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***Colonial Imagery in Responsible Travel Advertisement, a Critique from
a Postcolonial Perspective***

Maximilian Martin Höck

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Maximilian Martin Höck

Aluno: 4140024

Instituto Politécnico de Leiria

Escola Superior de Turismo e Tecnologia do Mar

Supervised by Sofia Teixeira Eurico and Fernanda Maria Fernandes Oliveira

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Abstract

This master's thesis analyses a selection of images used to advertise outbound responsible travel to various destinations in Africa. It shows that in the advertisement of the selected destinations colonial imagery and texts are emphasised. Colonial imagery is reproduced in a binary representation model of the "self" and the "other" that not only supports the criticised creation of knowledge of the Global South but also restores racism as an ideology of dominance. To demonstrate this, images and text material are analysed with regard to findings of postcolonial theory. It becomes apparent that contemporary outbound responsible travel agencies continue colonial ideas and power relations. It is thus determined that there is a gap between the declared aims of responsible tourism agencies and the single-perspective and derogatory meanings the images, they use to advertise their products, carry. Accordingly, recommendations for DMOs (Destination Management Organisations) and decision makers that are involved in the promotion of global travel are developed.

Keywords

Responsible Tourism; Postcolonial Theory; Visual Culture; Representation; Advertisement

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I. Introduction

Responsibility – as defined in moral philosophy - functions as a term rooted in deontological ethics¹. In deontology the intrinsic character of an action is deemed morally relevant, in opposition to consequentialist theories. The latter theories determine an action as ethical according to their consequences. Within deontological discourses however values shift into the centre of attention, since they are the qualities of human condition that inherently mediate the capacities of ethical agency. Therefore, in moral philosophy the challenge lies within the discussion of such mediation and the very quality of values themselves. In this sense, a discourse on responsibility is significant in tourism sciences too.

Contemporary scholars of tourism research have noted a shift in their practice that emphasises “empowerment, ethics, and social justice through a values-based research paradigm” (Ateljevic, Pritchard, & Morgan, 2007, p. 3 in Buzinde & Osagie, 2011, p. 210), while other scholars have noted a “lack of philosophical engagement with the meaning of responsibility” (Fennell, 2008 in Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 23), revealing ontological deficits in the scientific discourses surrounding tourism and responsible travel. Nonetheless, it is to be stated that all research ambitions are embedded in a “values-based research paradigm”, which is more or less detectable. However, what is meant in the citation is to perceive and utilise values as concrete objects of research. In a wider sense this thesis aims to contribute to the discourse on responsibility.

More precisely, the appeal of 'responsibility' in tourism is mainly “constructed around an ethic of leaving no trace” (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 22). However the question arises if responsible travel is coming to terms with this challenge. The excessive presence of stereotypical depictions and narratives of the Global South in responsible travel advertisements underlines the need for further discussion in this field. This fact also contributes to a higher complexity in discourses around responsibility and its ethical superstructure, because if responsibility remains undefined the blind eye of responsible travel “can perpetuate socially dominant or ecologically destructive ideologies” (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 23).

In ethical discourse the underlying assumption is that language constitutes reality (Hollinshead, 2007) and therefore ontological discussions need to be held in order to

1 Representatives of deontological ethics are Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, John Rawls or Jürgen Habermas.

come to terms with the aspiration of ethics. As an ethical term responsibility in travel denotes

a process of planning, policy, and development that prioritises community-level involvement, sustainable resource management, equitable distribution of benefits, and minimal negative impacts to local contexts (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 22 f.).

Hence responsible travel functions as a purposeful planning device including ethical standards which remain to be negotiated. Nonetheless, it is questionable that responsible travel is actually achieving the ethical aspiration of “leaving no trace” or is it in fact perpetuating colonial conditions? However this work will not try to undermine the merits responsible travel has earned since its potential is unarguably existent. Nevertheless, there are ontological consequences followed by the form of representations of the Global South and their associated stereotypical narratives for example. If responsible travel is to be understood as a moral practice in a way of not diminishing the rights of host communities, then colonial continuations must be disclosed in an ontological discussion on responsibility. Hence, this work aims firstly to contribute to the discussion on how the Global South is represented in responsible travel and secondly to give further ideas in how to plan and promote travel regarding outbound travel agencies to destinations in the Global South responsibly.

Thus because of this condition it is intended to interpret responsible tourism from a postcolonial perspective. Since postcolonial theory convincingly shed light on the repercussions of colonial dominance intruding into all corners of the earth (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015, p.21), its critical perspective is not to be excluded from any discussion on Global North-South power relations. Therefore this master's thesis aims to portray a missing discussion in sustainable tourism: a critical examination of how outbound tourist agencies of the Global North represent travel destinations in the Global South in the field of responsible travel. To offer a first step into such an examination this thesis can be divided into two sections. The first section is concerned with the establishment of a theoretical foundation, including postcolonial theory and an assessment of sustainability and development, and tourism as a vehicle thereof. The second section of this work consists of a methodological part concerned with a concrete application of postcolonial theory in the field of responsible tourism advertisement.

Responsible tourism has to be configured in a specific way in order to “be” responsible. The analysis seeks to verify the thesis, that the constant “de-nomination”² of the colonial past can lead to a display of racist images and texts. This shows that the colonial past is still present in the advertising of the Global South and its travel destinations. In an image analysis it is argued that the (re-)production colonial imagery is based on constructions of 'otherness' which impact travellers and host communities simultaneously. The inclusion of imagery attracts the discussion on responsibility and questions its success as a socially responsible way of interaction. Despite the huge potential implied in responsible travel initiatives, the question is still, whether these apparently “socially aware” practices are sensitive of racism as a mechanism of dominance and exclusion. Since the reproduction of colonial imagery is thought of as powerful tool to continue colonial conditions it is to put into question in how far responsible travel supports these defective and harmful tendencies and also how it can become aware of its own practice as a first step to change.

The first chapter will introduce fundamental concepts and terminologies regarding postcolonial theory. Sections two to four will deal with the theoretical foundations of the discussion. Herein, “postcolonialism” will be portrayed as a theory and a train of thought with an emphasis on power sensitivity, outlining the historic impact of colonialism to understand past and contemporary continuations of colonial conditions. In order to frame the ideological spheres of the discussion sustainable development will be included and criticism on sustainable development will be introduced. Consequently, colonialism will be illustrated as a strategy of domination including the ideology of racism, exotism and the discussion of tourism and culture in context. Sections five to eight will contain the practical application of the theory. In the fifth chapter a methodological research is undertaken on imagery of responsible tourism agencies' online advertisement, in order to understand the exclusion mechanisms behind the depictions. The imagery and accompanying text elements will be analysed with a framing analysis and a qualitative content analysis. Consequently, the imagery is to be clarified by utilising methodologies from Cultural Studies, namely semiotics in the interpretation by Roland Barthes, to analyse their denoted and connoted meanings. This will be followed by a close look at the results from a post colonial view, applying

2 'de-nomination' is an attempt to translate the German term “Ent-nennung” which is a composition of the term “Nennung” (engl. naming) and the prefix 'ent', (engl. 'de'). It expresses the conscientious not-naming of colonial conditions. In postcolonial theory, denomination is widely acknowledged as a strategy of white supremacy (Arndt, 2015).

theories introduced in chapters 2 to 4. Upon completion of this breakdown a set of suggested solutions will be put forward as concepts to help responsible tourism agencies to fulfil their goals concerning ethical travel. To conclude, all findings will be summarised and a résumé will be offered. Further limitations of this study will be elaborated, as well as recommendations for additional research. The master's thesis at hand was developed during the course of a masters programme in “Sustainable Tourism Management” at the Polytechnic Institute of Leiria.

Part I.

“Indignation must always be the answer to indignity.

Reality is not destiny.”

Eduardo Galeano

1. Fundamental concepts and terminologies regarding postcolonial theory

In the following, several terms and concepts that will be important for the argumentation of this thesis will be elucidated. They help attain a wider scope for tourism in the context of racism, postcolonialism and development. These terminologies will be explained and used in context later in this analytical research. 'Global South' and 'Global North' replace judgemental or devaluating terms for instance 'developing countries' or 'developed country' or 'emerging countries' which deems a Western European status as the desired norm and therefore puts countries on an hierarchical scale. The mentioned derogatory terms negate that the colonial past actually happened and that it connects developed and developing countries as binaries of oppressors and the oppressed, as colonisers and the colonised. 'Global South' and 'Global North' are attempts to fill these linguistic gaps (Sow, 2008). Thus, 'Global South' describes a socially, politically and economically disadvantaged position within the global system. 'Global North', however, determines an advantaged position. This binary classification refers to diverging experiences with colonialism and exploitation, either as being principally exploited or as being primarily profiting (Bendix, 2015).

Whilst terms such as 'developing countries' express a hierarchical eurocentric notion of 'development' disadvantaged countries had to follow, 'Global North' and 'Global South' cater for divergent economic, cultural and political positions in the global context, without the 'South' having to close up to, or catch up with the 'North' (ibd.). The separation into South and North is only thought conditionally geographical. Australia for example belongs to a greater extent to the Global North but there are citizens that are inherently part of the Global South, such as Aboriginal Australians or illegalised people, for instance. On the other hand, there are countries in the Global South whose citizens are predominantly seen as belonging to the Global North. These are people that enjoy privileged positions, either because they are white or they belong to the globally privileged class, or because of their access to resources (ibd.).

'white' is a politically correct description for white people. It is neither a biological term, nor it is connected to culture. 'white' is a socio-political description which states that a person belongs to the group of whites and is therefore treated in a distinct way. From being white it automatically results a specific position in society which is different from the position of people of colour (Sow, 2008).

In contrast to the local research on racism in Germany elaborating discriminated groups of people as subject of study, Critical Whiteness Studies turn the attention to the socio-political implications whiteness has as a normative force in society. The basis for understanding whiteness lies in two interconnected aspects: on the one hand whiteness is a historically changeable construction and on the other hand it has a reality within society (Wollrad, 2006). Furthermore, whiteness is defined as a political term that has to do less with skin- or hair color but is rather so analysed as a political force that legitimises privileges and power for a distinct group and justifies the unfair distribution of resources in society (ibd.).

During colonial times, there was much effort spent in order to define whiteness as a marker of superiority, whereas in present days, there are huge attempts to make whiteness invisible, meaning: to make socio-political implications invisible. Within this conception being white is the norm, within white perception of white people. In effect, the usage of the term white enables to emphasise and fight against it (ibd.).

White privileges and living realities do unfold completely independent from public agreements or perceptions.

To elucidate this idea, a quote from Judith Katz will be included emphasising the

societal context in which the erroneous white awareness can play a role. It says that white people ascribe their success to their hard labour, to their character and to the fact that they have just earned it. White people do not recognise to which extent our ethnic status and an imbalanced playing field work to our advantage (Katz, 2003, p. 47). Hence, “normativity” of whiteness is a tabu in public, as present and historic conditions of colonialism are not reviewed neither in science nor in society. A postcolonial view can help to look back on and reappraise the blind spots of normativity whiteness represents (Wollrad, 2006).

The term 'People of Colour' unites different communities of colour that are subject to white supremacist power relations. It is a political term that tries to jointly overcome white supremacist hierarchies. Behind this unification of communities lies the observation that it was/is a central “white” method, in order to sustain dominance, to divide different groups of people of colour and to designate access to privileges, sidestepping and isolating the groups from one another. This political concept – divide et impera - that tries to incapacitate this strategy of dominance aims to (re)establish the connection - which is actually impossible due to the structural nature of racism. For this purpose it is important to interrelate the diverse stories within the communities that are interconnected in many ways, echoing in each other (Ha, Al-Samarai & Myorekar, 2007, p. 13).

In the following power mechanisms will be reiterated that helped the Global North to build and sustain their global dominance on the South. Therefore, historic conditions of power in the Global North have to be recollected in order to reconstruct their concrete outreach into the present by leaning on contemporary postcolonial research.

2. Colonial realities in present - postcolonialism

The relationship between Global North and Global South is fundamentally coined by the colonial past and its common and continued heritage. During the last five centuries, power relations were created within cultural, economic and political spheres that are stable, that are globally effective and profiting in favour of the Global North (Dietrich & Strohschein, 2015; Ha, 2015). The dimensions of European Colonialism are extensive. Colonial history lasts for round about 500 years. In 1914, for example, 85% of the planet was occupied and controlled by European nations. In respect of the tourism industry, this fact thoroughly facilitated the development of global tourism practices in

the 20th century.

However, European Colonialism does not only include the occupation of territory and thus was never over after the withdrawal of colonial powers (ibd.). It is a system of knowledge, control and violence that still determines thought and actions consciously or unconsciously, for the colonised and the colonisers equally (Fanon, 1981).

Next to the industry of development aid, tourism is an economic sector that fails to address these issues, even though the ghosts of colonialism float about just beneath the surface. Postcolonial theorist Kien Nghi Ha states that until now, [European] society remains resolutely silent about colonialism and its present conditions which created the extrusion of the whole field of discourse (2015). The silence is a conscientious amnesia, so Ha argues which is a political expression of the collective mind (in the "West"). Therefore, the consensual silence is a dominant articulation of power that actively refuses to reappraise and restore visibility of imperial practices and imagery through the strategy of "de-membrance" which can only be cured and deconstructed by counter-narratives (Ha, 2015).

Due to the taboo of discursive means to describe colonial tainted realities, societal power and infrastructures of colonial presences remain in the dark (Ha, 2015). Consequently, a comfortable illusionary world for white metropolitans was constructed and stabilised, with help of memory politics and the historical erasure of colonial history. Even though colonial inscriptions do not only coin reality in the European modern but also are highly relevant for the establishment of [European] notions of identity and culture until today, they are "de-thematised" by rule (ibd.). The phenomenon of the conscientious de-thematising of colonial condition is also called "de-nomination" and it is known as a strategy of dominance in order to maintain a society in power. Since, tourism is perceivable (see introduction) as modern perpetuation of colonialism (Mahrouse, 2011), this thesis will emphasise the role of colonial imagery and language in responsible tourism advertisement.

Why is a postcolonial view important for an analysis of 'sustainable' tourism practices? Postcolonialism incorporates a power-sensitive attitude in order to deconstruct and challenge hegemonic systems of knowledge from a "trans-disciplinary" foundation that helps eventually to develop accurate historical conceptions and emancipatory alternatives for the world society (Ha, 2015). Applied on tourism practices, it challenges predominant ideas on sustainable development and enforces its potential impact on the real world.

In order to define 'postcolonialism' and its variants, one has to look closely at its dimensions. According to Ha (ibd.), 'postcolonial' was first introduced into discourse as a chronological term after World War II, when the first formal decolonisations led to the existence of the first independent states in Asia, Africa, the Americas and Australia (Ha, 2015). The adjective 'postcolonial' is understood as a critical-analytical perspective in the sense of neo-colonial or late-colonial. The term 'postcolonialism' however, is often subject to misleading ideas or misinterpretations. Many people get the impression that through the suffix '-ism', postcolonialism is a closed and complete ideology or a solid theoretical foundation which is untrue. As well, 'post-colonial' falls victim to temporal readings for instance, 'after-colonial' or 'not-colonial' (Ha, 2015, p. 179).

A literature review shows that postcolonial theories incorporate anti-imperialistic, feminist, neo- and post-marxist, post-structuralist and psychoanalytical views as well as approving of methods from cultural and literature studies (Ha, 2015, p. 179 f.). Therefore lies in its body, namely its philosophical and ideological background, the criticism of eurocentrism sourcing from discourse and power analyses of Michel Foucault (1966), the deconstructivist tradition of Jacques Derrida (1978) and the philosophical concept of the 'rhizome' by Deleuze and Guattari (1980) as well as Lacan's reading of Freud (1992), including his philosophical views on language (1979). From this tradition, it becomes more visible what makes postcolonialism a non-hierarchical, non-linear endeavour that enterprises power-sensitive attitudes in order to break up and deconstruct hegemonic traditions of knowledge, applying a rather undogmatic strategy of trans-disciplinary modes of thought and their methods (Ha, 2015, p. 182 f.).

Postcolonialism is an enormous heterogeneous field of discourse. It analyses systems of power originating from colonialism which influences our present social hierarchies, discursive spaces, psychological relations, cultural assets, political and economical relations, historic developments in order to develop accurate historical conceptions and emancipatory alternatives for the world society (Ha, 2015, p. 177). Postcolonial criticism therefore is a field of interminable openness with trans-disciplinary access³ that refuses to accept academic boundaries and attempts of clear definitions. This is a polyphony that rejects modern coercion to uniformity and standardisation sanctioning

3 Kien Nghi Ha includes here the following groups of themes: colonialism, racism, nationalism, ethnicity, migration, cultural identity, body and performativity, feminism, sexuality and gender, representations, images, analyses of discourses, stereotyping and socio-cultural constructions, resistance, universality and difference, postmodern culture, globalisation, language, pedagogy, history, spatiality, labour, materialism, relations of production and consume etc.

and ostracising deviations from the norm (Ha, p. 178). This view touches on the boundaries of tourism for example sustainable tourism practices would be interpretable on Global North/South imbalances, involving discourses on power-sensitivity, inequality, historicity, economic systems, wealth and power distribution, ecological fragility, migration and cultural diversity.

Colonialism effects our present world in many domains and in order to illuminate the complex consequences and conditions (and within the practical field of tourism), one has to abandon all attempts to cut down and simplify the momentum of postcolonial criticism. For example, there cannot be a holistic discourse on gender equality without including other forms of systematic oppression such as classism, racism or ableism. These topics themselves are inter-sectionally connected and can only be treated appropriately when tackling power sensitive views.⁴

The next paragraphs are dedicated to historic framing of postcolonial theory. Many authors and scientists justly refuse to reproduce a so-called canon or a genealogy of postcolonialism as one can witness in the essay collection *Wie Rassismus aus Wörtern spricht*. Since 'postcolonialism' as a critical venture has already successfully overcome and deconstructed a mindset of "thinking in origins". As a form of a "meta-narrative" this perception is threatening to give the impression that postcolonial theory is subject to a linear, consecutive development. Nonetheless, a few outstanding individuals of postcolonial thought will be mentioned here for the sake of a clearer understanding of the movement, bearing in mind that this presentation falls victim to several shortcomings due to personal preferences, emphasis, reduction, selection and exclusion. Aimé Césaire und Léopold Senghor were representatives of La Négritude, an anti-colonial political and intellectual movement in the 1940s reclaiming the subject status for black people fighting for their own history, independent of the white view. Nonetheless, La Négritude eventually fell short to an essentialist view of black people which perceives that an entity (here the black population) is bound to be equipped with specific attributes and these must be essential to their identity (Schubert, 2015), to a spiritually loaded Afrocentrism (Ha, 2015 p. 181). However, this mindset becomes comprehensible regarding the theoretical and poetic efforts of La Négritude which were thought as a counterpoint to the powerful hegemonic colonial discourse of white supremacist ambitions (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015, p. 224).

