

The Tourist Gaze 4.0:
**Introducing the Special Issue on Uncovering Nonconscious Meanings and
Motivations in the Stories Tourists Tell of Trip and Destination Experiences**

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Abstract

This special issue includes unique contributions sharing advanced concepts and tools immediately applicable to building theory that describes and increases understanding of practices in tourist travel and destination experiences. Articles in this special issue focus emic-to-etic reporting on naturalistic drama-enactments that enable tourists as storytellers to experience powerful myths in actual destination settings (also recognizing that mythical qualities imbue aspects of both travel and destination sites, e.g., “The Orient Express [train]” and Machu Picchu, Peru, respectively). Tourists’ stories provide intimate tourist travel insights regarding destinations as well as the enactments they engender for tourists. Such insights offer the material for guidelines for productions of “authentic” tourist–destination relationship engagements. This special issue contributes to developing a comprehensive understanding of nonconscious influence-paths that impact tourist-destination behaviors and experiences.

Keywords: authentic; Boolean; destination; indexing; recipes; tourist gaze

Introduction

This special issue of IJTA focuses on the implicit-explicit meanings in tourists' reporting on their own behavior relating to various forms of planned, actual, virtual, and/or thwarted aspects of travel-related behavior. This special issue's perspective includes adoption of the following tenets. First, the study here of tourism anthropology is inclusive rather than exclusive; thus, tourism plans and behavior are not restricted to pleasure-seeking-only plans and activities even though distinguishing different purposes and experiences in trip typologies may offer valuable insights and can advance theory (e.g., pleasure tourism versus faith-based pilgrimages, see Palmer, Begley, and Coe, 2012). Adopting an inclusive stance includes the acceptance of holistic examinations of all categories of travel-related plans and actions within the general domain of tourism anthropology. Thus, a "business trip", a "family vacation trip", a faith-based pilgrimage, a summer career internship, a day-trip, week, month, or very lengthy away-from-everyday-life at home and work all include some aspects relevant to the general domain of tourism anthropology. Thoughts and actions taking the individual away from everyday home-and-work lives physically or virtually are domains relevant for tourism anthropology.

Second, while not the only topic of interest, describing and understanding the potentially destructive view of the "tourist gaze" (Urry, 1996; Urry and Larsen, 2011) and additional perspectives of the tourist gaze as more benign concepts provide foundational support for this special issue. Originally, Urry (1996) introduces the tourist gaze as the set of expectations that tourists place on local populations when they participate in heritage tourism, in the search for having an "authentic" experience. Responding to tourist expectations and often cultural and racial stereotypes, local populations reflect back the "gaze" of the expectations of tourists in order to benefit financially (Stronza, 2001). This gaze often is described as a destructive process,

reducing important local cultural expressions to commodities, and causing these traditions to fall out of favor with local populations. Gaze serves as a destructive process as local populations become consumed by an economic process which values certain cultural expressions over others, and cultural themes that cannot be commoditized easily fall out of favor and eventually become lost (MacCannell, 1984).

Third, holistically, the articles in this special issue broaden Urry's (1996) tourist gaze to include alternative gazes. Urry's (1996) description and theory of the tourist gaze represent one type of gazing. Theoretical and empirical work by Cohen (1979), McKercher (2002), and Plog (1974, 2002) support the perspective of different gazes occurring from different stance locations (psychological, sociological, and behavioral outlooks). For example, using a two-by-two paradigm of experience sought by importance of cultural tourism, McKercher (2002) identifies five types of tourists (case positions) that support the perspective of multiple tourist stances. McKercher's (2002) five types represent five gaze perspectives: (1) the purposeful cultural tourist (high centrality/deep experience); learning about the other's culture or heritage is a major reason for visiting a destination and this type of cultural tourist has a deep cultural experience. (2) The sightseeing cultural tourist (high centrality/shallow experience); learning about the other's culture or heritage is a major reason for visiting a destination, but this type of tourist seeks a shallow, entertainment-orientated experience. (3) The casual cultural tourist (modest centrality/shallow experience); cultural tourism reasons play a limited role in the decision to visit a destination and this type of cultural tourist engages the destination in a shallow manner. (4) The incidental cultural tourist (low centrality/shallow experience) for whom cultural tourism plays no meaningful role in the destination decision-making process. However, while at the destination, the incidental cultural tourist participates in cultural tourism activities and has a

shallow experience in doing so. (5) The serendipitous cultural tourist (low centrality/deep experience); cultural tourism plays little or no role in the decision to visit a destination, but this tourist has a deep experience visiting cultural attractions (McKercher and du Cross, 2003).

