

Tourists and anti-social behaviour: a framework that establishes management responses

Sarah-Jane Borradaile (2012)

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Borradaile, S-J (2012) *Tourists and anti-social behaviour: a framework that establishes management responses*

PhD, Oxford Brookes University

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**Tourists and Anti-Social Behaviour:
A Framework that Establishes Management
Responses to and Management
Implications of Anti-Social Behaviour in a
Cross-Cultural Tourism Context**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements of Oxford Brookes University for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

September 2012

Oxford Brookes University

Dedication

For Henry

Abstract

The purpose of this study is to explore the contemporary social phenomenon of soft ASB in tourism, specifically in Andalucia, Spain. A series of observations, interviews with tourists and hosts and focus groups were conducted during the period of two tourist seasons. The aim was to establish the types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists and to explore the reasons for the ASB exhibited.

A qualitative approach to research was adopted and data were analysed and interpreted following the constant comparison method. Findings show that soft ASB exists in Andalucia. However, tourist and host perceptions of ASB were different. For the tourists ASB focused on the drinking culture of the UK leisure tourist. For the host ASB constituted reluctance by the British to embrace Spanish culture demonstrated through, for example, a preference by the tourist to consume British style food rather than Spanish.

ASB is notoriously difficult to define and to date has not been defined in tourism. For this study a fresh definition has been created based on the findings of this study. This has taken into account the broader context of ASB and the reasons for ASB.

This study has developed a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which suggests a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. Whilst the findings are not considered to be generalisable the framework and qualitative research approach could be adopted for investigations into a range of tourist behaviour.

Acknowledgements

Firstly I must thank the late Reva Brown at Oxford Brookes for her support in the initial stages. I must also thank David Bowen and Jackie Clarke at Oxford Brookes for their steady encouragement and guidance.

Great thanks are due to my friends with their unerring mantras of support and for believing that I would make it to the end. Thanks also to my family who have been supportive in many ways.

I am indebted also to the many individuals who have been kind enough to contribute to my study.

Declaration

I declare that the research contained in this thesis, unless otherwise formally indicated within the text, is the original work of the author. The thesis has not been previously submitted to this or any other university for a degree, and does not incorporate any material already submitted for a degree.

Signed:

Dated:

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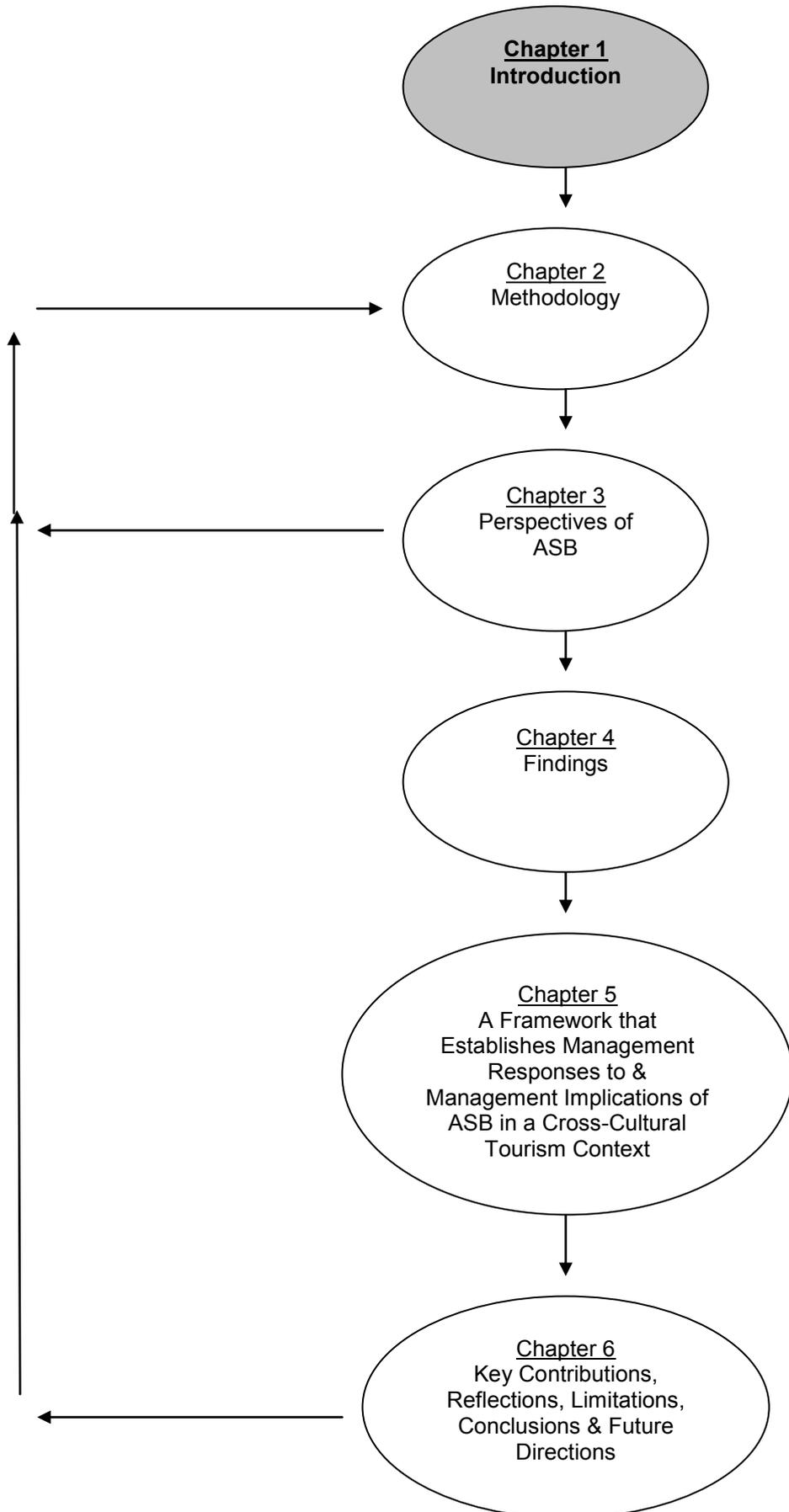
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Outline to Thesis



'We don't bother much about dress and manners in England, because as a nation we don't dress well and we've no manners'.
(George Bernard Shaw, *You Never Can Tell* (1898), Act One)

Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Introduction

During the past ten years there has been a great deal of interest in anti-social behaviour (referred to here as ASB). Much of what the general public understands about ASB is channelled through the media. The media have focused not only on ASB in the UK. They also regularly report on the ASB of UK leisure tourists elsewhere in the world.

The impacts that arise from the anti-social behaviour of individuals in the UK extend to the ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations. The most prominent resorts for the alcohol related ASB of UK leisure tourists at present in the EU are Ayia Napa in Cyprus, Magaluf in Mallorca, Playa del Ingles in Tenerife, San Antonio in Ibiza, Mykonos in Greece, Malia in Crete and more recently due to cheap flights, Prague in the Czech Republic (Blackden, 2004; Club 18-30, 2011). Primarily these impacts concern destinations that gain unintended reputations for aspects of anti-social behaviour and show inadequate strategy for its management. In any tourist destination there may be friction between the host and guest on a more subtle level where cultures meet and behaviour is misunderstood. In a fast changing-world with emerging new destinations the effects of ASB may have negative repercussions. Why does it appear that attempts to manage ASB in tourism are weak? After an initial review of the literature surrounding ASB a number of questions emerged:

- Who is anti-social and on what occasions?
- What behaviour do they exhibit?
- Why does ASB occur?
- What do the stakeholder groups think of each other?
- What are the key problem areas and how can ASB in tourism be managed?

Whilst at first these seem perfectly innocuous questions to ask, they can cause problems not least because the main aim of destinations is to encourage tourists to visit, not chase them away with rules apparently designed specifically for that purpose. It should be noted at this stage that although the phenomenon of ASB appears to exist as a social construct it is important not to pre-judge at what point, if at all, soft ASB begins nor where it ends.

1.2 Personal Questions Formulated as Formal Research

This exploration aims to identify, compare and evaluate types of ASB by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, to explore the reasons for this ASB from the viewpoint of other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations, and establish management responses to and management implications of ASB in tourism. The objectives of this research are as follows:

1. To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, on ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and on cross-cultural theory.
2. To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
3. To explore reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
4. To compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB.
5. To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.

Exploring a contemporary social phenomenon such as ASB in tourism is not without its drawbacks. There is something attractive about the role of explorer of a contemporary social phenomenon such as ASB in tourism. However, the motivation a researcher can gain from this may be eroded if exploring is expressed

as investigating or analysing. The New Oxford Dictionary of English (1998:648) defines to 'explore' as to '*travel in or through (an unfamiliar country or area) in order to learn about or familiarize oneself with it*'. Exploring such as this is exploration for discovery; it is broad and thorough (Stebbins, 2001). This study aspires to a thesis that achieves this exploration by applying a humanistic approach that is qualitative in nature. The belief is that individuals socially construct meaning as they interact with their world; this world is not fixed and therefore not necessarily measurable (Merriam, 2000). The aim is to connect evidence to theory through engagement with data as an inductive process rather than through deduction (Dey, 2006). The use of constant comparison method (CCM) for data analysis enables new theory to be constructed. It has been adopted as an analytical tool for this study. As Spiggle (1994:494) explains comparisons are made between '*each incident in the data with other incidents appearing to belong to the same category, exploring their similarities and differences*'. The constant comparative method is a dominant principle of the analysis process in other traditions of qualitative research (Boeije, 2002).

The interest in ASB has fuelled much debate which extends over a wide context and includes the key question 'why does ASB occur?' Whilst the wider context of ASB provides a relevant backdrop, only some of the issues will be directly linked to the ASB of the tourists in this study. However, it is important to illuminate the wider context to reflect the in depth research approach adopted here. Capra (1999:28) explains that rational (scientific) knowledge is linear in its explanations of the abstract. The natural world '*is one of infinite varieties and complexities, a multidimensional world which contains no straight lines or completely regular shapes, where things do not happen in sequences, but all together*'. Rational knowledge is, he believes, limited because it does not embrace that which is intuitive. Applying consequences or attempting to manage ASB without acknowledging and discussing the wider influences of the interactive process on individuals may lead to misunderstanding and conflict (see Askellerud, 2003). The focus is on the social interaction between the three main groups that make up this study, the UK leisure tourists, hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.

This case study focuses on the low-level 'soft' or non-criminal ASB of UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain. Some aspects of ASB have traditionally been considered either non-criminal or low-level criminal behaviour. However, this has changed and the general public are more likely to describe this type of behaviour as being closer to hard or criminal ASB. This is largely due to the high profile of ASB in the media where often the more violent aspects of ASB are depicted. ASB is notoriously difficult to define legally. Much ASB can be non-criminal but this depends on how it is interpreted and by whom (Manning, 2004). Without solid definitions of ASB, legislation such as the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 can be employed to address any type of conduct (Manning, 2004). Soft ASB has a threat level that is perceived to be less than that of hard types of behaviour because the conduct is considered more annoying than alarming or distressing (Manning, 2004). However, it has been argued that this type of behaviour occurs more frequently and can cause high levels of alarm and distress when carried out repeatedly over a prolonged period of time (Nixon & Hunter, 2004). This demonstrates the difficulty in defining what does and does not constitute 'soft' non-criminal and 'hard' criminal ASB in tourism. Some actions reside in a grey area and may through the subjective decision making of individuals, become either criminal or non-criminal ASB. The dilemma of determining what does and does not constitute soft and hard ASB extends to this study.

1.3 Tourism, Tourists and Destinations

Tourism has been approached from many disciplinary perspectives provoking arguments concerning whether or not 'tourism studies' is itself a discipline (Harrison, 2007). Some authors may consider tourism studies to be multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary, or an emerging discipline in its own right. These differing perspectives reflect the nature of tourism as a multifaceted concept and illustrate how fragmented they are both in terms of a field of study and as an industry. Like ASB tourism and tourists are difficult to define because these terms have different meanings for different people. Goeldner & Ritchie (2009) propose four key perspectives that reflect the multifaceted nature of tourism; the tourist, the businesses providing tourist goods and services, the government of the host community or area and the host community

These perspectives are reflected in the two different types of tourism proposed by Burkart and Medlik (1981). They suggest that there are conceptual definitions and technical definitions that define tourism. Conceptual definitions are broad and identify the essential characteristics of tourism and tend to reflect the demand side of tourism (Cooper, 2012). Technical definitions are related to the statistical, legislative and administrative purposes of tourism and generally reflect the supply side of tourism (Cooper, 2012). The definition of tourism proposed by Goeldner & Ritchie (2009:10) incorporates the various perspectives of tourism:

'tourism may be defined as the processes, activities, and outcomes arising from the relationships and the interactions among tourists, tourism suppliers, host governments, host communities, and surrounding environments that are involved in the attracting and hosting of visitors'

A classic definition of tourism offered by Urry (2002) makes a distinction between work and everyday life and that of holidays where routines change and one is not at work. This distinction is represented in the World Tourism Organisation (1991) definition of tourists.

