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New Challenges and Boundaries in Touism:

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New Challenges and Boundaries in Tourism: Policies, Innovations and Strategies

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CONTENTS

CONFERENCE AIM10
CONFERENCE TOPICS11
COMMITTEES12
CHAIRMEN12
SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE
ORGANIZING COMMITTEE
KEYNOTE SPEAKERS14
PROFESSOR DAVID HARRISON14
ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR STEVEN PIKE14
PROFESSOR HANQIN QIU15
PROFESSOR JOHN TRIBE15
SCHEDULE AT A GLANCE
KEYNOTE SPEECH: DESTINATION MARKETING ORGANIZATIONS: RESEARCH OPPORTUNITIES IN AN ERA OF UNCERTAINTY
STEVEN PIKE
ITINERANT WESTERN RETIREES IN S. E. ASIA: TOURISM AS WAY OF LIFE FOR SENIORS
CLAUDIA BELL
WEB COMMUNICATION BY ITALIAN TOURIST PORTS: A WEBSITES QUALITY ASSESSMENT EXERCISE
CLARA BENEVOLO AND RICCARDO SPINELLI
IDENTIFYING PERCEPTIONS OF YOUNG TOURISTS IN SUMMER RESORT DESTINATIONS: THE CASE OF CYPRUS
NIKOLAOS BOUKAS AND CHRISTAKIS SOUROUKLIS
DESTINATION COMPETITIVENESS OF ÇANAKKALE



KADIR ÇAKAR, NAZLI SAYAR AND FARUK SEYITOĞLU62
INNOVATION THEORY AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT FOR CREATING SMART DESTINATIONS: THE CASE OF MONGIANA ROYAL IRON FOUNDRY IN SOUTHERN ITALY
VINCENZO D'ANZI, ELEONORA PANTANO AND SAVERINO VERTERAMO. 78
CITY BRANDING IN COASTAL ZEELAND: ORGANISATIONAL CHALLENGES IN PRACTICE
TIMO DERRIKS AND ROSWITHA GUIRAN91
WILDERNESS PERCEPTION MAPPING AND VISITOR EXPECTATIONS, ROYAL NATIONAL PARK (AUSTRALIA)
DEIRDRE DRAGOVICH AND SUNIL BAJPAI
RESPONSE TO ONLINE COMPLAINTS IN HOTELS: EVIDENCE FROM EGYPT
MOHAMMED EL DIEF AND GHADA EL DIEF
THE CONTRIBUTION OF CULTURAL EVENTS TO TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: THE CASE OF ROCKET WAR ON THE GREEK ISLAND OF CHIOS
MARIA DOUMI, ANNA KYRIAKAKI, THEODOROS STAVRINOUDIS AND GEORGIA DESPOTAKI
NEW CHALLENGES FOR MATERA: THE ROAD TO 2019
Sergio Fadini and Stefania Clemente and Angela Masi
METHODOLOGY CONSIDERATIONS ON TOURISM POTENTIAL ASSESSMENT OF HERITAGE SITES
BO WENDY GAO, LIBO YAN AND MENG ZHANG158
BEFORE WEB-MARKETING: DIGITAL TOUR LANDSCAPES FROM RELATIONAL USERS
${\it Maurizio\ Giambalvo,\ Simone\ Lucido\ and\ Ferdinando\ Trapani.\ 170}$
PACKAGE HOLIDAYS AND SUSTAINABILITY: THE TOURISTS' PERSPECTIVE
Gianluca Goffi, Tonino Pencarelli and Magdalena Cladera 185
DESTINATION'S TOURISTIC VOCATION EVALUATION MODEL FOR CHIAPAS, MÉXICO
CAROLINA GÓMEZ HINOJOSA, JOSÉ RODOLFO MUNDO GÓMEZ, SANDRA LÓPEZ REYES AND RODOLFO MUNDO VELÁZQUEZ199
COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT: TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK



