CONSTRUCTING PLACE, DIRECTING PRACTICE?
USING TRAVEL GUIDEBOOKS

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ABSTRACT:

Although the internet has rapidly expanded its utility for the traveller/tourist, published guidebooks, tangible and portable, remain the major source of information for most people. Guidebooks function as 'culture brokers', mediating both place and the travel experience itself for the reader, and can be considered part of a system of cultural production which often re-presents dominant discourses about the Other. Only a limited amount of academic attention has been devoted to the *content* of guidebooks, and most of this has focused on publications relating to non-Western destinations. This paper considers two interrelated functions of guidebooks - the construction and narration of place (and people), and the direction of travel practice/experience – by examining the textual and photographic content of a set of guidebooks to Edinburgh. The process of selecting some sights and activities for inclusion in a guidebook necessarily omits others, and those included are 'narratively marked' as worthwhile and therefore important to, or even definitional of, an approved travel practice. The style of narration employed by guidebooks and their methods of interpellating the traveller/reader are part of how they convey their authoritative and 'circumscribed' versions of place and of travel practice. Reading a travel guidebook is of course a 'performative' act, and while most work on the topic has acknowledged the reader's interpretational role in creating meaning from travel texts, this paper begins to address the questions of why and how some of the guidebooks' representations are accepted and others modified or even rejected by the individual reader/traveller.

Keywords: Edinburgh, guidebooks, representation, travel, travel writing

INTRODUCTION

Travel guidebooks direct travellers by seeking to influence their travel practices. The research from which this discussion of travel guidebooks has arisen is broadly concerned with how travellers use their travels to construct and narrate self-identities. Central to this is the relationship between social discourses and individual action. Specifically, through the pervasion of 'discourses of travel' in western society, certain characteristics have come to be associated with particular travel practices and these characteristics are seen as transferable to the traveller who espouses 'good'

travel practice. That is, whether understood as a marker of 'cultural capital', or a vehicle for establishing an imagined (e.g. adventurous, independent, resourceful) identity, travel is attributed characteristics which are available to be appropriated by individual travellers who can successfully narrate their use. How is it that conventions of travel practice are conveyed, and how do travellers then negotiate normative ideas of 'good' or appropriate travel practices? Importantly implicated here is the genre of travel writing, of which travel guidebooks are now a major component. In looking at such guidebooks, I argue that the construction of a version of place (and culture) and the direction of travel practice are two of their central functions.

Books on travel methodology have been prominent since the sixteenth century, but the genre lines have been blurred here, overlapping with guides to etiquette generally, as well as with exploration accounts, memoirs, published travel correspondence, and even government reports on 'new' lands. Nowadays, travel guidebooks exist as an exceptionally successful niche in the publishing industry with well-known series, such as Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Fodor's, and Let's Go, in combination offering guidance for travel in almost every part of the globe. It is argued that the growth in the guidebook industry and the increase in the numbers of 'independent' travellers have gone hand in hand: "[t]he emergence of alternative guidebooks helped open wider horizons, in particular for backpacker tourism in developing countries, and for the many who, without a guidebook, might not have taken the leap into the developing world" (Sorensen, 2003: 859).

Recent academic commentary on this influence has concentrated on the ways in which guidebooks 'mediate' the travel experience by providing the reader with a constructed (or at least interpreted) version of the places and people they encounter, emphasising their role in re-presenting dominant oppressive discourses (for example Bhattacharyya, 1997; MacGregor, 2000; Jacobs, 2001; Bush, 2002). Following Barthes' (1972) influential essay on 'The Blue Guides', and MacCannell's (1976) comparison of two popular guides to Paris published at the beginning of the last century (the *Anglo-American Practical Guide to Exhibition Paris: 1900* and Karl Baedeker's *Paris and Environs with Routes from London to Paris: Handbook for Travelers*), only a handful of studies have subsequently looked at the actual content of guidebooks (including Lew, 1991; Bhattacharyya, 1997; McGregor, 2000; Bush, 2002; Quinlan, 2005).

In a textual analysis of how *Lonely Planet India* mediates travellers' experience of that country, Bhattacharyya (1997) uses Cohen's (1985) framework for understanding the mediatory role of the tour guide, applying elements of it to the guidebook. For Bhattacharyya, this attention forms part of "the broader analysis of Western cultural productions which constitute the discourse about the Other in general and India in particular [since] the guidebook provides a cognitive framework for perceiving India and for interpreting what one perceives" (Bhattacharyya, 1997: 372). Bhattacharyya concludes that the guidebook uses implicit strategies to convey a single, authoritative and objective version of India, and also assumes an 'ethical stance' which subjects local populations to a frequently unfavourable moral scrutiny which is not extended to the reader and the place from which they are travelling. *Lonely Planet India* validates its status as a 'survival kit' for travelling in India, she suggests, by emphasising the dangers involved, and it excises the daily lives of the inhabitants by focusing on the country's 'pre-modern' architectural and cultural attractions.

Bhattacharyya states that "[t]he selective nature of such a representation is particularly clear when one asks, what is missing from [*Lonely Planet India*]'s portrayal", and goes on to point out the omissions are considerable and consist, in general terms, of "the personal, unique qualities of human life." (Bhattacharyya, 1997: 387, 388). Here she echoes Barthes' earlier argument that without referring to the everyday, routine lives of the inhabitants, generalisations are made about the population as a whole which deny the uniqueness and human agency of individual subjects. By directing the traveller's gaze backwards onto a version of the past, guidebooks act to 'primitivise' subjects, thus excising the contemporary life of inhabitants, and in turn impact on the empathy and responsibility of the traveller.

