conditions might be more reasonable, a factor that may well be of relevance for the independent traveler. Furthermore, prospective Austria tourists might have informed themselves elsewhere and find that the destination they are planning to visit is not featured in LP Austria. Hence, they will not buy the guidebook and look for another source that features different localities. In every case the choices made by LP's authors and editors to predominantly include the well-known bigger ski resorts and locations in their guidebook is likely to influence a broad audience and lead them to blindly follow the dogma of their pocketed tourguide and this in turn is likely to contribute to the economic growth of those destinations that anyway are already wealthy. The smaller destinations the travelers encounter en route to the tourist meccas might be admired for their beauty from a car window perspective, but are likely to be disregarded, let alone visited, because they were not promoted as being tourist-worthy in touristic texts like the LP guidebook. Therefore, one could argue that the included and excluded destinations in LP Austria do not only reflect author's and editors' choice, they certainly also mirror the power relations between respective destinations. The reputation of the bigger resorts is reified while the smaller ones are forced to maintain their marginalized position and are denied the chance to prove that they do have unique qualities in their own right.

A further aspect that has been analyzed in this study are the roles Bhattacharyya (1997) identified for the guidebook in the touristic process. Firstly, in terms of instrumental leadership, as in LP's guide to India, LP Austria features sections like "Need to Know" (Haywood et al. 2014: 20-22) With information on safety numbers, how to get there and around and money exchange. Here, a more detailed remark must be made about the map of Austria provided on the very first page of the "Need to Know" chapter in the "Plan your trip section (Haywood et al. 2014: 20). The map is entitled "When to go" and includes a color scale that ranges from "Mild to hot summers, cold winters" (darkest shade of blue) to "Cold climate" (white color) (Haywood et al. 2014: 20). Interestingly, the parts of the Tyrol that are located in the west of

Innsbruck are colored in white, i.e. denoted as cold climate. Reading that the climate is cold in the Tyrol will probably make winter tourists content, but people who are planning to visit Austria in the summer will probably prefer other destinations that are presented as having “mild to hot summers” over the province. The map also provides information on the various seasons and when visiting the various regions is best. Just as through spatial selectivity that has been discussed above, by providing suggestions as when to visit a destination, masses of tourists are directed. For instance, if all of them read that “Salzburg is busiest in July and August for the Salzburg Festival” (Haywood et al. 2014) and then read the advice to GO there in exactly that time, they will certainly not reach the goal of independent tourism to achieve “freedom from the masses” (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1506, cf. theoretical reading p. 1) but all end up there at the same time. Likewise, if people read this information and try to be wise and choose a different month to go to Salzburg, numerous other persons will have had the same idea and masses may shift but eventually escaping them is not possible as “The idea of ‘getting away from it all’ is a normalizing discourse underpinned by a distinctive set of discursive forms” (Caruana & Crane 2011: 1512) the readers of LP Austria are doomed to reproduce as they can only be as free as their predigested guidebook choices let them be.

Secondly, with regard to interactional mediation, the chapter “First Time Austria” in the section “Plan Your Trip” has to be mentioned (Haywood et al. 2014: 22-23). In the paragraphs entitled “Tipping” and the already mentioned “Etiquette” passage, the prospective tourists are instructed how to interact with the local Other and their hosts. We have already discussed the somewhat challenging suggestion to use the formal *Sie* in interactions with locals in the previous chapter. A further chapter giving advice on how to interact with the locals is “Eat & Drink Like a Local” (Haywood et al. 2014: 46-51). In this chapter, essential knowledge on the topic of drinking is presented to the reader, such as the varying beer sizes and types (Haywood et al. 2014: 47) or how to behave when drinking in a group and toasting to each other – information that the *après ski*-loving persona that is promoted in LP Austria will surely need. However, as we have already identified above, the local other as person is not predominantly addressed in LP Austria. Instead, the focus is put on the interaction between the tourist and the scenery that is mediated via the featured discourse in LP Austria. In this communicative mediation, the authors of LP show clear intention to present the tourists as the beneficiary in this relationship. As we have established above, the unitary authorial voice in LP Austria may depict the scenery in destinations such as the Ötztal as rough and wild – but still: it is the tourist that takes a sublime position as opposed to the scenery that simply has to be there, impress and offer the possibilities to fulfill the tourists’ desire for leisure and entertainment. This already

becomes obvious in the introduction to LP Austria when reading the paragraph entitled “Landscapes & Outdoors”:

Travel in Austria is often a meandering journey through deeply carved valleys, along roads and railways cut improbably into the rocky flanks of mountains, and around picturesque lakes. But often the landscape is simply too rugged for road or rail: hiking and mountain biking is then the best ways to reach isolated alpine meadows. Sometimes cable cars or dizzying chair-lifts offer an alternative way up, and come winter they bundle skiers and snowboarders onto the slopes (Haywood et al. 2014: 4).

In this passage the conquest of the scenery is presented as challenging hardship. However, the obstacles in form of “too rugged” roads are overcome by the tourist, and if not with their own physical strength, then there will be a lift to aid in beating the wild and rough opponent, i.e. the scenery. What is absent from this depiction that presents the tourist as superior to the rough scenery is the local Other. Obviously, the roads must have been not too steep for them and they have managed to build the roads and chair-lifts that the tourist today is able to use. In every case, all the precautions have been taken to eventually enable the tourist to reach his destination and enjoy the numerous experiences and activities it has to offer. What counts is that he arrives on top of the mountain, be it through his own efforts or with technical support. Additionally, a further, even more important aspect is totally disregarded in such manifold representations of the Austrian scenery in LP Austria: the effects and consequences the bundling chair-lifts may have for nature. Throughout the guidebook Austria is presented as exotic other place that is particularly worth visiting for its awe-inspiring scenery. However, the consequences mass tourism may have on the environment are kept from the tourist’s mind and he or she is supported to let Austria “elevate, invigorate and amaze [him or her]” (Haywood et al. 2014: 31). The image of the Tyrol as destination for the eager snow lover and après skier entirely disregards the impact the excessive winter tourism may have for the province’s environment. And also the accounts on the more sustainable practice of hiking (one at least *could* do without using lifts) in summer frequently involve references to the alleviated faster way of using technical aids:

It's a four-hour (14 km) hike one way, or a speedy cable car-ride. A road also twists up to the mountain (Haywood et al. 2014: 306, cf. Alpine Flower Garden).

It's 455 steps or a two-minute funicular ride to the 50m-high viewing platform (Haywood et al. 2014: 290, cf. Bergisel).

In line with previous findings, the texts are formulated in a way that evokes the feeling that everything is done to fulfill the tourist’s every need, as for instance in the following quote from the info box on “Cycling the Zillertal” (Haywood et al. 2014: 304) shows:

You can access many of the high-altitude and downhill routes using the cable cars in the valley, and local trains will transport your bike for free.

Though not always mentioned explicitly, LP's strategy to present the Tyrol as one huge outdoor Eldorado, be it for summer or winter activities, implicitly justifies the extensive use of ski lifts. In the chapter itself there is no reference at all to the consequences such actions may have for the environment. In spite of this practice employed by LP, the comment they actually make on sustainability occurs appears rather half-hearted: they dedicate 1.5 pages at the very end of the third section "Understand Austria" (Haywood et al. 2014: 341-380) to the topic. First, Austrians are depicted as being environmentally conscious and caring about nature:

Austrians are, by and large, a green and nature-loving lot. Recently, everyone from top hoteliers in St Anton to farmers in Salzburgerland has been polishing their eco credentials by promoting recycling and solar power, clean energy and public transport (Haywood et al. 2014: 379).

Viewed from a critical perspective, this comment might also evoke the impression that all the precautions for sustainability have been taken by the local Other and the tourists coming to Austria need not further waver over this aspect. Hence, tourist operators in Austria are as much relieved from guilt as the tourists themselves, as the impression arises that all is already being done to protect the environment. This impression is subsequently further reified when turning the page and reading the info box on "Eco Snow" (Haywood et al. 2014: 380), where the measures of the various ski resorts to increase sustainability are enlisted. As a last step, a final comment on skiing is given:

Austria's highly lucrative ski industry is a double-edged sword. On the one hand, resorts face mounting pressure to develop and build higher up on the peaks to survive; on the other, their very survival is threatened by global warming. For many years, ski resorts have not done the planet many favours: mechanically grading pistes disturbs wildlife and causes erosion, artificial snow affects native flora and fauna, and trucking in snow increases emissions. However, many Austrian resorts now realise that they are walking a thin tightrope and are mitigating their environmental impact with renewable hydroelectric power, biological wastewater treatment and ecological buildings (Haywood et al. 2014: 380).

This comment very much recalls the findings of Debbie Lisle (2008) on Burma, where the decision whether to actually visit the corruption-ridden country was ultimately presented as the tourist's free choice, but, simultaneously, the preceding discourse regarding the destination promoted traveling there implicitly (Lisle 2008: 168). Likewise, in spite of the excessive promotion of the Tyrol as a winter sport highlight, LP's above mentioned attempt to wash their hands clean does not balance the implicit message that is conveyed through the discourse featured in LP.