POON-EAD JEERATI, STONE CHRIS, GRAEUPL ALICE, HUANG FENG YI. 213
FRAMING A COMMUNITY TOURISM COLLABORATIVE GOVERNANCE APPROACH: THE CASE OF FINLAND
PARHAD KEYIM
HOW CHANGES IN FORMAL ENTRY PROCEDURES FOR FOREIGN NATIONALS AFFECT INBOUND TOURISM DEMAND? THE CASE OF CROATIA
OLIVER KESAR AND JOSIP MIKULIĆ
INVESTIGATING THE LESBIAN GAY BISEXUAL AND TRANSGENDER (LGBT) TOURISM MARKET IN GREECE
Anna Kyriakaki And Dimitrios Abanoudis
NEW DEMAND FOR USING THE CITY: TOURISM AS URBAN FUNCTION
ROSA ANNA LA ROCCA
USING TRIPADVISOR FOR EXPLORING CULTURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN BAHRAIN
Evangelia Marinakou and Charalampos Giousmpasoglou 281
RESIDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARD TOURISM ON ISLAND DESITNATION FOCUSING ON ECOCENTRIC ATTITUDES: THE CASE OF REPUBLIC OF PALAU
KAORUKO MIYAKUNI
THE MEDIATING ROLE OF LITERARY TOUR GUIDES: SARAMAGO VERSUS MAFRA'S NATIONAL PALACE
MARCELO G. OLIVEIRA, MARIA DO CARMO LEAL, MARIA ISABEL ROQUE, MARIA JOÃO FORTE, SARA RODRIGUES DE SOUSA ANTÓNIA CORREIA AND ANTÓNIA CORREIA
THE RELATIONSHIPS AMONG SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS, BEHAVIOURS AND MOTIVATIONS OF FESTIVAL ATTENDEES: A STUDY IN URLA INTERNATIONAL GRAPE HARVEST FESTIVAL
Bahattın Özdemir, Gökhan Yılmaz and Mustafa Ülker323
DARK, RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORED HERITAGE: MODELS OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TOURISM MANAGEMENT IN POST-DISASTER CONTEXTS
CECILIA PASQUINELLI
ASSESSING SOCIAL MEDIA OPPORTUNITY IN THE LUXURY INDUSTRY FOR PROMOTING LUXURY TOURISM SHOPPING



ROSANNA PASSAVANTI, ELEONORA PANTANO AND SAVERINO VERTERAMO
MAXIMIZING CUSTOMER EXPERIENCE BY AN EFFECTIVE USE OF HOTEL SEQUENCING MECHANISM AND ONLINE REVIEWS ON ONLINE HOTEL BOOKING SITES
Napaporn Rianthong, Aussadavut Dumrongsiri and Youji Kohda
SOCIAL INNOVATION IN CULTURAL AND TOURISM FIELD: THE ARISE OF NEW ACTORS
DANIELA RICCHEZZA, MARIAVITTORIA CICELLIN, ADRIANA SCUOTTO, ALEXANDRA CARIDE BALADO AND ALESSIA BERNI
THE IMPACT OF SERVICESCAPE ON CRUISER EXPERIENCE AND BEHAVIOURAL INTENTIONS: A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
MARCELLO RISITANO, ANNARITA SORRENTINO AND MICHELE QUINTANO
THE ROLE OF MEDIA IN RELEVANCE TO THE PREVALENCE AND POPULARIZATION OF DARK TOURISM
Hemani Sheth
WORKFORCE DIVERSITY MANAGEMENT AND HOTEL PERFORMANCE: EVIDENCE FROM CYPRUS, GREECE AND THE UK
CHRISTAKIS SOUROUKLIS AND NIKOLAOS BOUKAS420
AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LOYALTY AND JOB SATISFACTION: THE CASE OF CEPHALONIA'S HOTELS EMPLOYEES
THEODOROS A. STAVRINOUDIS AND DIMITRIOS KALOGIANNIS434
CHANGE MANAGEMENT, ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE AND COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE OF A LUXURY HOTEL
ANITA TALAJA AND HRVOJE MILOŠ
BEHAVIOR AND LENGTH OF STAY OF FOREIGNERS FOR MEDITATION TOURISM IN CHAING MAI, THAILAND
ROENGCHAI TANSUCHAT AND PANITLUCK ARYUMANN460
FOSTERING AND SUSTAINING URBAN HERITAGE TOURISM THROUGH GOVERNACNE NETWORKS: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLAND AND THAILAND