The World Tourism Organisation (1991) conceptually defines tourists as

"the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited"

This definition brings together the different categories of tourist that are said to exist; international tourists (inbound and outbound), international tourists (inbound and domestic) and national tourists (domestic and outbound tourists) (Bowen & Clarke, 2009). Tourists were defined further, to include the activities of people travelling for leisure, business and other purposes (visiting friends and relatives, health tourism, hedonistic tourism, cultural tourism activity and special interest tourism to places outside their usual environment and staying for no more than one consecutive year (Theobald, 1994). For the purposes of exploring ASB in

tourism the term UK leisure tourist has been adopted as it refers to a range of leisure rather than business activities.

An expatriate is '*a person who lives outside their native country*' (Dictionary of Leisure, Travel & Tourism, 2005; OED, 1998). Alternative terms are guest workers, migrant workers and international workers. From an anthropological perspective this group are considered migrants but not necessarily economic ones (O'Reilly, 2000). There are many expatriates from other countries in the region, some legal and some not so. They come from all over Europe, North Africa and South America. The North African expatriate population is well established and the Arab culture is an inherent dimension of the Spanish culture in the region.

Tourists visit tourist destinations all over the world. The term 'destination' is broad in meaning, referring to the country, often the area, and sometimes a specific resort. A central feature of this study is the interaction between the tourist and the host in the tourist destination. In tourism studies the term resident may be employed (see Ritchie & Inkari, 2006) to denote the host possibly because this makes it clear that as Page et al (2006) suggest the host is defined as the people who reside in the destination. When defining the term tourism the four key perspectives proposed by Goeldner & Ritchie (2009) permit the definition of host to be clarified further as a national of the visited country who is employed in the tourism industry and provides a service to tourists (Resinger & Turner, 2003). These host communities have been welcoming tourists since the days of the grand tour when young, aristocratic eighteenth century gentlemen went travelling in order to further their education, but the landscape of tourism for these communities has changed greatly since then (Black, 1992).

Spain, along with Italy and Greece, encouraged development to catch up with northern Europe (Economist, 2008a). In 1951, 1.3 million people entered the country; by 1990 more than 52 million arrived from abroad (Gomez & Sinclair, 1996). Whilst this number peaked to 59 million in 2007 (UNWTO, 2008) numbers dropped to 52 million in 2010 (Euromonitor, 2011). Spain as a destination was ranked number two in the world in 2008 as measured by arrivals (UNWTO, 2008).

In 2010 Spain was ranked fourth (UNWTO, 2010). Arrivals have stagnated since 2003 and there is increasing competition from emerging destinations (TTG, 2008).

The Costa del Sol tourist board (2010) considers the UK market to be the most important. Tourist numbers are measured as arrivals at Malaga airport and released every quarter by the Costa del Sol Tourist Board and Convention Bureau. In 2010 foreign tourist arrivals numbered 3.3 million. Of these tourists, 1.1 million, 33%, were UK leisure tourists. The majority of these were over 65, except in the summer, when the average age range was between 30-39. Most said they came for the weather (Costa del Sol Tourist Board & Convention Bureau, 2010). Whilst the economic benefits of tourism are readily apparent there are ethical issues. These ethical concerns include the displacement of local and indigenous people, unfair labour practices, corruption of, or disrespect for culture, and a myriad of other human rights abuses, along with environmental contamination (Fennell, 2006). The Costa del Sol is not exempt from these. During the forty years of breakneck development in this and other Spanish coastal regions, vast stretches of Spanish coast were concreted over. This development is blamed for polluting the landscape, spoiling the beaches and corrupting the locals' morals (Economist, 2008a).

The size of the increase in tourism in Spain over a relatively short period of time is what distinguishes tourism in Spain from tourism in other countries and has, as a result, given rise to many discussions concerning the tourism phenomenon. The case study approach adopted in this study is ideally suited to Andalusia, Spain. To be a case study there has to be one particular occurrence (a bounded system), selected because it was typical, unique, experimental or highly successful (Merriam, 2002). This destination popular with UK leisure tourists is considered to be typical.

1.4 Rationale for this Research

The tourism industry faces many challenges with ASB in tourism being one of these. There are a number of reasons why this contemporary issue should be considered important. The concerns raised affect not only the hosts and key

stakeholders in businesses and organisations but tourists and all those who engage with tourism either directly or indirectly (see Figure 1.1).

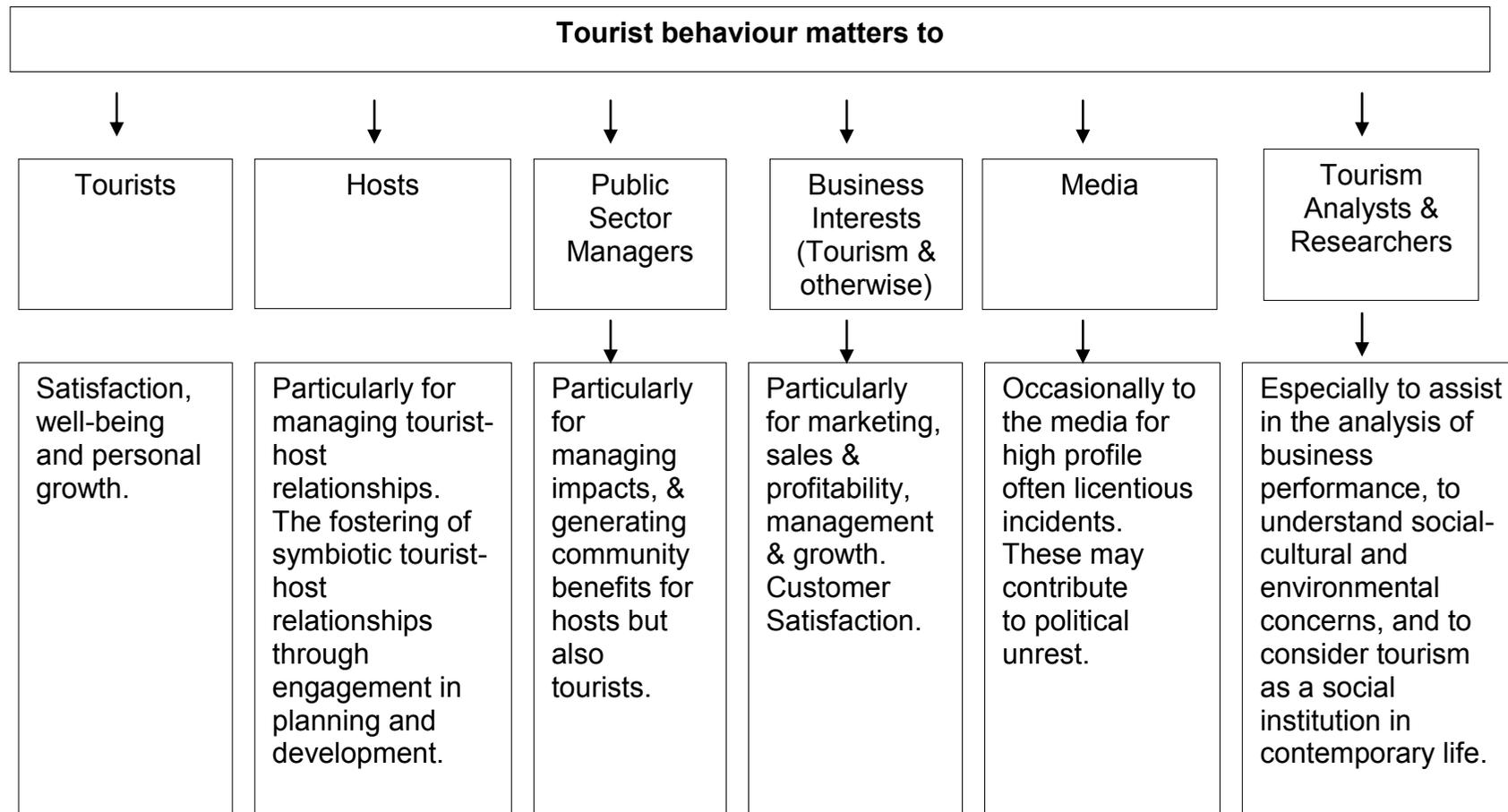
As well as finding practical and theoretical approaches to ASB in tourism this exploratory study represents an opportunity to consolidate and discuss the disparate ideas and issues that surround the subject of ASB and tourism.

1.4.1 Researcher, Teacher, Tourist

When teenagers in the further education college where the researcher teaches behave in a manner that is not conducive to a safe learning environment, action is taken. When 'bad' UK leisure tourist behaviour is reported in the news, the individuals involved in the fracas (which is often alcohol related) appear to run amok. It is not difficult to look at these badly behaved tourists as a researcher, teacher and tourist, and pose the initial question 'why does it appear that they are not managed?'

It is important to clarify the author's view of tourism because there has been a great deal of negative material written about both tourism and tourists. This fact is echoed by authors such as Aramberri (2010), Harrison (2007) and Selanniemi (2004) who point out those academics who study tourism have often emphasised tourism's negative impacts. This study of ASB in tourism is not intentionally written as another negative impact story. It is about understanding the social interactions between tourists and their hosts in a cross-cultural setting.

Figure 1.1 To Whom Does Tourist Behaviour Matter?



(Adapted from Pearce, 2005:7)

Impact studies can be viewed as having negative connotations and outcomes, when this may not, necessarily be the case. (This is often dependent on the individual's perspective). Dann (2002) believes that, from an intercultural encounter point of view, the possibilities tourism provides probably outweigh the disadvantages it brings, a view shared and reflected in this study. Tourism is neither good nor bad per se; it exists as a social phenomenon because people travel. However, it is possible that there are elements of tourism as an agent of change that may not fit and, therefore, benefit a destination. Damning and banning tourism is unlikely to accede over the tsunami of vested interests associated with tourism development. Much more will be achieved if tourism is first accepted, as it exists in reality and as a reflection of society.

Finally, it is the personal opinion of the author that understanding teenagers with emotional behaviour disorder is achieved not simply through the immediate actions presented but through deeper and broader inquiry. The perspectives of individuals and how they derive meaning from their realities (Charmaz, 2000) drive this study. Interpreting these is inevitably going to be subjective, given that it is the researcher who is interpreting the reality of others. However, the author considers that this is the most appropriate method for reflecting the true essence of an exploratory study and the reality of the social phenomenon in question here ASB in tourism.

1.4.2 The Tourist

The tourist as a consumer is not a primary orientation of this study. Tourist experiences go deeper than the purchase decision and consumption process, they incur deep personal reactions and sometimes the socio-environmental consequences of tourist behaviour on site are distinctive (Pearce, 2005). De Botton (2002:76-77) illustrates this well when talking about tourist motives and the exotic in relation to a trip to Amsterdam.

'Why be seduced by something as small as a front door in another country? Why fall in love with a place because it has trams and its people seldom have curtains in their homes? However absurd the intense reactions provoked by such small

(and mute) foreign elements may seem, the pattern is at least familiar from personal life. There too we may find ourselves anchoring emotions of love to the way a person butters bread or turning against them because of their taste in shoes. To condemn ourselves for these minute concerns is to ignore how rich in meaning details may be'.

Experiences such as these are a different dimension of tourist satisfaction and personal growth that is not always easy to make explicit, particularly as tourists are so good at refining and reshaping their experiences while they are participating in them (Pearce, 2005). This study is concerned with the effects of tourist behaviour on others in the social environment rather than on product sales. There is however, undeniably a relationship between the tourist, the way they behave, and how they consume tourism products. If the tourist is not a satisfied customer then their role as a consumer may be compromised.

1.4.3 The Host

As a provider of key tourist services the role of the host cannot be underestimated. The practical aspect of the tourist-host interface is the place where the relationship between these two groups becomes a reality and where perceptions of each other develop. If the host is under pressure to perform particularly when tourist numbers surge in high season, the quality of the service delivery can be compromised. The host may feel resentment toward the tourist when under pressure. However, this attitude may develop when they are not encouraged to make a contribution toward destination planning and development. Harnessing the cooperation of the host and their creativity is important if a destination is to move forward in a positive and progressive manner over time. As other destinations become increasingly more competitive destination stagnation or decline can be a potential threat to long term economic stability.

1.4.4 Public Sector Managers

For public sector managers, dissatisfied tourists and hosts can cause economic and social problems. Therefore, the behaviour of tourists towards one another and

towards their hosts is important. In general tourists are not noted for their high levels of customer loyalty to tourism destinations (Page, 2007). Pressure to manage these impacts and generate community benefits is the primary concern of destination managers. However, finding and optimising balanced solutions for tourist and host needs is not always easy and they may not be popular. Faliraki, a resort in Greece, had a reputation for sun, sea, sex and a hedonistic lifestyle amongst young UK leisure tourists. When this became intolerable police from Blackpool were called in to help the local Greek police control the situation, which they did with a zero tolerance policy. Now the problem has moved to other resorts. Malia in Crete was one of these and the locals staged protest marches against the British in 2007 (Smith, 2008). Although the Malia example might be considered a more extreme form of 'soft' ASB in tourism, it does demonstrate the difficulties posed for public sector managers.