Plog (1974) offers a bipolar continuum of personality types that he proposes has a normal distribution. At one extreme of the continuum, “Allocentrics” or “Venturers” travel frequently to explore the world around them seeking novel experiences (e.g., visiting undeveloped tourism markets) and often enjoy participating in active endeavors when traveling (Plog, 2002). “Psychocentrics” or “Dependables” are at the other polar extreme; these people generally are cautious (e.g., travel with tour groups), seek familiarity, and desire little activity while traveling (Plog, 2002). Allocentrism/psychocentrism unlikely have a symmetric relationship with the original tourist gaze as Urry (1996) proposes. Visitors highly allocentric likely engage mostly in a shallow gaze when examining authentic new destination views and experiences since they are venturesome in moving on to collect additional travel experiences.

Highly psychocentric visitors primarily engage in a shallow gaze when examining authentic new destination views and experiences since they seek to pass through such places and return to familiar places. Likewise, both highly allocentric and psychocentric visitors may engage in a deep tourist gaze of an authentic destination place/experience; visitors highly allocentric do so because the new, authentic, destination experiences amaze this visitor forevermore; visitors highly psychocentric do so because the new, authentic, destination experiences become home away from home after multiple visits and participation in the authentic “home-away” activities.

Consequently, attempting to estimate the main effect statistically of the impact of allocentrism/psychocentrism on the tourist gaze may be an exercise in folly. A large effect of this personality type may occur but not as a main or within a two-way interaction effect. Rather, the effects of highly allocentric or psychocentric visitors likely occur as part of complex recipes of visitor antecedent conditions. For example, a highly psychocentric visitor from England who is fluent in Spanish, who works as a trained sociologist may visit Machu Picchu while a highly allocentric visitor, who works as an accountant in Costa Rica, fulfills his “bucket-list” dream by visiting the same destination. While these descriptions of two visitors are incomplete and the conjectures may be inaccurate, the proposition here is that recipes provide consistent and sometimes seemingly counter-intuitive explanations of visitor profiles. Studying the main effects (i.e., the net effects) of independent variables to predict visit versus non-visit is less informative than the study of the influences of recipes (cf. Woodside, 2014).

Following this introduction, section two is a proposal for a general theory of formal propositions for developing and testing a broadened theory of the tourist gaze. Section three examines the impact of specific destination recipes of features have on the tourist gaze and the combinations of visitor and destination recipes on the tourist gaze. Section four briefly describes recipes of outcomes of the alternative tourist gazes. The remaining sections of this introductory article describe the unique and valuable contributions of each of the articles appearing in this special issue.

The Tourist Gaze 4.0

Figure 1 is a visual of two sets of principal (simple-to-complex) antecedent conditions affecting the nature of the tourist gaze. Figure 1 includes a range of tourist’s gazes from shallow

to deep that appears in three levels for ease of exposition: shallow; mid-depth--equivalent to Urry's "tourist gaze" and McKercher's (2002) "sightseeing cultural tourist"; and great-depth--equivalent to a visit and report by a professional contemporary anthropologist and exceptional case studies by "native-visitors". A "native-visitor" is the rare person not borne into the destination culture but having completed a longtime residency as a near-native with exceptional destination language and cultural fluency (e.g., Pearl Buck (a.k.a. Sai Zhenzhu, 1938 Nobel Prize Recipient for Literature and author of *The Good Earth*)).

Figure 1 here.