If these omissions are to be seen as central to the shortcomings of travel guides generally as instructional and interpretational texts, then this analysis ought to be applicable more widely. Edinburgh and its guidebooks can usefully provide a case study which allows ideas regarding the construction of Other/difference to be 'tested' within a European context.

CASE STUDY: EDINBURGH GUIDEBOOKS

For my case study I wanted to examine a cross-section of guidebooks with regard to their influence and projected readership demographic, and selected titles from each of the Baedeker, Lonely Planet and Rough Guide series, in addition to an 'independent' city guide (*Edinburgh: The Capital Guide*) produced and printed by local Edinburgh firms. As well as considering an older guidebook, a 1901 Baedeker, I selected various editions of the other series, to reflect when each company began to produce dedicated guides to Scotland or Edinburgh. For the purposes of this analysis I have considered only the city's entry if it is included within a country guide. Although each of the Baedeker, Rough Guide and Lonely Planet guidebooks were created and originally written by one or two individuals, Baedeker titles are now distributed worldwide by AA/Allianz and the Rough Guides by Penguin. The Lonely Planet guides long emphasised their status as an independent company which did not accept any advertising income: however this policy was recently abandoned by the company's website. *Edinburgh: The Capital Guide*, by contrast with the other guidebooks selected, is produced by its author and published with the aid of revenue from the advertisements featured in it[1].

Each of the guidebooks selected is structured differently, has a different projected readership and production background, and devotes more or less attention to Edinburgh itself. However, since space limitations rule out full consideration of all of these variations, I concentrate on comparing aspects particularly relevant to this discussion, and touch on the others only in passing. The discussion is focused on how these guidebooks produce and convey a normative travel practice: their version of an 'art of travel'. As they exist to 'guide' the reader/traveller around the destination, guidebooks necessarily perform an evaluative and sanctioning function, whereby certain elements of a destination and of touristic practice are included and evaluated, and others omitted. My analysis focuses on how the selected publications achieve this in a number of interlinked ways, including by using introductory text and

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[1] With no Baedeker guidebook exclusively focusing on Scotland until 1995, Edinburgh was originally covered by an entry within the 1901 *Baedeker Great Britain: Handbook for Travellers* (hereafter *Bdkr Britain*), and then more recently in the 1995 *Baedeker Scotland 1st Edition* (hereafter *Bdkr Scotland*). Edinburgh is also covered in *Scotland The Rough Guide 2nd Edition* (1996), hereafter called *Scotland RG*, and *Lonely Planet Scotland 3rd Edition* (2004), hereafter *LP Scotland*. Finally, I have also included two dedicated city guides: *Lonely Planet Edinburgh 1st Edition* (1999), hereafter *LP Edinburgh*, and *Edinburgh: The Capital Guide 2003-2004* (2003), hereafter *Edinburgh CG*.

photographic images to construct their own 'portrait' of the city, conveying authority through the narrative voice developed, and by selecting and valorising particular sights and sanctioning some travel practices such as socialising and shopping.

The combination of text and photographic images in a guidebook constructs a 'portrait' of the place for its reader, by implication focused on the things deemed most valuable, and perhaps also most instructive, about it. The processes of inclusion and exclusion delineate what is seen as most 'worthwhile' or of interest to the traveller. When viewed together, the most striking feature of these guidebooks' *introductions* to Edinburgh is the degree of accordance which they display, in spite of their different markets and proclaimed different approaches. A broad positivity with regard to their subject destination is of course a feature of almost all guidebooks, but the repetition of the exact features which are seen to mark 'Edinburgh', and the way these echo assessments in travel texts from previous centuries, is noteworthy. The introductory passages in each guidebook are strongly evaluative, pointing up the reasons why the city is of interest to their perceived readership. The language used is often superlative: by emphasising outstanding or unique features, they set out to convince the reader that a visit is imperative.

The following introductions from *Bdkr Britain* and *Bdkr Scotland* almost a hundred years apart similarly extol the beauty of the city's topographical situation, its outstanding architectural features and classical resonances and, in the latter case, note its contemporary position of financial influence:

> "Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland, and one of the most romantically beautiful cities in the world … Perhaps no fairer or more harmonious combination of art and nature is to be found among the cities of the world … The stranger is advised to begin his acquaintance with the 'Modern Athens' by obtaining a general view of it from the Castle (best), the top of the Scott Monument, the Calton Hill, or Arthur's Seat (p. 515). Edinburgh consists of the picturesque Old Town, familiar to readers of Walter Scott, which was rebuilt in the middle of the 16th cent. after a great fire, and of the New Town, to the N., which dates its beginnings to 1768. … The nucleus of the New Town, which is distinguished for its massive style of building, consists of the three parallel thoroughfares: Princes Street, perhaps the finest street in Europe … " (Baedeker, 1901: 511-512)

> "Of all the cities in the world, Edinburgh, the capital and cultural centre of Scotland for over 500 years, occupies one of the most beautiful locations. Sometimes described as the "Athens of the North", the famous festival city boasts Doric columns on Calton Hill, a wide

choice of museums and art galleries as well as a host of other historical gems. Edinburgh actually consists of two cities. The castle, set on high basalt rock, dominates the densely-populated old town, a labyrinth of narrow alleys, rows of house and back-yards. … The Georgian new town, itself a masterpiece of town planning from the 18th c., is characterised by grand squares, wide avenues and elegant facades. Edinburgh is now home to many prosperous service industries and the area around George Street is one of Europe's largest investment centres." (Baedeker, 1995: 151).