The destination image of the Tyrol as an outdoor paradise has extensively been discussed in the previous chapter on Othering and also in this chapter. We also already identified that it is LP's strategy to put a considerable emphasis on the scenery in order to depict the Tyrol as tourist-worthy. This goes in line with Bhattacharyya's (1997: 379) observations for

India, where the “natural world” was one of the dominant featured categories with regard to sight selection in the LP guidebook. “Historical sites” are also dominant categories featured in LP Austria, as the extensive references to historical facts in the chapter introductions and accommodation descriptions discussed above exemplify. The category of “social life” Bhattacharyya (1997: 380) identified can be traced when reading the numerous references to “Festivals & Events” (e.g. the Vierschanzentournee in Innsbruck [Haywood et al. 2014: 292], the Snowbombing in the Zillertal [Haywood et al. 2014: 305] or the Hahnenkammrennen in Kitzbühel [Haywood et al. 2014: 308]). when and the tourist’s perception of the destination is shaped by the practices of destination and sight selection that is done by the LP authors and editors. And of course valuation, for instance regarding other people’s states of minds, is presented as matter-of-factly and undisputable:

[...] [T]he cemetery at the bottom has undoubtedly made a few ski-jumping pros quiver in their boots (Haywood et al. 2014: 290, cf. Bergisel).

One has to question this statement. How would the authors of LP know what is going on in the minds of ski-jumping pros? Similarly, it is questionable how they should know what is going on in the minds of locals when selecting the cafès they visit:

Katzung attracts a faithful local following for its laid-back vibe, Goldenes Dachl-facing terrace and homemade cakes and ice cream (Haywood et al. 2014: 293f, cf. Café Katzung).

Bhattacharyya’s (1997: 381) observation for the statements in LP India can certainly be transferred to the representation in the guidebook about Austria: “No argument is provided to justify either the cognitive or the valuative conclusion; the interpretation appears self-evident and beyond question”.

A final point has to be made about the topics the guidebook about Austria does not address. In line with Bhattacharyya’s (1997: 387f) findings about India, a lack of inclusion with regard to ordinary daily life can also be traced in LP Austria. The previously mentioned missing references to local people is one example for this, there is no information on the way society is organized in the nation or what the current achievements of this society are. We have already identified that the half-page-spanning introduction on the history of the Tyrol lacks accounts of the more recent historical events. And even in the references to historically important events that actually are featured in the passage, 100-year-gaps are the norm and the tourists are not informed about what life was like for aristocracy, let alone the peasantry, in these blank periods. The 2-page contribution on “Austria Today” (Haywood et al. 2014: 342f) mainly deals with Austria’s politics and provides brief information on population, the belief systems and facts like GDP or unemployment rates. However, no further information on Austria’s economy is provided. Furthermore, no information regarding “normative cultural patterns” (Bhattacharyya

1997: 387) is included. This might be attributed to the lack of cultural difference between the guidebook publishers and their readers. There are no such cultural differences between English speaking tourists and Austrians as the example of the polluted left hand or shoe removal Bhattacharyya (1997: 387) provides for India. Finally, with regard to contemporary sociocultural developments, references to architecture, music and Austria's coffee house culture are made. However, other art forms like literature or acting are excluded from the picture. Furthermore, the accounts that actually find mentioning in LP Austria are rather past-oriented. Much more space is dedicated to the past artistic achievements than to present day culture. Additionally, as we will find out in the upcoming chapter, the cultural aspects that are mentioned are highly influenced by existing stereotypes about Austria, and hence a very specific, expectation-driven picture about the nation is created.

3.4 Stereotype usage in LP Austria

The first point that has to be made about stereotyping in LP Austria is that noticeably few space LP dedicates to explicit formulations about "How Austrians/Tyrolean are". In fact, the text passages read for the purpose of the present analysis only included two instances where such a formulation was chosen. One of them is the above mentioned statement that Austrians are "by and large a green and nature-loving lot" (Haywood et al. 2014: 379) and how the vast majority of the inhabitants strive to protect their environment. The statement can be regarded as evidence for the core-feature about the Tyrolean as being "*heimatverbunden* (home-loving)" Pümpel-Mader (199: 259-261, cf. theoretical reading p. 24) identified in her article. Furthermore, in the previous section we have identified the exonerating function the statement has in the context of sustainability and the justification of skiing in the Austrian Alps and that by presenting Austrians as environmentally conscious the tourist is freed from his guilt of engaging in the touristic process. Hence, one could argue that in this case a stereotype about the Tyrol and consequently also Austria as a whole nation has been used for a self-enhancing purpose of the tourist (Stangor & Schaller 1996: 23, cf. theoretical reading p. 16). The second example for a direct reference to the constitution of Austrians refers to a completely different topic – namely their courtesy – and was found in the "First Time Austria" chapter in the "Plan Your Trip" section:

Austrians are fairly formal and use irony to alleviate social rules and constraints rather than debunk or break them obviously (Haywood et al. 2014: 23)

By describing Austrians as being capable of using irony in order to alter situations in their favor, LP does not go in line with the stereotype of cognitive inferiority that has been identified as

autostereotype about Tyroleans by Pümpel-Mader (1999: 259–261, cf. theoretical reading p. 23f) and as heterostereotype about Austrians in Bruckmüller (1996: 118). However, as we will discover below, not all the stereotypes used in LP can be interpreted as a favorable perception of Austrians/Tyroleans.

Even though the LP's explicit references the constitution of Austrians are limited, the topics the guidebook features implicitly mirror stereotypes about Austria and the Tyrol that have been pointed out in the theoretical reading. First and foremost, the core-topic of the guidebook, the fact that its discourse excessively presents the scenery as *the* reason to visit Austria, is valid proof of the “*weltweit eingeführtes Tirolkonzept-Merkmal*” (Pümpel-Mader 2009: 518, cf. theoretical reading p. 26) “mountains” that Pümpel-Mader identified in her research. The autostereotype “beautiful landscapes” was also featured in Bruckmüller's (1996: 87, referring to Reiterer et al. 1988) research about Austria. Apart from the manifold in-text references to Austria's scenery, the guidebook even dedicates a separate chapter to “The Austrian Alps” in the section “Understand Austria” (Haywood et al. 2014: 376-380). The introduction serves as a good example of the enhancing function the use of this stereotype has for the purpose of promoting Austria as tourist-worthy:

For many people, Austria is the Alps and no wonder. After all, these are the alpine pastures where Julie Andrews made her twirling debut in *The Sound of Music*; the mountains that inspired Mozart's symphonies; the slopes where Hannes Schneider revolutionized downhill skiing with his Arlberg technique. Olympic legends, Hollywood blockbusters and mountaineering marvels have been made and born here for decades (Haywood et al. 2014: 376).

Similarly, the ranking featured at the very beginning of the guidebook listing “Austria's Top 23” activities (Haywood et al. 2014: 8) makes use of stereotypical references with regard to Austria's scenery. Two of them are particularly iconic for the stereotypical depiction of Austria as outdoor paradise and perfectly suit the purpose of our analysis, namely number 3 “Skiing” and number 7 “Outdoor Adventure in Tyrol” and shall be listed here:

Skiing

In a country where three-year-olds can snowplough, 70-year-olds still slalom and the tiniest village has its own lift system, skiing is more than just a sport – it's a way of life. Why? Just look around you. There's St Anton am Arlberg for off-piste and après ski, Mayrhofen for freestyle boarding and its epic Harakiri, Kitzbühel for its perfect mix – the scope is limitless and the terrain fantastic. Cross-country or back-country, downhill or glacier, whatever your ski style, Austria has a piste with your name on it (Haywood et al. 2014: 10).

Outdoor Adventure in Tyrol

Anywhere where there's foaming water, a tall mountain or a sheer ravine, there are heart-pumping outdoor escapades in Austria. For a summertime buzz, you can't beat

throwing yourself down raging rivers such as the Inn and Sanna in Tyrol, Austria's rafting mecca. Or strap into your harness and be blown away by the alpine scenery paragliding in the Zillertal. Cyclists use the cable-car network to access the many high altitude and down-hill routes (Haywood et al. 2014: 12).

Both quotes above serve as further evidence of the fact that the Tyrol is predominantly associated with the mountain stereotype about Austria, the first one only mentioning Tyrolean destinations with regard to skiing even though there are other provinces that also offer big skiing areas, and the second explicitly focusing on the Tyrol as outdoor sports paradise. Hence, the Alps are a stereotypical feature that is invariably tied to the image LP conveys about Austria. In relation to the mountains and hiking, a further reference is made to Austrians:

Der Berg ruft (the mountain calls) is what Austrians say as they gallivant off to the hills at the weekend, and what shopkeepers post on closed doors in summer. And what more excuse do you need?

For Austrians, *Wandern* (walking) is not a sport, it's second nature. Kids frolicking in alpine pastures, nuns Nordic-walking in the hills, superfit 70-somethings trekking over windswept 2000m passes – such universal wanderlust is bound to rub off on you sooner or later (Haywood et al. 2014: 36).

Just like in the quote on skiing above, this stereotypical reference presents the information about Austrians in a very generalizing way. Having been a Tyrolean child at one point in my life, I can safely say that I have not been able to snowplough when I was 3 years old and have never been particularly fond of hiking in summer, and it is safe to assume that there are children in the Tyrol feeling the same way. However, they are entirely disregarded in the quotes above and instead the comments make use of a generalizing, all-embracing tone. The purpose of such a formulation can easily be identified: it perfectly fits the image of Austria as an outdoor paradise that the authors of LP strive to convey in order to promote the destination and eventually also the guidebook that the information is taken from.