Contemporary tourism is developing; it is in a growth stage. New tourism, says Poon in a far seeing commentary (1993), means flexible holidays and marketing to individuals rather than mass tourism. The tourist, she says, is changing; they are more educated, more experienced at travelling, and will look at the environment and culture of the destinations they visit as part of the holiday experience. This shift, which started in the 1980s, has continued through to the present day (Voase, 2007). More recently, technology has made it easier for individuals to research holidays and find inspiration. This has moved the locus of control of information and decision making from the supply side to the demand side (Anwar and Hamilton, 2005; Voase, 2007). However, the destinations themselves lag behind this development and for the most part operate in a climate of uncontrolled development (Poon, 1993). This demonstrates reactive strategic planning and development. Spain illustrates this well; mass tourism rapidly established itself with few mechanisms in place to control development and growth (Krippendorf, 1987; O'Reilly, 2000; Page, 2007). In the future this will change and tourism will probably be more controlled because of external and internal pressures.

The disparate nature of tourism that currently exists creates an effective barrier against planned and managed destination organisation particularly in resorts, but this is likely to develop in the future (Page, 2007). Tourism geographies are a

growing area of interest in destination planning, for example, as regards geographical information systems (GIS). Destination organisations will be able to plan their destinations more effectively and determine what types of tourists they want to attract, the facilities and services that will enhance their own environments, the number of tourists, and ways of managing them. They will also be able to enhance community participation and stakeholder interaction (Aitchison et al, 2000; Boniface & Cooper, 2005; Page, 2007). The driving force for this may not necessarily be the hosts themselves but a debate over resources. Unfortunately many destinations may reach a tipping point before a realisation dawns.

Although Greece has been cited as an example, ASB in tourism is a global problem. Spain, France, Dubai, Goa, Thailand, and Eastern European countries have experience of this social phenomenon from UK leisure tourists. Moreover, media reports emanate from countries worldwide often concerning the ASB of their own nationals. For example, American college kids on spring break treating Cancun as a party destination (Economist, 2005). Nationals can be involved in ASB in home tourism destinations. The behaviour of UK leisure tourists in Cornwall for example, prompted locals to employ their own security (Winterman, 2005). ASB in tourism does not always have to be at the extreme end of the spectrum to create problems for a destination but the results for the destination may be the same. Tourists may get hurt, locals may be unwelcoming, tourist facilities and services may be sabotaged (Boissevain, 1996) and tourists may stop arriving and that is what will push for managed tourism. It is through its visitors that the positive or negative reputation of a destination is developed (Von Friedrichs Grangsjø, 2003). Urry (2002) discusses at length the social limits of tourism, arguing that there are fundamental limits to the scale of contemporary tourism and that these limits are derived from congestion and overcrowding.

1.4.5 Business Interests

A destination experiencing problems will directly affect stakeholders at all levels. If media reports consist of headlines such as 'curse of the boozy Britons returns to Greek resorts' (Smith, 2008) then all Greek resorts and their stakeholders are cursed to a greater or lesser extent. It is argued that price wars (Independent,

2008, Ford, 2009) have produced the 'Lager Lou'. Cheap discounted fares and holiday packages targeted at the teen and twenty markets are responsible for the large numbers of tourists descending on Spanish resorts where they find all night discos and cheap alcohol. With the associated behaviour families have chosen other resorts (Morgan, 1994). This problem is not confined to short haul destinations now that India, Thailand and Australia have become affordable, mass-market tourism destinations. Travellers such as gap year students and others are keen to stay away from so-called 'Chavellers' and find a less well-trodden route around the world (WTM, 2009). The problem of ASB in tourism may move away but it is clearly not going to go away. If Spanish destinations want continued success in the global tourism market then they will have to be competitive in a different way.

Stakeholders need to play a greater role in influencing the development and positioning of a destination (Morgan, 1994, Page, 2007, Poon, 1993). As Poon (1993:292) emphasised new strategies of development are needed because what is really at stake is the survival and viability of tourism dependant economies and the delicate environments on which they, and increasingly the world depend. She goes on to say, *"those tourism destinations that believe that they can continue to survive because of their God-given gifts of nature, sun, sand, sea and ski slopes are in for a rude shock"*. We are now seeing according to Boniface and Cooper (2005) a move towards the responsible development and consumption of tourism. Some businesses (for example, tour operators) may chose to rest on cushions of vested interests because this is a feasible option for them. This is particularly so for those businesses that do not have a direct involvement in the destination such as tour operators and can if need be pull out of a destination that is not commercially viable and move to another. Often bad publicity at a destination is going to affect the destination more than the supplier. At least 50% of tourists going to Spain make their own transport and accommodation arrangements (Page, 2007), suppliers along the value chain can therefore be quite disparate and not easily accountable. Walle (1995:226) argues that because the tourism industry is different, focusing on the generic strategies of mainstream business, managing the organisations and its customers is not enough

'Tourism is not a generic industry since it uniquely impacts on the environment, society and cultural systems in a way which requires a holistic orientation within a broad and multidimensional context. Contemporary business ethics, however, has been slow to embrace such a holistic perspective. Historically, the focus has been on the organisation and its customers. Impacts on third parties (externality issues) have often been ignored'.

The public sector at a national and local level is far more likely to be able to set the wheels in motion for destination management than any other body. When destinations take more control of their planning they will not only be able to decide on the types of tourists they want, the facilities and services, the number of tourists and ways of managing them but they will also have the opportunity to extend this to their direct and indirect suppliers.

1.4.6 The Media

Communications is the greatest challenge to the tourism industry. The Internet passes vast amounts of information globally and quickly enabling more like-minded tourists to gather in destinations faster than the response can be understood and managed.

Some destinations with party reputations have their own websites with up to date information on the availability of for example, alcohol dowsing stations known as 'Dentists Chairs' (Liddle, 2005). Unfortunately tour operators are more likely to act only when media scandals have hit their bookings. Tour operators for example, TUI (Club Freestyle) and First Choice (2wentys) have both in the past pulled out from Faliraki. Although there are counter websites offering advice on how to be a good party-goer (Travel Foundation, 2008) how effective these are is dubious.

Destinations roller coast their way through the stages of the product life cycle as consumers vote with their feet in response to changes they do not like (Plog, 1994). These consumers are informed quickly and efficiently as one website clearly demonstrates; *'The first thing to hit you on arrival in Kavos (Greece) will probably be the rank smell of rotting seaweed that is regularly washed up on the*

nasty Kavos beach. Its augmented by the stench of broken drains, foul toilets, and a main street permanently lined by stale vomit. Desperately dire and unrivalled for ugliness Kavos is a fit place for the mentally challenged 18-30 year olds that it attracts by the thousand ...' (Greek Island Postcards, 2008). This leaves the tour operators with less choice and the destination stakeholders with negative economic and social impacts.

1.4.7 Tourism Analysts and Researchers

Is the social phenomenon of ASB in tourism a fad? Is it media hype? Does it matter? If it does what are the prospects for this social phenomenon in the future? ASB in tourism is a new emerging area of tourism that should attract more research due to the implications for the industry. However, research in this area is lacking. Deery et al (2012) call for more research into the role that ASB plays in host residents' perceptions of events in destinations. However, the outcome regardless of whether the ASB is event related or not can be the same. This is because ASB receives the attention and damages the pride in the community and the destination's image.

Initial rudimentary academic database searches on soft ASB in tourism lead inevitably to consumer behaviour, marketing and management. Further searches are concerned with the areas of tourism impact studies and include the concept of sustainability. Social and cultural impact studies are the most relevant area for this study. However, the focus of these studies has led to a narrow understanding of the issues surrounding social-cultural impacts. Studies describe issues rather than examining in greater depth the deep-seated issues (like ASB) that destinations face (Deery & Jago, 2010). Sustainability studies often focus on tourism and tourists being a negative force and as a result regularly discuss overcrowding and carrying capacity. These studies are largely from an environmental perspective. Cross-cultural research in tourism has a strong focus on culture shock. Tourist behaviour when it is framed within anti-social behaviour is usually associated with crime in tourism often focusing on the tourist as a victim of crime. It is rare to come across studies that connect theoretical and empirical research which then leads to practical suggestions regarding management responses to visitor behaviour, the

exception being that of parks and heritage. It is from these studies often from a geographical field of study that more relevant studies are to be found (see for example, Garrod, 2003; McKercher, 2008; Wilkinson, 1995).

Brown (1998) believes that tourism research is often too narrow and fails to consider the wider context. Research and writing on tourism falls into four categories according to Jafari (1989). Advocacy, mostly to do with economic benefits, cautionary which tends to focus on impacts, and adaptancy, which is concerned with how tourism is changing. The fourth, which is a knowledge-based platform, is more relevant to this study because it is concerned with

'attempts to produce a scientific body of knowledge on tourism which is theoretically grounded in the social sciences (Dann, 1996:6) and which will contribute to a holistic study of it while 'simultaneously maintaining bridges with other platforms' (Jafari, 1989:25), suggesting an interdisciplinary approach, but one that will also look at the whole as well as the parts' (Brown, 1998:5).

More qualitative research through the use of ethnography and phenomenology would provide the opportunity to understand deeper social-cultural issues such as ASB in destinations (Deery et al, 2012). The weaknesses of the approaches to this social phenomenon both in industry practice, and in theory, indicates a need for more empirical research to be carried out. It is hoped that this study will provoke future research, which will support and refine theoretical and practical approaches to ASB in tourism.

1.5 Scope of Study

This study is designed to better understand ASB in tourism in Andalusia, Spain. This study traverses a number of perspectives of various fields of study. Primarily these consist of tourism impact studies, tourism destination marketing and management, tourism communities, culture and collaboration and geographical considerations such as place, space and environment. Some fields of study such as crime and deviance have a less obvious presence in tourism studies resulting in the need to explore this subject area at a more fundamental level. With this

variety of perspectives it is tempting at times to follow interesting paths but there comes a point when a decision has to be made about the direction and the information being presented.

The scope of the study covers the genesis of ASB in the UK, contemplating why it occurs, discussing management responses and their efficacy. Comparisons around the world are made before focusing on ASB in Spain. Whilst there is an acknowledgement that ASB in tourism may exist in other countries and indeed in other leisure tourist destinations in Spain this is a case study and for this research is geographically limited. As an exploratory study the aim is to create a landscape for ASB in tourism. References are made to wider social issues and to social and indeed individual discipline issues that may contribute to understanding. Although at times undeniably interesting these areas can blur the focus rather than enhance it therefore their contribution is necessarily restricted.

1.6 Key Contributions to Knowledge

The results of this study make contributions to two main areas of knowledge; the knowledge and theory of ASB in tourism and the management of ASB in tourism. The first contribution concerns ASB in tourism an aspect of tourism that has not been explored to any great extent. This exploratory study explains how and why ASB in tourism exists at a deeper social and cultural level and creates a definition of ASB in tourism. The second contribution links the research findings to a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and articulates a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. This study also provides evidence in support of the usefulness of the qualitative methodological approach adopted. Given the present bias towards quantitative studies this is of particular significance (Jamal & Hwan-Suk, 2003; Walle, 1997). Despite the uptake of qualitative methods in recent years quantitative methods continue to dominate, in a recent study it was found that 59% (of twelve major tourism journals) used the quantitative method (Ballantyne et al, 2009, Deery et al, 2010).

1.7 Organisation of the Thesis

This chapter has introduced key ideas that will be developed further in subsequent chapters. The structure of the study and the story within it is presented in a way that reflects the exploration of a contemporary social phenomenon rather than a testing of existing knowledge. The story reflects the need to 'feel' the way through this exploration in depth. This multivariable context also represents the notion of creating knowledge as it relates to the researcher. There are seven chapters as follows:

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the key questions of this study and the contemporary social phenomenon of ASB in tourism. Personal questions are formulated as formal research objectives and ASB in tourism is discussed in relation to the context in which it is considered to reside. The rationale for the study is also presented and the scope discussed.

Chapter 2 Methodology

This is concerned with methodology namely, how ASB in tourism will be studied. The philosophy of this study is articulated in relation to the objectives and methods. The characteristics, limitations and choices of qualitative methods are discussed. The case study approach in Andalusia, Spain is justified and the concept of trustworthiness is debated. Techniques of data collection are presented. The constant comparison method and theoretical coding is discussed as it relates to the description, analysis and interpretation of data.

Chapter 3 Perspectives of Anti-Social Behaviour

ASB is explored from a general UK and Spanish perspective before focusing on ASB in tourism. Key questions such as what is ASB? Who is anti-social and on what occasions? And, what are the reasons for ASB are posed. These questions provide an opportunity to consider cross-cultural aspects of ASB specifically in relation to the phenomenon of ASB. At the same time these questions offer a platform from which to examine management responses to ASB generally in the

UK and Spain and more relevantly in tourist destinations with specific reference to Andalucia, Spain.