4 For further reading see: Truth, S. (1851); Combahee River Collective. (1981); Crenshaw, K. (1989); McCall, L. (2001);

Frantz Fanon has a lasting effect on postcolonial studies today with his works *Black Skin, white Masks* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). Moreover Fanon, the political activist and psychologist, merged Marxist thought and psychological theory into his perceptions of the colonial conditions and identified the psychological dimensions of colonialism as a reciprocal process of white suppressors and black suppressed people.

In 1978, Edward W. Said wrote *Orientalism* representing one of the earlier examples that combine the application of French critical theory and anglophone cultural sciences and text traditions. This book has famously reshaped cultural and literature sciences and it has become a canonical work in Cultural Studies today (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015). Especially the discourses that represent the hegemonic epistemologies and material realities are being taken into focus of his work. This way, Said removes the alleged innocence of scientific disciplines such as literature sciences, orientalism, indology or ethnography/-logy, because they can no longer be described as neutral sciences whilst being contextualised directly within the reign of dominance and power as representatives of Western knowledge systems (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015).

The production and reception of English literature during the 19th century was directly related to the imperialistic mission, as shown by Said, to educate and civilise the colonial subjects. In contrast to Said who was primarily concerned with European literature, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak directed her attention to postcolonial texts and asked whether those will have the political and rhetorical power to challenge the “grand narratives” of colonial tradition. Spivak decidedly criticises the omission of colonialism and imperialism in 19th century history which is typical for Western universities and colleges until today. In her words, this is evidently the postcolonial continuation of epistemic power. Consequently Spivak demands, in *Death of a Discipline* (2004), a consequent revision of the canon and the development of literature sciences and humanities into trans-disciplinary and trans-national cultural sciences that must encounter consequences of (neo-)colonialism. From this perspective she succeeds to attack the totalising model of colonial discourse (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015).

Another cornerstone in postcolonial theory was formulated by Homi K. Bhabha whose main interests lie in the visualisation of forms of representation of cultural difference. He criticises Said's position since Said departs from a binary oppositional structure between powerful colonisers and the powerless colonised, because there is no space generated for negotiation and resistance, so Bhabha. He excludes all sorts of

homogenisation and totality, in researching these negotiations.

So in a short summary it could be shown that Said, Spivak and Bhabha are academic representatives in a stream of thought that critically analyses colonialism and racism as an imperial strategy of dominance. At this point it must be mentioned that postcolonialism in academics, as explained before, cannot meet the need to claim the tenors that are entailed in 'postcolonialism', since a much greater part of its power that shaped realities for many more people is derived from oppositional movements and resistance battles that were carried out in the streets. In this respect it remains to state that the author found himself troubled utilising postcolonialism in favour of the responsible tourism industry, to run the risk of eventually privileging the privileged, including the author. Hence, this thesis was developed in this area of internal conflict, which is why postcolonialism and the own positioning towards postcolonialism is embraced reflexively and critically. The following chapter will introduce the complex of sustainability, tourism and the critique thereof from a postcolonial view.

3. Sustainable development in tourism

In this chapter 'sustainable development', 'tourism' and a critique of 'sustainable development' will be contextualised, in order to achieve further clarity on what 'sustainable tourism' can be thought of. Also, for the purpose of this study, a conceptualisation of sorts can bring about whole new perspectives on the topic of racism in travel imagery and its systemic repercussions. As a first step the paradigm of sustainable development is to be summarised and combined with thoughts on tourism. In a second instance, 'socially responsible tourism' is to be clarified and potential meanings of this term will be defined. Thirdly, the sustainable development critique is to be included and reflected from the perspective of *Degrowth* and other development aid critiques representing one possible critical view in sustainable development. It is to state that there are many different interpretations of sustainability in the discourse, some of them are weaker interpretations, others yet again are stronger interpretations (Ballet, Dedeurwaerdere & Pelenc, 2015). Since the UNWTO (United Nations World Tourism Organisation) is closing shoulders with the SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) one can say that their interpretation is widely within the same realm of the UN (United Nations), the WTO (World Trade Organisation), and other UN organisations.

3.1. The paradigm of sustainable development and tourism

The UNWTO has announced the year 2017 the “International Year of Sustainable Tourism for Development” (<http://www2.unwto.org/tourism4development2017>, last retrieved: 6.3.2017) emphasising the close relation between the politics of development and tourism. Recalling facts and figures on the tourism industry in general, the global tourism sector marked its sixth consecutive year of growth in 2015. The arrivals peaked a total of 1,184 million travellers throughout the year signifying a growth of 4,4 %. International arrivals also grew by 4 % meaning that 50 million more tourists spent overnight stays compared to 2014. The ranking of top tourism arrival destinations listed Europe on rank one with 601 million travellers, followed by Asia and the Pacific with 278 million, the Americas with 191 million travellers and Africa and the Middle East region with 54 and 53 million. Europe, Asia and Americas all recorded a slight above average growth of 5 % - 7 %. Whilst the Middle East also grew by 3 %, slightly below the global average but recovered from a 2014 set back. African countries, where lack of statistical data must be mentioned, apparently lost international arrivals by 3 %. The prospects for 2016 results look confident for a general growth for each area by between 3 % - 7 % (WTO, 2016).

Furthermore, the international tourism sector is firmly placed in between economic industries and places third just behind the fuels and chemistry industry and ahead of the food and automotive production sectors. This illustrates the huge economic output of the sector around the world and emphasises its importance on the global scale. The UNWTO sets the agenda to develop actions to “harness the full potential [of tourism] to create jobs, drive inclusive growth and foster development” (WTO, 2016, p. 23).

Now, these are statistics that provide significant data on the relevance of global sustainable development and tourism as vehicle for this endeavour. Since tourism is explicitly mentioned in the 2030 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a “key sector” (WTO, 2015, p. 18), it shows that tourism is rooted politically and economically within the discourse on sustainable development. Sustainable development is commonly associated with three events initiating the global initiative for sustainable development (Kuhn, 2007). This is firstly, the publication of the study *The Limits of Growth* (1972), where researchers around Donella and Dennis Meadows connected economic local agency with the incapacity of the same agents to foresee global effects of their actions. They purport that global effects are neither controllable and perceivable by local actors,

nor do they have the capacity to counteract within their time frame. Secondly, the *UN Conference on the Human Environment* in 1972, the forerunner of 1992 *Rio Conference on Environment and Development* which marked the beginning of global environmental politics (Kuhn, 2007). And thirdly, the *Brundtland Report* scripted by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987), uniting experts on environment and development, formulating the paradigmatic idea of sustainable development as “Development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p. 43).

In other words, sustainable development means the management of resources for the own generation, allowing all communities “equitable development” without compromising the “resource base” for future descendants. This definition became integral part of the canon of sustainable development discourse. The sustainable development paradigm commenced, while incorporating scientific knowledge and the joint political aspirations of the international representatives. From this point the conceptional ideas became a discursive momentum.

Sustainable tourism today is understood as contributing to the sustainable development discourse in many different domains. The classic interpretation of sustainable tourism rests its managerial competencies on three pillars, the “triple-bottom-line set up”. It comprises ecological, socio-cultural and economic sustainability, where tourism is defined as a model for economic development that caters for a high quality experience for the tourist, furthers host communities in preserving their culture and promotes and restores jobs and cherishes the environment. These are all stakes that the host communities and the tourist depend on (WTO, 1993).

As part of the SDGs tourism is set to “end poverty, protect the planet, and ensure prosperity for all (<http://icr.unwto.org/content/tourism-and-sdgs>, last retrieved: 9.9.2016). More specifically, the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) is adamant that tourism is meant to actively support the global shift towards sustainability within the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (ibd.). According to the aims of sustainable tourism which is the promotion of tourism as a vehicle for sustainable development, there are three goals within the Agenda that literally mention tourism and its potential in sustainable development: Goal Eight foresees tourism as “driving force” in order to “promote sustained, inclusive and sustainable economic growth” and “employment” (ibd.) for all global citizens. Furthermore, tourism is

capable of fostering “sustainable consumption and production” (ibd.) along with goal twelve and finally, goal 14 aims to “conserve and sustainably use the oceans, seas and marine resources for sustainable development” (ibd.). Nonetheless, according to the UNWTO, tourism has a positive impact on every single SDG (<http://www.e-unwto.org/doi/pdf/10.18111/9789284417254>, last retrieved: 9.9.2016) emphasising its triple-bottom-line potential.

3.2. Socially responsible tourism

This chapter will elaborate responsible tourism terminologies that are categorised within the field of sustainable tourism. Despite the fact that 'responsible' tourism is not a trademarked term, there are similar but mostly varying interpretations by the agencies commonly referring to 'benefiting local communities'. Responsible travel, as a mode of practice, is therefore an ethical interpretation of tourism. It is purported that “tourism's positive potentialities outweigh anything hurtful” (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 22). Ideally, responsibility comprises all actions surrounding the practice of tourism. These actions understand responsible tourism as “a process of planning, policy and development that prioritises community-level involvement, sustainable resource management, equitable distribution of benefits, and minimal negative impacts to local contexts (Goodwin, 2011; Husbands & Harrison, 1996; Reid, 2003 in Grimwood, et al., 2014). Actors within the field, e.g. “The International Centre for Responsible Tourism” perceive their role as management strategists to “making better places for people to live in, and better places to visit” (ICRT, 2014) emphasising their supportive attitude towards the traveller and the travelled. The often quoted Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism in Destinations (CTD) operates on an extensive notion defining responsibility in travel in the following terms:

Table 1: *Qualities of responsible travel according to Cape Town Declaration on Responsible Tourism in Destinations*

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • generates greater economic benefits for local people and enhances the well-being of host communities, improves working conditions and access to the industry
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • involves local people in decisions that affect their lives and life chances
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • makes positive contributions to the conservation of natural and cultural heritage, to the maintenance of the world's diversity

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people, and a greater understanding of local cultural, social and environmental issues
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provides access for physically challenged people
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • minimises negative economic, environmental, and social impacts;
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • is culturally sensitive, engenders respect between tourists and hosts, and builds local pride and confidence

Source: CTD, 2002

Critics of practices of responsible tourism have focussed on the erosion of the concept, claiming that its utility as a “marketing ploy” (Wheeller, 1991 in Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 23) is widely performed rather than as “ethical planning mechanism” (ibd.). Others have stressed the ontological deficits of the term 'responsibility' in connection with tourism. In this sense, according to Fennel (2008), there is no “philosophical engagement” (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 23) with 'responsibility' in context with tourism. Sin (2010) unfolds the “power differentials reminiscent of colonial regimes” (ibd.).

A wider scope on tourism products in general is delivered by SNV tourism research institute dividing tourism roughly into two categories. The first category contains types, “that describe what the tourist does and/or where the tourism takes place” (SNV, 2009, p. 17). Among this category one can subsume tourism types that refer to the place of tourism such as adventure, culture, cruise, or nature, or types that refer to the traveller such as the backpacker or the educational traveller. The second category presumes a form of ethical value that comes along with the consumption of the tourism product. They are called eco-tourism, pro-poor tourism, green travel, geotourism and responsible tourism. These terms are not mutually exclusive and their utility comes down to the interpretation of the tourism marketer (ibd.).

It becomes apparent that different perspectives on social responsibility and diverging convictions about the tourism industry lead to various interpretations entailing the idea that responsible travel somehow “should” have the purpose to “outweigh anything hurtful” (Grimwood, et al., 2014, p. 22). In other words tourism should be beneficial to host communities. In connection with the Global North/South context the idea of tourism being beneficial to local communities correlates with discourses on sustainability in the sense of sustainable development, such as the alleviation of poverty and the preservation of environmental conditions. This perception will be contextualised

and worked with in the following chapters.

3.3. Criticism of sustainable development

As mentioned above, sustainable development is based on the ideology that economic growth will directly or indirectly lead to its success. This argument, however, can also be criticised for endorsing change under the wrong premises. Under the notion of growth sustainability basically comes automatically indicating that it is not necessary to rethink essential strategies and practices.

Viable criticism, for example, is articulated by the contemporary *Degrowth* movement in Europe, *Buen Vivir* from Latin America and *Swaraj* from India, questioning the paradigm of growth as the foundation of the global capitalist system. Their arguments focusses on the over-exploitation of the environment and consequences thereof, as well as the exploitation of human beings (Asara, et al., 2015). Despite the global ambitions to achieve sustainable resource utilisation in the past 50 years, humanity crossed four of nine planetary boundaries: “Climate change, impacts in biosphere integrity, land-system change and altered biochemical flows” (Steffen, et al., 2015 in Asara, et al., 2015, p. 375). At the same time inequality and wealth concentration have increased (Piketty, 2014 in Asara, et al., 2015), low growth rates “are likely to become the norm” (Summers, 2013; IMF, 2015; Teulings and Baldwin, 2015 in Asara, et al., 2015, p. 375) and public bailouts prevented the crash of systemically relevant private banks in 2008. Thus, “the three pillars of sustainability are [...] simultaneously threatened by an intertwined crisis” (Asara, et al., 2015, p. 375).

Therefore, there are various perceptions of sustainability that differ from and challenge the sustainability interpretations of the UN. Argumentatively, they focus on the critique of a capitalist system based on the understanding that the global crises lies within the orientation towards growth. In their opinion, sustainability is not achievable within the realm of growth orientation. According to Asara, et al., *Degrowth* rebuts and politicises the “contradiction between sustainability and economic growth” (2015, p. 375). From this perspective, there are problems implicated within the predominant concept of sustainable development.

Degrowth [Buen Vivir and Swaraj likewise] unveils the ideological role of capitalist growth (Purdey, 2010) and opens up the debate about the relations

between economy, society and sustainability, including their cognitive, material and political interactions (Asara, et al., 2015, p. 381).

Hence, a different implication for social sustainability is put forward, as promoting “social well-being and equity” (Asara, et al., 2015, p. 377) stressing global North-South relations outside the discourse of growth.

3.4. Postcolonial criticism on sustainable development paradigm

From postcolonial perspective, the development discourse itself is a Western concept that forces the Global South into economic parameters according to norms of the Global North. This operation serves and upholds colonial conditions which imply the ongoing exploitation of human and natural resources for unilateral wealth (Ziai, 2004). This is partly due to a refusal to connect present power and wealth conditions with the historic facts of colonialism. There are hardly any ambitions for reparations which would be the consequence of an honest acceptance of the joint colonial past. Instead, the denominisation of colonialism continues in terminologies that primarily describe an economic status (along values such as GDP), e.g. “developing country”, “emerging economy”, “least developed countries” and so forth. In the subtext of these terms lies the normative idea that the "West" is the norm and the rest shall be economically assimilated. Despite the fact that colonisers destroyed complex forms of society and economies (see chapter 4), socio-cultural and ecological consequences seem to be largely absent in the perception of the Global North. Yet there is hardly any self-awareness of the own role. Western nations keep reiterating the same paths of colonialism.

As Spivak (2003) stated in an interview, historically speaking, one can be fairly sceptical on humanitarian ambitions coming from the "West", either in form of state organised institutions or NGOs. The fact that their present actions have colonial parallels is ignored in their doing. If this fact is accepted, it could lead to a whole new discourse in development aid, education and in the development industry. The production of an awareness of colonial conditions in the past as well as in present will be a necessary consequence and it must lead to reflections upon the very own society, such as famously described by Spivak (2003), Bhabha (1994), Fanon (1981) and

others⁵. To think about the very own society in this context means to perceive racism as a white ideology of dominance and thus questions of privilege and power must be raised. Of course, this will imply a shift in research (Wollrad, 2006) directing the attention away from “educating” the Global South to educating the Global North and eventually a shift in public discourses can lead to a fairer and more sustainable society. This perception is widely neglected by the Global North, its actors and stakeholders as demonstrated by in their thoughtless activism in the Global South (ibd.).

For responsible travel this implies that ontological discussions on responsibility need be lead in the Global South, too, which is currently happening, assuming that CTD is a representative thereof. Discourses will have to articulate the colonial conditions with which Global North-South relations are shot through. Consequently, questions must be raised, e.g. how economic dependencies impact discourses and relations between travellers and the host communities with attention to self-determination, or how privilege and power imbalances influence the travellers' mind, just to mention some of the discourses that directly flowed from postcolonial theory.

In this chapter the relations between sustainable development, tourism and responsible tourism were reiterated. On the one hand, the immense potential of tourism was mentioned and its impact on many societies in the world. As well, it was stated that the sustainable development discourse itself is eurocentric and enforcing dynamics in the Global South that are neglecting the rights for self-determination. Sceptical movements were introduced criticising growth orientation, not only for the sake of climate change but also for the sake of “de-nomination” of colonial history and the ignorance of colonial conditions in the Global South and the Global North. However, it remains to say that for the purpose of this thesis the postcolonial perspective on this topic can only be treated superficially. It does not convey the full reach of criticism towards the development paradigm. The following chapter will be dedicated to clarify colonial conditions and contextualised with culture and tourism. Colonial conditions imply territorial conquest, dispersion of distinct systems of knowledge, as well as racism understood as a suppressive tool to legitimise the domination of groups of people.

5 Andreotti (2006); Arndt (2015a); Bendix (2015); Danielzik & Khan (2006); Castro Varela & Dhawan (2015); Ha (2015); Ha, et al., (2007); Katz (2003); Naemeka (2005); Ofuatey-Alazard (2015); Ziai (2004);

4. Colonialism in context

The following chapters will deal with colonial power mechanisms that helped develop and stabilise a global system of dominance. The power mechanisms concern following domains: Firstly, the conquest, control and the economic exploitation and the forceful integration into a global economic and societal system (4.1). Secondly, the global dispersion of European systems of knowledge (4.2.) will be treated and the shaping of the conscience of the (formerly) colonised and the (former) colonisers. Herein, binary representational models will be introduced exemplarily. Complementarily 'exotism' will be clarified. Thirdly, the establishment of racism as an ideology of dominance is portrayed (Arndt, 2015a, p. 41 ff.). Chapter 4.3. will demonstrate relations between racism, culture and tourism, emphasising the role of essentialism and the drawing of and "feeding off" (Huggan, 2001, p. 176) 'difference' in its effect. Finally, in chapter 4.4. relations between culture, racism and tourism will be highlighted in order to sum up the discussion on colonialism in context.

4.1. Conquest, control and economic exploitation

During the 15th century in Europe greater resistance was nourished from the mass against the possessing class, the king's royals and dukes but also against the church and the state. The ruling class felt pressured and tried to stop the protesters in their desire for freedom (Bendix, et al., 2013). However, in order to remain in power, they were effectuating land privatisations upon the rising mass. In order to maintain their power within their lands as well as against other threats from abroad, European Great Powers began to reach around the globe to exploit resources and enslave⁶ others as cheap labour forces (ibd.). Thereby the colonisers had destroyed the existing economic and social environments in order to replace them with systems they or their economic companies could make use of (Arndt, 2015b). The exploitation of the Global South lasted hundreds

6 The author advocates the term 'enslaved' to emphasise the outer force that has been put upon the people of the Global South. The term 'Slaves' loses this dimension. Similar semantic sidesteps were taken in e.g. "transatlantic slave trade" which is a euphemism, because "trade" means the selling and buying of goods and it is implied that this "trade" is done on mutual interest and on eye-level in a "trading" partnership (Ofuatey-Alazard, 2015, pp. 106). In this context Nadja Ofuatey-Alazard mentions Meissner, Mücke & Weber (2008), who state that the dealing with enslavement and "slave trade" leads one to the core of what has always been described as "Western modernity", in its inhumanity which has shown early on the Janus-faced imaginations for society and development that one would like to call "modernity". She (2015) adds that this connects to the "special value" of European identity which has been and is contoured throughout colonialism with suppression, dehumanisation and enslavement of the subaltern people.

of years and resulted in privatisations of many common goods as well as the destruction of cooperative and collective structures, also in Europe. This enabled the economic, military and political ascension of European states, the industrialisation in Europe and the global establishment of European capitalism (ibd.). Race ideologies and gender relations helped to make societies in Europe and in the colonies more accessible for capitalistic⁷ exploitation (ibd.). The developed socio-economic and political structures are up to the present today the basis for the worldwide supremacy of the Global North, including elites in the Global South (ibd.).