When investigating the other general chapters about Austria, one can easily identify numerous other stereotypes that the reviewed literature in the theoretical reading revealed. For instance, the "Welcome to Austria" chapter in the guidebook provides the reader with four brief paragraphs on "Culture in Many Disguises", "Architecture", "Landscapes & the Outdoors" and "Food & Wine Experiences" (Haywood et al. 2014: 4) and the descriptions about art masterpieces, historical as well as contemporary architecture and the already quoted outdoor adventures awaiting the prospective visitors are very much in line with the stereotypes "art treasures" and "beautiful landscapes"/"covered with mountain chains" that have been identified by Bruckmüller (1996: 87, referring to Reiterer et al. 1988, theoretical reading p. 20). The subsequently following presentation of "Austria's Top 23" (Haywood et al. 2014: 8-19) also focuses very much on the stereotypes "beautiful landscapes" (No. 1: Großglockner Road; No.

6: The Wachau; No 7: Outdoor Adventure in Tyrol; No 9: Hiking the Pinzgauer Spaziergang; No 14: Eisriesenwelt; No 16: Lakes of the Salzkammergut; No 17: Krimmler Wasserfälle), “Art treasures” (No. 2: Imperial Places of Vienna; No 11: Museumsquartier; No. 12: Stift Melk; No 15: Admont’s Benedictive Abbey), “classical music” (Bruckmüller 1996: 115, theoretical reading p. 22) (No. 13: Salzburg Festival), “importance of capital cities” (Bruckmüller 1996: 97, theoretical reading p. 20) (No. 18: Graz; No. 21: Mozart’s Salzburg; No. 22: Innsbruck) and “coffee house culture” (Bruckmüller 1996: 21, theoretical reading p. 21) (No. 10 Café Culture in Vienna). As the primary purpose of this ranking is to advertise Austria, the descriptions make use of an embellishing writing style. This shall be exemplified with some examples regarding the “beautiful landscape” stereotype:

And what scenery! Snowcapped mountains, plunging waterfalls and lakes scattered like gemstones are just the build-up to Grossglockner (3798m), Austria’s highest peak, and the Pasterze Glacier (Haywood et al. 2014: 8, cf. No 1 Grossglockner Road).

When Strauss composed ‘The Blue Danube’, he surely had the Wachau in mind. Granted Unesco World Heritage status for its natural and cultural beauty, this stretch of the Danube Valley waltzes you through landscapes terraced vineyards, forested slopes and apricot orchards (Haywood et al. 2014: 11, cf. No. 6: The Wachau).

Locals tell you that the best – no, no, the only – way to see the Austrian Alps is on foot. And they’re right. Here a peerless network of trails and alpine huts brings you that bit closer to nature (Haywood et al. 2014: 13, cf. Hiking the Pinzgauer Spaziergang).

Quote one and three focus very much on the scenery topic that has been discussed in detail in preceding sections and quote two even combines the stereotypes “beautiful landscape” and “classical music” Austria is known for in the world. It is clear that promotional texts will always focus on the positive aspects about the product that is promoted. However, by predominantly focusing on stereotypical information, the reader’s mind is directed to a certain way of perceiving and seeing Austria, and, should the information provided in the guidebook be taken too seriously, which sometimes is feared by LP’s authors themselves (Iaquinto 2011: 711, cf. theoretical reading p. 11), cause disappointment in them should a promoted site fail to meet the tourists’ expectations.

The “Understand Austria” section at the very end of the guidebook shows a similar picture as the opening passages: for the authors and editors of LP, “understanding” Austria obviously means to be informed about stereotypical facts. A first glance at the table of contents of the “Understanding Austria” section provided at its introductory page already indicates references to the stereotypes we have identified above: Apart from a brief two-pages-account on “Austria Today” (Haywood et al. 2014: 341), the section also refers to “History”, “Architecture”, “Visual Arts & Music”, “Kaffeehäuser – Austria’s Living Rooms” and the

formerly discussed “The Austrian Alps”. When examining the respective chapters more closely, a continuous recourse on stereotypes can be detected. First, the nearly exclusive focus of “Austria Today” is Austria’s politics and it is argued that “what goes for the natural landscape cannot really be said of politics, which is among Europe’s least spectacular” (Haywood et al. 2014: 342). Hence, the stereotype of Austria’s “lack of inner-national conflicts” (Reiterer et al. 1988, quoted in Bruckmüller 1996: 87, cf. theoretical reading p. 21) is echoed in this passage. The text then continues to outline Austria’s political landscape and only briefly mentions the economic crisis and that it did not have major effects on Austria. A further info box provides recommendations for books about Austria and Austrian films and some references to demographic data and population are made (Haywood et al. 2014: 343f). The questions that arises when considering the title of this chapter is whether it is sufficient to merely present political and demographic information as describing “Austria Today”. The introduction to the chapter may announce that “Austria has one of the world’s highest standards of living” (Haywood et al 2014: 341) in the description accompanying the chapter heading, but does not refer to this fact in the subsequent passage. Moving on to the history chapter in the section, a highly selective focus on major historical facts has to be recognized in the text. Similar to the formerly mentioned history that is outlined in the introductory passage to the Tyrol, a timeline that omits considerable time spans (e.g. the very first entry about the 30.000 year old Venus of Galgenberg is followed by a comment on Ötzi the ice man dated 3300 BC) and hence is proof for LP’s temporal selectivity. In the historical accounts themselves, the attention that is given to somewhat awkward information is definitely worth mentioning. For instance, the info box about Ötzi the ice man informs the reader about the request of women to be inseminated with the mummy’s sperm, a fact that may be funny but surely does not have any historical relevance. The passage then continues by stating that “Ötzi was relinquished to the Italians to become the centerpiece of a museum in Bolzano in 1998” (Haywood et al. 2014: 345). Interestingly, no further remarks are made about the long discussion regarding the reward for Ötzi’s discovery between the German finder-couple and the Italian government (Der Standard [online]) are made, information that would seem more informative than how many women wanted to have children from a man that is over 5000 years old. Similarly, the remarks about the Habsburg empire informs the reader that “Maria Theresia’s fourth child, Joseph II, weighed a daunting 7 kg at birth” (Haywood et al. 2014: 350) or that “although Maria Theresia is famous for her many enlightened reforms, she was remarkably prudish for a family that had married and bred its way to power” (Haywood et al. 2014: 351). Here, the authors care more about mentioning how the empress made Casanova leave the city due to his boisterous affairs with women and

how she suffered due to her husband's infidelity than focusing the reader's attention on her political achievements, as for instance the educational reform that was initiated by her (Bildungsministerium [online]). The impression that arises is that LP's authors try to make history more interesting through these entertaining side remarks and keep the tourists reading. It almost seems like an attempt to provide a comic relief when, after the passage in the history chapter that is dedicated to the Holocaust, an info box entitled "Cuckoo clock stability" (Haywood et al. 2014: 359) notes the fact that an utterance in the famous Austrian movie "The Third Man" wrongly assigns the invention of the cuckoo clock to Switzerland instead of Germany. The intentions of the provided information may be well-meant, but one cannot but feel a slight sense of inappropriateness when reading it.

A further remark has to be made about the immediacy of the provided stereotypical information. When reading the section's paragraphs on visual arts and music (Haywood et al. 2014: 373), they definitely are consistent with the above mentioned stereotypes, as they predominantly focus on the well-known names and artists (Schiele, Kokoschka, Mozart and Salieri to name a few). On the contrary, the space dedicated to contemporary arts and music is considerably smaller (one page for contemporary visual art compared to 3 pages dedicated to the classics and half a page for contemporary music compared to 1.5 pages for the classics). This observation could be regarded as proof for Bruckmüller's (1996: 121, cf. theoretical reading p. 26) claim that stereotypical references frequently convey a static picture. The discourse featured in LP Austria obviously presents a focus on stereotypical features of Austria that are past-oriented, given the fact that they have been achieved in a bygone era. Again, this focus contributes to an imbalance between the presentation of Austria as a historically relevant and modern country to the expense of the latter. The same tendencies to draw a static picture are detectable in the accounts on Vienna's coffee house culture (Bruckmüller 1996: 115, cf. theoretical reading p. 22): the chapter introduction states that Viennese *Kaffeehäuser* are particularly "legendary" (Haywood et al. 2014: 374f) and gives some information on how coffee was introduced in Austria and describes the service providing *Oberkellner*. However, references to more modern coffee places are not provided even though organizations like the Falstaff magazine (Falstaff [online]) regularly award Austria's best "Third-Wave-Coffee-Bar"-Cafés. Hence, the coffee house stereotype used in LP Austria is also past-oriented and conveys a static picture of the destination.

With regard to stereotype usage in the chapter about the Tyrol, a past-oriented stereotype could also be identified when examining it. The fact that two references are made to the *Almbtrieb* event that is held in some Tyrolean villages (Haywood et al. 2014: 300, cf.