The introductory paragraph to Edinburgh in *RG Scotland* includes largely the same features described in the *Bdkr Scotland* introduction, and also has a similar kind of 'voice':

"Well-heeled Edinburgh, the showcase capital of Scotland, is a cosmopolitan and cultured city. Its setting is undeniably striking … The centre has two distinct parts. North of the Castle Rock, the dignified, Grecian-style New Town was immaculately laid out during the Age of Reason … The Old Town, on the other hand, with its tortuous alleys and tightly packed closes, is unrelentingly medieval … Set on the crags which sweeps down from the towering fairytale Castle to the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Old Town preserves all the key reminders of its role as a capital …" (Abram et al, 1996: 48)

But in case this dramatic portrayal of the city might be off-putting to the reader, *RG Scotland* is also careful to emphasise its less high-brow attractions, which are presumptively 'youthful':

"On a less elevated theme, the city's distinctive howffs (pubs), allied to its brewing and distilling traditions, make it a great drinking city. The presence of three universities, plus several colleges, means that there is a youthful presence for most of the year – a welcome corrective to the stuffiness which is often regarded as Edinburgh's Achilles heel." (Abram et al, 1996: 48)

LP Scotland follows largely the same format, first introducing the reader to the exact views they will encounter upon arrival at the city (assumed to be via the Waverley train station), and supplementing this dramatic impression with the assurance that consumerist pleasures are also on hand:

"The view as you walk out of Edinburgh's Waverley train station is probably the finest impression of any city in the world … To your left, the precipitous medieval tenements of the Old Town; to your right, the commercial bustle of Princes St. And almost all of the city's top sights,

best restaurants and shopping streets are within 20 minutes' walk of where you're standing. Not only is Edinburgh one of the most beautiful cities in Europe, it also enjoys one of Europe's most beautiful settings. There are unexpected vistas from almost every street corner … Put the guidebook away for a bit, and just wander. But there's more to Edinburgh than just sightseeing – there are top shops, world-class restaurants and a bacchanalia of bars to enjoy." (Wilson and Murphy, 2004: 55)

As a dedicated city guide, *LP Edinburgh* has more space to elaborate on this standard introduction, adopting the same broad approach as in the other guides, but going further in its portrait of Edinburgh as a city offering considerably more than its historical appearance:

"Studded with volcanic hills, Edinburgh has an incomparable location on the southern edge of the enormous Firth of Forth. The city's superb architecture ranges from the Greek-style monuments on Calton Hill (for which it was called the 'Athens of the North') … Sixteen thousand buildings are listed as architecturally or historically important, in a city which is a World Heritage Site. … In some ways, however, it's the least Scottish of Scotland's cities, due to the impact of tourism, its closeness to England, and because of its multicultural, sophisticated populations. Edinburgh has a reputation for being formal and reserved … However, the universities and colleges create a large and lively student population for much of the year and there's a small but thriving gay and lesbian community which, next to Amsterdam's, is one of the largest of any city in Europe. There's also a vibrant pub and late night club scene, lots of good restaurants and enough theatres and music venues to satisfy most tastes." (Smallman, 1999: 9-10)

While *Edinburgh CG* inevitably mentions the historical aspects of the city in its introduction, the emphasis is on the interaction that the author (of the introduction) has had with the city and its social life. This guidebook also has a markedly different authorial voice, which will be discussed later in more detail:

"… As an amateur photographer, I was spoiled for choice with the numerous sights around this breathtaking city. The soaring buildings in the medieval old town and the grace of the new town made my photos look like they had been conceived by a professional. As you tour around the city, there are brilliant sights at every turn. What other city boasts three fantastic platforms from which you can take in exhilarating view of the municipality. … The spirit of the city is second to none. The pubs and bars are open nice and late, a definite bragging right over other British cities! Drinking with the Scots is one

of the best experiences in the world!" (Whitehead, in Anderson, 2003: 5)

The visual component of the way the guidebooks construct a 'portrait' of Edinburgh is largely manifested in the colour photographs which illustrate these texts[2]. The characteristics of Edinburgh which are included and excluded from the photographs in these guidebooks help to establish the version of the city being presented as that most 'noteworthy' or 'of interest' to the reader, not least because they *show* the reader/traveller how to view the city. In examining these photographs, I identified three broad categories of subject: Firstly, cityscapes, typically panoramic or aerial views of the city (in almost all cases encompassing buildings). Secondly, historical subjects, in particular, items or buildings (or details thereof) of primarily historical interest. And thirdly, social life, particularly sociocultural activity (ranging from street scenes where buildings are not emphasised, to shopping scenes, to close-ups of regional food or dress). Of course there is occasional overlapping in these categories, although in almost all cases it is possible to discern the 'intention' of the shot: for instance, by distinguishing between those with clearly human subjects, and in which people were either absent or at such a distance that it was obvious they were not the focus.