In this chapter culture and behaviour are defined, as they exist within the cross-cultural context of ASB in tourism. The importance of values is highlighted in relation to differences in rules of behaviour between cultures. The concept of differences in rules of behaviour between cultures is the basis from which ASB in tourism is deemed to exist. The focus then contemplates the tourist and the effects of being in a foreign setting and who the tourist and the host are. Following this there is a discussion regarding the interface where the interaction between the tourist and host takes place. The different cross-cultural perspectives of home culture, tourist culture and host culture are explored, as they exist within the tourist encounter, the physical setting and the social context. Finally rules of behaviour are discussed in relation to 'soft' ASB in tourism and the non-violent methods of social controls that may be in place.

Chapter 4 Findings

The exploration of soft ASB in Andalucia, Spain is presented as a thick narrative. Findings emerged as a result of the process of coding and categorisation discussed in chapter 2. The key aspects of social-cultural impact theory that were identified in chapter 3 underpin this narrative. Emerging themes are discussed in relation to each other together with issues identified in the broader context that support key elements.

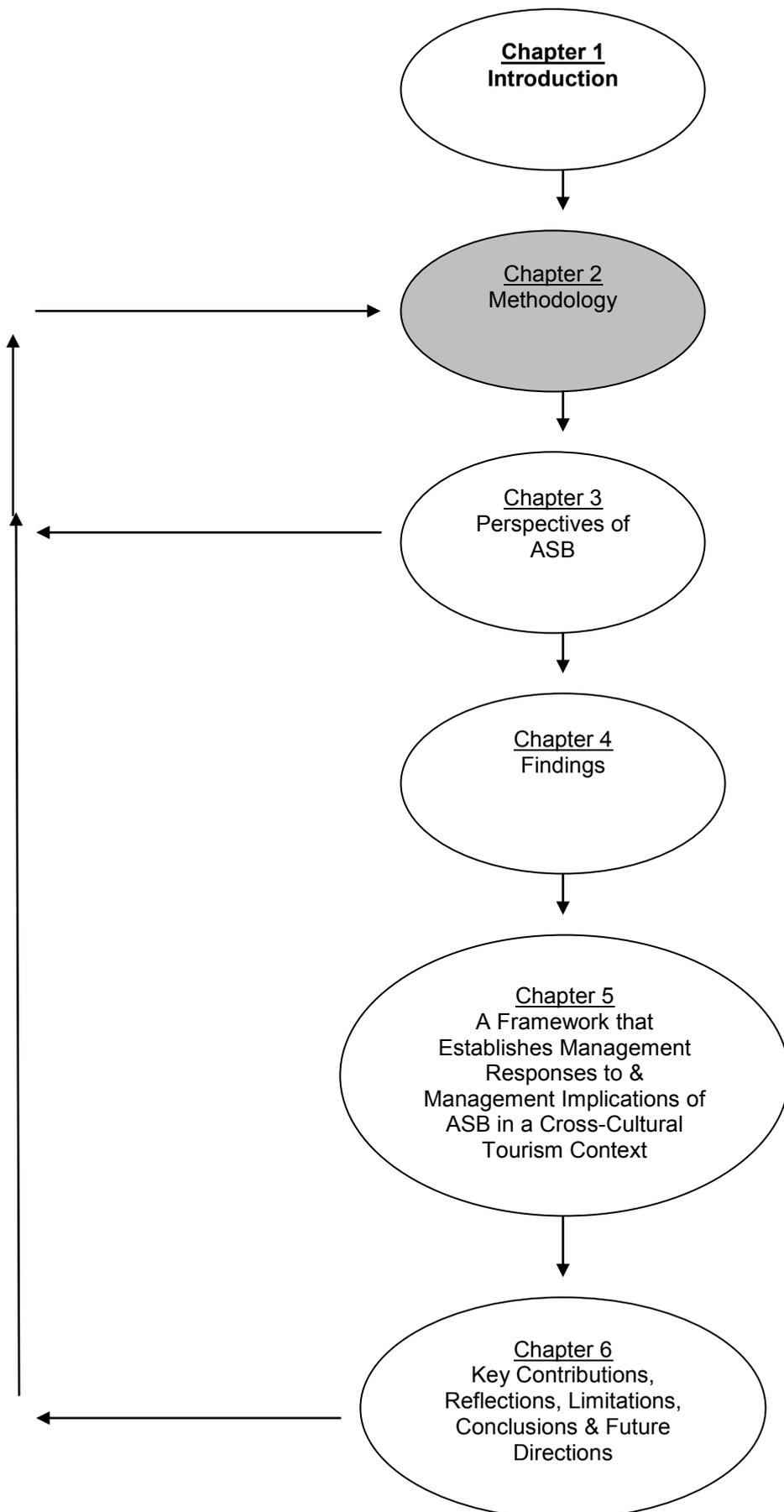
Chapter 5 A Framework to Establish Management Responses to and Management Implications of ASB in a Cross-Cultural Tourism Context

In this chapter a framework is presented that establishes management responses and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. The framework represents the key contribution to the body of knowledge. This follows a discussion regarding how ASB can be defined and the issues surrounding the construction of categories of ASB. With specific empirical evidence in place key elements such as home culture, tourist culture and host culture are identified and discussed as they relate to the management responses that are proposed.

Chapter 6 Key Contributions, Reflections, Limitations, Conclusions & Future Directions

The final chapter deals with the universal problem of ASB in tourism. The objectives are reviewed against the achievements of the study. Key contributions of the study in two main areas are discussed; these cover the knowledge and theory of ASB in tourism and the practice and management of ASB in tourism. Evidence in support of the usefulness of the qualitative methodological approach is also discussed. Reflections and limitations of the study are contemplated and final conclusions regarding the social phenomenon of ASB in tourism are discussed. Future studies into ASB arising from the processes and findings of this research are considered.

Outline to Thesis



Chapter 2 - Methodology

2.1 Introduction

ASB in tourism is a field of study that to date has attracted little research interest. As a relatively unexplored contemporary social phenomenon it has been decided to explore ASB in tourism from a direct and in-depth perspective; in other words the phenomenon in its context. It is thought that if the researcher becomes immersed in the field and attempts to understand what is happening, when, why and how and from a variety of perspectives, a broader and more in depth understanding of ASB in tourism will result (Patton, 2002). This interpretive inspired methodology creates its own pathways from the outset. Following the literature review many questions regarding the phenomenon of ASB were left unanswered. The processes described in this chapter were deemed more likely to contribute new perspectives, concepts and generalisations that ultimately can be considered theory (Jorgensen, 1989). Figure 2.1 illustrates the evolution of the methodological processes undertaken for this study.

Personal questions regarding ASB in tourism have been formulated as formal research. The aim is to identify, compare and evaluate types of ASB by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, to explore the reasons for this ASB from the viewpoint of other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations, and to consider strategies for management responses to ASB in tourism. The objectives of the research are as follows:

1. To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and on cross-cultural theory.
2. To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
3. To explore the reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.

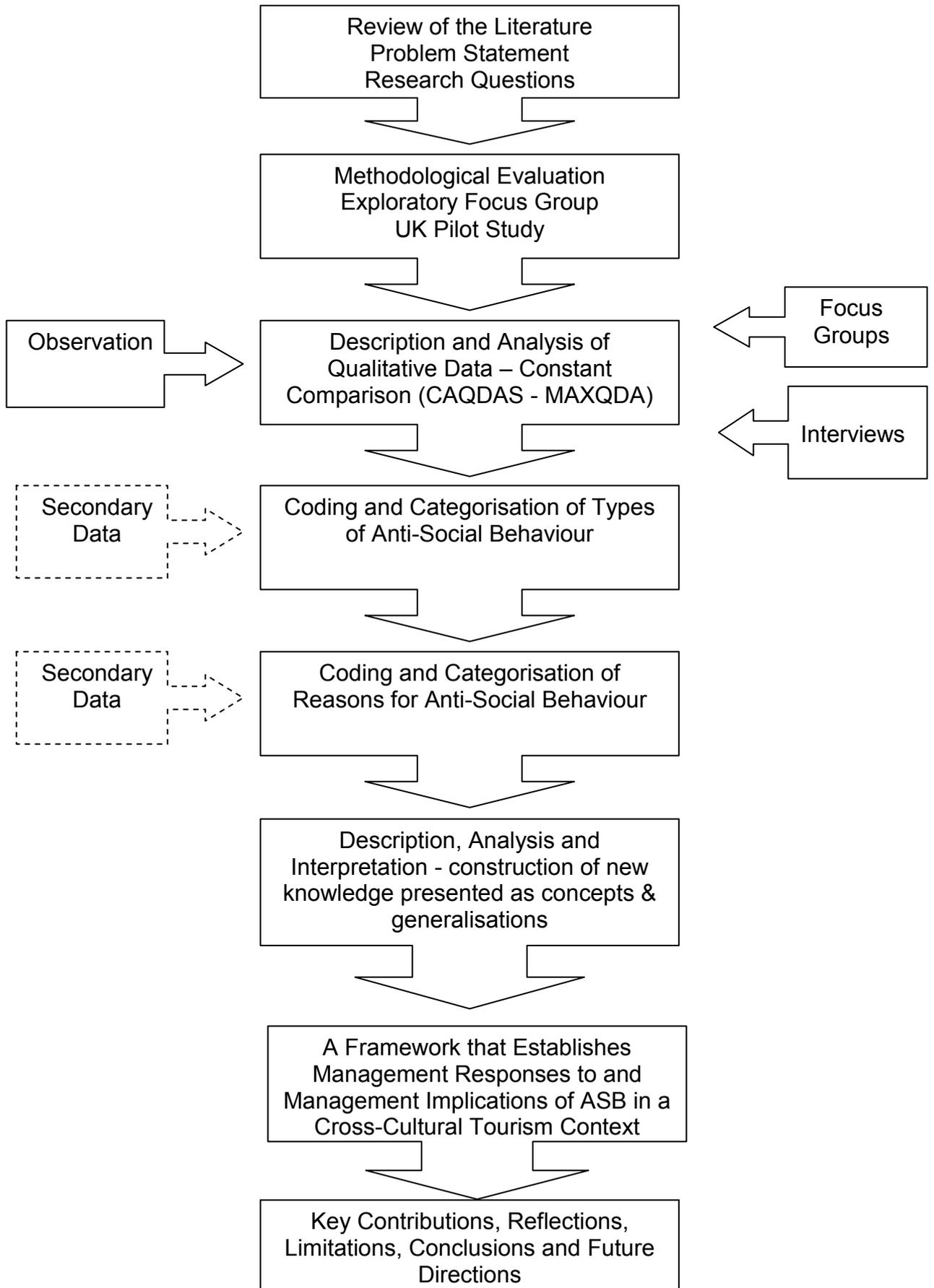
4. To compare and evaluate the various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB.
5. To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.

2.2 The Development of Research in Tourism

Tourism has been approached from many disciplinary perspectives, provoking arguments concerning whether or not 'tourism studies' is itself a discipline (Harrison, 2007). Jafari and Ritchie (1981) describe tourism studies as multidisciplinary. In their model there are two layers of disciplines: the first represents an area of tourism for example, the marketing of tourism, and the second the link to a key discipline, marketing. Leiper (2004) states that it is an emerging discipline whilst Tribe (2000:810) argues that tourism is not a discipline because a discipline '*is a distinct body of knowledge...tourism studies itself has no unique or distinctive ways of knowledge production; rather it falls back on a variety of other, mainly disciplinary, approaches to provide knowledge creation rules and knowledge quality control*'. In his paper Tribe (2000) strongly argues that Leiper's comment regarding tourism studies as an emerging discipline is unsubstantiated.

Weaver & Oppermann (2000) believe that the multidisciplinary perspective of tourism studies is giving way to an interdisciplinary approach as the perspectives of the various disciplines increasingly fuse together. However, the interdisciplinary perspective is also difficult to reconcile because there is no agreement as to what this constitutes. Whilst these differing perspectives reflect the nature of tourism as a multifaceted concept they also serve to illustrate how fragmented they are both in terms of a field of study and as an industry. The arguments continue, albeit less ferociously as tourism studies mature. However, they are not yet, as Weaver and Oppermann (2000:7) envisage, '*a systematic, rigorous academic field with its own theories and methodologies*'. They remain for this researcher, therefore, an academic field of study.

Figure 2.1 Methodological Processes



A fundamental aspect of this study is aligning the phenomenon of ASB in tourism with theory that will enable the objectives to be achieved. This study focuses on the social interaction between UK leisure tourists and hosts in a foreign destination – Andalusia, Spain. Impact theory is considered to be the most suitable field of research for exploring tourist behaviour. In the search for a method for this research it was found that although there was much associated with the social-cultural aspects of tourism there was limited research specifically associated with the behavioural aspects of tourists and hosts. Research in this area is largely associated with social-cultural impacts as perceived by the locals, and is a popular research area with numerous examples (Pearce, 1994). These often assess resident reaction/attitudes and opinions to tourism at a local level (Williams & Lawson, 2001).