Almabriebe; 320, cf. Almbtrieb) can be considered evidence for the stereotype “Tyroleans are farmers” identified by Pümpel-Mader (1999: 256, referring to Rohrer [1985: 20; 121] and Hörmann [1901: 114]). It is remarkable that it still seems to form part of the stereotypical picture tourist operators draw about Austria despite the fact that Pümpel-Mader (1999: 256, cf. theoretical reading p. 22) regarded it as out-of-date from a present-day perspective. Hence, a further nuance is added to the static picture the guidebook draws by using this stereotype. Finally, a last remark shall be made on the identified role of the Tyrol as an outdoor paradise. This fact can be related to the stereotype “Tyroleans are strong”, today predominantly associated with athletic strength as identified by Pümpel-Mader (1999: 264, cf. theoretical reading p. 24). Depicting the Tyrol as the province where the passionate skier finds his or her appropriate slope or mountain bikers can climb or hike one of many mountains has two functions: first, on an explicit level, the self-enhancing function for the reader is fulfilled by the presence of this stereotype (Mackie et al. 1996: 56f, cf. theoretical reading p. 18). The ‘us’ group (the tourists) are presented as able to conquer the ‘them’ group (in our case not other persons, but the Tyrol’s scenery). The purpose of such a practice is clear: tourists shall be convinced to travel to the Tyrol and make their experiences by engaging in the touristic process. However, such a depiction of the Tyrol also has a second implicit function. It encourages conclusions to be drawn about the locals living there: as they are constantly living in the Tyrol and are familiar with the terrain, they are the ones that have actually made the land accessible to the tourist, built ski lifts and other facilities to fulfill the tourists’ wishes and have the skills and expert knowledge when it comes to conquering the mountains and other cultural offers. However, as the “Tyroleans are farmers” stereotype identified above indicates, a certain tendency to give a subordinated role to locals as picturesque Other that is worthy to be gazed upon can still be examined. And, as we have already determined above, if the locals are referred to at all, they are described as benign service providers that are willing to please the tourists. In every case, eventually, the stereotypes used in LP Austria serve two ultimate purposes: to promote the destination as tourist worthy and to subject the destination to the tourist's request for Otherness and exoticism.

Having established the stereotypes about Austria and the Tyrol that are reified in LP Austria, we will now turn to the next relevant feature of our analysis, namely the construction of authenticity in the text.

3.5 The construction of authenticity in LP Austria

LP's authors already claim authenticity for their work when they state that they "tell it like it is" (Haywood et al. 2014: back cover) and by doing so try to establish trust between them and their readers by assuring them that LP is not corruptible. Our content analysis revealed two instances where authenticity is constructed in LP Austria, namely through the depiction of authentic food and authentic experiences. Furthermore, the construction of authenticity also reveals some instances of staged authenticity and contradictions with the attempt to create a modern, up-to-date picture of the Tyrol.

In terms of the construction of the authentic food experience, the very first page of the guidebook already hints at the picture that is drawn about Austrian food: it is all about tradition:

Vienna's traditional coffee houses are perfect for breathing in the dark aromas of coffee in a homely atmosphere. Traditional *Beisl*n (bistro pubs) are laced with the smell of goulash and other traditional dishes. [...] Traditional *Heurigen* (wine taverns) abound almost everywhere [...] (Haywood et al. 201: 4).

The introduction to the "Eat & Drink Like a Local" chapter in the "Plan Your Trip" section then tries to balance this view a little bit by stating that

Schnitzel with noodles may have been Maria's favourite, but there's way more to Austrian food nowadays thanks to a generation of new wave chefs adding a pinch of imagination to seasonal, locally grown ingredients" (Haywood et al. 2014: 46).

Furthermore, the Tyrol also plays a part when it comes to authentic food, as the mentioning of *Die Wilderin*, and *Waldgasthaus Triendlsäge* in the passage on "Meals of a Lifetime" (Haywood et al. 2014: 46) and *Café Kröll* (Haywood et al. 2014: 47) among Austria's "Top Five Snack Spots" (Haywood et al. 2014: 47) indicate. The Zillertal then is featured with *Graukäse* and *Zillertaler Bauernschmaus* in the "Dare to Try" paragraph, food that cannot really be considered exotic as we will point out in the following. Quite the reverse, the "Local Specialties" part advertises to try *Tiroler Gröstl* (fry up) (Haywood et al. 2014: 48). The more detailed description explains that the *Gröstl* is basically a "fry-up from leftovers, usually potato, pork and onions, topped with a fried egg, but there are sausage varieties and the *Innsbrucker Gröstl* or *Gröstl Kalb* has veal" (Haywood et al. 2014: 50). One would think that tourists spending their holiday far away from home do not want to eat a meal that is made of leftovers. However, under the guise of authentic food that is sold to the guests, they will be willing to also try such a meal, as the dish, after all, has been advertised and trying it has been deemed a good idea in the guidebook. Hence, food that may be disregarded back home could be considered worth the experience abroad because food here fulfills the function of a "cultural signifier" (Mkono 2012: 392, cf. theoretical reading p. 29). Hence, tourists will also be willing to eat

leftovers as long as it is advertised to give a “taste of local culture” (Mkono 2012: 391, cf. theoretical reading p. 29). LP also refers to cooking classes. There, tourists are offered to learn how to “bread a schnitzel the Austrian way or roll the perfect Knödel (dumpling)” but at the same time “many [cooking classes] focus on specific ingredients, from Asian to French, Easter desserts to autumn game” (Haywood et al. 2014: 50, cf. Cooking Classes). It is difficult to imagine, however, in what way the Austrians will use frying pans in a different way than people of other origin, and the form of dumplings will always be ball-like, no matter where they come from or who produces them. Additionally, referring to Asian and French cuisine in the same breath does not really emphasize the authenticity of the cooking classes.

When taking a closer look at the construction of authenticity in our detailed analysis of the chapter about the Tyrol, findings reveal a tendency to use references to authentic food in order to create a sense of traditional rusticity in relation to the Tyrol, as the following quotes shall exemplify:

Set in high pastures, this woodsy 400-year-old chalet is the kind of place where you pray for a snow blizzard, so you can huddle around the fire and tuck into *Schlutzkrapf'n* (fresh pasta filled with cheese) (Haywood et al. 2014: 305, cf. description of Wirtshaus zum Griena)

A romantic slice of Tyrolean rusticity, this woody restaurant, named after its sawmill, hides in the forest, a 20-minute walk north of town. Or reach it on cross-country skis or by horse-drawn carriage in winter. Sit by the open fire or the terrace for regional dishes that play up seasonal, farm-fresh ingredients (Haywood et al. 2014: 313, cf. description of Waldgasthaus Triendlsäge)

The ambience is wonderfully cosy in this historic tavern on the main square. Join locals for Austrian comfort food like *Tafelspitz* (boiled beef with horseradish) and sweet dumplings, paired with local wines (Haywood et al. 2014: 298, cf. Goldener Löwe). Cross the footbridge to the low-beamed restaurant (mains €10 to €20), one-time haunt of Andreas Hofer, where creaking floors and grinning badgers create a rustic feel. Austrian classics like *Schweinshaxe* (basically half a pig) are served in gut-busting portions (Haywood et al. 2014: 311, cf. Auracher Löchl).

Hence, as the preceding quotes nicely illustrate, the feature of “rusticity” that has been identified in the construction of the Tyrol as other place and time in the chapter on Othering, is also closely related to the presentation of authentic food. Additionally, in line with the city and hotel descriptions in the analysis of the construction of the Other, the examples referring to local cuisine above frequently use the feature “rusticity” in connection with a sense of nostalgia and romanticism, and hence also refer to the Tyrol as other time and place. *Wirtshaus zum Griena* and *Waldgasthaus Triendlsäge* seem faraway, hard to reach places that have preserved some old time charme and therefore are presented as worth striving for. Their remoteness and rusticity may provide tourists with an alternative to their daily life, a refuge of the “tragic experience of

modernity” that has been identified by Taylor (2000: 10, cf. theoretical reading p. 32).. The sense of rusticity in relation to authentic food then is further emphasized when traditional dishes are referred to as “Tyrolean grub” (Haywood et al. 2014: 294, cf. Fischerhäusl), an expression that may trigger associations with vast amounts of food or the places where it is eaten, such as inns and not too fashionable restaurants. Furthermore, the reference to locals in the description of *Goldener Löwe* above may add a sense of trustworthiness and authority to the restaurant. If even locals go there, the food must be authentic and worthwhile. As has been pointed out in the theoretical reading, Mkono (2012: 392, cf. theoretical reading p. 29) found that the restaurants were perceived as more authentic if local people also went there, a fact LP’s authors seem to be aware of and have used for their purpose of persuading tourists to visit the restaurant.

What then are possible consequences of presenting authentic Tyrolean food in line with the picture of rusticity that is conveyed? The mentioning of authentic food is consistently done with a simultaneous reference to a homey and simple atmosphere. Even though rusticity is presented in a positive light and as worth striving for in the source text, it may also be interpreted as hindrance for a more modern perception of Austria’s culinary achievements. Hence, a further instance where a static, past-oriented picture of the Tyrol and Austria in general is conveyed can be related to the presentation of authentic food. Furthermore, the predominant focus on the construction of a sense of other time in relation to authentic food shapes the visitors’ perceptions and, hence, forces tourism operators to offer a certain, stereotypical picture (in our case the one of rustic, Tyrolean interior combined with authentic food) in order to fulfill the tourists’ request for authenticity. Hence, commodification of authenticity (cf. theoretical reading p. 33) plays a crucial role also when it comes to promote authentic food, and the tourists’ request also exercises power over the way hotel and restaurant owners decorate their places, in order to meet the expectations of their guests. Thus, the power differential between the tourist that demands a certain, predigested version of authenticity and the local host that needs to anticipate it and take according precautions to meet the expectations is sustained (Halewood & Hannam 2012: 578, cf. theoretical reading p. 34).