In *Bdkr Scotland's* entry for Edinburgh, there are no pictures in the opening three pages dealing with the city; on the fourth, however, there is an aerial view of the Princes Street Gardens on a sunny day, with crowds of people on the public seating and strolling on the greens (the only one in this book which could be considered to feature people). This can interestingly be compared with *LP Edinburgh*. In this, and including its cover photograph, forty-two photographs are used to illustrate Edinburgh, excluding those of its surrounding areas. Of these, seventeen are of people. In the third of the guides with photographs accompanying the entry, *Edinburgh CG*, there are thirty-seven non-promotional images of the city (unlike the others, this guide includes a large number of advertisements for local businesses and services), of which just under one-third are of human subjects. The overall layout of this guidebook is extremely visual – in addition to the comparatively high number of

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[2] *Bdkr Britain* does not contain any photographic images, and since none are included in the Edinburgh sections of *Scotland RG* or *LP Scotland* either, these three guidebooks have not been considered in this specific part of the discussion. Regarding the power of the visual in the construction of place and cultures, see for example Albers and James, 1988; Lutz and Collins, 1994.

photographs illustrating the text, there are also substantial numbers of images accompanying the advertising material, and images are present throughout the book, rather than being confined to designated pages.

The three dominant categories of photographs represented in this sub-set of guidebooks directly match with the aspects of Edinburgh emphasised by the written introductions discussed earlier. The high incidence of panoramic views of the city echoes the assertions that its topographic situation is uniquely impressive. Together with the text, these lovingly rendered skyline and cityscape photographs create the physical landscape of the city itself as a major attraction, and urge the reader/traveller to consider their simple presence in the place as in itself a key touristic experience: "There are unexpected vistas from almost every street corner … narrow alleys, flights of stairs and hidden kirkyards tempt you off the main streets at every turn. Put the guidebook away for a bit, and just wander." (Wilson and Murphy, 2004).

The textual emphases on the historical presence and its importance and attractiveness in the city are also supported in the large number of photographs of buildings and other subjects considered of historical interest. Guidebooks have long been associated with prizing the history of places above their contemporary social life, with this linked to an exoticising function, whereby guidebook representations of a 'glorious past' appear to constitute an ambivalent attitude to modernity[3]. This is strongly so concerning the three Edinburgh guidebooks considered here. In all of these, the photographs of historical subjects are overwhelmingly empty of people. However, in some contrast, in a number of the written introductions there is an emphasis on the vibrant and welcoming social life of Edinburgh, presented as a supplementary but nonetheless important attraction for the traveller. A look at the composition of the photographs which depict social scenes shows how closely the photographic and textual renditions of the city relate to each other. In *Bdkr Scotland*, for example, there is no allusion to the city's social scene at all, and none of the photographs in this category contain human subjects. Instead they either accompany descriptions of non-historical attractions, such as the botanical gardens, or else depict unique regional products, such as a shop window containing mannequins wearing tartan.

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[3] Eg Barthes, 1972; Bhattacharyya, 1997.

Insofar as the emphasis on locale and Scottishness can be considered to construct 'difference' and to 'exoticise' the city, *LP Edinburgh* offers many such examples, including a photograph of a shop window offering Scotch whisky and haggis, and another of a display of sporrans, subtitled "a uniquely Scottish product" (Smallman, 1999: 113). Haggis, "Scotland's culinary delight", has a photograph all to itself elsewhere (Smallman, 1999: 64). In some cases the emphasis on the difference of Scottishness piles symbol upon symbol – for instance, one photograph shows a book of poetry by Burns next to a glass of whisky and a plate of shortbread biscuits and beneath it has the caption "a quiet afternoon with Edinburgh's most famous son, washed down with whisky and shortbread" (Smallman, 1999: 96). However, both *LP Edinburgh* and *Edinburgh CG* also comment on Edinburgh as a city which has a cosmopolitan and gregarious social and commercial life. The background photograph to *Edinburgh CG*'s section on 'drinking and clubbing' features four bottles on a bar: two vodkas, a rum and a whiskey, but not a Scotch one (Anderson, 2003: 45). The majority of photographs which depict social life in these two publications *do* feature human subjects (in contrast to *Bdkr Scotland*) and, in *Edinburgh CG* in particular, the version of Edinburgh represented is pronouncedly heterogenous. The street café and food market pictures (Anderson, 2003: 74, 81), for instance, could have been taken in nearly any city in the world, and the people featured in the background photographs in the sections on 'shopping' and 'entertainment' are of a mixture of ethnic backgrounds (Anderson, 2003: 76, 91), creating the impression of a cosmopolitan city which will seem comfortable and familiar to any visitor, and with its more 'exotic' aspects providing an attractive backdrop for this.