Pearce and Moscardo (1999) carried out a major review of the publications on the social impact of tourism. They found that these studies fell into two categories. The first was ethnographic studies that were conducted in developing countries. The second was social survey research, which they say has, to a certain extent, supplanted the former. They conclude that there are definitional and measurement problems, that attitude surveys tend to reflect the perceptions of the researchers because they are etic (adopt an outsider approach) rather than emic (adopt an insider) in nature, and more importantly that there is perhaps a lack of theory, meaning that research that goes usefully beyond the descriptive stage is sparse (Lett, 1990).

Harrison (2007) agrees saying there is much to recommend this analysis of tourism social impact studies but he questions the validity of the solution put forward by Pearce and Moscardo (1999) to examine tourism holistically. This, he argues, is problematic given that the effects of tourism in each destination vary according to time and place. Furthermore, structural factors and types of tourism determine these. The implication is that these variables in making the study case-specific may compromise generalisation however, this study is not concerned with generalisation but rather transferability. This study focuses specifically on the behaviour of the tourist and host in a Western country with a well-developed tourism industry, as it exists in reality and from a direct and in depth researcher

perspective. It is quite possible that aspects of this case study could be identified in other destinations. Transferability will be discussed more fully later in this chapter. Perhaps arguments regarding the validity of qualitative research explain why scientific research in tourism is considered to be the dominant paradigm (Hobson, 2003; Willis, 2007).

It is often stated that there is a bias toward quantitative studies (Ballantyne et al, 2009; Deery et al, 2010; Jamal & Hwan-Suk, 2003; Walle, 1997). This means that there is a continuing desire to examine relationships between the tourist and host at a fundamental level, in a mechanistic manner. Reisinger & Turner's (2003) discussion about methods for cross-cultural analysis highlights the possible reasons for this. They say that non-quantitative methods are useful in particular as theory-building exploratory tools but that researchers working in the field of cross-cultural research need and should be able to use hypothesis-testing scientific method. Hobson (2003) believes that the volume of quantitatively based research papers on tourism adds very little understanding to this phenomenon. This, he argues, is because most papers seek to test rather than to address in depth the conceptual basis on which their hypothesis was formed. This view is supported by Ballantyne et al, (2009) and Deery et al, (2010). As Poria (2005) points out, qualitative methods should not be discounted so easily, especially as they are commonly used in cross-cultural studies.

There are relevant articles across disciplines that demonstrate a growing acceptance and ongoing discussion regarding a qualitative research approach. In tourism, qualitative sociological study methods were initially considered to be ill defined and with data that was unsystematically collected. Moreover, the definition of theoretical concepts and their operationalisation left much to be desired (Cohen, 2004). These initial studies, with their rich insights and theoretical frameworks did, however, provide a point of departure for sociological studies in tourism (Cohen, 2004).

2.3 Creating a Philosophical Foundation

A brief statement regarding the ontological perspective of the author helps put into context the reasoning behind this study and the direction it takes. Defining the characteristics of existence could be a long and debated process. Briefly it is sufficient to say for the purposes of this study that Descartes's theory of dualism of material and mental entities provides an appropriate starting point for investigating the thinking behind what exists. The *'immaterial mind and the material body, while being ontologically distinct substances, causally interact'* (Willis, 2007:10). ASB as a social phenomenon in the social sciences may exist as a duality, but it is believed that it is fundamentally different to subject matter in the natural sciences and as such should be studied in a different way (Bryman, 2004).

How will the philosophical stance stated in this study feed into the way it is planned? The authors Arbnor and Bjerke (1997) tackle this with passion; they believe that discussing methodology without making reference to how presumptions (philosophical ones) and the key components of methodology relate to each other and to the whole, limits a study. The presumptions made about how the world exists and how reality is defined in this study enable a bridge to develop between this and the subject area of ASB in tourism. This bridge is the 'operative paradigm', it is the place where the methodological procedure takes shape. The way the study is actually conducted is referred to as the methodics: this relates to how the researcher *'incorporates, develops, and/or modifies some previously given technique'* (Arbnor & Bjerke, 1997:16).

Arbnor and Bjerke (1997) suggest that methodology has more to do with the development of personal insight and understanding in the researcher than it is with learning specific techniques and skills. The authors believe that the way a problem appears to a creator of knowledge is often intimately related to the approach he or she will use (consciously or unconsciously) for the research. It is not simply the problem that determines the best technique for its solution, as personal insight and understanding influence the way techniques and skills are honed. This stance fits well with the inductive research philosophy adopted for this study. It also reflects their concern over the difference between explaining and understanding,

explaining being the domain of positivists whereas understanding pertains to interpretivists.

2.3.1 A Humanistic Metaphysic

The aim of this study is to understand the phenomenon of ASB in tourism by employing social science methods that have been specifically developed for this type of inquiry. These are derived from an interpretive research paradigm. This researcher studies the phenomenon of ASB in tourism from the perspective of the tourist, host, and stakeholders as they are involved with the ASB rather than as tourists, hosts and stakeholders in the physical world (see Szmigin & Foxall, 2000). To do this Van Maanen (1983:9) suggests that;

'... we use an array of interpretive techniques which seek to 'describe, decode, and translate ... the meaning ... of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world'

Denzin (1994) views interpretation as an art; it is not formulaic or mechanical and it can be learned. Moreover, he suggests that fieldworkers cannot make sense of, or understand what they have learnt until they have experienced writing an interpretive text. Interpretive techniques are discussed more fully later in section 2.14 description, analysis and interpretation.

Interpretive research is associated with a variety of inquiry approaches or philosophies that are variously labelled and selected, depending on who is carrying out the research and what is the purpose of the study (Cassell et al, 2009; Cassell, 2007). This study takes on a 'humanistic' perspective although it might also be considered naturalistic. Szmigin & Foxall (2000) consider these terms 'broadly interchangeable'. The characteristics of the humanistic approach reflect key aspects of interpretive thinking and define how the research in this study is approached. Hirschman's (1986) description of the fundamental beliefs of the humanistic inquiry (developed from Denzin, 1983; Geertz, 1973; Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Morgan, 1983) highlight the 'in-dwelling' of the researcher with the phenomenon under investigation.

Whilst it is not possible to know everything about a situation, a humanistic approach is at least an attempt to understand as much as possible about the situation (Gilmore, 1996). The researcher whilst being part of the phenomenon and interacting with it determines the scope and its social construction. It is worth considering the concept of social context at this juncture as it is a circumstance of social construction and exists as a social construction itself (Delamont, 2004). If the context is understood from the way the actors use it, it can then be constructed, but it must be recognised that the context is not static.

2.3.2 The Phenomenological Paradigm

Phenomenology is the primary influence on the interpretivist philosophy in this study. It is a belief that reality is socially, rather than objectively constructed and its adoption sits comfortably with the humanistic approach. This approach is not confined to the use of qualitative research as it has also been used with quantitative research (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984). Taylor & Bogdan (1984:50) believe that the

'phenomenologist is committed to understanding social phenomena from the actors own perspective. He or she examines how the world is experienced. The important reality is what people perceive it to be'.

Willis (2007) points out that these phenomena are perceptions by humans but may not be as things really are. However, Bryman (2004:14) argues that *'it has a meaning for them and they act on the basis of the meanings that they attribute to their acts and the acts of others'.*

It is, he argues, the job of the researcher to gain access to this thinking and to interpret this from their point of view. There is some dispute over what does and does not constitute a truly phenomenological approach to the social sciences (Bryman, 2004). Phenomenology has developed three distinct paradigms – realism, critical theory and constructivism (Hobson, 2003). This study will take a constructivist approach. As the researcher interacts within the field, concepts

emerge as a result of trying to make sense of the experience. Knowledge then is constructed from these discovered concepts (Charmaz, 2000; Schwandt, 2000).

For the researcher there are a variety of paradigms to consider. However it is not necessarily one in isolation that governs this study, because even though there may be a dominant paradigm, this could possibly be influenced by others. Patton (1990:39) points out that the

‘paradigm of choices rejects methodological orthodoxy in favour of methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality. The issue is not whether one has uniformly adhered to the prescribed canons of either logical positivism or phenomenology but whether one has made sensible method decisions given the purpose of the enquiry, the questions being investigated and the resources available’.

Having considered the underlying philosophy that guides this research study it is now possible to take this a step further by considering the research strategy. In line with the aforementioned philosophical stance, taking a qualitative approach to ASB in tourism as opposed to a quantitative one is considered appropriate.

2.4 The Characteristics of Qualitative Research

What is qualitative research? How is it different and why is it appropriate for this study? It is difficult to define qualitative research because there are a range of qualitative methods available and a variety of philosophical assumptions that underpin the use of qualitative techniques (Cassell et al, 2009; Cassell, 2007; Merriam, 2002). For the purposes of this study, some clarification is needed primarily because answering these questions will reflect the character of the study and ultimately its quality. A qualitative approach reflects an interpretivist philosophy to research that can then transform, using various pathways, into the operative paradigm that was previously discussed. This will be dependent on the researcher and the subject area. When discussing research approaches qualitative researchers generally refer instead to guidelines (Willis, 2007). The

definition below by Creswell (1998:15) describes the essence of qualitative research well.

‘Qualitative research is an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social or human problem. The researcher builds a complex, holistic picture, analyses words, reports details of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting’.

Although quantitative research is the dominant paradigm in some areas of social science research (Hobson, 2003; Willis, 2007) there are many aspects of human behaviour and complex sets of relationships that it simply cannot measure or objectively evaluate (Hobson, 2003). Ellis (1994) believes that some philosophical issues are ill equipped for study by the scientific method alone. Qualitative research is an alternative research paradigm that is very different both in terms of the philosophy that drives it and the techniques used to explore social phenomena (Willis, 2007). This type of research is the subject of much debate concerning the position it holds as a developing postmodernist paradigm. Particularly critical is the view that the scientific method is the only way of discovering truths in the world (Willis, 2007).

Table 2.1 compares the scientific and overtly more formal approach of the quantitative mode against the qualitative method where insight and intuition dominate in an informal environment. This table articulates the key characteristics of qualitative research. These highlight firstly the need to understand the meaning that people have about their socially constructed world. Secondly and importantly is the fact that, in terms of interpreting that meaning, the researcher is in effect the ‘measurement device’. Moreover, it highlights the inductive nature of the process and the essential component of rich description (Merriam, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Qualitative research takes place in the natural world and uses multiple methods that are highly interactive and humanistic; it is emergent rather than tightly prefigured, and fundamentally interpretive (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Rossman & Rallis, 1998). Moreover, these authors suggest that qualitative research is about

exploring social phenomena from a direct and in-depth perspective, which requires complex reasoning. This last point is salient because the ability to do this is determined to some extent by the researcher's skills and characteristics as an individual (Arbnor & Bjerke, 1997; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). As a starting point, Dey (2006) notes that the researcher requires sensitivity toward empirical evidence and a disposition to discover ideas in the data without having preconceptions imposed on them from the outset.

Table 2.1 Quantitative or Qualitative: Fit for What Purpose?

<p>Quantitative Mechanistic – <i>'stresses, separate, isolated and interchangeable parts'</i> (Zohar & Marshall, 1994:5)</p>	<p>Qualitative In-Depth and Rich – <i>'involves reporting multiple perspectives, identifying the many factors involved in a situation, and generally sketching the larger picture that emerges'</i> (Creswell, 2009:176)</p>
<p>Key Characteristics: Formal - rigorous and procedural in nature. Researcher is separate from the procedures and the actors. The research process is controlled. Research tools are limited and structural in form. Data is often numerical. Intolerance of that which cannot be positively explained and justified. Quality is based on internal and external validity in the positivist tradition.</p>	<p>Informal – guidelines rather than procedures. Intuitive – the researcher is the tool for interpretation. Interactive - personal involvement of the researcher so that the actors perspective is experienced. Evolution of the study is researcher-led. Research tools are varied and flexible. Data comprises rich description (complex reasoning) Quality is based on trustworthiness a different method of evaluation to the positivist tradition.</p>
<p>When useful: When the question and answer have been identified in advance and confirmation or non-confirmation is needed. Causal relationships between variables need to be identified and explained. When a specific question needs to be answered. When time is short</p>	<p>When little is known and one question will not expand on the extant knowledge base. When there is a need to acclimatise to a phenomenon. When quantitative methods cannot point to important issues in the broader context. When specific aspects of a social phenomenon need to be identified. When time is not limited</p>

(Author developed from: Hirschman, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Saunders et al, 2003)

The primary approach to this research inquiry is to explore for discovery. However, as well as having an exploratory purpose there is also an element of descriptive research. A note of caution made by Robson (2002) says that describing the events, situations and people involved less than accurately may distort the picture. Although this rich description is a key part of the process, describing alone will not fulfil the objectives. For these to be achieved more complex reasoning must take place alongside describing. This will be discussed later as part of the process of analysis in section 2.14.