Figure 1 includes Venn diagrams to illustrate the point that the inclusion of different combinations of antecedent conditions influences the depth of the tourist gaze and alternative outcomes of the tourist gaze. Using Boolean algebra and with a mid-level dot ("•") indicating the logical "and" condition and the sideways tilde (~) indicating negation, the following statement is an example of one model of tourists likely to engage in a shallow gaze:

$$\sim\text{Education}\bullet\sim\text{Age}\bullet\text{Male}\bullet\sim\text{Experience}\bullet\sim\text{Allocentric}\bullet\text{USA}\bullet\sim\text{Knowledge} \leq \text{shallow gaze} \quad (1)$$

Thus, Model 1 states that tourists having completed a low level of formal education, AND are young (i.e., ~Age), are males; with few travel holiday travel experiences (~Experience), who are not allocentric (~Allocentric), are Americans, with little prior knowledge of the destination culture have a shallow gaze on the destination culture. "The Grand Tour" (1660s-1840s, Chaney, 1998) is an epitome of visitors engaging in a shallow tourist gaze; visitors so engaged initially were wealthy, educated (having college degrees--rare in the 17th century), British• young men "visiting Europe" with stays across a specified set of nations. Model 2 is the Boolean expression of the recipe of antecedent conditions just described:

$$W \cdot E \cdot B \cdot Y \cdot M \leq \text{Shallow Gaze (Grand Tour visitors)} \quad (2)$$

where W = wealthy; E = high in education; B = British; Y = young; M = male. The testable proposition is that visitors exhibiting this combination of antecedent conditions engage in a shallow gaze of destination events and experiences.

Rather than a symmetric relationship, Model 1 indicates asymmetric relationships occur among visitors' complex antecedent statements and a shallow-to-deep tourist gaze. Using Boolean algebra and calibrated membership scores ranging from 0.00 to 1.00 for each simple condition, if a tourist has high "membership scores" for each and every simple condition in the complex recipe in Model 1, this visitor will have a high outcome membership score for shallow tourist gaze. See Figure 2 for this depiction. Using Boolean rather than matrix algebra, a total membership score is equal to the lowest score across the simple conditions in a complex statement. Thus, the total recipe score is equal to 0.80 for Model 1 for a given visitor having the following membership scores for the seven simple antecedent conditions: ~Education = 0.80; Male = 1.00; ~Experience = 0.90; ~Allocentric = 0.85; USA = 1.0; ~Knowledge = .95.

Figure 2 here.

Figure 2 illustrates this asymmetric relationship via a thought experiment for 30 tourists visiting a destination. Note that 3 of the 4 tourists have high scores for Model 1. Model 1 has high consistency in accurately predicting high scores for visitors exhibiting this complex antecedent statement--if a tourist has a high score in the complex antecedent condition, s/he will have a high score in the outcome condition (i.e., a shallow gaze). Note that 3 additional tourists have high scores in the shallow gaze. Models other than Model 1 are necessary to predict and explain these additional 3 shallow-gaze tourists. Asymmetric models predict only that high

scores in the outcome condition occur for high scores in the specific complex antecedent condition; unlike a symmetric model, a given asymmetric model is not an attempt to explain or predict all cases having high scores in the outcome condition.

A theory proposition of the tourist gaze 4.0 is that no simple antecedent condition is necessary or sufficient for a particular level of tourist gaze. The theory proposes that a set of complex antecedent conditions indicate the level of a tourist gaze. Typically, a consistently accurate statement of antecedent conditions includes specific combinations (i.e., recipes or configurations) of two-to-ten levels of simple conditions. Consequently, the theory includes the proposition that even when the main effects of simple antecedent conditions are each significant statistically in indicating the level of tourist's gaze, cases contrarian to the main effects occur. Thus, not all males or psychocentrics or persons with low levels of formal education display shallow gazes. Visitors high on allocentrism and high on psychocentrism may occur at all levels of tourist gaze--only within specific recipes (combinations) of complex antecedent conditions does clarity occur as to the contribution being made by simple antecedents to the tourist gaze.

Figure 1 includes the proposition that the nature of the tourist gaze affects simple and complex outcome recipes of tourists' understanding/interpretation (U), evaluation (V), indexing (W), descriptions (X), and intentions (Y) regarding the destination. U refers to the tourist's implicit and explicit beliefs about the destination (e.g., "Macau has the largest casinos in the world"). V refers to affective statements about the destination (e.g., "Macau has the best casinos"). W refers to implicit and explicit indexing (i.e., references to self, family, and others) by the tourist (e.g., "I have visited Macau twice before"). X refers to messages the tourist tells to others about the destination (e.g., trip reports in blogs and online reviews). Y refers to the tourist's likelihood of visiting the destination. The tourist gaze may affect all or just a few of

these outcome conditions. A “complex outcome recipe” is a configuration of U•V•W•X•Y statements (i.e., an implicit and explicit emic report explicated by a researcher--an etic report).