All of these guidebooks produce a version of the city for the reader/traveller, and by doing so structure the conjectured travel preferences of the reader. Regarding this, Bhattacharyya emphasises that:

> "The relationship between the signs (the guidebook representations) and the discourse is one where the guidebook both reflects and constitutes the discourse. The book reflects it in the sense that the discourse is necessary for the reader to understand the meaning communicated. The reader ultimately makes sense out of the representations presented because of prior familiarity with the discourse. *LP India* assumes that the dominant Western discourse about the Other is available to the reader. But at the same time, to the extent that the guidebook relies on that discourse, it validates the

discourse itself and legitimates its use. This discourse about the Other is recreated each time its use is required to make sense of the representations found in the book." (Bhattacharyya, 1997: 375)

This assessment insists that guidebooks such as *Lonely Planet India* incontrovertibly reproduce colonial discourse. With a Western destination such as Edinburgh in view, the potential flaws of a homogenising approach are easily seen. The processes of 'othering' involved are actually very complex, because there are not simple one-dimensional West/East, Self/Other, Coloniser/Colony dichotomies available in this case. While Scotland does have a colonial history, to a large extent this is 'internal' and involves 'cosmopolitan' and aristocratic landowners, as well as its relationship with England, or rather London; and anyway Edinburgh's specific position within such relationships is ambiguous, and also of course changing. Insofar as general characteristics can be discerned in these Edinburgh guidebooks in relation to 'othering' their subject destination, detailed attention to the textual construction of the reader/traveller as well as of the place is required. Their 'art of travel' also conveys a perceived readership in light of what each publication espouses as 'good' or rewarding travel practices.

The readership imagined and 'interpellated' by guidebooks is of course suggested by the market positioning employed in advertising and product design, as well as by the textual inferences made throughout. These latter implicitly assume familiarity with the reader in terms of their preferences and tastes, knowledge and education, prior experience of travelling, and also to some extent their gender, socio-economic status and physical ability. In many instances, indeed, the reader is directly addressed (as 'you' - use of pronouns in each of the guidebooks is discussed more fully later): "There are two things you will more than likely be intending to take home with you as mementoes of your trip to Edinburgh: a bottle of good Malt Whisky and something tartan" (Anderson, 2003: 76). The assumptions here from *Edinburgh CG* are manifold: the author claims a high probability that he knows the reader's intentions, they buy souvenirs, they select products which are unique to and representative of the area, their taste is sufficiently refined to only be interested by quality malt whisky, and they're playful and knowing enough to enjoy the kitsch of tartan.

In *Edinburgh CG*, however, there is an overt alignment of the reader with its producers. In the introduction, by the author's friend, the reader is told that the author of the guidebook "… once used to show me the intricacies of this city, and now for a few quid, you've got the paperback equivalent of this friend to take you around the city and show you the sights"; and what, the reader is asked, "more could you ask for?" (Whitehead in Anderson, 2003: 5). This insinuation of equality and friendship was a feature of early editions of the Lonely Planet series in appealing to a then emergent guidebook readership. Writing about his relationship with his Lonely Planet, Tad Friend states that the book was his 'lifeline': "I ate and slept where they told me … When you spend months with a guidebook that speaks to you in an intimate, conversational tone, it becomes a bosom companion" (Friend, 2005: para. 21, 22). However, as the company expanded and gained an increasingly disparate consumer base, Lonely Planet guidebooks could no longer assume intimacy and friendship with their readers, nor all the commonalities of taste and outlook and the mutual-approbation which these implied. Lonely Planet now produces six hundred and fifty titles for a vast readership, and as a result "[t]he books' iconoclastic tone has been muted to cater to richer, fussier sorts of travellers" (Friend, 2005: para. 11). That *Edinburgh CG* can assume knowledge of and common values with its readership is therefore in large part due to its 'independent' status and the likely size of its readership.

However, neither Lonely Planet nor the other Edinburgh guidebooks with large, international distribution address every potential traveller/reader. By the omission of details relating to the suburban, residential or industrial areas of the city, each of the guidebooks assumes a holidaying reader, to the neglect of the many thousands of transient workers (and working-travellers) who come to the city to live for shorter or longer periods of time. Although each of the guides emphasises the vertiginous topography of much of Edinburgh's central area, only *Scotland RG* has a section devoted to the issue of access for 'travellers with disabilities' (Abram et al, 1996: 41). This, coupled with the typical inclusion of walking itineraries for sightseeing, assumes a physically able reader. The emphasis on sightseeing itself largely excludes blind travellers, and in spite of most of the guidebooks providing listings of services with a range of prices, the reasonably high socio-economic status of readers is assumed by the cost of the books themselves (up to £11stg) and also the

relative expense of Edinburgh as a destination. *Scotland RG* is the only one of the guidebooks to include a section on possible visa requirements (Abram et al, 1996: 14), with plausible inferences from the omission of this from the others including that their readers are already legally entitled to enter Scotland, or that they are sufficiently experienced travellers to manage without guidance on this matter. The educational level of the supposed reader is implied in, for example, *LP Scotland*'s suggested reading and 'must-see films' (Wilson and Murphy, 2004: 15) and more broadly in each of the guidebooks by their approach to the selection and description of likely sites of interest.

One of the primary ways in which a publication can persuade readers to engage in the practices it suggests concerns its narrating authorial 'voice'. The tone of the narrative voice can convey the particular positioning of a travel guidebook in relation to the reader, whether instructional, or mentoring, or the more informal style of a knowledgeable acquaintance passing on useful information. When the relative interest or worth of a sight, activity, hotel and so on is being described, this opinion can be variously presented as belonging to an individual author, thereby conveying a degree of subjectivity, or an unattributed 'narrative voice', conveying the impression that it is generally accepted and authoritative. When the narrative voice offers authoritative statements without allusion to potentially differing viewpoints, the implication is that the reader need make no further evaluation of the statements presented.