2.4.1 Limitations of Qualitative Research

There are three key aspects of qualitative research that draw criticism (Bryman, 2004; McDaniel & Gates, 1993; Walle, 1997). The first is that a qualitative study does not distinguish small differences as well as might a quantitative study on a large scale. These differences are those that are probably easy for informants to express through a survey such as consumer satisfaction with facilities in a destination. However, the qualitative approach may well pick up small problems that a large-scale quantitative study misses such as an image or colour that has a different meaning to the consumer. It is a subtler tool. Indeed this study of ASB in tourism has enabled detailed contextual analysis to take place.

Secondly, the study is not representative of the entire population. Whilst this might be the case initially, as previously discussed, the opportunity to generalise may indeed exist if aspects of tourist culture are found to be endemic. The first and second criticisms are those of a positivist research paradigm. However, qualitative research is not the same as quantitative, so should it be judged in the same way? The goal of this study is to collect information that will illustrate the social processes between tourists and hosts in relation to ASB in tourism. If a statistically representative sample from which valid population parameters can be estimated is the desired goal the solution would be to carry out a probability based sample survey (Miller, 2000).

The third limitation pertains to researcher experience. The issue regarding researcher training is valid and forms the crux of the criticism directed towards

qualitative studies. Although this researcher had some training this is a first empirical study at this level, and there are likely to be some weaknesses. However, it is thought that the research approach adopted was appropriate for this exploratory study. Furthermore, it is considered that the methods employed for data collection and analysis were deployed with enough skill to ensure that the data that resulted was of sufficient quality.

Every individual is different and there is no hiding the subjectivity of the process. What a researcher decides to do in terms of the research approach is dependent on the objectives of the study. Therefore, it is up to the researcher to judge the most appropriate way of doing this. The aim of this research is to gain new insights and new vision into ASB in tourism. Although the data produced in this study is based on empirical evidence and is therefore scientific in nature there is no need to measure any aspects of ASB in tourism to produce facts or data based results. The qualitative approach is lived and fluid throughout, generating the space for ideas and insights as it moves along. There are no formal boundaries to constrain the phenomenon of ASB in tourism neither in its context nor in the way that it can be investigated. It is not a better way of carrying out research; it is simply different to other research paradigms. That there is choice means that it is possible to achieve a closer fit between the phenomenon as a whole and the objectives of this study.

2.5 The Case Study: Andalucia, Spain

What is a case study and why would it be appropriate for this study? There has been some debate concerning the definition of a case study.

The preferred definition of case study for this study comes from Robson, (2002:178) and Yin (2003:13).

'a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context using multiple sources of evidence'.

Yin (2003:13) replaces the final part of the same definition with '*especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident*'. The definition above is 'humanistic' or 'naturalistic'; terms that were previously noted to be broadly interchangeable (Szmigin & Foxall, 2000) and that point the way to a deeper understanding of what individual experiences and how (Bluhm, et al, 2011). In taking this route the researcher is encouraged to consider and delimit between the context and the phenomena (Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007) and to avoid separating the components from the larger context (Jorgensen, 1989). This fits well with the epistemological stance taken here. Case studies that are humanistic and inductive in nature have less overt structure as in the tradition of positivist research. They tend therefore, to attract criticism for their lack of structure and supposed lack of rigour (Willis, 2007).

Case studies seek to undertake in-depth analysis of single cases or multiple cases and develop themes, assertions and explanations specific to that case, which is bounded by time and place (Creswell, 1998). Willis (2007) suggests that the case study is best thought of as a system of overlapping phases, each represents needs and issues that may be addressed throughout the research process but not in sequence. This strategy is one that requires its own research design, depending on the questions being asked (Clark et al, 1998).

The decision to incorporate a case study strategy was made in response to the way the social phenomenon of ASB in tourism is presented. In effect the phenomenon chose the strategy (Saunders et al, 2003; Van Wynsberghe & Khan, 2007). As a social phenomenon ASB is particularly suited to a case study approach primarily because it is difficult to control what is happening. The aim is to understand ASB as a process so that human complexity can be uncovered and specific conclusions arrived at (Gummesson, 1991). The categorisation of behaviours is considered relevant in order to highlight key areas for further discussion. It is the nature of the ASB process in any given setting that makes it less suitable for exploration within the constraints of a survey and the structured tools normally associated with that kind of approach (Saunders et al, 2003). However, that is not to say that a case study would not be suitable for a research project that is more deductive in nature.

In choosing to view ASB in tourism from a direct and in-depth perspective inevitably the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are blurred (Yin, 2003). However, the context is clearly pertinent to this study because it represents another dimension of the process as it relates to ASB in tourism. As this process is explored there is the opportunity with the case study approach to expand the initial exploration and find answers to questions (Saunders et al, 2003). This is particularly useful in this study because it is important to try to understand the reasons for ASB in tourism.

2.5.1 Case Study Design

The discussion above has related to the phenomenon of ASB in tourism, the context in which it is perceived to exist, the justification of a case study approach and corresponding evaluative considerations. But what is the 'case' to be studied? A question posed at a peer group meeting was 'can this be a case study if it is a geographical area?' To answer this it is necessary to reflect on the way in which the phenomenon is said to choose the strategy, the strategy being dependent on the objectives (Yin, 2003). A 'case' then is a reflection of the objectives (Yin, 2003) and as such can be comprised of a variety of components (see Table 2.2).

What characterises a case study is the unit of analysis: in this case the individual, not the topic of investigation. This study of ASB in tourism could be a qualitative study of tourist-host experiences anywhere in the world. For it to be a case study there has to be one particular occurrence (a bounded system) selected because it was typical, unique, experimental or highly successful. Bounded is a term which loosely describes what does and does not need to be looked at (Merriam, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994, Ragin, 1994). The ASB of UK leisure tourists in Andalusia, Spain is considered to be typical. This popular and established UK leisure tourist destination has attracted a great deal of debate regarding the fast pace of development and the impact of this on the local culture.

Table 2.2 Case Study Objectives and Components

Objectives	Components
1.To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and cross-cultural theory.	Previous studies and/or literature Two different nations for cross-cultural purposes Ethical considerations
2.To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.	A destination popular with UK leisure tourists thereby ensuring that there are enough informants. Presence of the informants is acknowledged by the local population. Ease of access Temporal considerations – high and mid season Where UK leisure tourist behaviour is already acknowledged as an impact so that data collection is not restricted. Informants spread over a range of socio-economic status, gender and age.
3.To explore the reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.	Popular destination with UK leisure tourists so that there are enough informants and their presence can be acknowledged by other tourists. Variety of stakeholders who interact either directly or indirectly with UK leisure tourists.
4.To compare and evaluate the various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB and subsequent response of key stakeholder groups regarding ASB.	Data rich – primary and secondary Data collection, analysis and interpretation techniques Application of trustworthiness criteria
5.To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which suggests a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.	A destination that already has a perceived problem with UK leisure tourists and ASB. May be easier to enable some outcomes to be transferable.

This work is not a study of a geographical area, as such. Rather it is a study of individuals who interact across cultures in a defined locale. The individuals in this locale comprise three groups; the UK leisure tourists, the host population and the stakeholders in businesses and organisations. The experiences of ASB between these groups are considered typical. Primarily this is related to Spain as the fourth most visited tourist destination in the world (UNWTO, 2010). The numbers of UK leisure tourists arriving at the regions main airport Malaga, number 1.1 million (Costa del Sol Tourist Board & Convention Bureau, 2010) help to ensure that

experiences between the tourist and host are both more numerous and different. Pedregal (1996) believes that the image of a tourist does not represent each individual but the whole group. The more tourists there are, he says, the more the tourists represent stereotypes. Incidences of ASB in tourism are considered to be typical.

Trustworthiness cannot be ignored and it would be foolish to design a case study that was idiosyncratic because other researchers may have problems making comparisons (Yin, 2003). A number of other case studies in tourism have been reviewed in order to support the design of this case study as well as to compare findings. Ryan (1995) employs interviews or conversations with tourists in Majorca to consider the tourist experience. Holden and Sparrowhawk (2002) travel to Nepal in order to understand the motivations of ecotourists and Casado-Diaz (1999) embeds herself in Torreveja, Spain, to examine the impact of second-home developments on the socio-demographic structure of the local population. In the well known social study 'Street Corner Society' carried out by Whyte (1955) groups were observed in a district of 'Eastern City' named 'Cornerville' to determine the structure and leadership of informal groups of 'corner boys'. This case study follows a similar structure to these, where the main units of analysis are the individuals and the subject under investigation is in a geographical location. The experience of being a tourist is a movement to a new geographic space when it is experienced physically.

2.5.2 Case Study Locale

The coast of Spain provides an ideal geographic locale for exploring ASB in tourism. Andalucia, Spain, is a well-developed and mature destination for UK leisure tourists who visit in large numbers alongside other nationalities. As the researcher is relatively familiar with the area researcher access both physically and in terms of social interaction, was perceived to be less of a problem.

The survey site area comprises a triangle between Malaga and Marbella on the coast and inland as far as Ronda (see Figure 2.2). Ten settings were selected because they are popular with tourists and each represents a different type of

setting; Ronda, Puerto Banus, Marbella, Cabopino, Le Cala de Mijas, Mijas, Fuengirola, Benalmadena, Torremolinos and Malaga. The purpose of these ten different settings was to ensure that there was a broad representation of the different categories of socio-economic UK tourist. Different types of tourists are attracted to different types of setting.

Tourists are to be found in key locations within these settings; heritage, beach, bars/restaurants/clubs, shopping areas, non-heritage attractions, hotels, residential areas, events, markets and on transport. Some of these locations were added in situ. Naturally some settings are predominantly one type of location. For example, Ronda is a popular heritage setting (see Table 2.3).

Before discussing the more practical aspects of this study some thought needs to be given to the validity or trustworthiness of this study together with limitations and ethical considerations.

Figure 2.2 Field Settings - Andaluca, Spain

Ronda

Malaga

Torremolinos

Mijas

Benalmadena

Marbella

Fuengirola

Puerto
Banus

Cabopino

La Cala de
Mijas

Table 2.3 Field Settings and Locations

Field Settings	Locations
Ronda, Mijas, Malaga, Marbella	Heritage
Torremolinos, Fuengirola, La Cala de Mijas, Marbella, Benalmadena	Beach (promenade)
Torremolinos, Fuengirola, La Cala de Mijas, Marbella, Cabopino	Bars / Restaurants / Clubs
Fuengirola, Puerto Banus, Marbella, Malaga, Torremolinos	Shopping (town centres and malls)
Fuengirola	Non-Heritage (Water Park, Zoo)
Fuengirola, Torremolinos, Marbella.	Hotels (Different star ratings in different locations)
Mijas (El Coto)	Residential (added in situ)
Malaga (Feria), La Cala (Feria)	Events (added in situ)
La Cala, Malaga	Market (added in situ)
Local - bus, rail and road	Transport (added in situ)

2.6 Establishing Trustworthiness

As it uses a qualitative approach, the case study comes in for some criticism regarding its scientific value. Primarily the qualitative study is concerned with validity, or rather trustworthiness, and the developing of theory rather than generalisability and the testing of hypotheses (Gummesson, 1991; Flyvbjerg, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Attempting to justify case study research by applying the criteria of credibility for a positivist, hypothetico-deductive inquiry is not the answer.

This study is an interpretive inquiry and the two approaches are quite different (Szimgin & Foxall, 2000); therefore, the standards by which this study is measured are not going to be the same. If this qualitative case study were to fail, it would do so because it did not meet the standards for the quality of the conclusions. It would therefore also fail to deliver the 'undeniable quality' referred to by Miles & Huberman (1994) that sets this type of study apart. How this is achieved for a qualitative research study is the subject of much debate, because as an exploratory and creative process it is difficult to regulate (Seale, 1999).

Considerations for standards of quality for this qualitative study are based around trustworthiness, the components being credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Hirschman, 1986; Miles & Huberman, 1994). These components are the equivalent in the positivist tradition of internal and external validity; reliability and objectivity (Hirschman, 1986; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; 2004; Miles & Huberman, 1994) (see Table 2.4). Whilst it has been possible to equate positivist and interpretivist standards, this is only in so far as it demonstrates that interpretivism has different methods of evaluating quality that are considered equal in their thoroughness of application.

Credibility is a multi-faceted evaluative tool that comprises a number of techniques. These techniques cannot sit alone as they overlap in the roles that they play and between those associated with the different evaluative areas of transferability, dependability and confirmability. Each of the naturalistic techniques that can be employed to ensure credibility was employed in this study to a greater or lesser extent, as were those for the remaining evaluative areas. The aim is to generate and assess rival conclusions and to do that a systematic search should be undertaken for alternative themes, divergent patterns and rival explanations (Patton, 2002). For example, in this study, data was organised in different ways with particular reference to emerging categories, in order to evaluate their viability.