ASSESSMENT OF IMPACTS FROM IMPLEMENTING A LOW CARBON TOURISM PROGRAM: CASE OF SUKHOTHAI CITY, THAILAND
MACHIMA THONGDEJSRI, RACHNARIN NITISORAVUT, PAVARAT KUNKUAMDEE, CHADCHAWAN MUONGPRUAN, NALIKATIBHAG SANGSNIT AND VILAS NITIVATTANANON
THE EVALUATION OF THE ECONOMIC AND MANAGERIAL PROCESSES OF THE SANATORIUM TOURISM SEGMENT COMPETITIVENESS DEVELOPMENT IN BELARUS
NASTASSIA TRASKEVICH
NATURAL POTENTIAL OF TYUMEN OBLAST AS A FACTOR OF RECREATIONAL IMPACT ON THE HUMAN BODY
TATYANA TRETYAKOVA AND TATYANA SHMELYOVA522
THE MEASURE OF CULTURAL TOURIST DESTINATION SUSTAINABILITY
MILENA VIASSONE536
SYSTEMS THINKING BASED ON 5A'S MODEL USING KNOWLEDGE ENGINEERING FOR SENIOR TOURISM ENTREPRENEURS IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND
JIRAWIT YANCHINDA, MANASCHAI AONON AND KORAWAN SANGKAKORN
WHY DON'T WORKING HOLIDAY MAKERS COME TO NORTHERN TERRITORY
BENXIANG ZENG AND ROLF GERRITSEN565
SPECIAL SESSION 1: COLLABORATIVE, COOPERATIVE AND OPEN: NEW FORMS OF INNOVATION AND PARTNERSHIP FOR TOURISM
ORGANISED BY DAVID GUIMONT AND DOMINIC LAPOINTE579
CITY STAKEHOLDER COLLABORATION IN COMPLEX INNOVATION PROJECTS: THE SMART CULTURAL SERVICE SYSTEM "MUSEOTORINO"
LUISA ERRICHIELLO AND ROBERTO MICERA
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DESTINATION BRAND IMAGE AND TOURISTS PERCEPTIONS: THE CASE OF NAPLES
VALENTINA DELLA CORTE AND CHIARA D'ANDREA595
SPECIAL SESSION 2: SMART TOURISM DESTINATIONS: ADVANCING THEORY AND PRACTICE
ORGANISED BY LUISA ERRICHIELLO AND ROBERTO MICERA609



A MODEL OF SMART TECHNOLOGY-ENHANCED CULTURAL HERITAGE EXPERIENCE AT TOURISM DESTINATIONS
PIERA BUONINCONTRI AND ALESSANDRA MARASCO611
SMART CITIES AND DESTINATION MANAGEMENT: IMPACTS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR TOURISM COMPETITIVENESS
VALENTINA DELLA CORTE, CHIARA D'ANDREA, IRIS SAVASTANO AND PINA ZAMPARELLI
ANALYSIS OF THREE SPANISH POTENTIAL SMART TOURISM DESTINATIONS
Francisco Femenia-Serra and María Jesus Perea-Medina 639
SMART TOURISM DESTINATION FROM IOT PERSPECTIVE: ADAPTIVE ORIENTATION SYSTEM
FILOMENA IZZO, MARIO MUSTILLI, PASQUALE SASSO AND LUDOVICO SOLIMA
SMART TOURISM DESTINATION AND VALUE CO-CREATION: THE CASE OF HIGH TECHNOLOGY DISTRICT FOR CULTURAL HERITAGE
CARLA ROSSI AND ALESSANDRA STORLAZZI667
SPECIAL SESSION 3: EDUCATIONAL TOURISM: TRENDS, CHALLENGES AND IMPACTS ON TRAVELLERS
ORGANISED BY: ELITZA IORDANOVA
CHALLENGES IN DEVELOPING THE NATIONAL ELECTRONIC DEPOSITORY FOR TOURISM STUDIES IN GREECE
ARISTEIDIS GKOUMAS, ALEXIOS-PATAPIOS KONTIS AND PARIS TSARTAS
AN ANALYSIS OF TAIWAN OCEAN RECREATIONAL SPORTS AND TOURISM PROFESSIONAL COURSES
HSIAO-CHANG TSAO691
LANGUAGE TRAVEL SUPPLY: MARKETING AND MANAGEMENT STRUCTURES
Montserrat Iglesias
LONG STAY TOURISM IN THE THREE ANDAMAN CLUSTER: POTENTIALS AND APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT
Oratai Krutwaysho717
SPECIAL SESSION 4: INSIDE THE TOURISM DESTINATION: COMPETITION, COOPERATION OR COOPETITION?