After the predation of resources and the enslavement of the people of the Global South the economies and societies in the Americas, Africa, Asia and Australia were gradually aligned with European needs (Arndt, 2015b). For example monocultures were introduced into the agricultural markets so that only few resources dominated the global markets (Bendix, et al., 2013). That implied for many countries that they were drawn into dependency upon supply and demand by international enterprises and consumers from the Global North. At the same time corporations of the Global North cultivated crops that were of no direct practical use for the respective inhabitants. The economic exploitation of colonised lands as well as the global dispersion of capitalism involved disposessions, displacements, compulsory labour, genocides, rapes of the particular populations and the destruction of political, religious and (collective) social structures in the Global South (Galeano, 2002).

These implemented relations of dependencies have not changed fundamentally for many countries and societies. On the contrary, the portfolio of resources has expanded, for instance coltan for mobile phones or soy for feeding in industrial factory farming. Without the continuous exploitation of humans in the Global South (and many underpaid and precariously employed Europeans) many of our everyday coffee, phones and clothes would be expensive and transnational companies would not gain respective revenues. Within the Global North companies – especially large and established companies – are therefore profiting still from the colonial exploitation history (ibd.).

The circumstance that groups of people in the Global South do not own lands for agricultural subsistence and that they are partly dependent on imports and food aid, is mainly the result of colonial agricultural structures. These also include the application of the principle of private ownership of land and the globalisation of the capitalistically

7 'Capitalism' is understood not only as economic system but as a system that percolates all areas of living (for instance education, living spheres, health, human relations etc.) in a society.

organised agrarian economy (and the therewith connected wealth of the Global North). All of this is pronounced in the South as e.g. the continuation of production for foreign markets, in food market speculations, in monoculture and in the massive acquisition of land through major corporations (Bendix, et al., 2013). Many societies have managed to get rid of their European colonisers but in most of the regions colonisation led to genocides or imported diseases that destroyed societies partly or even wholly. In Australia, New Zealand, the USA or Argentina this happened to such an extent that the territories became quasi-European regions with white majority societies in terms of population constituency, language and cultural heritage (ibd.). The white occupants and their descendants profited from the emigration from European soils. Thus, within the racist societal structures established by the European elites, the colonisers could locate themselves suddenly in higher social positions than compared to their home status. Therefore they were experiencing a form of social promotion. In contrast, the minorities have been experiencing economic, social, political and legal suppression until today (Galeano, 2002).

4.2. Dispersion of European systems of knowledge

A second dimension of European colonialism and its contemporary repercussions touches the dispersion of European systems of knowledge. What was/is the respective truth and state of knowledge or science in Europe, was/is accepted as norms which had/have to be acknowledged by the (formerly) colonised. Thereby, systems of knowledge could be the “right” religion (Christianity) (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015), the “right” healthcare system (the so called academic medicine), the “right” system of education (schools in the European model and scripturality), the “right” political system (representative democracy: competition between parties as representatives), the “right” gender relation (for there is only man and woman, woman is subordinate or opposite to man), or the “right” economic system (capitalism or free/social market economy) (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015; Arndt, 2015b; Said, 1978).

The knowledge systems of the societies that were encountered by the European colonisers, were not recognised as true knowledge but were depreciated as reputedly superstitious, traditional, primitive or the like. But further so, societies and more precisely the black subject was defined and described commonly as savage, wild, brutal, sexual, childish, emotional and uneducated. Tragically, these chains of associations were

repeated over centuries and carved into white collective minds. At the same time the white subject defined himself as the opposite, as civilised, modern, educated and rational. Due to its dualistic nature this phenomenon is called binary representation model (Hall, 2004). By projecting fears and through sheer ignorance about the “other” white colonial fantasies became essentially stigmas. The mentioning of the black subject triggers defective chains of association in the white subject's mind. This is a revealing example for the power of definition and knowledge creation by the colonisers about the “other” (Naemeka, 2005).

The belief about the superiority of European traditions such as the concept of nation states, academic medicine and capitalism was not perceived as superstitious or traditional. Dominant European forms of knowledge were announced as the only truth and as the only path to foster prosperity. An establishment of these structures was pursued against great resistance of the colonised societies (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015).

Within Europe it is notable that the ruling elite undertook measures to establish a Christian, patriarchal, “modern” and capitalistic order of society, whereby many other forms of belief, knowledge and economy were suppressed and eradicated (Kuhn & Rüsen, 1982). An example for these measures is the so called witch-hunt, where women particularly those with medical knowledge were persecuted. Through witch-hunts the impact of women, their infiltration of patriarchal power structures and their resistance against the feudal system was defeated (ibd.). Therefore, the destruction of (collective) knowledge and organisation forms was and is also a central instrument of control, suppression and the creation of power relations.

The anticolonial movements in the 20th century that became powerful after resisting the colonisers often overtook the organisational systems and structures of the colonial powers (for example political and economic organisation of the country; healthcare systems; religion). Occasionally, this was in the interest of the elites, educated in the Global North, often the independent societies had no choice but to overtake existing organisational forms (Bendix, et al., 2013). Partly, it was a condition for the withdrawal of the colonial power that political and sociocultural structures had to persist. Often times there seemed to be hardly any options for the former colonies than adapting to the capitalistic system and position themselves in the international organisation of the same in order to survive (Fanon, 1981).

In fact, they were politically and economically dependent on the former colonisers,

because due to the infrastructural conditions the former colonisers were the only potential consumers of their monocultures. However, many states tried to emancipate from the influence of the former colonial powers through the orientation towards socialist economic models and the cooperation amongst each other or the Soviet Union (Bendix, et al., 2013). During the times of the so called “cold war” many former colonies had flourished until the downfall of the Soviet Union (Castro Varela & Dhawan, 2015). However, within the fight for spheres of influence many colonised countries became war scenes (e.g. Vietnam, Korea, Mozambique, Angola, Congo, Chile, Nicaragua and so forth). Many other countries such as Cuba, Libya and Iran were stigmatised as “rogue nations” due to their endeavours for treading their own paths of economic existence during times of global animosities (Bendix, et al., 2013).

Hence, colonialism not only represents the destruction of existing belief and knowledge systems but also the replacement with Western organisational systems and structures. This led to the phenomenon that almost the whole world had to orientate and live along European economic ideals, either through adaptation or in the resistance against it. Despite this violent history, Europe is associated with progress and civilisation, whilst other societies became “under-developed” (Ziai, 2004). This required a central strategy in relation to the production and destruction of knowledge that partly persists until today: Human beings, territories and objects are being measured along Western standards and consequently labelled, categorised and rated accordingly (through language, imagery and white perspectives) – this has been accompanied by military and political control as well as exploitation of goods and labour and the integration into the dominant economic order of the Global North (ibd.).

Hundreds of different societies in vast territories were, for instance, reduced to “Indians”, embodying all racist ascriptions existent in European consciousness: savagery, pride, nakedness, touch with nature, brutality. This entailed, by the combination of economic and political power that such ascriptions and concomitant devaluations eventually became universal (Sow, 2015). So it happens that it is still spoken of “the discovery of the Americas in 1492”, even though there have been people living in complex societies for thousands of years before European colonisers could set foot on the continent. Even though the discovery meant death and suppression for millions of people, the conquest of the Americas is still cynically celebrated as a great historical event in the “West” (Dietrich & Strohschein, 2015).

Also, it is commonly spoken about African “tribes” and their “dialects”. These

derogatory terms have nothing in common with the bandwidth of existing political and societal structures but they are European colonial inventions that served to trivialise and standardise other forms of social order to rearrange them in lesser complex structures in order to control people more effectively (Sow, 2008).

Overall, colonialism led to an occupation and formation of the mind of the coloniser (and the colonised). Thus, colonisation of the mind continues until today and it coins our perception of the world, our self-perception and our image of the “other”, as well as the "own" identities (Fanon, 1961; Katz, 2003). In the subsequent section it will be further illustrated how the identities of the "other" were shaped with regard to the history of colonialism, namely by a racist phenomenon called 'exotism'.

The term [exotism] comes essentially from botany and describes a species from a foreign place and therefore not indigenous. Since the 16th century at least, in Europe, it has come to represent foreignness and alien culture. (Nayar, 2015, p. 76)

This perception very much accrues within tourism. Especially responsible travel, for many associated with learning about cultures, worshipping of the cultural or ethnical “other” is central to it. The exotic “was something to be collected and viewed as 'curious'” (ibd.), objects such as china, pottery, textiles, stones and plants but also animals and eventually human beings were drawn together in the mother lands of the colonisers by administrators, treasure hunters or collectors. At its peak there were ethnological expositions of human beings in zoos displayed for the curious masses. The following example is an announcement in the newspaper about Ota Benga, the latest attraction in New York Zoo in 1906:

From his native land of darkness to the country of the free in the interest of science and of broad humanity brought wee little Ota Benga dwarfed, benighted, without guile scarcely more than ape or monkey yet a man a while! (The New York Times, September 10, 1906 cit. in Naemeka, 2005, p. 90)

This fashion was not only helpful in satisfying scientific curiosity as stated in this citation but it can be perceived today as a mere demonstration of power. “The exotic

was not simply about casting the non-European as the racial and cultural 'other' but about demonstrating the expansion of European power into distant parts of the world" (Nayar, 2015, p. 76). It was the great empire reaching into the last corners of the world to acquire their treasures which the citizens of Paris, London, New York and Berlin were representatives of and towards which they could feel superior.

The acquisition of the "other" which satisfied the need for an upgrade of the own identity as stated here: "country of the free in the interest [...] of broad humanity", lead to the promotion of simplified and distorted self-images, deriving from colonialism. The ascriptions of Ota Benga being "dwarfed, benighted, without a guile, more than ape or monkey, yet a man a while!", represent the common view of the savage, uneducated, naïve and wild human being that were constructed in colonial imagery of the "other", converging in one individual.

Part of the success of their establishment was an interpretation of culture which is called essentialism, foreseeing a set of unchangeable attributes to certain groups of people. These attributes may be charged positively which is called exotism, or it can be charged negatively which is commonly described as racism. In the middle of both lies the connoted message of alienness, 'otherness' to whatever is called the own. Having defined exotism as a sort of 'positive' form of domination, the following will now introduce racism as a 'negative' ideology of domination.

4.3. Racism, an ideology of dominance

The racist distinction between the colonisers and the colonised was one of the most important ideological foundations for the European colonial dominance (Rommelspacher, 2015). It created a power structure that introduced and solidified hierarchies on the basis of race. Among other things, it served to avoid solidarities between white people and black people and people of colour to suffocate the struggle by excluded and exploited white people and enslaved black people or people of colour against their suppressors. The so called "New York Conspiracy" in 1741 is an example of such a joint struggle, where the city of New York should have been taken from the sovereigns by the poor white and enslaved black resistance. Racism today, focussing on the drawing of boundaries between the "self" and the "other" cannot be understood without looking into the colonial past and present. In fact, what constitutes the "self" and the "other" is not a set measure but it has changed during the course of history until

today (ibd.).

During European Middle Ages there was a border drawn between “believers” (Christians) and “non-believers”, so the demarcation was set alongside attitudes towards religion. However, after (forceful) Christianisation was accomplished, colonisers could not legitimise unequal treatment through religion anymore. So, differences between people were drawn along and inside bodies and it was claimed consequently they were unchangeable and inheritable (Arndt, 2015a). Through humanities and natural sciences but also with help from literature and other media it was attempted to prove that there were different human races and that white people were superior to all “others” and that whites were at the peak of a supposed human evolution.⁸ The process of racial construction and the reasoning of white supremacy within Europe was fulfilled before colonial times with Jewish minority populations. Due to the impression of the own higher “racial” value white Europeans deduced the rightful duty to “civilise” and “develop” others by means of violence (ibd.).

Colonialism had to be legitimised and justified even though it had been established during times, when the ideas of freedom, equality and civil and human rights were discussed in Europe, for instance, during the French Revolution. European schools teach today that these values and rights were pronounced and applied during “enlightenment” and that they are still effecting our lives in the present. Nonetheless, in political reality freedom, equality and civil rights were valid for white people or wealthy men with high civil status. Other human beings were excluded by their class, their alleged gender and race within and outside of Europe in different ways (ibd.). Nowadays those ways and perspectives are rarely taught at European schools (Andreotti, 2006). They are highlighted as great achievements of humanity, such as the “exploration” of “India” or the “enlightenment”, as mentioned above. Until today, the white, male, bourgeois subject counts directly or indirectly as normative. After German National Socialism and the racially legitimised murder of millions of human beings in Europe, such as the Shoah, Porajmos, the killing of “Slavics” and black people and other people of colour (Rommelspacher, 2015) the idea of different races and the superiority of the white male, could not be supported openly any more.

In order to maintain the established demarcations, new differences had to be identified between the “own” and the “other”. Depending on how close the “others” came to

8 Representatives are: Immanuel Kant, Carl von Linné, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (Bancel, et al., 2014)

European ideals, they were classified as more or less naturally subordinate to the “Arian race”. In other words, the border was drawn along the line of how similar they were to the picture that the Europeans had of themselves. People and scientists increasingly began to entrench the terms “developed” and “not or not yet developed” or “underdeveloped”. It was not a new differentiation, even though it was now stressed stronger. To bring “development” was an important aspect of colonial domination (Bendix, 2015). It legitimised intervention, as the following statement of state secretary Bernhard Dernburg of the German Reichs-Kolonialamt from 1907 demonstrates:

When colonised earlier, with means of destruction, today it can be colonised with means of preservation, and for this purpose the missionary is needed, the medic, the railway system, the machine, advanced theoretic and applied sciences in all branches. (Speitkamp, 2005, p. 140)

This quote is a strong reminder of development politics today, where orientation towards Western healthcare systems and technological know how is complacent in order to direct measures of development to the colonies.

So, differences from then on were explained not prevalently biologically and along natural sciences but predominantly culturally and economically, by means of technological “progress” (Bendix, 2015). What remained was a world-view in which white and Western people apprehend themselves as the measure of all things, at the peak and as a role model of an alleged development and at the same time, classify and devalue other human beings, societies and ways of living as backward or underdeveloped (Arndt, 2015c).

Also, it remains an ideology that works along the same or similar principles as the mindset of colonial race concepts, where people are discriminated which brings about fatal material and severe psychological consequences. The different dimensions of colonial dominance that are displayed here (territorial control, economic control, dispersion of European systems of knowledge, racism) are to be understood as simultaneously effective (Arndt, 2015a). Consequently, the persisting effects of those imply for Western societies and the relations between Global North and Global South that humanity is living a colonial present.

Within the colonial present of North-South relations Western European countries find themselves generally in a power position. Indeed, these positions of power are not

constant but dependent on the respective position in society that is diverse and dependent on the individual situation: Did I migrate to Europe?; Has my family migrated?; Am I being discriminated because of race?; Do I have a higher education?; Do my parents have a higher education?; Am I socialised as a man?; was I brought up as a man?; Do I feel fine with the ascribed gender or did I chose a trans-identity?; What does this mean in another societal context? (Karawanskij, et al., 2010) So, when engaging in Global North-South relations critical reflection on the privileged position in society has to be involved.

4.4. Racism and culture – structural relationships in tourism

As mentioned in the previous chapter there is no universal definition of 'racism', because one of its characteristics is that it is highly adaptable. The respective profiteers will situational alter the concept and apply it to their custom (for example against Jews, against inhabitants of America by European conquerors, against Irish by English until 20th century, against Africans since more than 500 years, against Roma and Romni in Europe until present) (Rommelspacher, 2015). In this chapter it will be demonstrated how racism works today in connection with culture and in context of tourism.

Tourism demands uniqueness. A form of uniqueness is found in “different cultures” that can be experienced. No matter if pop-culture or high-cultural relics of the past – culture that is worth visiting – is preferred to be different from the own “cultural background”. Reference point for the discovery of 'difference' is the own culture, the tourist's culture and its tourist industry. However, often this 'difference' is produced and constructed through travel itself. Since, the tourists' views and perspectives are selective and accord to our own expectations and desires shaped through the own “cultural background”. In other words, what one perceives during travel is clung to what is apparently different to oneself. This is intriguing, because often the transgression of the constructed differences are motivation and aim for travel itself (Goethe, 2002).

This view is backed by key theories in tourism motivation. Cohen and Plog (Mason, 2016) both assume 'otherness' as reference point in their travel motivation theories. To begin with, Cohen lists a number of reasons, so called “push” and “pull” factors that lead to travel motivation. Whilst “push” factors represent a number of perceived negative factors that the tourist finds her/himself in, for instance, pressure at work or a desire for change, “pull” factors represent positive factors of a destination, such as

relaxation at a promised image scenery, better weather conditions and so forth. However, according to Cohen the tourist balances his/her decision along with the perceived strangeness or familiarity of the destination. Here, 'otherness' is constructed as a reference point in order to describe a degree of identification with the host community or destination. Dependent on the travel type, the drifter will chose a location of strangeness as desired, whereas the mass tourist will rather prefer familiarity, where interaction with the host community is less likely (Mason, 2016). Referring back to Goethe's theory, it is notable that both extreme types of travellers will chose their destination in reflection on the own culture. What is perceived as familiar or strange comes down to the "self".

Plog's theory extends to further categories. In his cognitive normative model he introduces categories that resemble psychological ascriptions of tourist preferences. Three categories come about: The traveller as being rather confident and inquisitive and therefore 'allo-centric', in contrast to the inhibited and relatively non-adventurous traveller as being more 'psych-centric'. A 'mid-centric' traveller can be an individual travelling to places with growing popularity, who is self-dependent but also likes touristic developed routes (Mason, 2016). These categories ascribe psychological attitudes that are trying to predict a traveller's preference in interacting with the host community. 'Psych-centric' travellers are predominantly concerned with themselves, whereas 'allo-centric' individuals are akin to interact with the local community. Hence, in his theory, all types of travellers relate to their own culture, when deciding upon interaction.

The reference point to where the line to 'otherness' is drawn, is a crucial point in touristic activity. Since travelling resembles the transgression of these boundaries and it happens every day in tourism practice, hence cultural difference is marked and reproduced by tourism constantly.