Destination Recipes Affect the Tourist Gaze

Places have implicit and explicit overarching/summary/macro themes with story-related (drama) events and experiences. “The Big Apple” (New York City), “The Forbidden City” (located in the center of Beijing), and “The Fat One” (Bologna, Italy), are three examples of summary descriptions of overarching themes. Places also have micro themes in how events and experiences occur. Micro themes include the implied and explicit scripts of how events are to occur/unfold as well as which emotional experiences are to be realized. For example, the specific scripts of words spoken, actions taken, and props used, and places performed in a formal wedding ceremony in Japan differ from a formal wedding ceremony in Salt Lake City.

The macro and micro themes of a destination affect the depth of a tourist gaze. Arrow 2 in Figure 1 depicts this general proposition. To achieve and maintain authenticity, the local participants may forbid tourists from entering certain destination areas or engaging/experiencing certain destination events. For example, tourists are not invited to be guest or observe authentic rites of passages in most destinations. Simulated (i.e., fake, imitated) enactments of authentic local productions are recipes contributing (along with specific tourists’ profiles) to the mid-depth tourist gaze. The simulated enactment of a Maori haka (war cry/dance) performed by Maori men before overseas visitors to New Zealand or at the start of sports competition (Figure 3) cannot help but to vitiate its performance.

Figure 3 here.

Specific destination macro and micro themes consist of recipes of time, place, people, objects, and action/drama as well as specified outcomes. The first five of these conditions are present in Figure 1 in the context/event/action of the destination. The very meaning of “authentic” destination performance opens up for philosophical, touristic, psychological, and sociological discussion when revisions occur in any one of the ingredients in a performance. Consequently, what are authentic actions are viewable most usefully as drama/action continua rather than yes/no achievements. The substitution of any one of the individual ingredients in a destination-event production constitutes a recipe revision and a substantial lessening or improvement to the production’s authenticity.

Simulated performances of destination events where tourists were not originally involved are not authentic when tourists are present. Care can be taken to lessen the degrading of the event by the presence of tourists by the quality of the direction and use of authentic places, actors, props, timing, and additional conditions of the authentic enactments. Many recipes (profiles) of visitors may include the desire to experience a shallow or mid-level gaze on a destination enactment with some authentic ingredients--achieving a deep gaze may not be a motivation for the visit. Problematic to this perspective is that the presence of such tourists vitiates the enactment. Governing organizations attempt to solve the dilemma of tourist wanting to visit/gaze-upon authentic destination enactments and thereby degrading the enactments by requiring the tourist to qualify for such visits and to restrict the enactments by time, place, actors and other ingredients occurring in the enactment production. For example, only members of the Islam faith are permitted to be visitors/pilgrims to Mecca/Makkah; thus, tourists are no longer strictly observers from afar but are viewable correctly as cast members in authentic enactments (e.g., the Islam Hajj pilgrimage and rituals, see Peters, 1994).

Arrow 3 in Figure 1 captures the rare occurrence of “native-visitor” occurrences. Religious conversion to Islam and participating in a Hajj pilgrimage is one example. A second example is marrying a spouse from a national culture differing greatly from one’s own national culture and participating in an authentic formal wedding ceremony at his/her spouse’s hometown; the wedding photographs in Figure 4 of the second author and his wife illustrates steps toward achieving native-visitor status and a deep tourist gaze--the steps include a lengthy residency in Japan and achieving fluency in the Japanese language by Drew Martin, the second author.

Figure 4 here.

The knowledge and profound wisdom about life in China by Pearl S. Buck (1931) in *The Good Earth* is a third example of achieving a deep tourist gaze by a native-visitor. (Though born in the United States mainland, Mandarin was Buck’s first (native) language; her father was a highly unsuccessful Presbyterian missionary working in China for decades after her birth.)

Outcomes of the Tourist Gaze

Figure 1 includes a Venn diagram of five outcomes of the tourist gaze: U = understanding/interpretation; V = evaluation; W = indexing; X = describing; and Y = intentions. The tourist gaze 4.0 includes the proposition that these five outcomes are “well-formed” versus unknown to the tourist experience a deep versus mid-depth or shallow gaze. Psychological “indexing” refers to implicit and/or explicit identification of connections of destination views and enactments by the tourist to his/her own life’s experiences searched and found in memory; this indexing is an automatic, unplanned, process (Schank and Abelson, 1977). The (in) ability of the tourist to index destination scenes and enactments facilitates inaccurate and/or accurate

interpretations and descriptions of the destination meanings in comparisons to the interpretations and descriptions by local residents.