ORGANISED BY: VALENTINA DELLA CORTE, MASSIMO ARIA, JIN-HYO YUN AND GIOVANNA DEL GAUDIO
THE LEVEL OF SMARTNESS AND TOURISM IN CITIES
CRISTINA CATERINA AMITRANO AND FRANCESCO BIFULCO
HOW CITIES PLAN THEIR CULTURE-LED STRATEGY: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS
NICOLA CIRILLO
INTER-FIRM RELATIONSHIPS IN THE ARENA OF TOURIST DESTINATIONS: THE ROLE OF DESTINATION GOVERNANCE
VALENTINA DELLA CORTE, MASSIMO ARIA AND GIOVANNA DEL GAUDIO
757
PROFILING MODELS IN THE CULTURAL SECTOR
VALENTINA DELLA CORTE AND GIOVANNA DEL GAUDIO769
SPECIAL SESSION 5: ESTABLISHING INNOVATIVE PRODUCTS AND PROCESSES IN TOURISM: THE ROLE OF SERVICE EXPERIENCE
ORGANISED BY NIKOLAOS BOUKAS, MYRIA IOANNOU AND CHRISTAKIS SOUROUKLIS
THE SEMIOTIC RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE LANGUAGE OF TOURISM AND DESTINATION IMAGE: THE CASE OF SICILY
ROSSELLA CULORA AND XUAN LORNA WANG
INVESTIGATING ISLANDS' VISITOR EXPERIENCES IN CULTURAL HERITAGE MUSEUMS: THE CASE OF CYPRUS
MYRIA IOANNOU AND NIKOLAOS BOUKAS797
STREET ART AND TOURISM: AN ALTERNATIVE TOURIST BUSINESS AND THE POTENTIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CITY OF NAPLES' TOURIST OFFER
Francesca Pizzo, Peter Wiltshier and Valentina Della Corte 808
SPECIAL SESSION 6: FOOD AND WINE TOURISM: AN EXPERIENCE-BASED PERSPECTIVE
ORGANISED BY VALENTINA DELLA CORTE, KARIN REINHARD AND PETER WILTSHIER
GASTRONOMICAL QUESTS OF TOURISTS: AUTHENTICITY OR SAFETY AND COMFORT? A CONCEPTUAL STUDY
BAHATTIN ÖZDEMIR AND FARUK SEYITOĞLU
FOOD AND WINE TO RE-LAUNCH A PERIPHERAL AREA: THE CASE OF CAMPI FLEGREI



LUDOVICO SOLIMA, PASQUALE SASSO AND FABIANA SEPE837
SPECIAL SESSION 7: CURRENT ISSUES IN TOURISM IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIA
ORGANISED BY PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ850
MEASURING THE ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF INCENTIVE TRAVELS IN THAILAND
PARNHATHAI PIPITHAPAN, KANCHANA CHOKETHAWORN, CHUKIAT CHAIBOONSRI AND PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ851
THE DEPENTDENT STRUCTURE OF THAILAND'S INTERNATIONAL TOURISM DEMANDS: THE STUDY BETWEEN CHAING MAI AND CHIANG RAI PROVINCES
ANUPHAK SAOSAOVAPHAK, CHUKIAT CHAIBOONSRI AND PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ865
A STUDY OF LOCAL PERCEPTION ON IMPACTS OF CHINESE TOURISTS IN NIMMANHAEMIN AREA, CHIANG MAI, THAILAND USING STRUCTURAL EQUATION MODEL
CHAMAIPORN ROONGSAPRANGSEE, PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ AND CHUKIAT CHAIBOONSRI
THE READINESS OF MICE CITY IN THAILAND: The CASE OF CHIANG MAI
PONGSAKORN SAELIM, PIMPIKA CHAWALIT AND PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ
SURVEILLANCE NETWORK DEVELOPMENT MODEL FOR CHILD SEX TOURISM EXPLOITATION IN THAILAND
KORAWAN SANGKAKORN AND PAIRACH PIBOONRUNGROJ906
HALAL FRIENDLY TOURISM'S BUSINESS MODEL: THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHIANG MAI, THAILAND
SUWALUCK UANSA-ARD AND KORAWAN SANGKAKORN918
SYSTEMS THINKING BASED ON 5A'S MODEL USING KNOWLEDGE ENGINEERING FOR SENIOR TOURISM ENTREPRENEURS IN CHIANG MAI, THAILAND
JIRAWIT YANCHINDA, MANASCHAI AONON AND KORAWAN SANGKAKORN
932