A further level on which authenticity is constructed in LP Austria is the experiences that are promoted in the chapter about the Tyrol. For instance, the entry on Innsbruck’s Alpenzoo promises that “this is where you can get close to alpine wildlife like golden eagles, chamois and ibex” (Haywood et al. 2014: 290). However, leaving the indeed well-intended attempt to conserve species (Haywood et al. 2014: 290) in the zoo aside, everyone can imagine that “getting close” for a zoo always means as far as the cage barriers will let you go and, in spite of the fact that the animals are being banned from their natural habitat or at least not allowed to

leave the zoo walls, power is exerted over them at the expense of their freedom. Of course, all that is done in order to please the tourists' request to see exotic, wild animals.

Other entries involved in the construction of authenticity in the Tyrol chapter promote staged authenticity. Two examples are the *Bergbau Museum* in Hall and the *Silberbergwerk Schwaz*:

This reconstructed salt mine, complete with galleries, tools and shafts, can only be visited by 40-minute guided tour (Haywoode et al. 2014: 297, cf. *Bergbau Museum*).

You almost feel like breaking out into a rendition of 'Heigh-Ho' at Silberbergwerk Schwaz, as you board a mini train and venture deep into the bowels of the silver mine for a 90-minute trundle through Schwaz' illustrious past. The mine is about 1.5 km east of the centre (Haywood et al. 2014: 298).

By only providing access to the two mines in guided tours, a clear front- and backstage division in MacCannell's (1973: 590, cf. theoretical reading p. 27) sense can be observed in the two examples. Only certain areas are opened up for tourists while they are kept away from others and they are presented with content that has been tailored to fit into a 40- or 90-minute presentation, a time frame that surely cannot be enough to convey an all-embracing picture of what working in a salt or silver mine was like. Hence, the "trundle through Schwaz' illustrious past" will definitely involve selection and adaptation processes and hence is likely to be anachronistic, as has been identified for the time-car-ride at the Norwegian Viking Land theme park by Halewood & Hannam (2001: 575, cf. theoretical reading p. 30). Nevertheless, unlike the Norwegian example where the fact that the time-car-ride was taking place indoors and therefore considered an instance of hyperreality (Halewood & Hannam 2001: 571, cf. theoretical reading p. 30), the indoor setting here suits the narrative of the mining process that is created, as the mines are the original sites where mining has actually taken place. However, the facilities have surely been modernized and modern day technology included to embellish the presentation, and therefore a staged character can still be assumed for it. Other facilities offer other, non-related attractions in order to make the promoted tours more tourist worthy:

Abenteuer Goldbergbau is a two-hour tour of a gold mine, 2km east of Zell on the Gerlos road. The entry price covers a cheese tasting in the show dairy and a visit to the animal enclosure with deer, emus and llamas (Haywood et al. 2014: 300, cf. *Abenteuer Goldbergbau*).

For a fly-on-the-wall tour of a working dairy, head to the Sennerei Zillertal, where a 30-minute tour guides you through the cheese-making processes, from culturing in copper vats to mould ripening. [...] In summer this [cheese tasting] is accompanied by live Tyrolean music at 3pm every Friday (Haywood et al. 2014: 303, cf. *Sennerei Zillertal*). The two last quoted examples from the description of the Zillertal are good examples of the way in which the construction of authenticity can be tied up with stereotypical depictions. *Zillertaler Graukäse* is advertised as top "Dare to Try" food in the "Eat and Drink Like a Local"

chapter (Haywood et al. 2014: 47), the urge to get in with Austria's wildlife was illustrated in the Alpenzoo example above and the *Volksmusik* stereotype has been identified in the section on Othering, where the tourist is invited to "[g]et into the alpine groove" (Haywood et al. 2014: 299) by listening to it, a practice that is presented under the generalizing guise of "Local Knowledge". The fact that seemingly unrelated events and practices (the tour of a goldmine and cheese tasting or a dairy tour and *Volksmusik*) are combined and presented as one authentic touristic experience are evidence for Wang's (1999: 351, cf. theoretical reading p. 34) observation that individual events may not be authentic, but are constructed as such by authors. Boonzaaier & Grobler (2012: 61, quoted in Boonzaaier & Wels 2017: 5, cf. theoretical reading p. 29) observation for Third World countries can also be transferred to our example of Austria: the stereotypes are recurring throughout the passage about the Zillertal, and by promoting them over and over again, a certain picture of authentic Austrianness is internalized and consequently will also be expected to be found when actually visiting the nation. As Boonzaier & Wels (2017: 7, cf. theoretical reading p. 30) found out in relation to the construction of authenticity in cultural villages and King (2006, cf. theoretical reading p. 32f) in the construction of authenticity in museums, relying too thoroughly on stereotypes when constructing authenticity can lead to a static and unchangeable picture. An instance where such a static construction of authenticity might be traced in LP Austria is the description of Ötzi Dorf:

This small open-air museum brings to life the Neolithic world of Ötzi the ice man. A visit takes in traditional thatched huts, herb gardens, craft displays and enclosures where wild boar and oxen roam (Haywood et al. 2014: 313f).

As the webpage promoting the museum states, the content shown to visitors is scientifically backed up by the cooperation with the University of Innsbruck (Ötzidorf [online]). However, the presented content on the webpage heavily points at instances of staged authenticity with "Ötzi-Franz" being the "main attraction at the weekly and monthly representation of the "Neanderthal village life"" (Ötzidorf [online]). The accompanying picture shows a bearded, grey-haired old man dressed with a furry hat. Similarly, the video provided on the starting page promoting a "sacrifice and ritual celebration" (cf. youtube clip [online]) depicts people dressed in fur and holding antlers in their hands. Hence, the intention of the curators at the open-air museum may be to seemingly take visitors back in time and provide information on the "authentic" way of life in the period where Ötzi lived, but in fact it is an instance of staged authenticity the visitors are facing, particularly because the "Neanderthal village life" representations only take place weekly or monthly. Similarly, when examining the plan of the village, it seems that a "low tech approach" like the one identified by King (2006) in the construction of the Delta Blues Museum in Mississippi (King 2006: 246, cf. theoretical reading

p. 30) has also been used when constructing the Ötzi Dorf: for instance, a reconstruction of late-Neolithic huts undertaken by the University of Innsbruck, a shaft well or a bread oven are some of the stations on the visitor's numbered itinerary. It seems that there is no reference to the transition from the Neolithic to present day culture, and hence one can safely argue that the construction of authenticity in the Ötzi Dorf contributes to a static, anachronistic picture, similar to the construction of authenticity in the mines above.

Having noted the ways in which LP Austria constructs authenticity on the level of authentic food and experiences and discussed the possible limitations a focus on static features and staged qualities in these depictions may have, we shall now turn to the final part of our analysis: the visuals used in LP Austria shall be analyzed according to the image of the destination they convey and whether the aforementioned aspects can also be traced in them.

3.6 Visual analysis – the photographs used in LP Austria

As has already been outlined in the theoretical reading, the practices of Othering, stereotyping and the construction of authenticity can also happen on a visual level. The tendency to present the “world-as-a-picture” (Mirzoeff 1999: 7, cf. theoretical reading p. 35) can certainly also be traced in tourism advertising, with the manifold visual input that is provided in guidebooks, catalogues, travel brochures and certainly on the various websites promoting destinations. As “advertising’s darlings” (Lobinger 2012: 124, cf. theoretical reading p. 38), pictures certainly help to evoke emotion and anticipation in the viewers in this particular context (Lobinger 2012: 83, referring to Bartsch et al. 2007:9, cf. theoretical reading p. 38). The aim of this section is to analyze the visual input provided in LP Austria in greater detail. As the pictures used in LP Austria can be regarded as advertising photographs provided by the tourism industry, Garrod’s (2009: 348-355) findings regarding the features of picture postcards in her study will be helpful in determining the features that we shall analyze in our pictures. Hence, scenery is going to be one feature of analysis (Garrod 2009: 354, cf. theoretical reading p. 39). Like Voulvouli (2012: 466, referring to Albers & James 1988: 145, cf. theoretical reading p. 40), we are also going to take the accompanying captions into consideration when analyzing the pictures. Furthermore, we shall discover which myths are created by the pictures’ content (Voulvouli 2012: 474f, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) and whether stereotypes are a component of them (Campelo et al. 2011: 3; van Gorp & Bèneker 2007: 300, cf. theoretical reading p. 40). Furthermore, it shall be determined whether a sense of “other time” and “other place” is created via the employed images as has been found in van Gorp & Bèneker (2007: 301, cf. theoretical reading p. 40). We shall also determine in what way Bhattacharyya’s (1997: 379) categories of

natural world, *historical site* and *social life* for the photographs in LP India are also the dominant ones for the representation in LP Austria and discover which category prevails. For this purpose, the 30 color photographs featured in LP Austria including the cover page shall be examined (cf. figure 1). Subsequently, we will examine the photographs depicting our sample destination, i.e. the Tyrol, in greater detail. Here, Barthe's concept of denotation/connotation and myth (Barthes 1967, quoted in Storey 2012: 94, cf. theoretical reading p. 36) shall be applied and certain (possibly hidden) power relations (Hall 1993, quoted in Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 57, cf. theoretical reading p. 37) shall be revealed.