Automatically, nonconscious interpretations and evaluations occur with indexing. Humans have a natural tendency to assume that experiences in their own early lives are proper and best. Consequently, substantial confusion and animosity sometimes occur during indexing destination scenes and enactments distant from ones in a visitor's memory system. Consumption of cooked dog meat in Korea, Vietnam, and additional Asian countries and open defecation in India as cultural activities that promote good health are likely to be indexed into unsavory and disgusting categories, then seen as being inaccurate in promoting good health, and quickly evaluated as unacceptable and even abhorrent by many visitors from Western nations.

Four main points are being made here. First, configurations (i.e., recipes) of multiple outcome conditions occur during and following a tourist gaze. These outcome recipes vary by the intensity of the tourist gaze: visitors engaging in shallow, mid-depth, and deep gazes experience quite different outcome recipes. Third, shallow and mid-depth tourist gazes occur automatically; deep tourist gazes are more effortful and explicit than shallow and mid-depth gazes. Fourth, most visitors are unaware of the automaticity of how they are gazing and the impacts on outcomes during and following their tourist gazes (cf. Bargh and Chartrand, 1999); calling attention to different ways of gazing and their outcomes may initiate steps towards eventually achieving a deep tourist gaze.

Canziani's Tourist Gaze as Metonym

Following this introduction, the second article by Bonnie Farber Canziani provides a valuable framework for expanding the theoretical contributions of the tourist gaze. Canziani

achieves her objective of providing theoretical robustness that permits Urry's (1990) original intent to carry forth into new programs of tourism research. Canziani reaffirms, deepens, and expands on the relevancy of the tourist gaze in the discipline of tourism research.

Lloyd's Sacralization of Secular Pilgrimages

In the third article Lloyd explains the relevancy of Jung's theory of archetypes in making explicit the implicit sacred and profane dimensions and processes in travelers' "sacrilization of secular pilgrimages. This third article is unique and valuable in Lloyd's use of historical content analysis, visual narrative art, and Jungian conceptualization in explicating the tourist's conversion and experiences as Pilgrim. Lloyd demonstrates the essential roles social media play in this conversion process. Quite a scholarly feat to achieve in a brief article!

Martin and Aluri's Etic and Emic Reports of Tourism Behavior

In the fourth article Martin and Aluri build from storytelling theory and prior research to provide etic explanations of tourists' emic descriptions of visits to Hawaii. This article is very exciting to read because of its clarity in describing how seemingly small happenings have huge influences in travelers' overall assessments of destinations and their evaluations of hospitality experiences. Martin and Aluri illustrate the great value in examining visitors' travel stories that they report in natural (blog) contexts.

Muniz, Woodside, and Sood's Consumer Storytelling of Brand Archetypal Enactments

In the fifth article Muniz, Woodside, and Sood show how to use "degrees of freedom analysis" (DFA) and visual narrative art (VNA) to test the relevancy of Jung's archetypes in motivating tourism-related behaviors. This treatise provides technical details on how to use

these two research genres in tourism research. Reading this article is a very useful learning experience in developing anthropological skills in tourism research.

Pennington-Gray, Stepchenkova, and Schroeder's Use of the lens of Flickr to Decode Emic Meanings

In the sixth and final article Pennington-Gray, Stepchenkova, and Schroeder examine how naturally occurring emic photographic and written messages about a tourism-related weather disaster contributes to theory construction and empirical research. This study provides workshop tools/skills in advancing social media theory into issues of tourism safety and sustainability. Reading Pennington-Gray, Stepchenkova, and Schroeder's contribution is guaranteed to increase the reader's understanding of the value of performing analysis of emic communications in naturally occurring social media networks.

Concluding Comments

While no one discipline provides all the theory and research tools necessary in the advancing behavioral science, tourism anthropology (TA) offers a unique vantage point for contributing to the discipline of tourism research. TA embraces adherence to several central propositions including the following viewpoints. Advances in theory in the field of tourism research require accurate and deep explication of naturally occurring thinking, assessments, communications, and behavior of tourists. The TA researcher goes beyond the use of scaled response metrics. The TA researcher recognizes the severe limits in asking questions. Given that most thinking occurs unconsciously, answers to questions alone offer inadequate understanding of the actual thinking, evaluations, and behavior of tourists.