Racism, as an ideology, likewise adheres to the construction of 'difference'. 'Otherness' in travel and racism is rated just differently, though. Whilst the practice of tourism enables to experience difference in an alleged positive way, racism serves to demarcate, to de-evaluate and to exclude. Racism separates groups along real and socially constructed differences and it categorises them into a hierarchy which is embedded into existing relations of domination that are thus enforced and reproduced. A racist ideology is arranged on an explicit demarcation between the "self" and the "other". Furthermore, the transgression of this boundary in between, whether this boundary may be

constructed culturally, politically, biologically – it is usually drawn by a nation state - is only desired if conforming to capitalistic interests (Backes, et al., 2002; Danielzik & Khan, 2006; Ziai, 2004). The interests of colonial and capitalistic expansion determine the course of the border as well as the modalities of its transgression. On those real and imaginative boundaries tourism and racism coincide (ibd.).

The often claimed counter-thesis states that tourism actually has the capacity to deconstruct 'difference', in other words prejudice and stereotype, in direct encounter between the tourist and the unfamiliar. However, it is argued that there is a more thorough, structural connection in 'otherness' in tourist activities and racism. Travel and racism are based on the construction of boundaries between different cultures (Goethe, 2002) which affects our experience with and through the “other”. Tourism enforces a symbolic order of the world based on the assumption that tourism produces 'difference'. The world order is based on culturally defined racist categories. By elaborating this relationship it can be assumed how tourism will have to be revised structurally in order not to sustain a racist world order in its practice.

This demands to take a closer look into what culture signifies in context of tourism and in contrast to civilisation. These terms mark a crease in the discussion branding the distinction between the "self" and the "other". The following example from 'responsibletravel.com' (URL below the quote) is of interest here:

Cuba's beaches and bays are a must however, stepping into Havana on your Cuba holidays presents a nostalgic world of classic cars, crackling transistor radios and clacking dominoes whilst children play with handmade toys in the street. Meander into the countryside to find farmers riding horses through forests, oxen ploughing fields, wheelbarrows spilling over with home grown veg and rocking chair bound residents sipping rum on the porch. (<http://www.responsibletravel.com/holidays/cuba> last retrieved: 8.9.2016)

The example represents the oversimplification of “culture” tourism marketing works with. Everything is attributed to culture and it is hence worth visiting. May it be the nostalgic cars of Havana or “wheelbarrows spilling over with home grown veg”. Everything counts as culture and will be commercialised accordingly. However, with this seemingly ample view a more static interpretation of “culture” becomes apparent.

The tourism scientists Hansruedi Müller and Marion Thiem (1995) for example define culture as, what is typical for a community and a distinct region. An interpretation of sort works in favour of the tourism industry. Cultures become understandable as closed entities with their respective specialities that are retrievable in certain places, that can be visited and they are more or less well interpretable. Essentially, cultures are like plants, according to Müller and Thiem, they are different from one another in measure and size and they need to be well looked after (if elation is to be attained from them). Central for this reading is locality, because they 'grow' only in 'distinct regions' that are favourable for them.

The example above represents this interpretation of “culture” as local but in an oversimplification. “Nostalgic world of classic cars” meet “children play[ing] with handmade toys in the street”. This kind of understanding is often accompanied by the lament of the destruction of culture through tourism itself. Not only from circles that perceive tourism as critical it is often complained about, how until now “untouched and intact cultures” are being “infected” or “diluted” through contact with the “West”:

The transformation of the island nation (Cuba) as it begins normalising relations with its long-estranged northern neighbour will be fascinating to witness. These long-awaited changes will be dramatic as well as historic, and travellers have the opportunity to visit and interact with a true country-in-transition. (<http://ethicaltraveler.org/reports/destinations/the-worlds-ten-best-ethical-destinations-2016/>, last retrieved: 8.9.2016)

In the subtext of this reiteration about the lately developed diplomatic binds between the US and Cuba, lies a binary construction of the distinction between “culture” and “civilisation”. The latter term is applied to the “northern neighbour” threatening to destroy the precious idyll of an island. Cuba is hereby romanticised as a cultural entity which is now subject to a “transition”. It is neglected in this quote that all global communities find themselves in constant fluidity since decades through globalising dynamics without exception those who are travel destinations. What is vital about this understanding of culture is its static and essentialising interpretation. This perception, as shared by Müller and Thiem, is found often in tourism marketing.

In contrast to this perception the field of Cultural Studies operate the term in an ample but concise interpretation. Here, culture is commonly understood as interaction between

values and everyday actions, between structure and practice, occurring beyond national borders (Welsch, 1999). Culture contains 'maps of meaning' (Clarke in Kalpaka & R  thzel, 1990), availing its objects for its members. The 'maps of meaning' are not just carried around in ones head: They are objectified in forms of societal organisation and relations, through which the individual attains its societal constitution (ibd.). Culture is the way relations in a group are structured and formed (ibd.). However, it is also the manner how these forms are being experienced, understood and interpreted (ibd.). Thus, in this interpretation, the existent cultural patterns form a kind of historic reservoir, or a pre-constituted field of possibilities which are captured, transformed and developed by groups (ibd.).

Therefore, culture does not only imply traditions and rituals but also contains an implicit knowledge about how actors, organisations, objects, relations and the "self" are to be understood within society (Welsch, 1999). Also knowledge is fluid and changeable through experiences of individuals and organisation within historic developments (ibd.). So, tourism also takes part in the production of knowledge on the one hand through travel itself and the interaction between individuals and groups, and on the other hand through image production. Tourism co-authors the 'maps of meaning' how individuals experience their own societies and those of others (Clarke in Kalpaka & R  thzel, 1990). In this sense, culture and tourism are often closely related with each other both for travelling societies, and the travelled. Whilst tourism takes possession of culture, it is also part of culture. In tourism, with tourism and through tourism people develop their cultures (Hahn & Kagelmann, 1993).

The interaction between tourism and racism can be described analogously. Through the production and solidification of cultural difference on the individual level when travelling, on medial level in travel brochures and travel guides, as well on the international level of the tourism industry, tourism plays an important role in the production and reproduction of racist images and structures (Goethe, 2002). Due to the fact that tourism pretends to cross national and cultural borders in an unprecedented extent, it is quickly neglected that tourism is dependent on these borders and massively participating in the (re-)production of the same (Backes, et al., 2002). Every transgression affirms the expectation to leave what is called the "self" and to face the "other" in its actual form in its actual place. The personal transgression of those borders makes them real, eventually (ibd.).

Therefore, tourism produces and enforces 'difference' in an essentialist way, where the

"other" is perceived as static and local and the "self" opens up a realm of desires and imaginations of the different "other" which is about to be experienced. This is how tourism takes part in the construction of a symbolic world order, wherein the active, free and mobile part of the world faces many authentic parts of the world in their historic stalemate (Goethe, 2002). A world that consists of one superior civilisation and many cultures to be travelled to.

In the following, the analysis of image and text material will be conducted, in order to research the representation of the "other" in the Global South.

Part II

*"[...] when we reject the single story,
when we realize that there is never a single story about any place,
we regain a kind of paradise."*

Chimamanda Ngozi Adichie, (2009)

*"It is not our differences that divide us.
It is our inability to recognize, accept and celebrate those differences."*

Audre Lorde

5. Analysis of imagery and text of responsible tourism products

The first part of this thesis introduced the reader into basic taxonomies of postcolonial theory. Furthermore, the theory itself has found entry explaining its historic origin and its theoretical foundation. Consequently, a critical analysis of sustainable development, tourism and postcolonial perspectives were deployed to frame the discussion into its contemporary conditions. In the last chapter of part one colonialism was contextualised emphasising on the shared history between the Global South and the Global North and its effects into present. The discussion culminated in the theoretical analysis of tourism's

and racisms' creation of 'difference' through over-simplifying and under-complex perceptions of culture.

The analysis in the second part of this research will shed light on the construction of 'difference' in examples of online responsible travel advertisements. Firstly, the theoretical foundations will be clarified on the basis of which the methodology is implemented. Secondly, insights will be provided on the selection of the material. In a third instance, each methodology will be introduced and consequently followed up by an analysis.

5.1. Approach

This second part of the thesis will focus on the application of postcolonial theory on the subject area of outbound responsible tourism online advertisements. Examples of text and imagery collected from online responsible tourism resources will be reflected from a postcolonial perspective. At first, the methodological approach will apply Roland Barthe's (1979, 1990a, 1990b) theory on image interpretation (5.4.2), Benford & Snow (1988, 1992, 2000) will be included for the textual analysis (5.4.1.1) and Mayring (2003) (5.4.1.2) on questions regarding the consumption of responsible travel. To begin with, the methodological aspects of visuality and text theory will be explained. An emphasis is laid on the basic ideas of visual culture, a field of study that is occupied with the question on how imagery impacts the production of realities in society. The visual culture approach (5.2.1) sources important impulses from semiotic theories (5.2.2) which propose picture analysis techniques regarding dimensions of singular photographs. For this purpose several images will be chosen that will represent responsible travel advertisements in an exemplary way (Stöckl, 2004). As semiotic theory will provide the access to our case studies, conceptional ideas from Roland Barthes on imagery analysis will be included which will be highlighted at the beginning of the chapter.

After explaining the foundation of the visual arts theory, the chapter hereafter, will include elucidations on the exemplary material of responsible tourism practice. In order to achieve that, the basic access to the field and the material of responsible tourism will be explained (5.3.1) and secondly, the selected material is to be presented (5.3.1). To conclude, reflections will be proposed on the purpose of responsible tourism advertisement as bearing twofold objectives: On the one hand the imagery will include

product advertisement communication and on the other hand it will draw on ethical mobilisation of the consumer. In the selection of the method chosen, these aspects must be considered (5.3.2. & 5.3.3.).

The actual analysis of the selected material will be separated in two subordinate steps, according to a procedure proposed by Roland Barthes (1990b) in his essay *Rhétorique de l'image*. The first step will regard the lingual or textual messages the images support, because the meaning of the imagery is complemented largely by the accompanied texts around it (5.4.1). For an appropriate analysis of the ethical dimension of the material the framing approach will be drawn upon which is common in social movement research. The commercial dimension of the material will be researched by a qualitative content analysis.

In a second step of the image analysis the attention will be directed to the actual photographs that were selected as examples for travel advertisements to destinations of the Global South (5.4.2). Hereby the division of 'connotative' and 'denotative' picture layers will be elemental for its understanding. After a brief explanation of connotation and denotation the respective image layers will be analysed. The denotative layer initially describes the essential elements that are visible in the pictures (5.4.2.1). In the connotative layer the symbolic messages are put into perspective (5.4.2.2). To summarise, the final section will deal with the meanings the selected photographs transport on different levels, in order to filter and make them more visible. The results will be evaluated in the last chapter of the analysis.

5.2. Theoretical thoughts on visuality

5.2.1. Visual culture and image constructions of societal reality

As illustrated in chapter 4.2. and following, responsible tourism is part of a global endeavour of knowledge production about the “other” through advertising, photography and travel itself. The consequence is an inexhaustible reservoir of visual representation of the “other” “through which meanings are produced, identities constituted, [and] social relations established” (Campbell, 2009, p. 166 in Grimwood, et al., 2015). It is through visual representations that “permeate power relations” (Grimwood, et al. 2015, p. 23) which are the theoretical foundation of this study. In order to approach these representations academic views from 'Visual Culture' are endorsed.

Since the mid 1990s a methodological approach within the field of cultural studies has

been established under the tag of 'Visual Culture' which is backed by the recent surge of publications that can be observed in the English speaking spheres of that stream of social science (Schaffer, 2008). Many publications follow the lead on the construction of Visual Culture as subject field in connection with Cultural Studies that aim to analyse the relations between visibility and representation, mediality and identity (Holert, 2000). A main focal point that is thought inter- or trans-disciplinarily, is the so called "pictorial turn" (Mitchell, 1997) proclaimed by W. J. T. Mitchell which is constantly gaining meaning and plausibility, regarding the fact that imagery is increasing within a media society and an information society. 'Turn', in this context, means the scientific focus of cultural constructions of visual experience in everyday life, in media, representation and also in visual arts (Maasen, Maierhauser & Renggli, 2006). Mitchell's interest thus relies on visual arts in total. Besides arts Mitchell is concerned with phenomena of mass-media maintaining a claim on historic orientation and sociological analysis (Schneider, 2008). The access to the research field extends the aforementioned aspects by far and relates, as a trans-disciplinary layout, to important impulses from psychology and post-modern philosophy (Stöckl, 2004). The objects of studies from 'Visual Culture' are just as diverse, including for example motion picture, paintings and photography (Regener, 2006).

An important starting point for 'Visual Culture' approaches is the presumption, according to Mitchell (2008), to perceive 'seeing' and 'visual' pictures generally as symbolic constructions. Instead of exclusively viewing the societal constructions, Mitchell aims to frame visual constructions of the social field (ibid.). Holert (2005) purports the idea that this approach actually enables to question common causalities and dependencies. Through this, the possibility is given to gain a visual conception of society, wherein imagery is not only regarded as documents and illustrations of society but also as participating and shaping of societal processes (ibid.). This view counteracts the common conviction that regards images as immediate and natural depiction of reality which tends to equalise the singular picture with the depicted reality (Maasen, Maierhauser & Renggli, 2006). Instead, it embraces the principle that pictures do not simply depict reality but are an essential part of the construction of societal reality (ibid.). A Visual Culture approach on imagery shows that it can be questioned how pictures articulate meanings and how they are part of the production of societal reality and the respective power relations. For the following analysis this means that a critical analysis of image productions has to presuppose that the production of imagery itself

being not an innocent, neutral action but a powerful act of construction, producing imaginations and perspectives of realities (Hornscheidt, 2010). Opposing the general view of the absolute objectivity of images, wherein the act of seeing is a direct and genuine access to reality (ibd.), one is asked to question the constructions created by imagery and to focus on the messages that images transport (Hall, 2004).

5.2.2. The semiotics of images according to Roland Barthes

Semiotic analyses are based on the idea that images contain signs which communicate meaning. According to Roland Barthes' consideration, signs generally contain two different spheres of meaning, whereby a denotative layer and a connotative layer can be distinguished (Barthes, 1979). Denotation refers to meaning that is defined in a system of signs representing conventions. As signs themselves can touch on a second system of signs within a new level of expression (Hepp, 2010), a further component of meaning can be implied: the connotation. Connotation is understood as a component of meaning which superposes the denoted meaning and evades from the explicit context (ibd.). In other words, signs can represent several aspects of meaning, whereby one of them is the primary meaning and another represents rather the secondary meaning. The secondary meaning, the connotation, is not arbitrary but rather conventionally or discursively well structured. This is the reason why the connotation is analytically accessible for Cultural Studies (ibd.).

In respect of visual aspects, Barthes (1990a, 1990b) emphasises how these findings can be made valuable for photography. He states that photography within societal perception rather performs as a mechanic analogy of reality and that it seems to be exclusively constituted and occupied by its denoted messages (Barthes, 1990a). He refers to the presumption that photography represents a form of total objectivity of images (ibd.), where it is presupposed that solely those objects are depicted that are existent in reality. According to this misconception, photography will only produce images without code and therefore only represent pure denotations (ibd.). Hence, connotation here means the insertion of an additional meaning in the actual photographic message. Accordingly, there exists a second layer in photography that transgresses denotation and exhibits another level of expression and content, which is called 'signifié' and the 'signifiant' in Barthes' literature. Hence, images always imply a symbolic message (Barthes, 1990b) which is, as Barthes emphasises, naturalised by its denoted message. This observation

of Barthes describes an effect upon the observer one needs to be aware of. In order to identify appropriate meanings on the connotative level of the image, it is useful to bear in mind that its symbolic content is altered by the natural attire of the denotation. Therefore in photography a kind of natural existence of the objects prevails. The relation between the two spheres, the natural and the symbolic sphere, is going to play a role in the analysis of the imagery.

Following Barthes' consideration, the two layers of meaning also imply two categories of analysis that can be distinguished in photography: The denoted and the connoted meaning. In the utilisation of images in travel advertisements, another important element that provides meaning comes along: the text (e.g. descriptive material on destinations or activities). The lingual message helps to identify and interpret elements of a scene as well as the scene in total. Furthermore, the context of the imagery on the website will be regarded in order to offer a holistic view on the product thus advertised. According to the structure of the website the consumer is enticed to browse along the presentation which is why picture sequences will be regarded in order to attain a better idea on how the denoted and connoted meanings are transported. The next chapter will illustrate the selection process of the visual material of the websites.

5.3. Remarks on the material

5.3.1. Selection of visual material in responsible tourism

The main focus within the selected website material will be given to visual aspects of the online presentations. For the analysis an emphasis is given on the depictions of travellers and host communities which will be augmented by the above illustrated findings of postcolonial theory. The Cape Town Declaration of 2002 will be used as a framework to identify responsible tourism outbound travel agencies (see chapter 3.2).

Since responsible tourism is neither a trademarked term, nor used coherently by the industry (Brazier, 2008), one is dependent on self-proclamations of respective tourism agencies for the purpose of this study. Thus, the outbound operators chosen are positioning themselves as representatives of responsible tourism (CTD, 2002) either in their title or names or in their company philosophy. Whenever insights into their code of ethics are given (e.g. within distinct text passages), they will be included in later thoughts (see also chapter 5.4.1.1.).

The following lines will be dedicated to the concrete selection process of the research

objects namely the websites, displaying and combining images and text material. Since the research methods are subsumed under the category of qualitative research methodologies the author is aiming to provide utmost transparency in the selection process of the research objects. Firstly, websites have been given a closer look that appear in prime position for *Google* search. Nowadays, the *Google* search engine is not only a popular searching device used by many people around the globe on an every day basis but is also an indicator for the success of distinct industry representatives. It is stated that the *Google* positioning of the websites determine the visibility on the *Google* online search list. The higher the website is positioned in the *Google* search list, the higher is the visibility of the website. Thus it is assumed that the image and text content from prime search results are considered most for travel options and are analysed and imitated most by other responsible industry representatives. This is the argument to the selection of prime *Google* positioned websites.

Respectively, it is to state that *Google* search results are subject to change. This is insofar important as search results might not appear in the same order at a later stage of this research. Therefore, the study can only capture a “snap-shot” of search requests, on the designated search terms. The search terms “responsible” and “travel” have been selected, in order to frame the search output as concisely as possible to the activity of informing about travel⁹. Nonetheless, *Google* responded with various result types containing travel agencies, certification services, agencies with very specific destinations, *Facebook* links, wikipedia entries and more (see also chapter 10. Appendix). One travel agency has been abandoned at the time, despite its positioning in the *Google* search results due to the lack of sufficient imagery and the absence of coherence between travel option and the images.

Table 2: List of prime google search results for the search terms “responsible” and “travel”

place	link	result types	evaluation
1 st	www.responsibletravel.com	Outbound travel agency	suitable
2 nd	www.responsibletravel.org	Certification service	unsuitable
3 rd	www.responsibletravelperu.com/de	Outbound travel agency	Unsuitable, service to peru only

9 Utilising the search term “tourism” in exchange to “travel” will lead to search results predominantly talking about responsible tourism on a meta-level not necessarily leading to travel agencies as desired search outcome.