Authorship and authority are handled differently by the range of Edinburgh guidebooks. While the 1901 *Bdkr Britain* is the clearly the work of its author and publisher Carl Baedeker, there is no author named at all in the 1995 *Bdkr Scotland*, in which even the prefaces are unattributed. Eleven authors are obscurely listed in *Scotland RG*, while a single author is similarly named by *LP Edinburgh* and *Edinburgh CG*. In keeping with the minimising of individual authorship across the Baedeker guides, the text of *Bdkr Scotland* makes no allusion to its source; nowhere is the first person pronoun used; and the resulting impression is of distanced objectivity in its descriptions of place. Neither is the second person used at any point, with the only references to an end-user being a handful of indirect invocations, such as: "Few visitors will fail to be impressed by …" and "Anyone looking for a special scotch …" (Baedeker, 1995: 156, 181) This serves to suggest that the book is too lofty to address

the reader, and the omniscient manner reflects assumed fore-knowledge of the reader and their responses. All the other guidebooks examined use the second person pronoun freely. In *Scotland RG*, this is usually in the context of describing the navigation of sights, such as "continuing uphill, you'll pass through …" (Abram et al, 1996: 59), while in the two Lonely Planets guides there is additionally a more direct style of addressing the reader, who is frequently advised on how best to explore the city, including via recommended itineraries. Neither the multiple- nor single-authored Edinburgh guidebooks acknowledge the active, interpreting and evaluating role of the author(s) through use of a first person pronoun anywhere in their texts. *Edinburgh CG* is the sole exception.

Authorship is not obviously attributed in *Edinburgh CG*. Pride of place is instead given to the introduction by "award winning international comedian Jason John Whitehead" (Anderson, 2003: cover), which is heralded both on the front cover and on a prominent advertisement for his Fringe Festival stand-up show, as well as on the introductory page itself. Whitehead appears, among other things, to emphasise the unique attraction of this publication:

> "As with every city, there are a number of free leaflets full of adverts, or guidebooks where all the text has been paid for, but the capital guide gives you a genuinely independent view of the city. It's written in a friendly, laid back style by a friend of mine who has spent years hanging around the bars and restaurants and knows what he's talking about. He once used to show me the intricacies of this city, and now for a few quid, you've got the paperback equivalent of this friend to take you around the city and show you the sights." (Whitehead in Anderson, 2003: 5)

This guidebook aims, therefore, not to act as a 'professional' guide, but rather as a knowledgeable friend who is resident in the city. Throughout Edinburgh CG the author uses both first and second person pronouns and the tone is informal and conversational, although authority is still strongly conveyed. In this case such authority actually depends upon the writing 'I', who thereby inscribes the authority of the insider by referring directly to personal experience of establishments which he frequents or has worked at, or which his partner or friends 'insist' that he recommend to the reader. The impression is strongly given that the author is conferring on the reader exclusive information which will allow them access to the inner and 'real' or

'genuine' life of the city, things and experiences not available to a mere tourist (with their lesser, mass-produced guidebooks).

The prominent association of *Edinburgh CG* and Anderson with a successful comedian, Whitehead, further confers 'cultural capital', and implies that the invitation which the author extends to readers is to the inner circle of the city's artistic festival community. The implications are that without this the visitor's experience of the city will remain that of an outsider, and that other guidebooks without such 'inside' information exclude their readers from the 'real' Edinburgh known to (and exalted by) Anderson and *Edinburgh CG*.

A further important way in which the narrative approach of *Edinburgh CG* undercuts the authoritative claims of most guidebooks, including those considered here, is to emphasise the transparency of its selection process and the personal knowledge of its author: "When I set out to put together this collection of interesting sights to see, I had a vague notion of those that I was going to include. My vague notion turned out to be woefully short of all those that I eventually found …" (Anderson, 2003: 14). This centring of his subjecthood points up the different authorial style of this publication - its authority is not diminished by stating that its selections are the result of opinion and may be imperfect. However, the selective function of guidebooks is more usually disguised to support the claim that everything which is 'of value' is included, but with the criteria for such an evaluation not admitted. This is one of the foremost criticisms of guidebooks by Bhattacharya (1997) (also, Edensor, 1998; Laderman, 2002), because this a typical way in which a publication conveys its highly normative version of 'good' travel practice. One of the primary ways in which guidebooks act as a 'culture broker'[4] is through the provision of information about the sights it has selected for inclusion, which my discussion now moves on to consider.

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[4] The idea of human tour guides mediating between traveller and destination, or traveller and host community, has been interestingly discussed around the idea of touristic 'culture brokers' e.g. Smith (2001), Dann (2003), and some aspects of these conceptualisations can also be extended to guidebooks' functions.