When starting with the comparison between the prominence of Bhattacharyya's (1997: 379) three featured categories of historical site, natural world and social life in the photographs used in LP India and Austria, a completely different focus reveals: while most of the photographs in LP India feature sights in relation to social life (55.6%) followed by historical sites (31.6%) and the natural world (12.8%), LP Austria operates on a different level. Here, most pictures show the natural world (40%), followed by historical sites (33.33%) and social life is the least prominent motif (26.67%). This finding can probably be related back to the previously identified tendency to construct Austria and the Tyrol as "other place" and "other time", with the emphasis that is put on scenery and the potential of the nation to function as an outdoor playground. Additionally, the fact that the readers of LP Austria are likely to share the same Western cultural background as the producers of the guidebook may be a further reason why the emphasis is put on the natural world and historical sites instead of social life. We can argue that Otherness simply is created on a different level: in LP Austria it is not "sociocultural phenomena" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 380) that is depicted in order to evoke a sense of exoticism and otherness, but the distinctness of scenery and natural surroundings which serve to establish a sense of entering a world other than the one experienced back home. Regarding the content of the pictures in the most prominent category in LP Austria, just as in the case of LP India, pictures of the *natural world* are employed to construct it as "sight to see" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379) with the Großglockner Road (Haywood et al. 2014: 8), the Wachau (Haywood et al. 2014: 11), Eisriesenwelt (Haywood et al. 2014: 15), Krimmler Wasserfälle (Haywood et al. 2014: 17), Innsbruck (Haywood et al. 2014: 19) "and as setting for recreational activities" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379) such as swimming in Hallstättersee (Haywood et al. 2014: 1;16) or Spital an der Drau (Haywood et al. 2014: 23), skiing in St Anton am Arlberg (Haywood et al. 2014: 10) hiking the Zillertal Alps (Haywood et al. 2014: 5) or the Pinzgauer Spaziergang (Haywood et al. 2014: 13), or experiencing the Tyrolean nature (Haywood et al. 2014: 12). As all the pictures of the Tyrol featured in LP fall into this category, we will return to a more detailed content

analysis below. In terms of historical sites, a tendency to portray castles (Schloss Mirabell: Haywood et al. 2014: table of contents and page 18; Schloss Schönbrunn: Haywood et al. 2014: 9; Festung Hohensalzburg: Haywood et al. 2014: 10, Schloss Schönbühel: Haywood et al. 2014: front and back cover) and monasteries (Stift Nonnenberg: Haywood et al. 2014: 12; Stift Melk: Haywood et al. 2014: 14; Admont's Benedictine Abbey: Haywood et al. 2014: 16) can be detected. Van Gorp & Béneker (2007: 301, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) relate this focus on old buildings to the creation of a sense of "other time". In their source texts they also find a focus on rural settings in this respect, a strategy that is also employed when examining the pictures depicting the natural world in LP Austria (cf. pictures Hallstätter See, Zillertal Alps, backcountry skiing in St Anton, The Wachau, Outdoor adventure in Tyrol, Krimmler Wasserfälle, Spital an der Drau, page numbers: see above). In contrast to LP India, the category of social life is the least featured in the visual representations of LP Austria. As has been pointed out above, we relate this fact to the cultural similarities between the Western publisher and the presumably western tourists reading the guidebook: the emphasis is not put on sociocultural phenomena setting the host culture apart from the visitor's culture, such as bazaars (Finlay et al. 1993: 682, quoted in Bhattacharyya 1997: 380) or diverging wedding traditions as Bhattacharyya (1997: 380, referring to Finlay et al. 1993: 647) found them for India. Instead, LP Austria constructs "the fascination for the exotic" (Bhattacharyya 1997: 380) via extensive references to the scenery, as has been exemplified in numerous examples in the previous chapters and that is also mirrored in the visual representation of the Tyrol.

With regard to the prominence of people in the pictures under investigation, similar results could be attained for Austria and India: The vast majority (8 out of 10) of the pictures showing historical sites did not include people at all or they were included but not the focus of the picture (2 out of 10 pictures). As has been outlined in the theoretical reading, this can probably be related to van Gorp & Béneker's (2007: 301, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) explanation that a sense of "other time" can only be created when no present day features (for instance tourists dressed in a modern way) disturb this illusion that has been created. In line with Bhattacharyya's 1997: 379, cf. figure 2) findings for India, most pictures of the natural world in LP Austria show no persons (5 out of 12) or the persons are not the focal point (3 out of 12). One could argue that a myth of a "wild and unspoiled" (Voulvouli 2012: 474f, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) nature is created by omitting people completely or not giving them prominence in the pictures. However, as we will discover in our detailed analysis of the pictures in the Tyrol, the representations in this respect show a slightly different picture. "

One of the pictures showing the natural world in the Tyrol, namely the one depicting the brightly colored house fronts of Innsbruck (Haywood et al. 2017: 19, cf. figure 3), will be the first of the four pictures of the Tyrol that will be analyzed. On the level of denotation, the foreground of the picture shows a water front and a row of colorful houses. A snow-covered mountain range and a cloudless blue sky form the picture's background. On the level of connotation, then, a sense of untouchedness might be triggered in the viewer when looking at the picture: it must have been taken early in the morning, as no people or cars are recognizable on the streets in front of the brightly colored houses that have been captured from the other side of the Inn river, and the main focus is the house front. Furthermore, the colors of the houses stand out clearly against the white snowy mountains in the back. It is a contrast that might have been chosen deliberately, as revealed when reading the text accompanying the picture, the description of "Innsbruck", presented as number 22 of "Austria's Top 23" (Haywood et al. 2014: 8-19):

Set against an impressive backdrop of the Nordkette Alps, Tyrol's capital is the kind of place where at one moment you are celebrating cultural achievement in elegant state apartments (p288) or the Gothic Hofkirche (p287), and the next whizzing up into the Alps inside Zaha Hadid's [sic!] futuristic funicular (p291) or heading out for the ski pistes. If clinging to a fixed rope on the Innsbrucker Klettersteig (p291) while you make your way across seven peaks sounds too head-swirling, try the marginally less vertiginous Nordkette Singletrail (p291) mountain bike track (Haywood et al. 2014: 18)

Hence, the myth of two contrasting but complementing features of Innsbruck – culture and nature – is underpinned and reified in the picture showing the city. Furthermore, the striving to create a sense of unspoiledness (Voulvouli 2012: 474f, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) or "other time" (2007: 301, cf. theoretical reading p. 40) related to the representation of the natural world could be considered reasons for presenting Innsbruck in such a light. Choosing this picture to represent the city most probably was no coincidence. When typing "Innsbruck" into Google Maps [online], the colored house front is the first picture that shows on the left (cf. figure 4). Furthermore, advertising videos such as the imagefilm "Innsbruck – my home in pictures" (cf. Youtube 01:30–01:32 [online]) devised by the city of Innsbruck, the tourism board and Innsbruck Marketing also features it and articles published in English newspapers also use it (e.g. The Guardian [online]). Hence, one can assume that some degree of familiarity with this particular image of Innsbruck has already previously been established in the reader, and, by opening the guidebook and encountering the picture again, expectations are met.

As a last step, the three remaining pictures showing the Tyrol will be analyzed. It is remarkable that all three of them show a single person involved in some kind of physical activity, be it hiking (cf. figure 5 and 6) or skiing (cf. figure 7). First, the level of denotation shall be established for all three of the pictures. Picture 1 is entitled "Zillertal Alps (p.301),

Tyrol” (Haywood et al. 2014: 5, cf. figure 3), a single person standing on a rock is depicted looking onto a tarn. As the person is photographed showing her back to the photographer, one cannot be sure whether it is a woman or a man that is portrayed. He or she is looking onto the path that is lying ahead, with a massive mountain range opening up in front of him/her. Picture 2 (cf. figure 4) shows a man engaged in powder skiing going down a mountain with a mountain chain in the back and a blue sky over him. Here, the person can clearly be identified as being male. Again, no other persons are visible in the picture. Finally, the last picture (cf. figure 5) shows a lonely female hiker walking in a winter landscape. Her steps are directed at a mountain massive that lies ahead of her with some trees lining the way towards it. On the level of connotation, similar assumptions can be made for the three pictures: an impression that nature can be conquered might arise in viewers, with the hiker in the first picture standing on a rock, arms akimbo, in a victorious pose overlooking the wide scenery unfolding below him. The skier in the second picture must be skilled in order to go down the off-piste terrain and hence, like the other hiker, has managed to subject nature to his pleasure. In picture 3, however, the wanderess is only about to engage in her “outdoor adventure in Tyrol” (Haywood et al. 2014: 12) with her way still lying ahead. The scenery seems to wait for her – and only for her as there is no other person featured in the picture – to be explored and this is also where the circle of imagery created by LP Austria closes: the fact that all pictures depicting the Tyrol only feature a single person engaged in an athletic outdoor activity confirm the myth about the Tyrol as an outdoor paradise that is established in the manifold textual representations that have been discussed in the previous chapters. The pictures convey a sense of getting away from the masses, that is the eventual goal of independent tourism (Caruana & Crane 2012: 1506, cf. theoretical reading p. 1) and alternatively offer the possibility to reconnect with nature and the alpine scenery, *the* feature of Austria and particularly the Tyrol that is promoted and emphasized throughout the guidebook. In terms of Saussure’s signifier/signified distinction (Sturken & Cartwright 2001: 29, cf. theoretical reading p. 37), one could argue that the people and the scenery function as signifier in the pictures, but what eventually is signified is the freedom that the merger of these two components entails. Of course, the sense of freedom that is conveyed on a connotative level in the pictures makes use of the already mentioned stereotypical ideas that “for many people, Austria [and particularly the Tyrol] is the Alps” (Haywood et al. 2014: 376, cf. also analysis of stereotypes) or that the Tyrol can be associated with athletic strength (cf. analysis of stereotypes). However, one cannot claim that the chosen form of representation adequately reflects reality. When looking at the pictures of the Tyrol, people might get the impression that the myth of the lonely traveler conquering nature that is

created through the pictures is the authentic, genuine experience they are to expect from their journey to the Tyrol. However, the possibility to privately engage with nature is likely to be disturbed by other tourists in a real life situation: the tracks tourists encounter – also in the seemingly wild nature of the Austrian Alps – in fact are more likely to already be beaten. Furthermore, seeing such pictures in advertising material may spark the urge in tourists to reproduce exactly the same pictures, as could be identified in Garrod's (2009: 352-355) study. People may want to hike the very same route and replicate the pictures they consume in LP and other advertising material, and hence the road is opened to a kind of herd tourism. Furthermore, the already discussed power differential between the tourist on the one side who takes the superordinate position of the explorer of the outdoor playground that is presented to him/her and nature on the other side, subordinated to this position and only functioning to meet the tourist's quest for exotic wilderness is sustained in the pictures of the Tyrol. Hence, one can conclude that the picture choice for the representation of the Tyrol in LP Austria may successfully support the image the authors strive to convey about the destination. However, when critically reflecting the content of the pictures, a tendency to merely reproduce the stereotypes and power differentials communicated throughout the guidebook cannot be disregarded.