THE MEDIATING ROLE OF LITERARY TOUR GUIDES: SARAMAGO VERSUS MAFRA'S NATIONAL PALACE

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Tour guides play a decisive role in mediating existing gaps in literary and cultural tourism, helping reconcile the appeal of literature with the material and immaterial heritage of destinations. The promotion and experience of Mafra and of its National Palace, former seasonal residence of the Kings of Portugal, based on the novel Baltasar and Blimunda, by Nobel Prize winner José Saramago, constitutes an extreme case, given the work's clearly ideological stance and the author's unorthodox narrative strategy. In order to ascertain the mediation strategies used by tour guides, a qualitative study was designed comprising participant observation of guided tours of the Palace and interviews with the guides involved. Although a challenge for tour guides, the contrasting stance provided by the novel, instead of an obstacle, proved to be highly productive in terms of the strategies used, allowing the guides a far greater discursive freedom than in more traditional visits.

1. Introduction

Literary tourism has witnessed a considerable growth in the last decades, offering opportunities for the constitution, development and valorisation of tourism destinations based on



writers and their works (Hoppen, Brown and Fyall, 2014). Along with these, however, come significant challenges, given the existence of inevitable gaps between the expectations of visitors and the cultural reality of destinations (Waterton and Watson, 2015). As crucial mediators of meaning (Bryon, 2012), tour guides play a decisive role in arbitrating those differences, helping reconcile the appeal of literature with the material and immaterial heritage of the spaces visited. Interest in Mafra, a town distancing about 40 km from Lisbon, as a tourism destination increased dramatically with José Saramago's novel Baltasar and Blimunda - especially after the author was awarded the Nobel Prize -, with the number of visitors to its National Palace, former seasonal residence of the Kings of Portugal, growing exponentially (301 461 visitors in 2015, according to official information provided by the Palace). The mediation challenges faced by tour guides are in this case exacerbated by the work's unorthodox narrative strategy of combining fact and fiction and its overtly ideological stance, in conflict with the absolute power that led to the very existence of the Palace. Given the extreme character of this fundamental discrepancy, a qualitative investigation was carried out integrated in a larger project dedicated to the study of existing gaps in literary and cultural tourism - in order to ascertain the mediation strategies used by tour guides in thematic visits to the Palace based on Saramago's literary text.

2. Theoretical Overview and Background

2.1 Tour Guides

Tour guides have been described as frontline employees in the tourism industry (Huang, Hsu and Chan, 2010), the essential interface between the host destination and its visitors (Ap and Wong, 2001), players with considerable impact on the tourists' experience, the length of stay, and the economic benefits derived from a visit (Poria, Reichel and Biran, 2006), as mediators of meaning and facilitators of cultural understanding (Bryon, 2012). As such, tour guides are likely to influence the level of satisfaction of tourists (El-sharkawy, 2015). With their knowledge, their capacity to interpret the attractions of a destination, and their ability to communicate,



they are considered capable of transforming a plain visit into an event or an experience (Ap and Wong, 2001).

In his classical study, Cohen (1985) originally proposed the consideration of four main functions in their activity instrumental, social, interactionary, and communicative —, identifying four different types of guides: originals, animators, tour leaders, and professionals. More recently, however, the growing diversity of tour-guiding activities prompted a shift of attention towards a deeper understanding of the industry's dynamics. Considering four different dimensions - the nature of organizations, their target groups, the stories told, and the experiences provided - Bryon (2012) proposed a tentative taxonomy of tour guide organizations, singling out four different types of guides, each exhibiting distinct target audiences and forms of organization, using different kinds of stories and experiential techniques: official guides, alternative guides, entrepreneurial guides, and relational guides.

The two last dimensions considered by Bryon - stories and experience - actually confirm the fact that storytelling has become an increasingly important factor in the new experience economy and, consequently, a crucial element in the promotion and experience of tourism destinations (Woodside and Megehee, 2009). Good stories told by good tourism storytellers have the ability to engage tourists both intellectually and emotionally. Narratives, according to Bryon (2012), not only appeal to emotions: they also have the power to add a local touch to standardized tourism destinations. However, Poria, Reichel and Biran (2006) point out that almost no discussion is available on the role of the tour guide as someone who is expected to make the tourists "feel" the spaces visited, an aspect that may prove important for the experience of heritage sites. The fact that guided tours are never as neutral as they may seem also constitutes an important factor to be taken into account, especially given the political dimensions eventually involved (Hallin and Dobers, 2012) - an aspect of considerable significance in the study of guided tours of Mafra's National Palace based on José Saramago's novel.