One of the main criticisms of case study research is that its subjective nature may have an impact on the outcomes running the risk of falsification (Flyvberg, 2006; Ruddin, 2006). Denzin (1994) for example, argues that the collection of data on humans is inherently subjective and as such is not an objective report of the truth

of the matter. However, it seems that much research could be accused of being subjective. Research has to be designed and carried out by an individual who needs to make choices and route the process in a specific direction influenced by their own socio-historical locations (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). Peshkin (1988:18) believes that one's subjectivities

Table 2.4 Establishing Trustworthiness: A Comparison of Conventional and Naturalistic Inquiry

Criterion	Conventional Term	Naturalistic Term	Naturalistic Techniques
Truth Value	Internal Validity	Credibility Generate and assess rival conclusions (Patton, 2002)	Prolonged engagement Persistent observation Triangulation Referential adequacy Peer debriefing Member checks Reflexive journal Clear account of analysis and interpretation (Boeije, 2002)
Applicability	External Validity	Transferability	Thick Description Purposive sampling Reflexive journal
Consistency	Reliability	Dependability	Dependability audit Reflexive journal
Neutrality	Objectivity	Confirmability	Confirmability audit Reflexive journal

(Erlandson et al, 1993:133 adapted from Lincoln & Guba, 1985)

'can be seen as virtuous, for it is the basis of researchers making a distinctive contribution, one that results from the unique configuration of their personal qualities joined to the data they have collected'

Articulation of the researcher's position vis a vis ASB in tourism, of the context it is seen to exist in, and of the values and assumptions that may affect data collection and analysis is known as 'reflexivity'. This refers to reflecting critically on the self as researcher, the *'human as instrument'* (Lincoln & Guba, 2000:183). Reflexivity,

it is believed, allows the reader to understand how the researcher of this study was able to arrive at her particular interpretation of the data (see Merriam, 2002). In reflecting it is hoped that it is possible to 'work the hyphen' or the space between 'self' and 'other', that is to say the context being studied, without denying that the link exists, so that what is 'happening between' can be discussed (Fine, 1994). In being reflexive it is felt that the researcher in interacting with the environment is liable to change whilst in the process of creating theory. This is not in the sense of a change in personality that may render the research liable to instability. Rather, change is a natural response of the researcher to the environment, because nothing, it seems remains static. The reflexive journal (see Appendix 1 Excerpt of Reflexive Journal – Marriott 2007) of the researcher is a core component of the capacity to establish the trustworthiness of the study.

According to Hirschman (1986) the interpretation of the phenomenon should be transferable from one manifestation to a second whilst at the same time recognising that the social context is different. Making an assessment of transferability before the second interpretation (another study) is constructed is not possible. Both interpretations in their respective contexts need to be constructed so that they can be compared and it is at this point that transferability can be assessed. What is important is that there is a recognisable synthesis between studies. As an evaluative concept the transferability of ideas will only have value provided others able to make a judgment on the possibility of transferability (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

According to Saunders et al (2003), generalisation of the outcomes is possible only where the sample size is representative of the entire population. Clearly, the case study approach does not meet this requirement. Flyvbjerg (2001) argues that a case might be representative because the information presented reflects the broadness and depth of a phenomenon. However, Belk (1993) claims that it is the framework, not the findings, which are generalizable (or rather transferable) in ethnographic research. Wolcott's opinion (1994) that any one case should be enough to learn what can be learnt and act as a guide for others reminds the researcher that as a qualitative study it is transferability rather than generalisation that is important. Gummesson (1991:78) cites Normann (1970) who believes that,

'If you have a good descriptive or analytic language by means of which you can really grasp the interaction between various parts of the system and the important characteristics of the system, the possibilities to generalise also from very few cases, or even one single case, may be reasonably good'

The aim is to construct a pattern of meaning onto the case using words rather than statistics (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Mitchell, 2000). Clark et al (1998:142) believe that,

'If your particular observations are to be of real scientific value, you should at the end of the day be able to produce complex statements which may lead to generalisations'

Seemingly this statement comes from a more deductive-orientated person because the 'real scientific value' referred to is concerned with generalisations that can be tested. However, the point is made that description should result in more than a basic interpretation. The possibility to generalise, or rather have transferability, then exists, but only if the system or process can be clearly interpreted.

Dependability is represented by reliability in the positivist tradition and is concerned with consistency throughout, achieved in part by making constant checks (Miles & Huberman, 1994, Miller, 2000). Yin (2003) suggests that a 'chain of evidence' should be made clear so that the reader can move from one part of the case study to another with clear cross-referencing that links methodological processes and the evidence given. Internal credibility is reliant on the findings making sense. This can be judged in part by ensuring the descriptions are 'thick', in other words they are context rich and meaningful (Denzin, 1989; Geertz, 1973). Throughout this study checks were constantly made in order that findings show meaningful parallelism across the data sources. For example, tourists were monitored to ensure a broad representation (types of tourists in a variety of locations), the type and sequence of questions asked, the nature of the responses recorded and interpreted. This process reflected that which was followed when gathering data from the host group and clear links have been made throughout to the methodological process adopted.

With objectivity or confirmability the conclusions should be dependent on the informants and the conditions rather than on the researcher. The focus is on biases and the extent to which they have been made explicit. According to Eisenhardt (1989) good theory building is objective because it has to stay close to the data and this is what keeps the researcher honest. This was the aim of this researcher too.

Whilst the researcher must strive towards this openness, ultimately it is the judgement of others that determines the trustworthiness of the study. Seale (1999) believes that the strength of judging quality in a study should be with a community of social researchers who have respect and knowledge of the variety of qualitative philosophies. This, he says, will enable one's own style to be built on a series of principled decisions rather than on the outcome of uninformed beliefs.

2.7 Limitations of Research

To a large extent it is the researcher who determines the limitations of this research experience. This concern was discussed previously when considering the criticisms of qualitative research. For 'trustworthiness' to be achieved the researcher needs to be able to write a narrative that goes beyond initial description. Interpretation is a productive process that sets forth the multiple meanings of an event, object, experience, or text. Interpretation is transformative. It illuminates, throws light on the experience. It brings out, and refines the meanings of the study. However, it can only do this if it clearly represents the deeper meaning of the experience (Denzin, 2004). There is no denying that the art of interpretation is a skill learnt over time.

The data itself was a key concern, was there enough? How would the researcher know when there was enough and would it be rich and thick enough to generate concepts? How this point was reached was not straightforward. Initially the harder elements of ASB such as UK leisure tourists becoming overtly drunk were numerous and, therefore, easy to categorise. However this was not a satisfactory saturation point as types of ASB were clearly limited. The saturation point of softer elements of ASB only became possible once an understanding of how ASB could

be identified was created. Because soft ASB is processual in nature and depends on the context and who is doing the interpreting it is to some extent limitless in terms of possible elements. However, key categories of soft ASB were identified and it was felt that saturation had been reached within the parameters of this study. This is discussed more fully in chapter 6. It was assumed that the content would be thick enough when in the field although it is possible that at times more contextual elements would have added depth to the narrative. It should be noted that there was some reservation concerning the thickness of data surrounding objective three, reasons for ASB in tourism. This was because the response from informants was not expansive and displayed similarity. As so often is the case with fieldwork, time was considered a limitation.

The issue of language was perceived to be a potential limitation at the proposal stage. Fortunately the Costa del Sol has a substantial English-speaking expatriate and international tourist population as well as the summer influx of UK leisure tourists. Had the researcher spoken fluent Spanish it is possible that conversations with hosts might have yielded some difference in results. The cross-cultural gap would have decreased, the hosts may have felt more capable of expressing themselves and the researcher may have been able to interpret fully.

Lastly, returning once more to the experience of the researcher, it was planned to carry out tourist interviews during year one and year two but this did not happen. Instead these interviews were conducted in the second year. This was not a deliberate strategy. As the researcher was inexperienced much of the initial time was spent acclimatising to the area and learning what to observe whilst observing, rather like a tourist would.

2.8 Ethical Considerations

The freedom to conduct social research is in large part down to the individual and social good will, and is dependent on those in the research community to act in ways that are not harmful and are just (Iphofen, 2009; Israel & Hay, 2006).

Throughout the four suggested ethical frameworks; utilitarian, deontological, relational and ecological (Israel & Hay, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994) there runs a strong thread, what is ethically good and bad. Iphofen (2009:3) says that *'ethical practice in social research is about being a good researcher at the same time as being a good human being'*. He goes on to say that an unethical researcher will contaminate their work. For this researcher it is about balance and compromise, being a good researcher but at the same not unduly interfering in other peoples lives (Iphofen, 2009). As Bulmer, (1992) succinctly puts it *'ethics are a matter of principled sensitivity to the rights of others'*.

During the course of this study some ethical issues were evident from the outset. The privacy of the informants particularly in relation to anonymity was a primary concern, as was the concept of ASB itself, what would the researcher do if she drawn into harmful behaviour particularly if it was criminal in nature. A central concern was the role-playing adopted by the researcher on the participant-observation continuum.

Holden (2000:52) defines tourism ethics,

'as the study of the moral adequacy of the interaction between humans and the environment for the purposes of tourism'.

Possibly the most prominent ethical issue was concerned with the phenomenon of ASB. As a social phenomenon ASB is not only considered negative but it is also considered at times to be criminal. Although this study focuses on 'soft' ASB or non-criminal anti-social behaviour the problem is that what is and what is not criminal is not always clear. Moreover, there was some concern regarding elements of risk for both informants and the researcher due to the nature of ASB. The literature review provided some information on the nature of how ASB was perceived in both the UK and Spain. This meant that the limitations between criminal and non-criminal behaviour had some clarity for the researcher in advance of the fieldwork, this was clarified continuously once in the field. At the same time key themes regarding types of ASB that were potentially more risky for example, that which was as a result of the consumption of alcohol in specific

crowded tourist places, was subject to risk minimisation as part of advance planning.

Gummesson (1991) points out that there may be access to information that cannot be revealed. At times this proved to be the case with some information emerging from stakeholders concerning 'hard' or criminal ASB. Largely these consisted of recounted 'stories' about criminality rather than criminal activity directly engaged in by the informant. The researcher did observe a drug dealer selling marijuana from the boot of his car in Fuengirola. However, this was not a particularly covert action on the part of the drug dealer and in Fuengirola the police were always present. Clearly there are ethical implications. However, there are many aspects of a culture that impinge on how law is interpreted, drugs and the law in Spain operate differently to that in the UK. As a UK leisure tourist herself the researcher was not in a position to morally judge the scene from that cultural perspective. Although the researcher did not encourage these revelations, and was not aiming to consider hard ASB, revelations and scenes such as this did add value to the context.

To keep any perceived risks to a minimum, observation and focus groups were conducted in commercial or public spaces. Often the researcher would be accompanied. This was the case for the majority of the interviews although some took place in private expatriate residences with other informants present. It should be noted that no covert camcorder or audio recording was planned for any stage as this was not felt to be able to offer any additional benefits and may actually have caused problems. Audio recording was only used for focus groups and with the permission of participants.

Whilst some of the interviews and both the focus groups were carried out with the full consent of informants this was clearly not the case with those who were observed. This, according to Hirschman (1986), is the most troublesome area of humanistic research. She highlights two key areas of potential ethical discomfort in research where there is full researcher participation. The first of these concerns the potential legal implications of pretending to be someone or doing something, which could be construed as a misrepresentation. In the second, she warns that

being involved in other people's lives where confidences may be exchanged may raise serious and legal issues.

In the blending of the role of a tourist and researcher, the researcher becomes a full participant doing the things that other tourists do alongside them. In a foreign destination this becomes an automatic response and therefore it is an easy and natural role. If the researcher made an active effort to not play this role then she would stand out and the role of observer would be compromised, as would the study. Moreover, adverse effects on the informants may result. Therefore, being involved is clearly more advantageous to all parties than not.

The second concern is more complex. In the process of being a full participant, in other words a tourist, the researcher does not always plan the conversation. This often occurred both with tourists and hosts. Where the topic of conversation was agreed with the informant the questioning route helped to ensure that the conversation did not become intimate. When the conversation was more spontaneous, features of social interaction operated and efforts were made to ensure that exchanges did not become intimate in nature.

The role of the researcher was revealed when it was deemed to be straightforward in other words would not cause discomfort for the informant and in the process compromise the conversation. This was in the majority of cases. However, there were times when the role of the researcher was not revealed particularly when the conversation was spontaneous with tourists. At these times field notes were written as summaries of conversations after, out of sight of the informant. However, if the researcher felt that their role would not be compromised and the conversation would be beneficial to both parties then the true intent was revealed. In these cases notes could be written in front of the informant as the conversation took place and where permission was given.

At times the researcher adapted the university researcher title to travel researcher as this bought about a much faster understanding regarding intent. Tourists on the Costa del Sol are frequently approached by a variety of individuals who offer time-share and counterfeit goods. Tourists were found to respond uncomfortably when

asked if they would like to discuss ASB in tourism with a university researcher. This changed when they were asked if they would like to discuss their holiday experience with a travel researcher; a question that is quick and easy to comprehend and which meant the response was immediately positive.