4 th	www.intrepidtravel.com	Outbound travel agency	Unsuitable (at the time) only few images displayed
5 th	https://www.facebook.com/responsibletravel/	Social media	Unsuitable, social media channel
6 th	www.lonelyplanet.com/about/responsible-travel/	Publishing house	Unsuitable, <i>Google</i> appearance because of responsible travel philosophy
7 th	https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Responsibletravel.com	Wikipedia entry	unsuitable
8 th	https://www.imaginative-traveller.com/	Outbound Travel agency	suitable
9 th	www.linguee.de/englisch-deutsch/uebersetzung/responsible+travel.html	Dictionary	unsuitable
10 th	https://twitter.com/r_travel?lang=de	Social Media	unsuitable
11 th	http://www.responsibletravel.org/home/	Non-profit research institute	unsuitable
12 th	http://www.sustainabletourism.net/sustainable-tourism/travel-tips-responsible-travel-tips/	Sust. Tourism consultancy and research	unsuitable
13 th	http://www.worldexpeditions.com/au/index.php?section=responsible_travel	Outbound Travel Agency	suitable

Source: https://www.google.de/?gws_rd=ssl#q=Responsible+travel, accessed: 15.09.2016

The websites chosen offer travel packages to various destinations on the African continent¹⁰. Among these destinations are Angola, Kenya, Ethiopia and a round trip offer to Ghana, Benin and Togo.

At first glance the motifs that are reproduced in the advertising of a destination appear to be similar to the representations of other continents of the Global South. The countries chosen for an example are located more than a thousand kilometres apart but still the host communities and the travellers are depicted alike. The example countries

10 It is important to note that at first inspection the binary representation model also prevailed in “non-responsible” travel organisations. What follows, is an exemplary list of online outbound tourism agencies that, according to the author, are also subject to the establishment of colonial and stereotypical depictions of the Global South (last accessed: 15.01.2017): <http://www.africatouoperators.org/>; <http://www.africatravel.com/>; <http://africantravelinc.com/>; <http://www.experienceafricasafaris.com/>; <https://www.rhinoafrica.com/>; <http://inspiration-africa.com/en/>; <http://traveldiversity.com.au/experience-africa/>; <http://www.tripafricatravel.com/destination>; <http://www.go2africa.com/africa-travel-blog/11830>;

range from West Africa to East Africa to South West Africa. Nonetheless, the examples chosen are neither representative for all *Google* search results for the mentioned terms, nor complete in the quality of the depicted phenomena. It is rather an exemplary sample of images in order to elucidate the discussion on the respective colonial representation practice. Thus, research material has been singled out from the following websites:

Table 3: Websites and Links chosen for exemplary research

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsibletravel.com, (RTang). Angola http://www.responsibletravel.com/holiday/17222/expedition-to-angola
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Responsibletravel.com, (RTken). Kenya http://www.responsibletravel.com/holiday/3426/kenya-wildlife-camping-safari
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Worldexpeditions.com, (WE). Hidden Tribes of Ethiopia, http://www.worldexpeditions.com/uk/index.php?section=trips&id=497404
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> imaginative-traveller.com, (IT). Ghana, Benin, Togo, Ashanti and Voodoo Kingdoms. http://www.imaginative-traveller.com/trip/eaqv/gallery/

Source: websites, last accessed: 15.09.2016

For the selection of the distinct destination offers a convenience sampling method was used on the respective websites. Convenience samples are non-probability samples. This implies that the selection of the studied samples is not based on probability consideration (<https://hrdag.org/2013/04/05/convenience-samples-what-they-are/#Q6>, last retrieved: 10.03.2017). The travel destination advertisements were drawn from the total amount of African travel destinations on each website. RT counts 51 destinations which were written down on paper, collected and two subsequent drawings were conducted wherein Kenya and Angola were drawn. Equally, the single drawing of WE (16 African destinations) resulted in Ethiopia. IT travel offers counted 25 destinations on the African continent. With IT the travel package to Ghana, Benin and Togo was drawn.

To provide with specific information the website 'Responsibletravel.com' (RT) ranks first for the search terms 'responsible' and 'travel' in *Google*. The author has chosen to include two examples from UK-based RT, because of its popularity reflected by the high visitor figures compared to other websites (see table 4). RT has approximately 5850 website visitors per day, which is more than double the amount of visitors compared to IT. (<http://urlm.co/www.responsibletravel.com>, last retrieved: 16.9.2016). Therefore,

two examples of RT have been included in this study. Furthermore, RT is popular for its responsible travel awards and the rich database on travel opportunities (Brazier, 2008). However, criticism from specialists pronounce an ambivalence within the coherence of the responsible travel offers (ibd.). The main criteria remains the *Google* search list positioning.

In the 'about us' section of the website they proclaim to “treat local people with respect and fairness” which “is good for them and good for you” (<http://www.responsibletravel.com/copy/about-us>, last retrieved 16.9.2016). It is to be emphasised that this can be connected with two aspects in the Cape Town Declaration, on the one hand it “provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people” and on the other hand it “enhances the [economic] well-being of a host communities” as for being treated fairly and respectfully. Moreover, the website provides individual information on sustainability regarding each travel offer. Later in this work it will be elaborated where and if other aspects of responsible travel are advertised.

'Imaginative-traveller.com' (IT) is an activity and adventure tourism agency based in the UK. It turns out as 8th search result, with about 1591 visitors per day which is not reaching half of RT's every day visits, to give a comparison figure with the other websites (<http://urlm.co/www.imaginative-traveller.com>, last retrieved: 16.09.2016). The homepage is not named along any sustainability terminology. However, the company is focused on activity and adventure holidays. They deploy a section on 'responsible travel' with the following five pillars of their practice: go local, small groups, the environment, 'leave no trace camping, camp-fires and cooking (<http://www.imaginative-traveller.com/walking-and-trekking-and-cycling-holidays/responsible-travel/>, last retrieved: 16.9.2016). Herein they advertise “economic benefits for local communities”, “meaningful interaction with locals”, working hard so that “environmental impact is minimised”, reducing “greenhouse gas emissions”, and supporting a “number of conservation projects” (ibd.). Its general account on their responsible travel approach is hence more elaborate than RT's overall responsibility philosophy.

In comparison to the selected websites, the most comprehensive account on their responsible travel practices deliver WE. With a 32 page “responsible travel guide eBrochure” (<http://www.worldexpeditions.com/downloads/E%20Brochures/Responsible-Travel-Guide-PageFlip/index.html#2/z>, last retrieved:

16.09.2016) they advocate responsible travel practices from “environmental protection”, to “host community engagement” and awareness, positioning against “animal cruelty” and the “protection of vulnerable children”, endorsing “sustainable development” and the “preservation of the world's many rich and diverse cultures” (ibd.). The website is hosted in Australia with an estimated 725 daily visitors and was founded almost 19 years ago (http://urlm.co/www.worldexpeditions.com#server_two, last retrieved 16.09.2016). The website occupies on 13th place when searching for 'responsible' and 'travel' in *Google*. WE is a provider for adventure and outdoor holidays.

Table 4: Data on the chosen websites for comparison

Website	Website launched in Year	visitors / day	views / website visit
www.responsibletravel.com	2000	approx. 5850	3,10
www.imaginative-traveller.com	1998	approx. 1591	3,20
www.worldexpeditions.com	1997	approx. 725	3,00

Source: www.urlm.co/, last retrieved: 16.11.2016

Thus, the three websites differ in their self-proclamations on responsible travel as well as in their reach to the customers and their engagement with responsible travel information. Whereas WE delivers the most elaborate informational base towards responsible travel with its online eBrochure, IT deploys a section on their website explaining their five pillars of responsible travel. RT is advantaged in *Google* search facilitation due to its name, designates one paragraph to responsible travel in their 'about us' section but has individualised information on each travel offer. Since, RT is visited most often and appears first on *Google* when searching for 'responsible' and 'travel', without having to *Google* advertise, one can state that their website traffic mostly derives from their concise name. The average page views per visitor describe the visitors expectation with the domain, as well as the likeability and organisation of the site. Since, all websites are close to each other in views per visitor, we can conclude that the visitors might estimate the websites similarly.

Illustrations: websites and respective illustrations



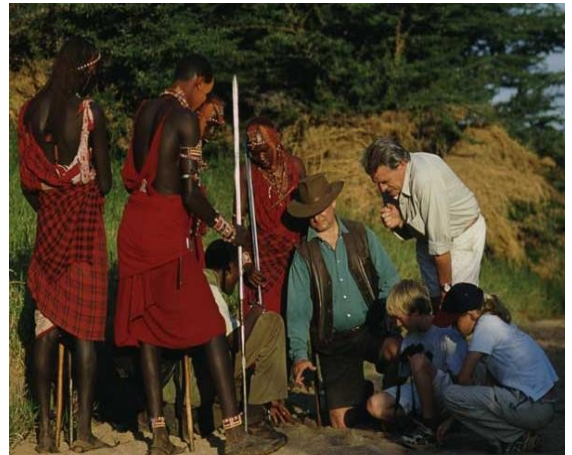
pic. 1 (RTang)



pic. 2 (RTang)



pic. 3 (RTang)



pic. 4 (RTken)



pic. 5 (RTken)



pic. 6 (RTken)



pic. 7 (WE)



pic. 8 (WE)



pic. 9 (WE)



pic. 10 (IT)



pic. 11 (IT)



pic. 12 (IT)

5.3.2. Product Advertising and Ethical/Political Mobilisation

The arrangements and the state of the image material leave the impression of professional photography finding expression in high quality image editing and layout (RTang, RTken & IT). Besides, some of the images evoke the idea of resembling amateur photography (WE, pic. 8 and pic. 9). This can be attributed to a credibility strategy which will be discussed in more detail later. Hence, the increasing blending of consumer goods marketing and ethical/political communication in modern

advertisement industries (Speth, 2007) can be noted within the selected material. According to the aims of sustainable tourism which is the promotion of tourism as a vehicle for sustainable development, the material can be thought of as a mixture between commercial and ethical/political advertising. The advertisements of the travel packages focus on the promotion of travel. Also, potential consumers are educated about principles and ethical conditions of their proposed responsible travel options. Therefore the function of the advertisements cannot be solely understood as merely a marketing communication scheme, or an exclusive ethical/political mobilisation communication scheme but as a combination of both.

The selected material is to be theoretically located on the edge between visual product advertisement and ethical/political mobilisation and should be regarded within the specific logics of their fields (Sowinski, 1998). Where consumer goods advertisement generally aims to attract potential customers to a certain product in order to motivate them to a buying decision, actors of social movements tend to motivate by the construction of certain interpretation frames. However, social movements try to generate support in order to create public awareness and consent for their cause (Rucht, 1994b).

In terms of the selected material there are contrasting differences in the balance of commercial advertising and ethical/political motivation. RT shows aspirations in providing specific information on responsible practices for each travel package, whereas IT and WE refer to a standard responsibility clause. In terms of commercial advertising though, IT and RT provide deep insights into the day-to-day itinerary of the travel package, while WE provides the least information with an outline for each day of travel. As the text material are located within the blend of advertisement and ethical/political motivation, two different frames of analysis will be considered. The first analysis will regard the text material according to its ethical/political motivational aspects. The second analysis will regard the advertising elements in the text material according to its advertising potentials.

5.4. Image analysis

5.4.1. Analysis of lingual content

To begin with, text contents shall be taken into consideration, before analysing the image material. Following Barthes, Hall states in the article *The Spectacle of the*

"other" that the "meaning of the photograph [...] does not lie exclusively in the image but in the conjunction of image *and* text." (Hall, 2004, p. 111). Therefore, images should not be understood and analysed isolated from the accompanying texts. Especially in advertisements, texts fulfil the distinct function of allowing the recipient to quickly identify and understand the meaning of the image. At the same time, texts frame the power of projection of the images the recipient is subjected to, and reduce the almost endless possibilities of interpretation (Barthes, 1990b).

In advertisements or advertisement posters, slogans or text passages are often part of the picture. This does not count for our material. To be able to filter all lingual messages from the images, the whole text content is to be focussed on. An appropriate analysis will be conducted to clarify the peculiarities of the responsible travel material mentioned above. This implies for the methodological approach that an analysis of the object can succeed only then, if the specific positioning of the material is organised along the elements of ethical/political mobilisation and consumer goods advertising. This is a Cultural Studies approach towards the analysis of media.

In the tradition of Cultural Studies it is argued that a combination of various methods can lead to a multifaceted and differentiated construction of a medial research object (Winter, 2006). Accordingly, a movement-theoretical approach will be undertaken in order to analyse the text content for its dimensions of ethical/political mobilisation. This is followed by a content analysis of advertisement communication in the text. Before the actual research, the specific methodologies will be introduced and their distinct research questions will be recapitulated which will provide the structure for the text analysis.

5.4.1.1. Methodological approach 1: Framing analysis according to Benford & Snow

As illustrated above, the material represents a form of ethical/political mobilisation for the motivation of a purchase of the alleged responsible travel product. Since it can be stated, that it is the interest of the advertisers to spark motivation and to enrich the travel option with meaning that motivates the consumer to consumption. Movement-research has indicated that the construction of distinct interpretive frames typically lead to political mobilisation (Roth & Rucht, 2008). The summarised presumption in the framing analysis goes back to Benford & Snow, who interpreted Erving Goffman's

concept of the framing analysis to make them accessible for movement research (Benford & Snow, 1988, 1992, 2000). The collective interpretive frames are defined as “action oriented set of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate the activities [...] of social movement organisation.” (Benford & Snow, 2000, p. 614). Frames generally comprise three elements that enable the movement leaders to depict themselves and the movement in order to motivate for their activities (Mc Adam, 1994). Firstly, the 'diagnostic frame' focusses on the explanation of the issue that is problematic and needs to be changed. Herein, usually the perpetrators are introduced as well. Secondly, the 'prognostic frame' show measures in order to solve the issue. Thirdly, the 'motivational frame' creates and activates motives for the protest (Benford & Snow, 2000). Along these three aspects of the interpretive framework, the methodology will be arrange according following three questions:

1. What is identified as the reason for the issue that is to be solved? Who is responsible for the issue? ('diagnostic frame')
2. Which solutions and strategies of action are articulated? ('prognostic frame')
3. Which strategies are applied to motivate to take part in the suggested strategies of action? ('motivational frame')

The text content that is to be analysed in the following can be divided into two different text styles. The first describes the travel package itself which is written in a colourful language, inviting the traveller to a mental journey. The second treats the responsibility initiatives that frame the travel package in a more concise and informational manner.

It is notable that there are a variety of issues that can be raised and organised in the 'diagnostic frame', either as an issue that is directly related to tourism, or as an issue that rather occurs as a “socio-ecological condition” without mentioning responsible actors or systemic failures.

The quantity of issues raised, as well as the position on the websites themselves vary among the responsible travel companies. Where 'RT' tries to provide individual information on each travel package with regard to their community and the environment in the informational sections, 'WE' seeks to put forward an eBrochure which specifies their style of operations in a general way. As imagery and according texts are examined during the analysis it has to be considered that issues from the eBrochure needed to be singled out which could be of importance in relation to the images. A similar approach

has to be taken with 'IT', as their responsible travel code is also placed on a different passage on their website away from their travel package offers. 'RT' combines informational content on the responsible travel package, as well as descriptive content treating the journey itself. In table 5 the diagnostic frame is organised in tourism related conditions and global conditions that answer the questions regarding the issues to be solved and the responsibilities for the issues. The table is organised as described in order to facilitate the answers concerning the diagnostic frame. The information given is paraphrased by the author and condensed in their literal meaning. The issues are mentioned uniquely on the respective websites.

Table 5: Diagnostic Frame

Websites	Tourism related conditions	Global conditions
RTang	Illegal hunting; Animal Cruelty; Exploitation; Mass Tourism; All inclusive Resorts	Poverty; Lack of Education; Animal Rights
RTken	Animal Cruelty; Exploitation; Mass Tourism; All inclusive Resorts	Poverty; CO ² -Emissions
WE	Littering; Deforestation; Animal Rights, 'canned' hunts, aqua parks, souvenir purchase, captivating animals; child safety	Environmental threats; Lack of Dentistries
IT		

Source: Websites, last accessed: 15.09.2016

However in 'RT', there are certain statements that refer to a global condition such as poverty, a lack of education and animal rights. On 'RT' two examples can be singled out in this respect. The Kenyan grass roots project on 'RTken' raises hunger and a lack of education as a problematic issue by explaining that “For most of these children, the food they get at school is all the food they get”. The project funds a school in Kibera, Nairobi. Nonetheless, poverty and education are not explicitly mentioned nor are they explained but it is assumed the reader can relate to these global issues. Secondly, 'RTang' asks the travellers not to “buy souvenirs made from endangered species”. This implicitly raises the issue of illegal hunting. In any case, it remains unmentioned that the least impact of illegal hunting on a global scale lies by the local communities (<http://www.traffic.org/home/2016/7/11/new-report-explores-role-of-indigenous->

peoples-and-local-com.html, last retrieved: 22.09.2016).

WE's responsible travel eBrochure's self proclaimed aim is to “create awareness” for travellers, in order for them to “take the right decisions”. The eBrochure raises various questions that are partly concerned with negative effects promoted by tourism and partly concerned with global phenomena. The first issues mentioned are directed to the imbalance in economic wealth around the globe. Furthermore, the lack of medical practice, for example “dentistries”, as well as “environmental threat” are articulated in the eBrochure as global issues. In addition, the company leads a campaign on “littering” which stirs environmental balances in “remote” areas. Here tourism is explicitly mentioned as a factor, as partaking in higher non-biodegradable waste disposal in remote areas. Deforestation promoted through tourism is mentioned, as well as animal rights concerning elephant riding, 'canned' lion hunting, visiting aquarium parks, purchasing souvenirs from wild animals, capturing animals. These are phenomena that implicitly relate to and criticise mainstream tourism. Another issue raised by the eBrochure is child safety. It is stated that “Children working and living in tourist areas are especially vulnerable to physical, emotional and sexual abuse.” Actors of global injustice remain unmentioned here.

'IT's' responsible tourism approach does not provide information that can be organised into the 'diagnostic frame'.

Hence, the questions regarding “who is responsible for what?” have to be answered differently for each website. Especially on 'WE' many issues are raised, where responsible tourism itself plays a vital role. 'IT', however, does not mention any of these global or wider issues as diagnostic frame. Lastly, in 'RT' issues can be found that remained unrelated to tourism but still portray global conditions.

In the following the 'prognostic frame' will be analysed focussing on distinct action strategies against conditions articulated in the 'diagnostic frame'.