2.2 The National Palace

The "Royal Building", as it was called at the time of its construction, the largest Baroque monument in Portugal, is an



architectonic complex built in the 18th century occupying an area of more than nine acres. Its construction was ordered by King João V of Portugal (1689-1750) as the fulfilment of a vow to the Franciscan order after the birth of his first child. Maria Bárbara, who would later become Queen consort of Spain. From a small monastery of 30 friars, the project, by German architect Johann Friedrich Ludwig (known in Portugal as João Frederico Ludovice), grew to include not only the area of the religious order, capable of housing 300 friars, but also a Royal Palace and a Basilica. The church was consecrated in 1730 but the works were only officially concluded in 1735. With the notable exception of the "Lioz" limestone used in its construction, brought from nearby quarries in Pêro Pinheiro and Sintra, most other materials and decorative elements were imported from Europe, including 58 statues in Carrara marble sculpted in Italy, the most significant collection of Italian Baroque sculpture outside that country. The Basilica where they are displayed occupies the central part of the façade, signalling the union of the royal and the sacred spaces of the building and the concept of an absolute, divinized power. With 1200 rooms, almost 50 000 people were, at a given point, involved in its construction. The present town of Mafra actually grew, as the locals usually say, "in the shadow of the Palace", occupying the space where the workers lived and where their workshops were situated. The area was then called "Madeira Island" and a square with that name can still be found. "Madeira" means "wood" in Portuguese, and the name of the square points to the huge area occupied by the wooden sheds where the workers toiled and dwelled. The building is a clear demonstration of the power of a King who wished to emulate the splendour of the absolutist reign of Louis XIV and who, at the time, was one of the wealthiest in Europe, due to the gold that constantly arrived from the Portuguese colony of Brazil. It is precisely that ostentatious and absolute power that led to the very existence of the building that will be attacked in Saramago's novel, establishing a conflict between the literary text and the heritage site.

2.3 Historiography and the Novel

Although objectivity remains a clear and uncontested methodological principle, subjectivity is an intrinsic element of any historiographical procedure (Carr, 1962), a notion that may



be extended to the discursive practices of guided tours. The production of historical descriptions or analyses inevitably reflects the intellectual environment in which they emerge. Following the models of the Enlightenment, still limited by the use of moralizing concepts and value judgements (Bentley, 1997), traditional documental sources about the Palace focus on the event of its construction and on the individual that determines it: King João V. In them, the King is portrayed as a hero, the protagonist, a providential agent who is exalted and idealized. Saramago's general approach, on the other hand, can be said to be closer to the historiographical practices of Nouvelle Histoire (Le Goff and Nora, 1974), school which emerged in France in the 1970's proposing the analysis of mentalities and of collective representations of society, instead of factual or biographical descriptions of historical events. Indeed, Saramago's approach will not favour the King or the Royal Family but, instead, focus on the set of social, economic and cultural circumstances that, in his view, characterized the period in which the Palace was constructed. In literary terms, the work can be considered a postmodernist historical novel, a great example of the historiographic metafiction of the period, of works that "install and then blur the line between fiction and history" (Hutcheon, 1988: 113).

Translated into more than fifty languages and presently in its 54th edition in Portugal, Baltasar and Blimunda has been adapted to the theatre and is the inspiration behind the opera Blimunda, by Italian composer Azio Corghi. Set in the 18th century, the novel describes the construction of the complex after a promise made by King João V of building a Franciscan monastery in Mafra if the Queen, who had not yet given birth to an heir, gave him a child. In the novel, a parallel is created between the King and Queen and the main characters, Baltasar and Blimunda, representatives of the people who struggle in a society completely dominated by Court intrigues and the Inquisition. Baltasar, a soldier who is abandoned by his army after losing his left hand in the War of the Spanish Succession is, later, ironically recruited for the construction of the Palace; Blimunda, a young 19 year-old woman with the supernatural capacity of seeing inside people and collecting their "wills", is a fundamental element in Bartolomeu de Gumão's project of creating a flying machine, because only the "ether" contained in the wills of men and women can lift the



"Passarola" off the ground - as it ends up happening at a given

Bartolomeu de Gusmão, a true historical figure, was a clergyman and scientist who, in 1709, presented his invention, a working prototype of a balloon, to the court of King João V. Other historical figures appear in the novel aiding the protagonists, such as Neapolitan musician and composer Domenico Scarlatti, who lived in Lisbon and was the tutor of Maria Bárbara, the child whose birth gave rise to the construction of the Palace. This postmodernist intertwining of fact and fiction is, in fact, one of the main narrative strategies of the novel - the disentanglement of which constitutes a clear, additional challenge for tour guides.