Content Analysis of Photographs in LP Austria (N=30) (Procedure taken from Bhattacharyya 1997: 379)				
	Historical site	Natural world	Social Life	Total
P1	00.0 (0)	33.33 (4)	62.50 (5)	30.00
P2	20.0 (2)	25.00 (3)	12.50 (1)	20.00
CR	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	00.00 (0)	00.00
NP	80.00 (8)	41.67 (5)	25.00 (2)	50.00
Total	33.33	40.00	26.67	100.00
				N = 30
P1 = human subjects included in the focus of the photograph; P2 = human subjects are present, but not significant; Cr = human subjects shown in a crowd; NP = no human subjects in photograph				

Figure 1: Content Analysis of Photographs in LP Austria

Content Analysis of Photographs in LP India (N=117) (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379)				
Human Subjects	Historical site	Natural world	Social Life	Total
P1	8.1 (3)	12.4 (2)	58.5 (38)	36.8
P2	10.8 (4)	20.2 (3)	12.3 (8)	12.8
CR	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	9.2 (6)	5.1
NP	81.1 (30)	66.7 (10)	20.0 (13)	45.3
Total	31.6	12.8	55.6	100.0
				N = 117
P1 = human subjects included in the focus of the photograph; P2 = human subjects are present, but not significant; Cr = human subjects shown in a crowd; NP = no human subjects in photograph				

Figure 2: Content Analysis of Photographs in LP India

Figure 3: Innsbruck in LP Austria



Figure 4: search result for “Innsbruck” on Google Maps

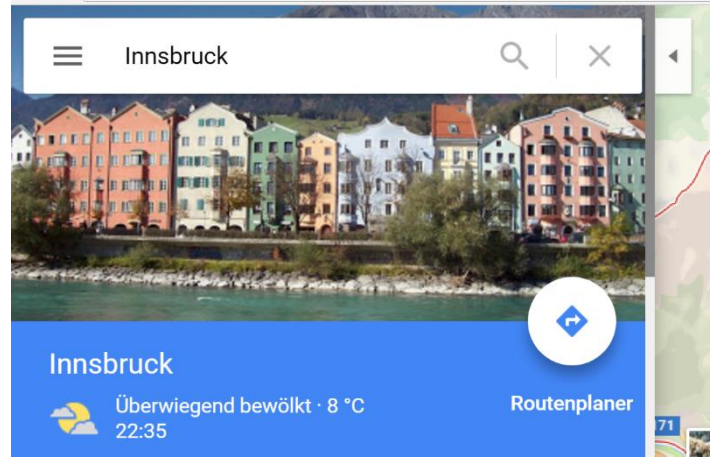


Figure 5: Zillertal Alps

Copyright of pictures: see Table of Figures



Figure 7: Skiing in St Anton

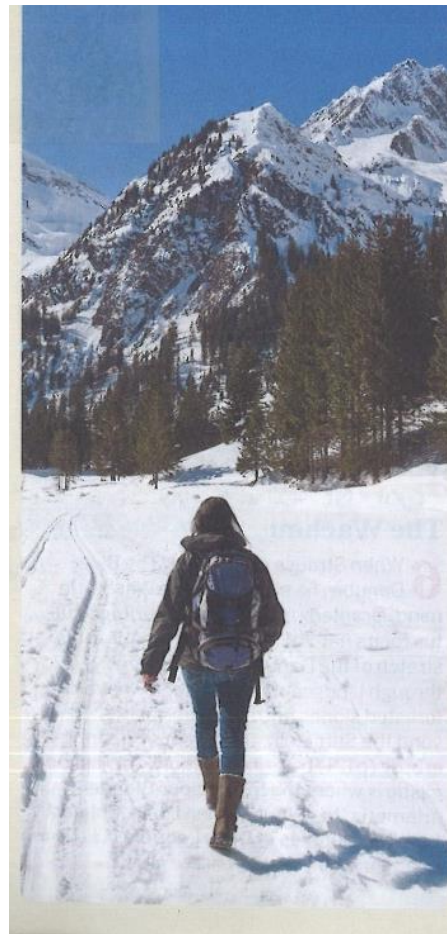


Figure 6: winter hiking in the Tyrol

4 Conclusion

This diploma thesis investigated the image that is conveyed in a text provided by the tourism industry, namely the representation of Austria in the LP guidebook. We shall now relate our previously mentioned findings to the research questions we posed at the beginning of the study. Therefore, the first question that will be answered regards the image that is created about Austria in general and the Tyrol in particular through the textual and visual representation in the guidebook. The first striking result was that, in contrast to the findings in the reviewed literature in the theoretical reading, LP Austria shows a tendency to construct the Other in terms of scenery instead of references to other persons. Austria in general and particularly the Tyrol are presented as an outdoor paradise that is answering the tourists' quest for thrilling excitement. Furthermore, the scarce instances where actual persons do find mentioning suggest rather questionable proceedings (like the use of the complex German *Sie* or the numerous references to drinking in various chapters) or present locals in a parochial light (namely as *Dirndl* and *Lederhosen* wearing *Volksmusik* fans) or merely as benign service provider for the tourist. Furthermore, van Gorp & Bénéker's (2007) tendencies to construct the Other as "other place", "other time" and "other experience" could also be detected in our analysis. Austria as other place is created in terms of references to scenery, a sense of other time is established through numerous references to the historical relevance of promoted places and accommodations and other experiences are found in the construction of Austria and particularly the Tyrol as place for the daring outdoor activist. Furthermore, a sense of authenticity is created through the presentation of traditional, authentic food and authentic experiences. However, these are frequently related to staged authenticity.

The image that is being created in LP Austria certainly also is influenced by the editorial control that is exerted through it. As the tendency to merge provinces that in fact are individual and the exclusion of certain places on the maps provided throughout the guidebook show, LP Austria is spatially selective and therefore influences the perception of its readers. Furthermore, tourists are informed and directed through sections like "Need to know" (Haywood et al. 2014: 20-22) (instrumental leadership), their interactions with persons (for instance through the above mentioned "Etiquette" or "Eat & Drink like a Local" passages) and the scenery are mediated through the information they gain in the guidebook (interactional mediation). Bhattacharyya's (1997: 379) categories of natural world, historical site and social life could also be found in LP Austria, with the natural world being the most prominent one, a fact that fortifies the image of Austria as an outdoor paradise. In line with the findings for LP India, LP Austria also talks to

its readers in a unitary authorial voice that always strives to legitimize tourist behavior and takes judgments from them and thereby shapes their perception and legitimizes their behavior.

The second question whether LP Austria draws on stereotypes in its representation of Austria and the Tyrol clearly can be answered positively. Even though the stereotypes mostly are not explicitly mentioned, the implicit stereotype usage is ubiquitous in the source text and for instance shows in the emphasis that is put on the scenery (mountain stereotype) or the topics that are presented as tourist worthy (art treasures, beautiful landscapes, classical music, importance of capital cities, coffee house culture) and therefore are featured in the guidebook. With regard to the specific stereotypes regarding the Tyrol, the “Tyroleans are farmers” and the “Tyroleans are athletically strong” stereotypes could be identified.

The image that is conveyed about Austria and the Tyrol certainly also is shaped by the visuals used in the guidebook. With regard to the general content of the pictures, the findings for LP Austria go in line with Bhattacharyya’s (1997: 379) for India where the natural world is constructed as “sight to see and place for recreational activities” with the emphasis that is put on things to do and see in the “Austria’s Top 23” section (Haywood et al. 2014: 8-19). Furthermore, the prominence of castles and monasteries are used to create a sense of other time. In contrast to India (Bhattacharyya 1997: 379), social life was the least prominent category in LP Austria, a fact we related to the shared cultural background of guidebook producers and readers. Hence, the image of the Other is predominantly supported through pictures of the scenery, not of other people. Our analysis of the pictures depicting the Tyrol show congruence with the above mentioned image of the province as an outdoor paradise and the tendency to construct it as other time and place where the natural world is the focus and the myth of the Tyrol as an outdoor paradise is fortified through the visual representation.