TA researchers rely in part on observing. They recognize that research methods are not neutral in their effects on theory creation and testing. Rather than adopting a net effects standard on the influence of individual independent variables, TA researchers more often embrace a gestalt, recipe, perspective--both in crafting and testing theory. They both borrow and contribute to the general discipline of behavioral science as this special issue illustrates.

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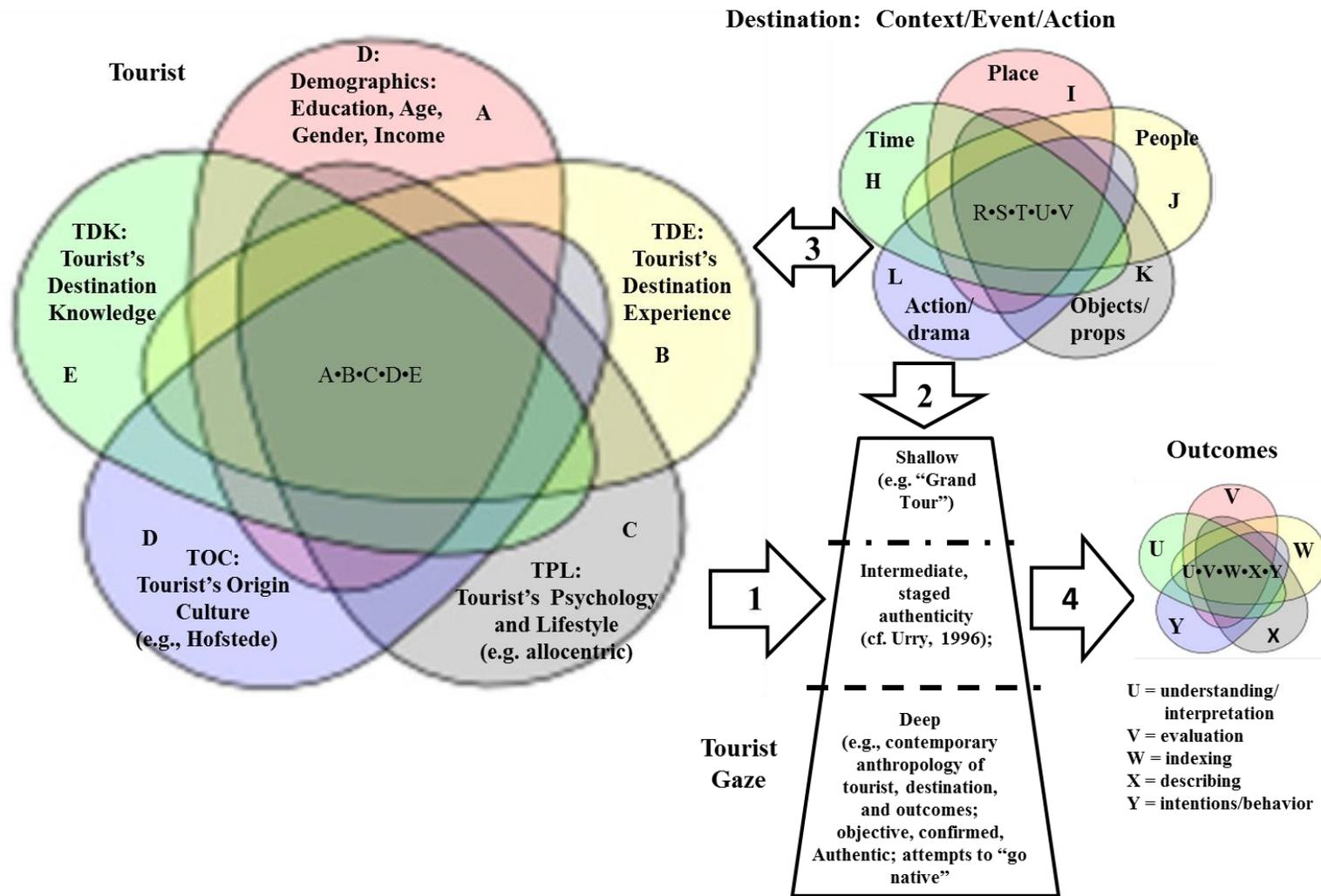