3. Methodological Approach

Integrated in a larger project dedicated to the study of existing gaps in literary and cultural tourism, the study benefited from the results of a preliminary, exploratory stage of the research which included the analysis of the novel and of documental sources, as well as an extensive literature review, an informal interview with a curator of the Palace, and participant observation activities, following a methodological triangulation, as defined by Berg (2001), that would provide a more substantive frame for the reality under scrutiny and the development of adequate data collection instruments.

For the ascertainment of service structure and the mediation strategies used by tour guides in thematic visits to Mafra's National Palace based on Saramago's literary text, a qualitative study was designed comprising in-depth semistructured interviews with the Director of the Educational Services of the Palace, who supervise the activity of official tour guides; with the three guides of *Tempo Cardinal*, a private company that provides the official services offered by the Palace; and with an independent tour guide, so as to benefit from a different, "uncontaminated" perspective. The interview script was developed considering both the specific scope of the present study and general research questions of the project in which it is included. Participant observation was conducted during three visits to the Palace: one with the independent tour guide and two with different guides of *Tempo Cardinal*. All



visits and interviews took place between February and June of 2016.

Qualitative content analysis was used considering the project's general research questions and the specific scope of the present study. Given the project's exploratory nature, an interpretative approach allowing the co-creation of meaning through the interaction of the researcher's perspectives with those of the research subjects (Daly, 2007) was used. The collected data was independently interpreted by the different members of the research group and the individual results were later discussed so as to arrive at the main conclusions related to the project's general research questions and the strategies used by tour guides in thematic visits to Mafra's National Palace

4. Results

4.1 Interviews

The Director of the Educational Services of the Palace, who also conducts occasional visits, indicated that the service was originally offered by them, but that, at a given point, they chose to hire the services of Tempo Cardinal, a private company created by former employees of the Palace who knew it "by heart". Saying that the original "discourse was passed on" to the tour guides by them, the Director indicated, however, that there was no pre-established script, only the indication of "fundamental aspects" to be included in the visits, especially because "each has his or her own way of capturing the audience; otherwise it becomes repetitive, tiresome". In of supervision, guided-tours are sometimes accompanied by members of the Educational Services, including the Director herself, who indicated that the guides who conduct the visits based on Saramago's novel "are able to adapt them" to different audiences, "interacting with them", a practice which the Director admitted to occasionally forgetting. Saying that her "approach was more historical", the Director enhanced the fact that the guides were able to establish a profound "connection with the work, with concrete chapters". In terms of the conflicting stance of the novel, namely the fact that Saramago "defends the people who work and ridicules the King", she referred that some visitors "do not clearly



understand" the conflict and that some precautions had to be made, saying that "less favourable references to the Church", for example, "are done outside the Basilica". Summarizing her view on the subject, she stated that: "Our discourse doesn't have to be his. What we have to do is to clarify everything. We do not have to adopt his perspective".

In terms of the results of the interviews with the tour guides. they were quite consistent in some aspects, such as the clear indication that "literature and history are pretexts to visit physical locations" and that the number of visitors in Mafra increased dramatically with Saramago's novel, creating "the need to reconcile history with fiction". Although always emphasizing the importance of the historical "truth", all agreed that the public enjoyed the "stories within it" and generally understood and accepted the difference between the literary work and the historical reality of destinations (in the words of the independent tour guide, the public expects "historians to tell the truth [...] and writers to 'fly'"). In regard to the ideological component of the novel, however, the responses differed significantly. The independent tour guide only mentioned, in passing, that "it depends on the guide, but it is possible to say that we are dealing with an author who believes that the will of many can overthrow power". The three official guides of the Palace, however, considered it a "very important element" of the visits, saying that "a balance between literature and history" had to be created and that "it is our job to call attention to both sides of the coin": "We always try to reach a balance, always, for all audiences. But sometimes we have to understand that there's no point in creating a confrontation [...] we have to be able to see how far we can go". Trying to summarize their approach, one of the guides stated that "there's this game that we have been creating: we believe that Saramago corresponds to a given time, a given period, to a certain way of thinking". Considering that "we have to tread very carefully" during the visits based on Saramago's novel because the ideological question is "a very personal thing", they emphasized the fact that "in the novel it is very evident, and we cannot avoid it". Instead of an obstacle, however, the work and the author's ironic style were, in fact, seen as allowing a greater discursive freedom: "literature allows us a greater freedom", "a very different freedom from traditional historical discourses"; "[Saramago's] own writing allows that freedom; that is why we sometimes follow his irony", something