Finally, we address the question of what consequences the chosen representation of Austria may have for tourists as well as locals and for Austria as a nation. With regard to the construction of Austria as other place through the excessive reference to the nation’s scenery, readers are prevented from perceiving Austria as a modern destination. This risk of conveying a static picture is also given when considering the use of nostalgia and romanticism in the construction of Austria as other time and the focus on rusticity in relation to authentic food or the featured “authentic” experiences that in fact frequently show staged qualities. As present day cultural achievements are missing in this representation, the tendency to form a static picture can be traced. Furthermore, LP’s focus on the construction of the Other in form of scenery prevents people from experiencing local culture in exchange with actual people. Furthermore, LP Austria seems not to be aware of the high degree of selectivity they apply

when presenting “other experiences” predominantly for daring winter sports activists. By focusing their representation on this target group and adding après ski as further promoted benefit when visiting Austria, they do not address less able people or families. But as we have seen above, LP’s authors and editors are not only selective when it comes to their target group: the exclusion of entire skiing areas or valleys from their agenda may also lead people to decide against buying the guidebook as the destinations they plan to visit may not be featured in the guidebook. By giving prominence to the already wealthy skiing areas, smaller destinations are subordinated and power differentials between tourist operators are sustained. Furthermore, the suggested itineraries may trigger a kind of herd tourism. Additionally, the power differentials are not only sustained on the local’s side: LP Austria mediates the interaction between tourist and host, and in our example particularly between tourist and nature in a way that positions the tourist above his or her opposite. Environmental consequences are not adequately addressed and the tourist ultimately is freed from his responsibility through the discourse the guidebook employs. Everyone has to stick to their role in order to meet the expectations that are constructed in the discourse of LP Austria, and there is always the risk that the guidebook might be taken too seriously (Jaquinto 2012: 711), a practice particularly dangerous in spite of the high frequency of stereotypical depictions used in LP Austria. Findings reveal the impression that “Understanding Austria” is equated with understanding stereotypes about the destination, a highly generalized image as we have identified in the theoretical reading. Furthermore, the featured stereotypical representations also present irrelevant information and risk to convey a static picture due to their past-orientedness.

The indisputable eventual goal of a guidebook is to promote a destination and to eventually sell not only the place it advertises but primarily the guidebook itself to the reader. Therefore, in line with this plan, embellishing and persuasive language is likely to be found in such promotional texts and the Concepts of Othering, authenticity and stereotyping play a decisive role in them. However, as we have shown in the semiotic analysis we have undertaken in the study, all the investigated concepts also bear the risk to convey a static or one-sided picture of the destination that frequently is charge with stereotypical references. Hence, it is recommendable to bear this circumstance in mind when reading guidebooks and to pay attention to possibly hidden power differentials and ideologies that we have shed light on in the present study. As this diploma thesis has only dealt with a textual analysis, it is only possible to speculate about the effects that the identified analysis results may have on the readership of LP Austria. In order to counter-check our results, further research with regard to tourists’ actual perception of Austria and the Tyrol would have to be done. In this respect, a similar procedure

as employed by Zillinger (2006) with qualitative data like interviews or quantitative analysis of questionnaires regarding the actual perception of the advertised destinations could be considered. Also, the standpoint of local hosts and the extent to which they feel forced to adhere to the presentation they gain in tourism texts like guidebooks and whether they are aware of the power relations that are sustained through them would be worth investigating. Furthermore, in order to investigate the impact the visual representation in LP Austria has on tourists a procedure similar to the one in Garrod's (2009) picture postcard study could be of use in order to determine the effects the visuals have on tourists.

The present study provides new results in the field of tourism research, particularly in the guidebook field. It is innovative in the sense that it does not consider a Third World destination promoted in a LP guidebook as has been investigated in previous studies (Avieli, Bhattacharyya, Lisle). Instead, our analysis of the image construction of Austria concerns a western, central European destination. Therefore, readers of the guidebook are likely to share the same cultural background as the guidebook publishers, and this circumstance influenced the findings, as for instance was shown in LP Austria's tendency to construct the Other not as a person but primarily on the level of scenery. Additionally, the study also provides new insights in the field of stereotype research and the way in which power relations may be conveyed in an implicit, subtle way. We hope to have made the importance of negotiated reading in the guidebook context. This work is further proof for the claim that the freedom tourists may perceive when reading a guidebook and that they aim at when engaging in the touristic process eventually is heavily influenced by institutional power and, therefore, "getting away from it all" (Caruana & Crane...) is not possible when tourists blindly adhere to the itineraries provided in guidebooks or other tourism texts. Therefore, this work has discussed aspects worth considering in order to overcome the blindness guidebooks try to impose on their readers (Lisle) and is a relevant contribution to the field of tourism research.

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6 Appendix

7 English Abstract

Freedom in independent travel frequently is restricted by the power the guidebook exerts over its readers (Caruana & Crane (2011: 1499, referring to Hollinshead [1994: 388], quoted in Caruana & Crane, 2011: 1498). Via a semiotic analysis that is applied to the textual as well as the visual representations of Austria in general and the Tyrol as sample province in the guidebook LP Austria, this diploma thesis strives to shed light on the possible limitations of the desired freedom of the tourist and how the readers' perception of the destination is influenced through the representation that is chosen in the guidebook. Applying a constructivist approach, the processes of Othering, stereotyping and the construction of authenticity in the guidebook are investigated. Findings reveal a tendency to construct the Other on the level of scenery instead of a personal level and through the presentation of Austria/the Tyrol as "other place", "other time" and "other experience" (van Gorp & Béneker 2007). The image of an outdoor paradise is created and authenticity frequently is constructed in relation to staged performances. Additionally, stereotypes are consistently used throughout the text and therefore also influence the readers' perception of the destination. The visuals used in LP Austria then reproduce the findings in the textual accounts by heavily drawing on the distinct scenery, stereotypes and authenticity. Hence, findings clearly show that LP Austria rather denies freedom to its readers than giving it to them.

8 German Abstract

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit beschäftigt sich mit dem Bild, welches der im Reiseführer Lonely Planet Austria vorhandene Diskurs über die Urlaubsdestination vermittelt und den möglichen Konsequenzen, die eine bestimmte Repräsentation für den touristischen Prozess haben könnte. Als exemplarisches Beispiel für die Repräsentation der weiteren Bundesländer wird Tirol herausgegriffen. Die angewandte semiotische Analyse umfasst sowohl den Fließtext in den allgemeinen Kapiteln, die Österreich generell behandeln sowie die Beiträge über das Beispiel-Bundesland Tirol. Zusätzlich wurden auch visuelle Beispiele in Form der im Reiseführer verwendeten Photographien analysiert. Mehrere unterschiedliche Aspekte wurden im Rahmen der Arbeit untersucht: im Sinne des Konstruktivismus wurde offengelegt, wie die Andersartigkeit des Ziellandes im Quellentext konstruiert und vermittelt wurde. Des Weiteren wurde die Vermittlerposition des Reiseführers zwischen Tourist und Zielort sowie Tourist und Gastgebern analysiert und festgelegt, in welchem Ausmaß der im Reiseführer enthaltene Diskurs bestimmend auf die Touristen einwirkt. Ein weiterer Analyseaspekt war die Verwendung bzw. Aufrechterhaltung von Stereotypen über Österreich und Tirol im Quellentext. Außerdem wurde die Vermittlung von Authentizität eingehend betrachtet.

Die Forschungsergebnisse zeigen eine eindeutige Tendenz, die Andersartigkeit Österreichs und Tirols vor allem durch den Rekurs auf die besondere Landschaft herauszustreichen und die Destination aufgrund dessen als sehenswert und ideales Urlaubsziel zu präsentieren. Außerdem ist im Hinblick auf die Repräsentation von Tirol ein klarer Fokus auf waghalsigen Outdoorsport zu erkennen. Ein Eindruck von Österreich als „andere Zeit“ wird durch die vielen Hinweise auf historische Ereignisse und Bauten erreicht. Diese sind oft mit Nostalgie verbunden und stark romantisiert dargestellt, eine Strategie die sich auch in der Konstruktion von authentischem Essen wiederfindet. Hier wird Rustikalität als Authentizitätsmerkmal gefeiert. Was authentische Erlebnisse betrifft konnten einige Beiträge ausgemacht werden, die einen gestellten Charakter aufweisen. Des Weiteren basiert die gesamte Repräsentation Österreichs und Tirols stark auf den über die Länder bekannten Stereotypen. Im Hinblick auf die möglichen Konsequenzen, die die in LP Austria gegebene Repräsentation haben könnte ist vor allem hervorzuheben, dass sich eine großteils vergangenheitsorientierte Darstellungsweise gezeigt hat. Diese verhindert in weiterer Folge eine Wahrnehmung des Landes als modern und zeitgemäß. Außerdem wurde eine starke Tendenz zur Erhebung des Touristen über sein Gegenüber – sowohl der angepriesenen Natur als auch der Gastgeber – festgestellt. Das touristische Verhalten wurde durch den Diskurs im

Reiseführer legitimiert. Die Repräsentation in LP Austria trägt somit zur Aufrechterhaltung von Machtverhältnissen bei und wirkt sich stark auf den Eindruck, den Touristen von einer Destination haben, aus. Sind wie in unserem Quellentext Stereotypen ein wesentlicher Teil dieses Eindrucks, werden auch diese durch die Vermittlung in Reiseführern aufrechterhalten und beeinflussen so die Wahrnehmung der Besucher eines Urlaubslandes. In jedem Fall ist eine kritische Hinterfragung der präsentierten Inhalte in Reiseführern so wie wir sie in der vorliegenden Arbeit durchgeführt haben unabdingbar, um ein möglichst authentisches Urlaubserlebnis zu garantieren.