Figure 1
Available Antecedent Recipe Models Affecting the Three Levels of the Tourist Gaze and Outcomes

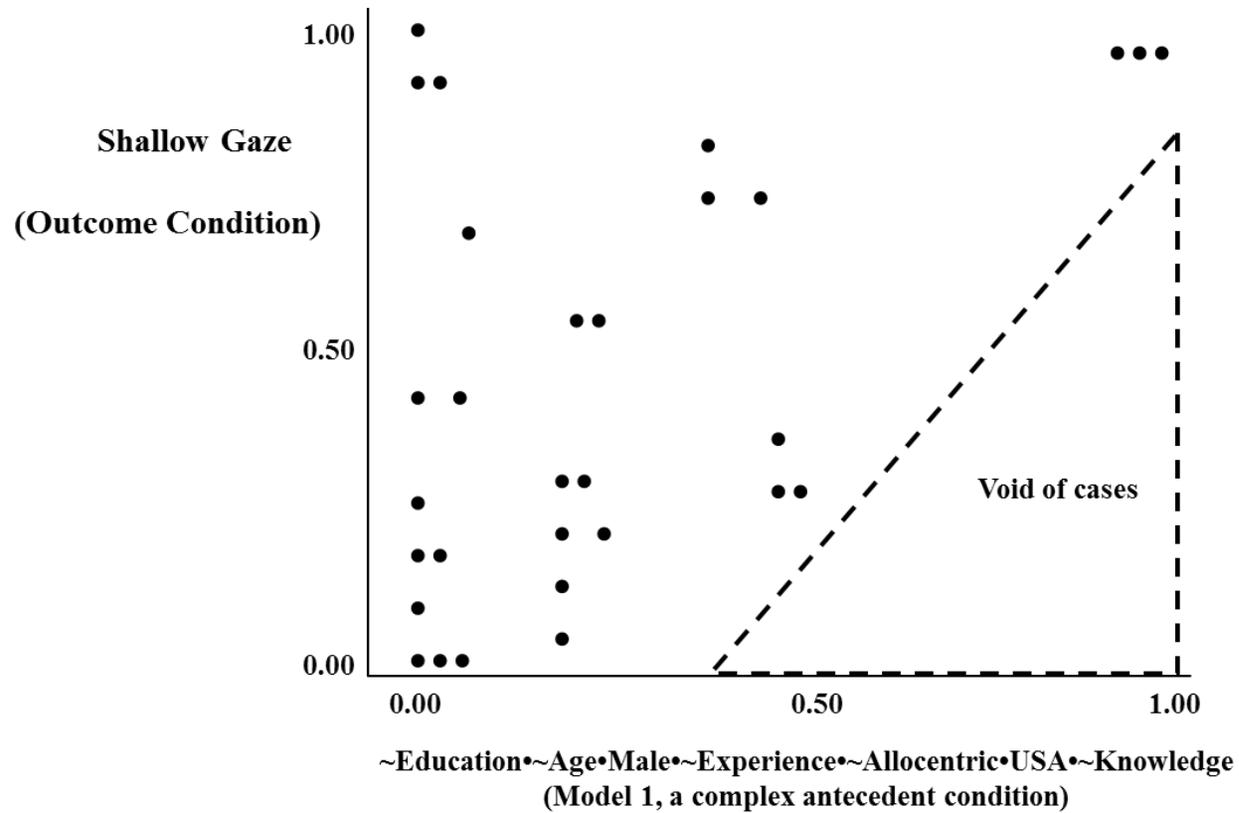


Figure 2
Findings from a Thought Experiment of a Complex Antecedent Condition
Accurately (Consistently) Predicting a Shallow Tourist Gaze (n = 30)

Note. Each dot indicates scores for a case (visitor to a destination for the two conditions). Consistency for Model 1 is 1.00 (all cases with high scores on Model 1 perform shallow gazes; coverage for Model 1 is 0.50 (Model 1 represents 3 of the 6 shallow gaze cases)).



Figure 3
Maori Haka Performance at Sporting Event



Figure 4
Achieving an Authentic Destination Experience by a “Native-Visitor”