Table 6: Solutions and action strategies – Prognostic frame

Websites	Strategies for tourism caused/related problems	Strategies against global conditions
RTang	No-litter-policies; sticking to the tracks; not to “buy souvenirs made from endangered species”;	CO ² -offsetting

	local “drivers and hosts” are supported; CO ² -offsetting	
RTken	mobile camping against long term footprint; CO ² -offsetting; if possible, locally owned/run accommodation	Local partnership with a private tourism company for wildlife protection;
WE	Endorsement of 'world vision'; 'climate friendly'; 'WWF';	Endorsement of 'world vision'; 'climate friendly'; 'WWF';
IT	cooking on kerosene stoves; secure camp placements; travelling in small groups; trainings for local staff and business partners to keep distance from wildlife	

Source: Websites, last accessed: 15.09.2016

The action strategies that become apparent in the 'prognostic frame' focus on two aspects that have been developed in the previous section. In this relation responsible travel is understood as counteraction for negative side effects occurring in tourism and as alleviating global issues with an emphasis on the general capacities responsible tourism may have. It is safe to say that some of the action strategies are not mutually exclusive and can therefore be subsumed under both actions strategies for tourism related issues and global conditions, e.g. CO² emissions. Generally spoken, many action strategies are formulated on all three websites, raising awareness and educating the traveller in what is done to achieve these goals. This is reflected in 'codes of conduct' as recommendations for responsible tourist behaviour, or the promotion of NGOs that work as a link between “a better cause” and the traveller. It is emphasised in all texts that supporting the responsible travel company leads to a further well-being of the local community and that the environmental conditions are reprieved as much as possible.

In this sense, the company “ensure(s) (to) leave these areas as we find them” which is realised through no-litter-policies, commitments for “sticking to the tracks”, or advice is given, not to “buy souvenirs made from endangered species” (RTang). Furthermore, “traditional gifts” are given to the local communities to award them for their openness, and it is recommended not “to bring modern accoutrements that may change their way of life”. Which, on the one hand shows an awareness for their life-style, and on the

other hand educates the traveller to act accordingly during his/her trip. Through buying into the travel package, local “drivers and hosts” are supported and the welfare of their enterprises is catered for. “Carbon offsetting” is “used as a poverty alleviation and biodiversity scheme”, offered by the company 'RT' which is a primary action strategy for CO²-emissions around the planet. This feature is not formulated in a way that it accounts as recurring to global CO²-emission as major issue tourism has to solve. Nonetheless, the company shows an awareness and makes amends to solve the problem. 'IT', on the contrary, focusses on the travellers' impacts and projects' action strategies concerning cooking “on kerosene stoves” rather than open fire, secure camp placements, travelling in small groups and ensuring “less impact on the environment”. Furthermore, local staff and business partners are trained to distance the travel groups from wildlife in order to accord with the respect towards nature.

Many endorsements with NGOs promise effective protection and welfare strategies from specialists, rather than the travel company itself (WE). For example, child safety codes are backed up from *World Vision*, an international development organisation, “working within communities serving the most vulnerable”. *Climate Friendly*, a carbon offsetting firm is endorsed to reduce global carbon emission and “help local communities at the travel destinations”, or supporting the *WWF* in their environmental protection ambitions.

Further aspects of the text material can be integrated into the 'motivational frame' ultimately. These elements appeal to the consumer to take part in the action strategies filtered out in the 'prognostic frame'.

It is notable that all three companies leave the impression that they are concerned with both, the local community and the ecological dispositions of the destinations. The display of these ambitions is either concise and unspecific (IT), extensive and specific (RT) or extensive and unspecific (WE). In this context, it seems that the more wholesome the responsibility approach of the website is portrayed, the more motivational it feels to the potential traveller. Hence, a precise description of those positive initiatives benefiting socio-cultural and ecological spheres stimulates the potential travellers and signals that positive achievements have been made. This is also true for the charity foundation that “enabl(es) the collection of \$ 1 million in funds” (WT), or the school that provides education and food that otherwise would not be there (RTken). Furthermore, with 'WE', an enormous amount of NGOs that are endorsed with their operations leaving the impression of a healthy and stable relationship between the

tourism company and the responsibility partners, encouraging and motivating the travellers to engage with their responsible travel packages.

5.4.1.2. Methodological approach 2: Qualitative content analysis according to Mayring

While the first part of this analysis was directed towards the ethical/political dimension of the advertisement material, respectively their interpretive frames, the second part will take a look at the content of responsible travel advertised as a consumer good. Our perspective will be concerned with the concrete consumption of responsible travel. The following section will regard advertising using mainstreaming strategies which try to set off a distinct product quantitatively on the market. A quantitative content analysis will be applied in order to decode the material along its advertising communication. According to Mayring (2003), the content analysis is not a standardised instrument but rather has to be readjusted for every research question. For the purposes of this thesis, a technique of content structuring is suggested that aims to filter and summarise topics and distinct aspects of the material according to the research questions. The first research question will be: How is the consumption of responsible travel products advertised or communicated and which aspects try to promote credibility?

A second analysis question will be directed to the dimension of lifestyle, since consumers are nowadays not only advertised to consume a distinct product but also to take over a distinct lifestyle that is connected to the consume (Marschik, 2008). The product itself shifts into the background and the propagated lifestyle is becoming the dominant consumption motivation. The advertisement then, only reveals that the product is part of a code that represents a distinct lifestyle which has to be appropriated in order to be part of it (Marschik, 1997). Hence, it is thought to identify powerful symbols for a lifestyle that is attractive for a part of society instead of placing a product in the centre of an advertisement. For the consumer this works in favour of their decision-making in searching for consumer goods, because they can simply arrange themselves within a distinct lifestyle and can experience a sense of belonging to a lifestyle and achieve social recognition, assimilation or distinction within social framing (Lüdke, 2004). It also enables them to signal this belonging to the outside. In this sense the research question will be: Is there a distinct lifestyle in responsible travel propagated?

In all examples the description of the destination and the activities are strongly

highlighted. The colourful language of the travel itinerary initialises a journey in mind that creates emotions, fantasies, longings and dreams. The descriptive text serves the purpose to produce the idea of the journey itself and to restore a positive image of the destination and the ideal tourist (Olsen, 2002). The description of the destination and of the experiences that await the traveller are being restored by means of the production of affective images. This is also mirrored by the constructed character of the advertisement itself. It explains the fact that the motifs or topoi promoted repeat each other, despite the fact that the destinations are located thousands of kilometres apart. Common topoi in the material are: *Nature* or *naturalism*, e.g. found in the “natural beauty of these three “West African countries” (IT); *primitivism* expressed when admiration to “untouched cultures” is uttered (WE); *wilderness* which is, in the context of tourism idealised for example as an “unspoiled” wilderness (RTang); *remoteness* when moving “from village to village” for days (WE), or remote cultures that have barely seen civilisation (RTang); *rituals and traditionalism* expressed in the “slow rumble of drums, [...] the hypnotic gyrating of masked dancers” (IT) and in “witnessing traditional lifestyles” exemplified in body art such as the Hamar, a group of people living in southern Ethiopia, “who scar and paint their bodies in a mark of their culture” (WE); the air of an *adventure* is aroused with “the call of monkey in lush forests” (IT); *tribalism* which is often connected to “remoteness”, e.g. “tribal groups that live in this remote area of the Great Rift Valley” (WE); *Culture* which is promoted in an essentialising view for example the “Mursi, Hamar and Karo tribes, each with their distinct culture” (WE); *Ethnicity*, when only “few have heard of this fascinating ethnic group” (RTang); *Authenticity*, as a descriptor for a “Masai village” (RTken). Since the modern society seems to rely on knowledge sourcing from meta-narratives sustaining fixed references for their explanations (ibd.), the aforementioned topoi reflect exactly this condition which the tourism advertisements appeal to.

This experience is enhanced through the promotion of credibility which is reinforced in several ways. On the one hand, the responsible action strategies are described in a comprehensive way. Not only the environment and active strategies for its preservation are detailed but also the interaction with the host community is promised to be of good nature (RT). The guidebook of responsible travel (WE) displays its close cooperation with NGOs in waste management, child protection, labour protection, carbon offset, protection of sensible biospheres, which is quite extensive in terms of their offer but also restores credibility in respect of their business partners. Travellers often recognise

these brands which raises the companies' credibility to them. Since responsible travel is not a trademarked term, this strategy can leave the impression that their travel packages are credible (WE). Moreover, the themes that are formulated in the informative sections, are articulated in a positive formulation which puts an emphasis on the possibility of self-efficacy for the travellers. In many ways the encounter with the host community is described as joining a healthy relationship that has been fostered by the outbound travel agency (RT) which adds up to a positive feeling towards the host community.

Another striking aspect in the material is the advertising of a distinct lifestyle. The selected material is mostly directed to adventure and active tourism which appeals to the ideals of the so called LOHAS (Lifestyle of Health and Community), also including ethics into their convictions of a conscientious consume- and lifestyle. This idea was also found by a study of SNV, finding that the adventure tourist is subject to having high social and environmental standards (2009).

LOHAS has already become a self-description for a community which has high health and sustainability aspirations but also ethical values reflected by their consumption standards (ibd.). This need is summoned, when local guides lead the tourist to “travel sensitively through remote communities and settlements in an effort to understand the customs and ancient practices of the region’s most traditional peoples” (RTang), or when “(o)ur partners within the country are people we know and whose ethics we trust. Many are leaders in their country in terms of sustainable tourism. They care about their country” (RTken). Furthermore, the consumer type is ready to pay the extra in order to ensure that ethical standards are fulfilled. In this sense it is not only a question of solidarity with local communities to ensure that ethical standards are in place but there is also the option for the tourist to be reimbursed by an authentic experience with the host community (RT, IT, WE).

After analysing text content, the focus will now shift to the visual images according to their denotative and connotative layers.

5.4.2. Analysis of the denotative and connotative image layers

In order to elaborate the different meanings of the signs of an image, the expressions 'denotation' and 'connotation' will be utilised as analytical tools. Hall (1997a) recommends, as a rough guide, to use the analytical differentiation between denotation and connotation in order to interpret those very aspects of a sign that appear in any

lingual community to any time as 'literal' meaning, the denotation. In contrast, the associative meanings of a sign is called connotation. However, differentiations in the analytical context must not be confused with those in the real world (Hall, 1997a).

Hence, denotative and connotative image layers are primarily analytical differentiations that help to interpret various levels of meaning. An important theoretical starting point for the analysis is to emphasise the relationship between knowledge, denotation and connotation. Barthes states that the understanding of images depends on the knowledge base of the reader (1990b). The denotative layer is a 'literal' message that necessitates no further knowledge than the knowledge that is connected with our perception (ibd.). In order to understand the depiction of "a tree" it is only needed to know what a tree is, in order to understand the image. Besides the knowledge that was passed on, often the lingual message will help to understand the elements of the scene and the scene itself (ibd.).

Nonetheless, a literal perception of an image is deemed impossible, because through the specific cultural knowledge of a society connotations are read along which exceeds the simple recognition of what is literally seen in the picture. Therefore, it is important to note that elements of photographs need to be carriers of ideas and values in order to be read which is why the viewers inevitably supersede the denotative layer with socially constructed and individually variant connotative meanings (Müller, 2007). The connotative layer represents therefore a second level of meanings that incorporates ideas and concepts with a further symbolic message that exceeds the denotative layer (Barthes, 1990b). Hereby it is drawn upon the cultural predominant bases of knowledge, for instance, a cultural code which evokes very distinct associations within the observers.

Regarding the analysis of the connotations, Barthes reminds his readers that the discipline of photography appertains specific options to accentuate symbolic meaning. Producers of photography are enabled to weave a cultural code into their works. Barthes defines six options enabling the photographer to consciously produce messages and include accents of distinct connotations: photo-montage, pose, objects, photogeneity, aestheticism and syntax (Barthes, 1990a). Therefore connotation is produced, on the one hand through pose, objects or arrangements of elements, and on the other hand through phototechnical procedures such as exposure or cuts, subtitles or the syntax of picture sequences to a production of connotative meaning. For the analysis of images, this implies that in focussing on connotation procedures there is an opportunity for the

“decryption” of the connotation. To follow Barthes' lead on this, the six connotation procedures will be analysed to gain a thorough understanding of the connotative meanings.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, there are also the textual elements that surround the images and which have a “brightening” function to the distinct understanding of the connotative meanings (Barthes, 1990b). The lingual message does not configure the denotation but it rather anchors the symbolic messages. In Barthes' words, the text leads the reader through the significates of the image away from other meanings and appoints to specific ones. Arriving at a specific discharging he is “remote controlled” to a preconfigured meaning (ibd.). Barthes appoints to the selectivity of this function and emphasises that it does not refer to the totality of messages in form of a “meta-language” but rather relates to some of the signs in the image (ibd.). Therefore, the analysis of the connotative image layers will include the textual contents provided but it will still focus on further elements of connotation that generate meaning and transport messages independently from the textual frames.

In the following, Hall will be included into this discussion that is also elementary in the analysis of the image material. With the example of the depictions of British Athletes in mass media, Hall showed that the viewers cannot forbear, to perceive a meta-message

about race, color, and 'otherness'. We can't help reading messages of this kind as 'saying something', not just about the people or the occasion but about their 'otherness', their 'difference'. *'difference' has been marked*. How it is then interpreted is a constant and recurring preoccupation in the representation of people who are racially and ethnically different from the majority population. (Hall, 1997a, pp. 229).

Depictions such as those selected in the context of responsible tourism will always be read along their 'otherness', because 'difference' is inscribed in the connotation of the images (ibd.).

Another aspect raised by Hall (1997a) which is to be included into this discussion is the inter-textuality of the images produced in mass media. He states that due to the huge production of photos and media, images produce further meaning when they are perceived in connection to each other (ibd.). If read in context, so Hall, they tend to “accumulate” meaning or “play off their meaning against one another” (Hall, 1997a, pp.

232). Within the discussion on 'difference' and “otherness” this can mean that e.g. an image that depicts a rural cultural folkloric experience can be played off by a metropolitan background which counteracts the experience by the inter-textual meanings of the setting.

In the following, the image material in their denotative and connotative layers will be analysed, as described above. Furthermore, the analysis methodology will be explained, before developing the research questions.

5.4.2.1 Methodological approach towards the denotative image layers and analysis

The denotative image layer focusses on the identification of visible elements in the picture. For the analysis the depicted objects, persons, contexts and actions will be identified and explained (Stöckl, 2004). To achieve this, the following questions shall be answered (ibd.):

- Who or what is the main element in the picture?
- In which kind of scene are the persons or objects being depicted?
- Is there an action depicted?
- What is to be seen in the background?

Most of the images selected depict individuals (pic. 1, 2, 3, 5 and 7) positioned in the centre of the image or groups of people (pic. 4, 6, 11 and 12.) who meet for an event. Other images show objects such as houses on top of a hill (pic. 8), a steaming coffee pot (pic. 9) and fauna, more specifically a monkey (pic. 10). The individuals depicted are mostly black individuals and people of colour (pic. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 11, 12) situated in a rural setting. Many of them wear special hair styles, folkloric dresses (pic. 7) or few clothes exposing secondary sexual characteristics (pic. 1, 2). Hence, one of the women¹¹ is depicted with her baby, she has a distinct hairstyle and scarf (pic. 2). Another black woman is depicted from the side with a child in a moment where it is unclear if she interacts (pic. 5). A further black woman is also depicted from the side with a distinct hair dress, in the background a black male individual is visible (pic. 1). Picture 3 is a close-up of a black woman looking into the camera with different colourful hairstyle. It

11 The author is disinforming about the self-identification of the depicted individuals concerning gender. For purposes of communication the alleged genders are ascribed. The author emphasises that this circumstance is rather inappropriate and may be excused.

is notable that the skin colour and folkloric clothing contrasts with the rural settings. Another picture shows a ceremony with two masked individuals dancing in the centre with a community in festive clothing right behind them (pic. 12). Picture 6 shows a safari scene: Two white women looking out of the roof top of a safari car while another white individual is driving, all individuals are dressed in leisure clothing. Two further images show black people and white people together, one of the images shows a community, in the centre a black woman and on either side two men, who are placed in a circle, reaching out their hands to touch each other in their middle. Each hand wears a flower ring, one of the hands is from a white individual, whose body remains in the off (pic. 11). The example denotes unity and togetherness on a symbolic level. Another image is depicted in a wilderness scene, where four black people with spears and folkloric clothing stand on the left side, one black individual kneels on the floor but he/she is slightly covered by the standing individuals. A white elder individual with a hat kneels in the middle of the image and points to the floor. Further white individuals, are standing behind him and two younger white individuals are kneeling right beside. Picture 8 shows a group of housings on the top of a hill, picture 9 depicts a steaming coffee pot and image 10 shows a wildlife scene with a monkey in its centre.

Furthermore there is a variety of settings illustrated, some of which can be categorised into more than one scene: rural scenes (pic. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8 and 12), safari scenes (pic. 4 and 6), village scenes (pic. 1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 11 and 12), community scenes (pic. 11 and 12) and a wildlife scene with a snapshot character (pic. 10).

Many of the images portraying individuals do not show actions, sometimes it remains unsure if the depicted person is smiling (pic. 1, 2 and 7). In the safari scenes the groups of people are searching for something (pic. 4 and 6). The communities join hands (pic. 11) or celebrate in a ceremony (pic. 12). The backgrounds of the safari scenes are filled with green, lush nature (pic. 4 and 10) as well as giraffes (pic. 6). The village scenes usually show clay or straw housings in the background (pic. 1, 2, 7 and 12).

As stated earlier, the visual distinction between travellers and the host community becomes apparent in the pictures. The host community is mostly dressed in folkloric clothing and equipped with folkloric objects. The white individual is mostly dressed in leisure outdoor clothing and experiences him/herself in nature or adventure. Furthermore, there are no subtitles or further descriptions to the images which means that all individuals remain unnamed. Together with the textual elements analysed before, these factors will be raised again to elaborate the preferred meaning of the

connotative image layer (Hall, 1997a).

5.4.2.2. Methodological approach towards the connotative image layers and analysis

The connotative image layer regards symbolic aspects of the images. It illuminates what is associated with the depicted objects. As shown in the previous section, this study is mostly concerned with depictions of the traveller and the travelled. Albeit there are many more symbolic messages to be located in the material that extend the apparent intention of the images. Due to certain symbols, symbolic objects and photographic techniques, there are certain interpretations of messages emphasised and encouraged by the photographer (Hall, 1997a) that exceed the mere depiction of traveller and the travelled. It will always be possible to read an image “against the fur”, despite the fact that dominant and preferred symbolic messages can be identified (ibd.). As stated above, meaning of images must be regarded in interaction between image and text. To follow Barthes, language fulfils the function of anchoring a message in the images. It reduces the possible abundance of meaning in advance (Barthes, 1990b). Since, there are messages transported between images and images in form of sequences, many images of black people and people of colour are circulating in the online advertising industry carrying inter-textual connotations a phenomenon which will be analysed at the end of this chapter.

Thus, the image analysis of the connotative layer will focus on the lingual level in a first step, anchoring distinct meanings with the question: Which symbolic messages are mirrored in the images and texts? Consequently Hall will be followed in his ideas on 'otherness' with the question: How is 'difference' being marked in the depictions and how can the range of images be interpreted concerning inter-textual aspects?

The images can be viewed as an enforcement of credibility generated through the text elements. If the positives of the destination and the ideal tourist (Olsen, 2002) are reflected in the images, such an enforcement can take place. Since the topoi in the textual elements namely culture, ethnicity, authenticity, nature, wilderness, traditionalism, adventure, and tribalism are widely represented, as shown in the following, an enforcement of credibility is effective.