impossible in the more traditional, "generalist visits", where "we have to free ourselves from him"; "he creates the basis that allows us to tell [...] stories". Saying that the Palace is actually "quite bare", one of the guides affirmed that "we are the ones who end up filling it with our stories", and, referring to the reaction of the visitors, another indicated that "telling stories is what makes the Palace live, causing a very interesting reaction in the public: people say that they feel the Palace was alive, had people living in it".

4.2 Visits

The thematic tour with the independent guide based on Baltasar and Bimunda comprised two different moments in two different places: a morning visit to Cheleiros, a nearby village where one of the main episodes of the novel takes place; and an afternoon visit to the Palace itself, where, curiously, no reference was made to Saramago's work. Considered together, the two visits revealed a preference for a more historical approach, to the detriment of the literary text. The morning visit, however, started with a contextualization of the novel and a summary of its plot, introducing the main characters and the author's general perspective. Apart from the famous episode of the transportation of the huge stone slab for the Balcony of Blessings from the quarries of Pêro Pinheiro to Mafra through Cheleiros, however, only brief, almost anecdotal, references to the novel were made. Although an interest in the historical "truth" was evident, the guide's discourse could not be considered "ex-cathedra", given his clear, and successful, attempt to provide a light, entertaining experience, with the inclusion of many anecdotal episodes from history, relating them with the present, including humour and theatrical elements in his discourse - in a way fulfilling the goal expressed in his interview of "making people feel good at the end, tired but happy, with some knowledge about history and the book".

The two visits to the Palace conducted by the guides of *Tempo Cardinal*, on the other hand, were clearly organized around a deliberate mediation between the official discourse of history and Saramago's novel, with the first actually beginning with the sentence: "We are going to tell the history of the King and see where history and Saramago intersect". The creation of a balance was attempted from the start by asserting the



legitimacy of both Saramago's vision and that of traditional historiography. A constant attention to the reaction of participants was noticeable in both visits, which acquired a slightly different character given the different publics involved: a more conservative group in the first visit, a more liberal one in the second, actually prompting a balanced defence of the opposing perspectives by the tour guides. Instead of dismissed, inconsistencies were, in fact, highlighted. The presentation of relevant, precise information about the Palace, its historical context and Saramago's novel - including his narrative strategy of mixing fact and fiction - was also an element common to both tours. Humour and even irony were used, made possible by references to the literary work and the author's style. In fact, the narration of episodes from the novel, the discourse of history and folk tradition not only enlivened the visits, creating a deeper involvement of the public with the visited space, but also ended up establishing a common around between the conflicting perspectives.

5. Conclusion

The present study examined the mediation strategies used by tours guides in visits to Mafra's National Palace based on the novel Baltasar and Blimunda, by José Saramago. All guides involved can be viewed as professionals in Cohen's original sense of the term, providing detailed information and interpreting the attractions and sites for the participants. The independent guide's approach, however, although historically accurate, fundamentally dismissed the ideological clash between the literary text and the traditional historical perspective and was clearly aimed at providing a lighter, more entertaining experience. The visits conducted by the official guides of the Palace, on the other hand, were visibly organized around a meditation of the conflicting stances. The highlighting - instead of the dismissal - of inconsistencies, together with the presentation of relevant information about the visited space, its historical context and Saramago's novel proved to be a convincing and effective mediation strategy, entirely convergent with the use of the text as a means of promoting and experiencing the heritage site. Storytelling was also found to be an effective way of establishing a common ground between conflicting perspectives and making the visitor's "feel"



the visited space in a more personal way. Perhaps the most surprising result, however, was the degree to which the use of the literary text allowed the official guides a greater discursive freedom, doing so not despite but precisely because of the conflicting stance of the novel, providing opportunities for engaging the public in an original, lively yet informative manner that also respected the site's legacy.

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