As discussed earlier, the Baedeker series of guidebooks were traditionally aimed at a niche 'quality' market of travellers rather than produced for 'mass' tourism. *Bdkr Britain* has a spare narrative style, and its section on Edinburgh is largely descriptive in a practical sense, although with a high frequency of evaluative expressions. There are a few paragraphs which outline the history of the city and are notable for the authoritative language used, starting with "The *authentic* history of Edinburgh begins about 617…" (Baedeker, 1901: 511, my emphasis). The remainder of this section is devoted to describing and evaluating the principle attractions listed: Princes Street is "perhaps the finest street in Europe"; the Scott Monument is "magnificent"; the streets of the Old Town are "quaint"; St Giles's Church, however, "has suffered from an unskilful restoration" (Baedeker, 1901: 512, 513). The narrative style of *Bdkr Scotland* is similarly spare, in keeping with its adherence to the traditions of its predecessor. After a brief introduction to the city, its history, its Festival and artistic venues, the format is simply a list of descriptions of the main attractions. Although each includes a mention of the historical interest of the particular site, there is little evaluative language used in doing so, except in a small number of cases where the tone is more directive, such as with the view from the Outlook Tower which "should not be missed", although the tone of commenting that Riddle's Court and Brodie's Close "are well worth a visit" is perhaps more usual (Baedeker, 1995:158, 159).

The narrative style of *Edinburgh RG* is in stark contrast to *Baedeker Scotland*, which was published just one year earlier. *Edinburgh RG* seemingly aims to amuse and inform in equal measure and its narration is informal, jovial and very free with evaluative statements. After its introduction to the city, a short section on its history concludes in characteristically authoritative language that Edinburgh's character "typifies that of a nation that has maintained its essential autonomy despite nearly three centuries of full political union with England" (Abram et al, 1996: 49). Although a similar approach is used in each of the guidebooks examined, *Edinburgh RG* uniquely includes a large amount of anecdotal illustration, used to 'bring to life' the histories of the buildings and monuments of the city. While this has the effect of making the descriptions genuinely engaging, it is easy to infer that the stories in the book in some ways act as substitutes for the sites themselves.

The two Lonely Planet publications, *LP Scotland* and *LP Edinburgh*, share this informal narrative style with *Edinburgh RG*. In all three, evaluations of sights and

accommodation, eating and drinking places, are extensively provided. The evaluative style of the Lonely Planet sections on the city's attractions is frequently wry, or slightly 'jaded'. For example, the National War Museum's personalisation of exhibits makes it "easier to empathise with the experiences of war than any dry display of dusty weaponry", while the story behind the statue to Greyfriars Bobby "was made into a movie by – who else? – Walt Disney" (Wilson and Murphy, 2004: 62, 68). Such comments, combined with occasional observations regarding the number of 'tourists' which readers (presumptively not 'tourists' but a different kind of traveller) can expect to encounter at a given sight or place of lodging. This gives the impression that some places or sights, while certainly popular for 'mere tourists', are not really recommended for the travel practice of the reader of these publications. By implication, their readers are 'travellers' rather than 'tourists', and if the reader does visit such sites then it will be with a knowing sense of irony or detachment.

ON THE USE OF GUIDEBOOKS

In broad terms, the main motivation for a traveller's search for information to plan a journey is to 'augment' the quality of their experience after arrival (Fodness and Murray, 1997). But of course travel guidebooks are only one information source among the many now widely available and used. Travellers increasingly use the internet for research purposes prior to and during travel, while communications with family, acquaintances and fellow-travellers are another major resource. Brochures and other promotional literature, and media sources such as newspapers, magazines and television, also provide a great deal of information on destinations themselves and also on actual travel practice. The evolution of technologies which combine such information is also increasingly influential – examples here include interactive review websites such as Tripadvisor and also dedicated travel weblogs.

The proportion of travellers who use guidebooks as a primary information source is somewhat disputed in academic research on the issue (see Fodness and Murray, 1997; McGregor, 2000). Many factors are seen to influence use, including, for example, the type of travel, the destination involved, and whether it is a first-time or repeat visit. The stage at which guidebooks are consulted is also of relevance. For example, when used in advance of travel, they become implicated in the processes of

building expectation and anticipation, directing gaze and so on. In addition to their use before or during travel, guidebooks and related literature have a further function in helping recall and recount travel narratives when used after the event.

How guidebooks are used by the individual reader/traveller is central to understanding how they function, and therefore how they are implicated in the production and transmission of travel discourse. In calling for further study on the travel guidebook sub-genre, Bhattacharyya questions the influence of guidebooks on "actual tourist behaviour. To what extent do tourists accept or reject a guidebook's representational images of the destination?" (Bhattacharyya, 1997: 388; see also Edensor, 1998). Ten years on from this, academic research on the use of guidebooks by travellers remains limited. Dann (1996) has emphasised the 'control' exerted on the travel experience by the 'language of tourism', negating the idea of freedom in travel, since the traveller is reduced to seeking out those sights which they have been told to see (Dann, 1996). And McGregor's (2000) interview-based study has investigated the "relationship between text, experience, gaze, and perception of place" for visitors to Tana Toraja in Indonesia and concluded that the pre-departure use of guidebooks (sometimes alone, sometimes in conjunction with conversations with family/friends) influenced the choice of destinations (to the exclusion of places not mentioned in the texts), and also helped pre-form ideas about which aspects of the destination would be most interesting.

McGregor states emphatically that:

> "[r]eliance upon a limited number of international guidebooks led to a commodified experience and gaze, these sources "tutoring" tourists to gaze at aspects of Tana Toraja either comparatively, enthusiastically, or with disinterest, in order to realise an "authentic exotic" Other. … When constructing their perceptions, the elements that were emphasised within speech or written texts dominated their way of seeing. Because they were actively looking for the known and the imagined, the whole of Tana Toraja was colored by these features in people's post-travel images …" (McGregor, 2000: 27, 45).