'Authenticity' appears as a momentum that enforces credibility. 'Authentic' in this case means, what is recognised as 'authentic' by the target group. In other words, 'authentic' may be all symbols that the target group attributes to the "other", for instance folkloric

attire (pic. 5), or carrying a spear (pic. 4). Furthermore in the image examples, culture and ethnicity are represented in folkloric practices, such as folkloric clothing (pic. 1, 5 and 12) hairstyle (pic. 3 and 7), nudity (pic. 1 and 2) or cultural practices such as ceremonies (pic. 12), hunting (pic. 4) or sensual coffee brewing (pic. 9). Tribalism can be identified in the depiction of ceremonies (pic. 12). Nature is strongly emphasised in wildlife images (pic. 10). “The ideal tourist” appealing to the target group is depicted in active safari adventures either in the car looking out for wild animals (pic. 6) or in search for traces (pic. 4).

Credibility in terms of 'responsible travel' aspects is little reflected in the images. This aspect can be portrayed e.g. in the depiction of a host community, rejoicing in the positive effect of responsible travel. Picture 11 potentially appeals to this aspect, since white and black people are joining in a circle of hands which denotes unity and an encounter on eye-level. However, an absence of “communal” imagery, in other words images that signify unity and togetherness between traveller and the travel <http://www.whitecharity.de/wp-content/uploads/Lemme.pdf> can be observed. This is particularly interesting, because there seems to be an underlying agreement that responsible practices are in place, even though they remain invisible in the pictures.

Upon the material, 'difference' can be identified on several dimensions. These dimensions represent different readings on the connotative level which can be categorised in 'agency', 'culture', 'life-style', 'values', 'skin-colour' and 'sexuality' (whereas the latter motives appear only outside the textual messages). These terms adhere to meaningful symbols which enforce and emphasise the separation between the traveller and the travelled. Furthermore, the mentioned categories include symbols that are represented in the images and in the texts. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, it is also possible to read the several meanings in varying combinations. To provide with better understanding the categories in this paragraph were singled out. Since one can't help reading images of this sort as “saying something” about “race, colour and otherness” (2004, p. 112), one will find that the category of skin-colour is underlying all connoted messages. (ibd.).

In terms of an analysis of connotations on 'difference', the poses and the angles of the camera needs to be regarded in which black people and people of colour are depicted. Picture 1, 2, 3 and 5 show women with folkloric appearance. One individual looks into the camera from a lower position (pic. 3). The other photographs were either taken slightly side-on or directly from the side (pic. 1 and 5), where the idea arises that

interaction with the camera and eventually with the target group is either unwanted, insecure or insignificant. It even remains unsure if the individuals like or dislike being photographed (pic. 1, 2, 5 and 7), which is likely to suggest passivity. Also, some of the women are portrayed in an objectifying and sexualising manner either by camera angle (pic. 1 and 2) or by picturing them partly naked (pic. 1 and 2). The individual in picture 3 looks up to the photographer suggesting associations of surrender and submission. 'Difference' is created here, since it remains unresolved, if the individuals appreciate the situation and since the individuals in most cases do not actively interact with the camera, one connotes that their presence is rather passive. Furthermore, considering the target group, it is connoted that the travellers are witnessing a “traditional”, “folkloric” scene which is “authentic” and hence worth a trip.

The image of the ceremony (pic. 12) does not depict black people as passive, as due to the masks and the two dancing individuals the active procedure of a ritual stands in the foreground. Since the two individuals claim the centre of the image it can be argued that they are thought of as main-symbolic instances to define the meaning of the message. It is notable that these two dancers, despite their activism and self-efficacy remain anonymous and within the stereotypical 'tribal' context. Thus, even though the people are shown in action, they still are exoticised and their difference is accentuated.

Another example in the sequence, considering pose and angle, shows a young adult woman with folkloric earrings and attire photographed front-on. Her expression looks serious and certain (pic. 7). Regarding her skin color and the framing of the image her presence is contrasted with the village background. The image is thus composed to leave one half of the picture as an insight into “her reality”. It is connoted that her serious and certain facial expression matches the serious rural village reality she has to face. 'Difference' is marked here in place and time between realities of the traveller the image is directed to, and her everyday life. These findings suggest that pictures of black people and people of colour mostly carry connotations of tradition, authenticity and passivity and are mostly depicted in an objectifying manner.

This becomes even clearer when comparing their portrayal to the one of white people. Whenever white people are depicted, they are rather impersonating “the ideal tourist”. One white male tourist is on his knees tracing wild animals (pic. 4). The other image includes a group of three individual white people riding a car on a safari (pic. 6). These people are displayed as actively engaging with their environment, knowing, experiencing, in charge of themselves. Black people in this context are either absent, or

they are standing around the exploring individual and following his/her ideas. At the same time, white people are shown in active poses dressed in convenient Western clothing mostly following aesthetic ideals of trends in outdoor fashion (pic. 6) or signalling a certain status in society (pic. 4). It is notable that the black individuals here are depicted in a passive manner wearing mostly traditional, tribal clothing suggesting traditionalism, tribalism and in contrast to the Western travellers eventually poverty (pic. 2 and 5). Thus, a power hierarchy can be singled out between the portrayal of black and white people regarding their appearance as well as the poses in which they are depicted.

Another marker of 'difference' can be the setting. Many black people are depicted in a rural setting, between straw and clay huts connoting that this is their home and their environment (pic. 1, 2, 5, 7 and 12). White people, on the contrary, are mostly depicted in exciting wilderness scenes which are obviously not inhabited and thus cannot be their home (pic. 4 and 6). Hence, it is connoted that black people are fixed in place and immobile in their remote areas, while white people experience themselves as mobile and flexible. In terms of the life-styles that are connoted in the images, the life of the host community is displayed as non-modern, detached from civilisation, natural with basic needs, tribal but authentic, expressing culture through hair styles and hunting practices, rural which is thoroughly formulated in the texts, too. Since the life-style description of the white travellers remain unmentioned it is connoted that the white travellers' self-perception is exactly the opposite of what is attributed to the local communities.

This can also be applied to the realm of 'values', because there are meanings connoted emphasising a certain attitude towards life. Since the "other" seems to be of simple needs in their natural settings, with few path of life opportunities but a strong community and a highly marked open sexuality (pic. 1 and 2), their depictions are contrasted with the white "civilisation", adventurous lifestyles and metropolitanism.

Furthermore, when revising the material it was striking that exclusively white people are thought of as potential travellers to the Global South. Black tourists from the Global North apparently are not foreseen. Therefore, the images indicate that they aim to reach to observers defining themselves as white.

In this chapter it could be shown that 'difference' is produced in the images through emphasising meaning in connection with pose and angle of the photography, as well as in connection with symbols that represent 'culture', 'life-styles', 'settings', 'values' and

'agency'. In the following it will be shown how inter-textuality accumulates further meanings, examining if these connotations add to a racist and colonial perspective offered to tourists from the Global North. For this purpose, postcolonial theory, introduced in the chapters above, will be applied to the findings made so far.

To explain the idea of inter-textuality it is useful resuming the discussion on 'difference'. It was shown that difference is produced in the images through emphasising meaning in connection with pose and angle of the photography and furthermore, difference was created in connection with symbols that represent 'culture', 'life-styles', 'settings', 'values' and 'agency'. Now, inter-textual meaning is read “between the lines”, between texts and images and between image and image. These motives compose sets of meanings that ascribe a form of ethnicised 'otherness' to people and localities of “Africa”. Essentially, the dominant cultural symbols in the depictions are being used to connect the advertisement of travel packages with the “ethnic” difference and cultural exotic of the "other". This phenomenon is called inter-textuality, it poses questions regarding the ideas and meanings evoked when browsing through the online presentation, connecting connoted meanings inter-textually.

In total, it is stated that these inter-textual meanings on the connotative layer supersede the messages concerning responsible travel that are thought to be transported in the advertisement texts. These can be meanings transported from appearance, such as folklore, a distinct cultural practice performed in a rural setting such as a simple and remote location, in combination with sexuality (for example in depicting a bare-breasted women). An inter-textual connotation can therefore be that 'their' cultural practices are of simple sexual nature or, that the setting is a place of demonstratively “sexual or primitive culture”. A further inter-textual connotation concerning the poses, the life-styles and the settings could be that the people shown in these pictures are stuck in passive remoteness.

Another popular example of inter-textual meaning connotes nudity, blackness, wilderness with a link to a “lack of” education¹². In hope of not reproducing bold stereotypes unavailingly, it may suffice to mention that images of the colonial period produced meanings that harmed groups of people for centuries when colonial powers

12 The stereotype of the uneducated “other” is activated in the text elements in RTang. When reminding the tourist not to buy merchandise from the locals, because they do not know about the decline of species in their area, the tourism agency patronises the host community marking them unaware about the condition of their local environment.

portrayed the colonised in a comparable way to manifest the white superiority and legitimise the exploitation of the colonised. These examples may have sufficed to give an insight on the powers of inter-textual meanings emphasised through distinct sets of motives.

In the following it will be shown how these connotations add to a racist and colonial perspective offered by responsible travel agencies to tourists from the Global North. For this purpose, postcolonial theory introduced in the chapters above, will be applied to the findings made so far.

6. Discussion of results from a postcolonial perspective

The essentialist perception of the “other” was detected within the depicted touristic imageries, as it was shown, promoting and “feeding off” difference. In the essentialist conception of the “other” a reductive interpretation of “culture” comes to the fore. As demonstrated, 'otherness' is being anchored in the imagery and as well in the text passages. Also 'otherness' shows up constantly, which is substantiated by the following quote: “This enchanting region is nothing less than a lost treasure chest of African anthropology.” (RTang) This citation uncovers the essentialist perception of the “other” and how 'difference' is created in the advertising texts. Through the belief of the existence of unalterable, constant cultural entities, the “anthropological” interest invites the traveller to experience a fascinating “other”. It also creates distance between the traveller and the travelled by drawing a line to the cultural “other”. This quote appeals to the sense of exploring “other” cultures many people may have, considering travelling to the African continent.

The way in which the analysed material is composed, responsible travel to the Global South has parallels with ethnological expositions from early 20th and late 19th century, when the colonised were exposed to the majority's “fascination of the black African”. In this way the analysis identifies parallels between then and today (also see 4.3.). Yet, the process of “othering”¹³ refers to “cultural” properties and no longer to biological dispositions. What was formerly ascribed to categories of “race” is today ascribed to

13 'Othering' is perceived as the creation and definition of a (racial, cultural, ethnic) “other” (Ashcroft, et al., 2007, p. 99).

“culture” this phenomenon is acknowledged as a 'culturalism'. In this interpretation “culture” serves as a place holder for “race” which becomes visible when looking into the stressed cultural symbols of the host communities (Mecheril & Scherschel, 2011). The problem here seems to be that motives projected into “culture” are identical to those that are projected into “racial” categories of the “other”. This is because the photographs emphasise a certain stereotypical cultural entity representing a group of people in “racist” fashion.

To a decisive extent host communities become mere carriers of their cultural assets. Through essentialism and the meaningful charging of cultural symbols, host communities become nothing but exhibits of their own culture. It is notable that any form of individualisation is denied, since the pictures and texts analysed show passivity, anonymity and an incapacity of agency. So, the only purpose of the host community seems to be to perform their culture. Through narrowing the agency to a cultural performance, the emancipatory aspects of responsible tourism regress behind the binary representations. Despite the fact that the cultural encounter actually takes place in the Global South, this very much resembles ethnological exhibitions, in the display of the “racial” or cultural “other”.

Another side effect of the binary representation model is the over-simplification of the cultural “other”, because this representation model is a under-complex interpretation of the host community. The reason, why there are colonial imageries at hand and not “only” stereotypical depictions of the “other” is because of the (white) fixation on cultural symbols of the “other” and the binary nature of these symbols depicted as present colonial condition. The binaries signify a colonial tradition which is resumed and manifested in the spectators' minds today.

With the vehicle of cultural essentialism, advertisements in tourism take part in a binary representation process of the “own” and the “other” that feeds off 'difference' (Huggan, 2001, p. 176). In this model, the “others” are stylised to fixed cultural entities with certain unchangeable sets of attributes that connote colonial binaries. It was demonstrated in the analysis that the binaries reproduce knowledge about the Global South in respect of the traveller and the travelled. Whereas the host community in the Global South is perceived as traditional, uneducated, natural, passive and in need of help or economic means, the traveller from Global North defines him-/herself as modern, educated, metropolitan, rational, active and giving. This is a classical enactment by the "West", and a simplifying depiction of the “own” and the “other”

(Hall, 2004). The problem is not, that the Global South is represented in a way. The problem locates very much around the traditions of representation and the motives accompanied through time. The gravity of these colonial motives lies heavily upon the spectators' minds which makes it impossible to encounter the “other” on eye-level without prejudice and an impression of the inferiority of the “other”.

Since a marker for the travellers in the imagery seems to be whiteness and the local people are merely black this resembles a distorted characterisation of Western societies. Of course, this thesis can not make universal claims on the quantity of depicted white and black people in this respect. The reality is that not only white people live in the Global North and own the privilege to travel. However, as shown above, the analysed responsible tourisms' online advertisement tends to lean on a depiction which activates culturalistic and racist chains of associations within the white majority society, which the advertisements try to attract. Likewise, charity commercials have been criticised often times for this shortcoming (<http://www.whitecharity.de/en/home/home/>, last accessed 10.3.2017). It resembles a representational system in image production which Hall (2004) described in his article “The West and the Rest”, whereby the enactment of the “West” becomes focal point of identification and the “Rest” becomes focal point of demarcation, while a decisive emphasis and energy are spent on “the making of” the “other”. The drawing of 'difference' perpetuates the colonial imagery which is regarded as highly problematic from post-colonial perspective.

It is to be emphasised here that in the case of our analysis, the travellers' economic society - in all three examples these were Western image publications - produce the imagery about him-/herself and the host community. Through attire, skin-colour, attitude, action and photographic techniques the travellers' society clearly distances him-/herself from the local. This demonstrates that there is an aim (consciously or unconsciously, purposeful or not) to demonstrate difference from the “other”. This opens up the realm of knowledge production that has been thematised in this paper (4.2).

This problematic phenomenon is displayed by the fact that images and texts, in other words, knowledge, are yet again produced by the tourism companies from the Global North and not by any actors of the Global South. In this sense, a Western company uses its privilege to produce knowledge about the Global South and determine who is represented how. Therefore, the power of definition lies with the travel company and not with the host community who is primarily affected by the alien “knowledge”. This leads

to a distortion of the perception of realities in and to narratives about the Global South. Hence, oneself could always depict the own home better than anyone else's without having to subdue to sweeping generalisations and racist stereotypes, e.g. “the joyful chaos of contemporary Africa” (RTang).

The issue here is to ask: “who speaks for and represents whom?”, “who produces knowledge about whom?” (Spivak, 2004) In this sense, an image from our material (pic. 11) gains interest. It denotes unity and togetherness between the traveller and the host community but on a connotative level its meaning becomes ambiguous. Along with Barthes, the attention shall be directed to the purposeful production of imagery (1990b). Since the image is directed to the traveller who seeks meaningful experiences through travel, the purpose of the enactment in the advertising image shifts to the foreground. More precisely, the denoted meaning of unity becomes naturalised, whereas the connotation derived from questions such as “who speaks for whom?”, produces an ambiguity that reveals the exploitation of the relationship between host community and traveller. In this ambiguity the traveller and the travelled yet find themselves divided despite of the implemented portrayal of unity and equality.

As could be illustrated, the power of knowledge production lies with outbound travel companies in the Global North. The findings made above suggest that there is a downward slope between the explicitly formulated aims for social responsibility of the responsible tourism agencies and the way they transport derogative, racist and colonial connotations in the imagery of their advertisement. In terms of the white travellers, there is hardly any impulse given to question their sovereignty and privilege, whereas the host community is reduced to their role as cultural, authentic, tribal performers. Responsible travel lives from the feeling of ethical consumption of travel experiences. In a way, however, as the analysis of advertisement imagery shows, some of them ignore the actual slope of Global inequality.

This observation resembles Spivak's “top-down prescribed charity” (2008b) which covers the complicity of the North with global relations of power which is shot through with exploitation and material inequality. This can be applied to responsible travel which makes an ethical claim that is, in a way, also a form of charity. Thus, it can be suggested that this ethical claim can also be misused as a vehicle to free the white travellers from questioning their privileged position and to ease their conscience concerning the own consumer behaviour. Travelling is reduced to the questions of ethically correct behaviour rather than raising questions of structural power relations

and continuation of exploitation through the Global North. Since, it was demonstrated in the analysis of the textual content in respect of the 'diagnostic frame' that there is hardly any awareness about Global North and South relations of power or imbalances in unfair wealth distribution or exploitation carried through by the global economic system.

With the 'de-nomination' of colonial conditions, further problematic aspects become apparent. Firstly, the dismissal of questions and discourses concerning the continuation of European colonialism, lead to dehistoricisation, as Ha (2015) states. A comfortable illusory world for white metropolitans is constructed and stabilised, with help of memory politics and the historical eradication of colonial history (Ha, 2015). The findings made above show that the images analysed contribute to this process. Secondly, the contemporary role of global institutions, dominated by the "West" with help of capitalism, lead to depoliticisation. To work against these developments a questioning of the own privilege will be essential.

In this chapter the various postcolonial perspectives on the work of how responsible travel companies picture travel destinations in the Global South has been demonstrated. These perspectives are not complete nor do they depict the full thoroughness of colonial condition today. They merely reflect some of the relations between the North and the South that need be mentioned in context of tourism and responsibility. The following chapter will hence develop recommendations addressing travel agencies on how to alter and adapt their practice of depicting travel destinations in the Global South to reduce the racist and colonial connotations they transport in order to better live up to their declared goals for social responsibility.

7. Strategies for alternative regimes of representations: recommendations for outbound tourism agencies

A starting point for recommendations can be to focus on the individual professional level, where racialised meanings are (re-)produced. In this realm, Stuart Hall (ibid.) has worked extensively on "contesting a racialised regime of representation" (Hall, 1997a, p. 269). His ideas on stereotypes and the oversimplification of the cultural "other" will be presented in the following.

Furthermore, this thesis has founded much of its theoretical leverage on

postcolonialism. The idea that the cultural “other” is promoted through the display of 'difference' was illustrated with the scope of postcolonialism. Moreover it was shown how essentialising views of culture and binary representations are effective in tourism practice and how it is caught up in a global play of power. Hence, the final questions of this thesis will point at potential ways for tourism professionals and DMOs to prevent the criticised dehistoricisation and depoliticisation of colonialism. In summary, the methodological groundwork (chapter 5) is administered to facilitating the detection of dominant regimes of representation, whereas questions regarding “how it should look like instead” had to be eclipsed so far. These questions will come to the fore in this chapter.

At this stage it is worthwhile noting that representations are located within the “producers” of cultural meanings (Hall, 1997a) which is in the mind of marketing strategies executive personnel, arranging and creating texts and images for publicity purposes. Therefore, representations, which carry cultural meanings, are not to be located outside the self in the world of the objects. They are rather learnt imaginative reproductions of the minds of tourism professionals in the Global North. Hence, perspectives on the genesis of such representation are sourced from a cultural-historic background dependent on sociographic origins and could not be stressed extensively in this study.

However, studies on racism operate with the assumption that racist structures and processes need to be understood as universally effective referring to general patterns of differentiation of and between people and groups of people, disposable on different levels of social reality, e.g. in form of laws, institutions, everyday interactions, individual self-understandings (Mecheril, et. al., 2011). From this critical perspective racism is not merely an individual phenomenon, e.g. of right wing extremists, but it is rather a structural and structuring principle of social reality (ibd.). Precisely, racism theory explains that racialised “knowledge” - provided by a racialised socialisation – practices, justifies and legitimises power as dominance. This comes down to the sphere of interpersonal interaction and renders it a matter of each individual socialised in the West. Stuart Hall is a representative of the English speaking thread of an ideology theoretical racism theory (ibd.).

According to Hall, the underlying presumption for counter-strategies is that “meaning [in representation] can never be finally fixed” (1997a, p. 270). This is seconded by Barthes (1990b) who is convinced of the abundance of meanings in each image that are

either emphasis-able by photographic fabrication, or dependent on cultural codes or symbolic messages.

Words and images carry connotations over which no one has complete control, and these marginal or submerged meanings come to the surface, allowing different meanings to be constructed, different things to be shown and said. (Hall, 1997a, p. 270)

This interpretation gives freedom to come up with strategies for alternative regimes of representation. With the practice of stereotyping, though, excessive efforts are spent to fix meaning and they do seem to stick for a time but eventually meanings will “slip and slide” (Hall, 1997a, p. 270), not to mention the sheer bluntness some stereotypical depictions may have, which proves the fact that representational regimes change over time (pic. 13). This allows questions regarding counter-strategies to contest, challenge or change dominant regimes of representation. Hall mentions the discipline of *pic. 13. a girl and her “golliwog”*. by Lawson Wood, 1927.



“transcoding”, which means “taking an existent meaning and re-appropriating it for new meanings (e.g. 'Black is beautiful)’” (1997a, p. 270).

For clearer understanding, a few counter-strategies will be discussed. The images selected were researched via *Google*. They fulfil the mere purpose of ostensibly illustrating the “transcoding” practice. It is hereby important to note, that none of the strategies can lead to the final success of subverting the dominant regimes of representation for various reasons. For one reason dominant regimes, such as stereotypical binary representations, reflect a distinct power for becoming established, e.g. colonial stereotypical depictions source their dominance from centuries of repeated representation, that can not be overthrown and subverted instantly. Also, the uniform quality of the binary stereotypes reproduced bestow a strong penetration power themselves. So, the quality and the quantity of the dominant representation regimes constitute reasons for the impossibility of final victories of overthrowing them

completely. Therefore, counter-strategies can be effective in a humble sense. Yet, all of them bestow benefits in challenging colonial binary representations.



Pic. 14. by Izla Kaya Bardavid, Retrieved from <http://www.letstravelsomewhere.com>, 1.3.2017

The image above (pic. 14) portrays a group of people vested in diverse fabrics, cuts, colours and clothing styles. The persons are standing in different postures, with their physique suggesting dancing movements. They express a variety of miens from smiles, to excitement, to concentrated or absent. The photograph is taken front-on and from slightly below sight line. This picture is interesting because it antagonises the anonymity and uniform tribal depictions of traditional communities. The depicted individuals are real protagonists of their tradition, they are active, proud, creative and diverse in their interpretations. The celebration of 'difference' in this sense, can be a counter-strategy to overcome the regime of negative racial binary stereotypes. The promotion of positively associated motives, such as diversity, individuality and forms of unique cultural expressions can enhance and increase the variety of the kinds in which 'being black' is represented. Criticism can be raised regarding the appropriation of 'difference' and if 'difference' should be a spectacle to sell a tourism product? Furthermore, it can be questioned if such representations are formulating a political statement about the necessity for everyone to engage and identify with 'difference' in an increasingly pluralist and diverse world. By this strategy the negative repertoire of racialised imageries can not be displaced but it increases the diversity of “the ways in

which 'being black' is represented” (Hall, 1997a, p. 274). Eventually, the strategy of promoting positively associated motives provokes binaries but it does not subvert them.



pic. 15. by Sven Torfinn. Masai with Mobile phone checking latest market produce prices. retrieved from http://www.thesundaytimes.co.uk/sto/business/Tech_and_Media/article1313852.ece

This image (pic. 15) is an intriguing example which can challenge dominant regimes of representation on two different levels of meaning at the same time. On the one hand, it challenges the common stereotype concerning specific lifestyles of “traditional African” people and on the other hand it subverts the subordinate term in the binary representation of a male black man. In the centre of the image stands a black man vested in Masai Mara costume with a child on his arm. He is photographed front-on and from his hip on upwards. The man is focused on his mobile phone presumably reading or typing a message. He also holds a cattle stick tucked under his arm. The background to his right shows a herd of cows, to his left a hut and his background displays rural countryside.

Firstly, the image challenges the common perception of traditional Africans as traditional and remote. The utilisation of a mobile phone for informational purposes reverses the evaluation of the popular stereotype that knows the remote African dependent on his rural farmer lifestyle. He is considered disconnected from technology which is contrasted by the rural surrounding confirming the Masai person as a farmer. In

the travelling context the utilisation of mobile phones is mostly attributed to the white Western traveller which is also a popular stereotype itself.

This depiction may be a welcoming advance to the stereotypical imagery of the Masai but in fact, it does reverse and not subvert the stereotype. Since it functions by the binary representation model it loses the grip on the one stereotypical extreme (the remoteness, nature, disconnected from civilisation, passivity) while embracing its stereotypical counter-part (technology versed, civilised, active agent). In this case as a counter-strategy, it can be criticised as reactionary and conformist to the white Westerner adhering to the colonial binary representation model.

On the second level, this image contests 'negative' images about the black male individual with 'positive' images. As in picture 14 the image has the potential of righting the balance with the 'negative' images of the “racialised regime of representation” (Hall, 1997a, p. 269). Here (pic. 15), a black male individual holds a baby on his arm. The message is that he may be the father or close relative, caring for the child. It enriches the vast 'negative' knowledge about black men as wild, with uncontrolled emotion and brutishness, with 'positive' attributes such as sensitive, emotional, caring and loving. It “greatly expands the range of racial representations and the complexity of what it means to 'be black'” (Hall, 1997a, p. 273) and contesting the confinement of earlier stereotypes. Rebalancing the reservoir of 'negative' knowledge with 'positives' can be criticised, stating that generating new 'positive' knowledge does help increasing the ways in which 'being black' is represented but it does not necessarily abandon the negative stereotype. In this case, the black male individual can be depicted as a caring father but in the next instance he may be displayed as mere cultural asset for the tourist again.

Considering the power of the inter-textual making of meaning, there is an abundance of progressive image material needed to outweigh the predominant representational regimes. Tourism agencies can play a role in contributing to this transaction.

Therefore, the unreflected utilisation of image and text material leads to exactly those representations that were criticised in this paper. This is why education and teaching in the field of “global citizenship education” can lead to fruitful starting points for a critical understanding of the own role. Professionals in tourism industry need to be informed and taught on the “complex web of cultural and material local/global processes and contexts” (Andreotti, 2006, p. 41). Those are the structures that are surrounding globally acting professionals on daily basis. For this effort it is paramount not to reproduce power relations that have been established by colonialism.

It was elaborated that the colonial binary representations of the “other” follow from an overly simplified understanding of the host communities' cultural set-up. It would be desirable if this perception can be converted applying a self-understanding of host communities. Of course, it is not the author's duty to describe how host communities are to be represented, henceforth it is demanded from tourism professionals to include host communities in the decision processes that determine the relations between travellers and the travelled. Thus, a sensitivity in critical global citizenship can lead to the “right” utilisation of potentials many professionals in the responsible tourism industry may have for the purpose of benefiting local communities.

Recognising that dialogue, partnerships and multi-stakeholder processes – involving government, business and local communities – to make better places for hosts and guests can only be realised at the local level, and that all stakeholders have different, albeit interdependent, responsibilities; tourism can only be managed for sustainability at the destination level. (CTD, 2002)

The view proclaimed in the quote complements the idea flowing from this thesis that outbound travel organisations in fact have an impact on local communities in form of visual and textual representation. Attending the local level for “making better places” lays an important emphasis on the responsibilities all stakeholders have towards the local communities. In this sense, the welfare of the local community indicates the impacts of tourism interaction. It becomes clear that the welfare status of the local community also works as evaluation of the successes and failures of the tourism industry. The local community is hereby perceived as vulnerable. However this must not signify an extradition of the host community to the downside effects of the industry. This view threatens to paternalise host communities and denies their own right to speak. This can be read as a brief criticism of the declaration, which is an entrance point for a possible amendment of the CTD. It is stated that sustainable management on destination level can not be successful without antagonising “depolitisation” and “dehistorisation” which will be regarded in the following paragraphs of this section.

The declaration states that responsible tourism “provides more enjoyable experiences for tourists through more meaningful connections with local people, and a greater understanding of local cultural, social and environmental issues”. This can be an entrance to educate travellers about present global conditions of colonialism. World

society must not be silent about colonialism and its present conditions.

What is being recommended is to overcome denominisation, dehistoricisation and depoliticisation. Thus the inclusion of colonialism as an historic and ongoing issue into the travel context should be emphasised. Furthermore, local communities must be empowered and involved in the decision making processes. For instance, the cooperation between WECAT (Western Cape Action Tours, <http://www.Westerncapetours.co.za/>, last accessed: 22.09.2016) and DACPM (Direct Action Centre for Peace and Memory, <http://www.dacpm.org/jor.html>, last accessed: 22.09.2016) in Cape Town, South Africa is a commendable example for such an initiative: The ongoing issue is that museums on the mainland and on Robben Island push the constant racist experiences of the black majority population into the background, whilst favouring the representations of the martyr of the liberation leaders such as Nelson Mandela and other dominant characters in the anti-apartheid history. Nonetheless, the museums leave the impression of a complete and overcome history, whilst the consequences of Apartheid are duly existent in the society (Danielzik & Khan, 2006).

Opposing this impression WECAT, Western Cape Action Tour, not only visits memorials of unknown black leaders and townships of former freedom fighters of the resistance but also white areas of the city where a different reality to the one proclaimed by museums and the dominant public can be experienced. Therefore, when being black is thematised, being white is thematised as well. In this context the tour guides can review unjust policies that lead to unfair distribution of resources, for instance the “Job Reservation Policies” which facilitated the societal privilege of the white society that was implemented due to a racialised capitalism at the expense of the black population. Even though both parts of the city are located next-door to each-other, the township of the black freedom resistance is segregated through railways, fences and highways that do not allow a perception of a shared social space, despite the economic dependencies and social connections (ibd.).

In order to overcome the naturalisation of the racist topography of Cape Town, the inbound tour operators oppose a practice of deconstruction to the otherwise isolated and biased contemplation of single areas. In terms of the township inhabitants, the WECAT guides try to find an attitude built on political reflection that would incapacitate and objectify them. However, the initiative is not only regarded uncritically. On the one hand there are economic dependencies by some of the township members, on the other

hand the tours are welcomed as vehicles to be able to tell the story of the anti-apartheid resistance, and to soften the economic and spacial marginalisation to some extent (ibd.). The example shows that the provision of counter-narratives can be a successful tool to overcome the muteness imposed by a “de-nomination” of history. In this sense, it can be argued, if black stories are thematised and contextualised within history, also white stories must be thematised in order to attain a “post-colonial” scope for the evaluation of history. My emphasis will not be to overpower the tourist to the perspective of the marginalised but rather to facilitate the making of opinion in providing tangible information on historic facts and living realities. “Postcolonialism” can be a tool, to help contextualise historic ambiguities in reality but the political emancipation and empowerment of every global citizen is a crucial part of its nature.

Furthermore, the tourist operators show an awareness for the host community being threatened to be posed into dependency which is to be avoided, too. Beyond that, as displayed by the collaborative example of WECAT and DACPM, host communities need to be empowered and facilitated to tell their own stories and develop their own ideas on the appropriate way of travel. Therefore, an inclusion of their community into decision making processes on DMO level must be emphasised and encouraged. In summary there are questions to be raised that concern economic dependencies and their effects on host communities, power sensitive approaches towards community management concerning the interaction between the traveller and the travelled, and privileges that come along this relationship (see also chapter 3.4).

8. Conclusion

8.1. Résumé

In the beginning of this thesis it was demonstrated that it is impossible to perceive postcolonialism as a single coherent theory with a streamline train of thought. As a scientific discipline, it is rather a multidisciplinary field of study that incorporates several branches of sciences including power sensitive perspectives for the promotion of accurate historical conceptions and emancipatory alternatives for the world society (Ha, 2015). Furthermore, it owes much of its existence to oppositional struggles and resistance battles that were led against their suppressors. It was stated that postcolonialism sources its analytical energy from discourse analyses with a

deconstructivist foundation, challenging the hegemonic production of knowledge. Still it is constantly subject to question its own position in these processes.

It was mentioned that tourism as an industry that covers grand parts of the global economy plays an immense role in the achievements of SDGs. The SDGs, however, are put into critique by development aid sceptical movements whose critiques mostly regard the 'growth' orientation of the economies of the United Nations. This, as stated in the postcolonial critique of development, is a eurocentric perception of development which overrides the largest part of the globe in their rights to decide for themselves. The Global North poses itself to the norm of development. Furthermore, it is objected that the colonial past remains generally unmentioned in the Global North, and a politics of “de-nomination” and “de-membrance” forces the negligence of the complex colonial conditions that are apparent. Therefore, an awareness of present colonial conditions must be included into any sorts of global interaction.

The analysis inspired and directed by Barthes (1979, 1990a, 1990b) and Hall (1997a, 1997b, 2004, 2008) has shown that the motifs and meanings underlying the image material are very much subject to colonial binary representations which stylise host communities as passive, remote, wild, behind, folkloric, sexual, and irrational, whereas the travellers are being constantly depicted as active, experiencing, modern and rational. This was shown partly as an unreflected structural error in the “feeding off” 'difference' but also in ignorance about colonial racist imagery.

The postcolonial view criticises this fixation on colonial imagery (re-)productions as a sign for eurocentric knowledge production about the Global South which has insurmountable force in the construction of stereotypes and therefore in the manifestation of colonial conditions, incapacitating an encounter on “eye-level”. Herein, the essentialist interpretation of culture was criticised that prevents host communities from representing themselves as they want whilst exotisms are being established. From the postcolonial view it is demanded that the depiction of counter-narratives must be given way in order to retain host communities' rights that are being overridden by the travellers and their agencies.

It follows from the analysis that the incapacitating circumstance of the dependency on the “feeding off” 'difference' witness in the examples works exactly in the oppositional way responsible travel actually wants to go, if its true aim is to achieve benefits for local communities. Through an unawareness of colonial conditions these responsible travel companies go the ways of isolation and heteronomy of host communities, and the

reproduction of colonial binaries in the minds of travellers from the Global North, whereas the true potentials of responsible tourism remain untouched. Responsible tourism hence, can play a role in breaking the stereotypes, stopping exoticism, and advertising in ways that promote and show an awareness about binary representational regimes. It would have to stop representing the Global South in ever repeating binaries. It would have to accredit the same individuality to the Global South that is accredited to the Global North.

Of course, this study can not make any universal claims about advertisement in responsible tourism. The purpose of the study was to direct attention to the complex phenomena of global interaction in the field of visual reproduction of the “other”. Now, what are the implications for a responsible practice as a moral venture? This study does neither make any claims about how the “other” *must* be represented. It problematises how visual representation come about and how they are composed. “Feeding of” 'difference' works disadvantageously to the Global South, because of racialised minds in the Global North.

This thesis showed exemplarily that, if the Global South is represented by the Global North, then it is represented in a distinct fashion which is embedded in a historical colonial discourse. Accepting this fact also opens up whole new perspectives on responsibility as an ethical venture. Drawing conclusions from the knowledge attained in this work, a configuration of 'responsibility' to include an awareness and a strict appeal of the phenomena displayed here. If this remains unreflected and conclusions are not drawn, knowledge about the Global South can hardly change.

This means to advertise the plurality of many African societies and it would demand travellers and tourism agencies to become aware of colonial conditions which is why an emphasis on educational schemes in the Global North are recommended. These educational schemes will include reflections on global power relations and colonial conditions in present as well as anti-racism trainings and empowerment coachings for people of colour in the tourism field.

8.2. Limitations of the study and further research

A limitation to choosing online media as an object of study is its impermanence, since the internet is subject to change and some images and texts may alternate or disappear. However in order to antagonise this tendency parts of texts and image material found

entry into the work.

Another difficulty of the study is imposed by the relation between texts on responsibility measures and the images analysed. Since the connections between the images and the information given on responsible travel aspects were often disconnected on the websites, it was difficult to pursue the methodology consequently and to evaluate their relation regardless of their juxtaposition.

Considering the methodology a further limitation of the study refers to a likely misunderstanding of the motivational framing analysis and the qualitative content analysis. It was not part of this study to single out motivational patterns for the consume of a tourism product. The ethical/political motivation frames or advertisement communication helped elucidate the communicational and meaningful context which the images were placed in. In other words, the content analyses helped identify meaning for the understanding of the images.

Further research is recommended in the involvement of host communities into decision making processes. Political strategies must be developed to encourage DMOs and tourism agencies encouraged into a discourse on eye-level. Since, the host community is unlikely to escape from this without essentialising themselves, they can at least decide for themselves or decline a cooperation in tourism and thus experience self-efficacy.

Furthermore, an important endeavour will be the research on the avoidance of dependencies between the host communities and tourism. There may be ways of reimbursement securities or the funding of further education, in case of the failing of tourism for a region.

Since, the set up of the methodology met the needs of an analysis for travel destinations in the Global South other images can be discussed too in the transposition of the methodologies to other destinations. This work can thus be conducted on the imagery representations of other continents, such as Asia, Australia, South America, or the Caribbean.

Also, further research is to be undertaken into the field of responsible travel and the ambitions for socially sustainable initiatives. Joining the discussion developed in this thesis there is much potential foreseeable including postcolonial views and critical whiteness theories which can eventually lead to an adjustment of the Cape Town Declaration and inspire further tourism policies.

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10. Appendix

Appendix 1: Scan Google search results: “responsible” & “travel”, 30.09.2016

Google rails before_validation

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Appendix 2: Scan Google search results: “responsible” & “travel”, 30.09.2016

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responsible travel - Deutsch-Übersetzung - Linguee Wörterbuch

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Viele übersetzte Beispielsätze mit "responsible travel" - Deutsch-Englisch Wörterbuch und Suchmaschine für Millionen von Deutsch-Übersetzungen.

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www.sustainabletourism.net/sustainable-tourism/travel-tips-respo... [Diese Seite übersetzen](#)
Sustaining **Tourism's** Guide to Being a **Responsible Traveller**. Be considerate – of the communities and environment you visit. Don't litter. Try to carry your own ...

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