However, this emphasis by McGregor, Dann and others on a 'standardised gaze' neglects the detail and changes involved, and omits a necessary sensitivity to travel behaviour as embodied and diverse performative practice. The traveller's use of

guidebooks is, after all, a travel practice which is also an embodied interaction, as Bush usefully points out:

> "… reading is fundamentally a performative act; it brings 'texts' into existence. As in all experience, readers of guidebooks decide what is foreground and what is background. Meaning is ultimately constructed in the encounter between a proposal and a reception – between the design of a space and its actual use." (Bush, 2002: 372)

The argument that travel guidebooks can, by suggesting completeness in their representation of place, create a fully 'circumscribed totality' is something which needs to be tempered by an understanding of the processes of interpretation which the reader brings to their practical use of such texts. Outside of the covers of the guidebook, there is an almost limitless supply of information available from a host of other sources, including of course the travellers' experience of the 'sights' themselves. Although in the end perhaps only a limited amount of 'supplemental' information will be accessed by the traveller, an awareness of the partiality of the guidebook's short account may also limit its acceptance. The extent to which 'information scepticism' is practiced by the traveller/guidebook user is particularly under-researched.

In conclusion then, a greater understanding of the role and functioning of travel guidebooks is necessary. The processes of constituting difference/Otherness in such texts are complex, certainly in the case of the Edinburgh guidebooks as I have shown. The processes of using and interpreting guidebooks are reactive and iterative, and grounded research will help better understand whether and to what extent individual traveller/readers might resist or reject the evaluations provided. Furthermore, attention must be paid to how the individual user might selectively attend to information according to its novelty, their own prior interests, and their ability to discern the artfulness and partiality of the guidebooks' constructions of place and travel experience.

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Traveled Way – The portion of the roadway for the movement of vehicles, exclusive of shoulders, berms, sidewalks, and parking lanes. Urban – Area located inside the urban boundary limits as determined by the TDOT Planning Division. Link to boundary maps provided on TDOT Traffic Engineering Office website's Highway Entrance Permit page. Traffic Control Devices – All signs, signals, markings and other devices placed on, over, or adjacent to a traveled way to regulate, warn, or guide traffic. Traffic Impact Study (or Report) – A review and analysis of the access requirements for and traffic impac Travelling Salesman Problem (TSP): Given a set of cities and distance between every pair of cities, the problem is to find the shortest possible route that visits every city exactly once and returns back to the starting point. Note the difference between Hamiltonian Cycle and TSP. The Hamiltoninan cycle problem is to find if there exist a tour that visits every city exactly once. One overlooked resource is the travel guidebook. To this end, the purpose of this study was to understand the role of the guidebook in the travel experience. Research questions focused on how the traveler is using the guidebook. The study utilized " on the spot " interviews of tourists as well as a questionnaire. Sixty-one tourists or groups of tourists with a total of 137 people were interviewed. As a follow-up, a questionnaire about travel and guidebooks was completed by 98 tourists. Findings from this research indicate the following ideas. Tourist guidebooks are a catalyst for tra... Look at this guide for tourists visiting California, then do the exercises to improve your reading skills. Instructions. Do the preparation exercise first. Then do the other exercises. Preparation. Reading. Because are places in that I want to take beautiful pictures and good memories. up. 0 users have voted. Log in or register to post comments. 24x. 49x. Mamou1 7 August, 2020 - 11:09. Good exercise for practicing preposition of place and movement. Extra big map on page 3. 37,084 Downloads. Where are you. By rmartinandres. Getting directions practice. Key provided. More practice here: 32,393 Downloads. DIRECTIONS. There are 3 activities 1-look at the picture and answer the questions 2- complete the sentences using the right preposition of place 3-gi 24,208 Downloads. map/prepositions.

Travel review readers perceive that other travelers' online reviews have great impacts on their pleasure trip planning process. Almost all agree that travelers' reviews help them learn about a travel destination, product or service, help them evaluate alternatives, help them avoid places they would not enjoy and also provide them with ideas. Over 80 percent also agree that reading other travelers' online reviews increases confidence in decisions, makes it easier to image what a place would be like, helps reduce risk/uncertainty, makes it easier to reach decisions, and helps with Traveled Way â€" The portion of the roadway for the movement of vehicles, exclusive of shoulders, berms, sidewalks, and parking lanes. Urban â€" Area located inside the urban boundary limits as determined by the TDOT Planning Division. Link to boundary maps provided on TDOT Traffic Engineering Office websiteâ€™s Highway Entrance Permit page. Traffic Control Devices â€" All signs, signals, markings and other devices placed on, over, or adjacent to a traveled way to regulate, warn, or guide traffic. Traffic Impact Study (or Report) â€" A review and analysis of the access requirements for and traffic impac Travelling Salesman Problem (TSP): Given a set of cities and distance between every pair of cities, the problem is to find the shortest possible route that visits every city exactly once and returns back to the starting point. Note the difference between Hamiltonian Cycle and TSP. The Hamiltoninan cycle problem is to find if there exist a tour that visits every city exactly once.