Although the intention at the planning stage was to advertise for tourist informants this was perceived to be problematic once in the field. Hotels had to give permission and without key contacts they were not easy to approach. At all times, the researcher carried participant information sheets, consent forms and business cards with full contact details.

All informants were anonymous. This was an easy process when observing and when carrying out conversations with tourists, as knowing names was unimportant and therefore unnecessary to record. Pseudonyms were used and later these were coded. Where informants' names were known particularly with the focus groups, they were also given codes and de-identified (see Appendix 2 for Hosts, Appendix 3 for Tourists).

All summaries of conversations, audio-recorded interviews and focus groups and their consequent transcripts contained information that was directly relevant to the study. These were kept secure and were treated as confidential in keeping with the University Ethics Code of Conduct.

2.9 Selection of Informants

As the operative paradigm was developed it provided an indication of where, how and from which groups it would be appropriate to select informants and information. The aim was to gain a broad and in depth understanding of ASB in tourism. Therefore, the views expressed need to emanate from more than one stakeholder group. The informants in this study emanate from three main groups; the UK leisure tourists, hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.

The way in which informants were selected reflects the underlying belief in this study that reality is a social construction and, therefore, knowledge is dependent on the actors. Informants in this study are not selected as part of a statistically representative sample of the population because it is an interpretive study. It was important that the number of informants would be sufficient to reach a saturation point or where the addition of each contribution diminishes over time until they have marginal use (Gummesson, 1991). Provisionally a figure of fifty informants for each stakeholder group was decided upon based on numbers in similar research studies (Arnould & Price, 1993; Hottola, 2004; Ryan, 1995). With regard to exploratory studies, it is neither possible nor desirable to determine in advance the numbers needed to reach saturation but a figure used as a starting point helped plan timescales in the field.

For saturation to be reached, the aim is to gather rich information. This will not necessarily be guaranteed by probability sampling, a method more often associated with survey-based research (Saunders et al, 2003). From a practical perspective it was essential to carry out conversations with individuals who were willing to interact and who could potentially provide information. Informants or cases were selected on the basis of purposive sampling, in other words the researcher used her judgment to select cases that were best able to answer the research questions and meet the objectives (Saunders et al, 2003). The sampling used by Glaser and Strauss (1967) is a comparative method called theoretical sampling; cases are chosen that represent different aspects of reality in order to develop theory as it emerges. It is an ongoing process, which means that as the researcher collects, codes and analyses s/he decides what to collect next and where it can be found (Gummesson, 1991). This description neatly describes the process of sampling of informants in this study.

Some informants were typical in that they represented one of the three groups or they represented a typical aspect of that group, for example, UK leisure tourists who consumed alcohol. Other informants self selected, meaning that informants who had a desire to take part in the research at times approached the researcher. This practice also occurred when the researcher organised focus groups and asked informants to take part. Notices inviting informants to take part in interviews

were displayed in prominent locations. This approach at times led to snowballing whereby informants would suggest to the researcher that she interview acquaintances who they thought would be willing to become informants (Saunders et al, 2003). Since the researcher selected 'willing' informants this indicated a degree of bias. However, as the objective is to access and gather rich information that relates to a specific social phenomenon bias is an accepted dimension of this research process.

It was considered important that UK leisure tourist informants reflected a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds, gender and age. Informants were mapped using the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising JICNARS (Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys) classification (see Appendix 4 The JICNARS Classification System). This is a relatively simple method of socio-economic segmentation that assigns people into six categories. The six categories represented; A - upper middle class, B - middle class, C1 - lower middle class, C2 - skilled working class, D - semi-skilled and unskilled working class and E - those at the lowest level of subsistence. This classification system allows other variables to be grouped together (Swarbrooke & Horner, 1996). For this study an age and gender range were added. It should be noted that although the JICNARS system has now been replaced by eight analytic classes numbered 1-8 (McDonald & Dunbar, 2004) the original format used for this study worked well.

A UK Leisure Tourist Interview Tracking sheet (Appendix 5) shows that each tourist interviewed was assigned to a category based on the JICNARS Classification System. Every informant was given a code, T1 to T49 denotes the tourists interviewed. It was only possible to map informants using the process described above when job roles were revealed which in most cases they were. A civil servant from Sheffield (code T32) was, for example, assigned to C1. Whereas two university students (code T16) interviewed in the Marriott complex were assigned to B because this was an expensive timeshare resort and their parents had a boat and an apartment there. This was an ascribed status, as it was they, rather than their parents who were interviewed. It was a subjective process but this system helped to ensure that the tourists interviewed represented as broad a range of socio-economic backgrounds as evidence. Different types of tourists

select destinations and specific locations within them. To ensure that there was an even representation of different types of tourists across a variety of locations (for example, beach, bar, shopping, heritage, hotels, see Table 2.3) tourists were tracked (see Appendix 5). Hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations were also tracked across a range of locations (see appendix 6).

Locating UK leisure tourists on the Costa del Sol (the coast of Andalucia, Spain) was not perceived to be problematic as it is a popular destination of the British. Stakeholders on the other hand were perceived to be more of a problem during the planning stage. However, this proved to be the opposite once in the field. An Interview Tracking sheet for hosts was created to ensure that hosts represented a broad range of businesses in the different types of field settings (see Appendix 6). Hosts were coded H1-H57.

2.10 Data Collection Techniques

There are a number of qualitative methods that could be employed for this study. However, these are not necessarily mutually exclusive in terms of being either for use with a quantitative or qualitative approach (Merriam, 2002). They do different things depending on what needs to be achieved (Saunders et al, 2003). It is important to select data collection methods that represent an effective pathway for the objectives to be achieved. Table 2.5 outlines the key methodological tools and analysis employed for each objective. The tools of data collection or as Arbnor and Bjerke (1997) prefer, the methodics consist of observation, interviews and focus groups. Data was produced in the form of transcripts from the focus groups and interviews and observations resulted in field notes.

2.10.1 Participant Observation

Participant observation of tourists provides an opportunity to generate practical and theoretical aspects of human life as it is grounded in the realities of daily existence (Jorgensen, 1989). Participant observation can range from no interaction as a complete observer to participating in the informants life as a full participant, either covertly or openly. (Decrop, 1999a; Gold, 1969; Jorgensen,

1989). In this study the researcher is also a tourist in a foreign destination, behaving like a tourist, mixing with other tourists and living in a tourist area. The lived experience for the researcher in this study is both deliberate and accidental; at times this role moves from being fully covert to partially or completely overt in nature.

The objective of the first stage of research in 2006 was to gain insights into local culture and issues, explore stakeholder perceptions, and become familiar with the context. As a research approach, participant observation provided the opportunity to do this, and the approach was used again in the second stage of data collection in 2007. The aim was to evaluate the movement of individuals within their space, place and environment, to identify which individuals were doing what, where they were doing it, when and with whom. The researcher, who was also a tourist, experienced the process of observation from close range (seeing actions and asking why) to the wider perspective (seeing whole settings and concepts and asking why again). The experience of moving between the worlds of being a tourist immersed in action and researcher objectively viewing the action provoked some interesting observations and questions.

Table 2.5 Objectives, Methodological Tools and Analysis

Objectives	Methodological Tools and Analysis
<p>1. To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, on ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and on cross-cultural theory.</p>	<p>Sources of information Journals and articles across disciplines, conference papers, textbooks, existing theses, the internet and tour operator brochures and associated industry materials. UK and Spanish media/newspaper, reports.</p>
<p>2. To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations</p>	<p>Pre-test study UK : Focus group UK leisure tourists (trial of study instrument - exploration of phenomenon). Field notes. Participant observation of UK leisure tourists at different types of sites within a geographical area, Andalucia, Spain. Field notes. Interviews : UK Leisure Tourists, hosts and key Stakeholders in businesses and organisations, Andalucia, Spain. Field notes. Focus Groups : Andalucia, Spain. A. UK Leisure Tourists B. Hosts, stakeholders in businesses and organisations. Transcripts of audio recordings. Secondary data could be collected at the same time as fieldwork was being carried out. This was particularly relevant when interviewing stakeholders. Sources of secondary data were government organisations, private organisations, the host community, and academics. Materials also included; internal company reports, organisational communications, marketing publications, media reports, government surveys and publications, public documents, statistical reports and websites (Saunders et al, 2003). Constant Comparative Method – coding and categorising of data. Description. Data analysis using the constant comparison technique.</p>

	Interpretation - new theory is emergent - generalisations and concepts
3. To explore the reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations	As above.
4. To compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders, and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB.	Constant Comparative Method – coding and categorising of data. Description. Data analysis using the constant comparison technique. Interpretation, new theory is emergent - generalisations and concepts.
5. To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.	Synthesis – of data and development of the framework focusing on the capacity for responsiveness to occur at all levels rather than on constriction.

(Source: Author)

In observing tourists in a variety of locations, it was possible to describe what goes on, where, when and how and why (Jorgensen, 1989). This does not require an agenda to be set up in advance by the researcher (Bowen, 2001) although the choice of what to observe calls for careful consideration. It is not as obvious as one would think. An observation route was created to guide the researcher through the initial stages of this activity (see Appendix 7).

Tourists and hosts were observed moving around the 10 different types of field settings (see Table 2.3). These settings were selected because they are popular with tourists and also attract different types of tourist. The aim was to ensure that there was a broad socio-economic representation of tourists. In general tourists from different socio-economic backgrounds select destinations to visit and/or stay at based on those socio-economic backgrounds. Therefore, there is a possibility that had only one type of destination been the subject of the case study the resulting ASB that was identified may have been different.

Key locations within these settings were; heritage, beach, bars/restaurants/clubs, shopping areas, non-heritage attractions, hotels, residential areas, events, markets and on transport. The researcher visited these settings on average six times each arriving by public transport or by car. The visits to field settings were often timed to coincide with the arrival of the main stream of tourists. The researcher would move with the tourist flow and would also explore non-tourist areas in order to gain a broader understanding of the context. Appendix 8 is a record of the entire range of participant observations carried out in the field settings during 2006 and 2007. Tracking observations ensured an even spread of visits to the different types of field settings was achieved see Appendix 9. Periods of time spent at these settings varied between 1- 5 hours depending on what was happening and where. Initially the observation proved to be a frustrating experience because 'soft' ASB as the researcher imagined it to exist was not easily evident. Examples of soft ASB might be arguments between the tourist and host, rude gestures, frustration, complaints about service and so on.

2.10.2 Interviews

The purpose of these interviews is to have informative conversations with individuals whilst introducing new elements, and without interrogating them in the process (Spradley, 1979). These are extensions of ordinary conversations and are according to Rubin and Rubin (2005) 'responsive'. This is a model that relies on the interpretive constructionist philosophy that recognises the formation of a relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee. Qualitative interviewers '*listen to hear the meaning of what interviewees are telling them*' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:13). Kahn & Cannell (1957:16) define the interview as '*referring to a specialised pattern of verbal interaction – initiated for a specific purpose, and focused on some specific content area, with consequent elimination of extraneous material*'.

The aim is to generate depth rather than breadth and ensure that flexibility is maintained throughout. Each interview was different, some more in-depth than others. The interview should be an open and dominance-free dialogue but, argues Kvale (2006), it is hierarchical and instrumental; the interviewer sets the stage in accordance with researcher objectives.

Focus groups in this study were audio-recorded and then transcribed, other interviews were not audio-recorded and field notes were written instead. Whilst there are advantages to taping conversations, particularly the fact that words and intonation are secured in their entirety, it was felt that the spontaneity of the interviews would be compromised if a tape recorder were produced. Tourists are particularly suspicious, even without a tape recorder. A taxi driver from Manchester asked straight away if the researcher was from the UK Inland Revenue. As Hammersley (2007) points out, taping processes of social interactions that are 'on the move' can be challenging. Not having a tape recorder facilitated the relationship and the subsequent interaction between the researcher and the informant. Often in the course of a conversation others would join in, and on a tape recorder this could have possibly been rendered the data incomprehensible. Moreover, managing the conversations more overtly would have compromised the spontaneity and possibly the data.

The data recorded from the conversations in the form of field notes meant that it was more difficult to ascribe comments as quotations. It is possible that these would be more subjective in nature than if they had been transcripts. This is because the researcher decides what needs to be recorded and is at liberty to dismiss information. However, the information recorded was considered to be that which was most relevant to the objectives.

Field notes are necessities if other factors are to be considered, for example, who is present, in what surroundings and under what conditions. From a technical perspective, transcribing every audio-recorded interview is a very lengthy process and also complex (Palmer, 2001). The University Research Ethics Committee did not approve the use of a camcorder although photographs were taken to serve as aide-memoires.

Interviews with hosts commenced in 2006 and carried on into the second stage of data collection in 2007. They were conducted simultaneously with participant observation in 2006 and 2007 and with tourist interviews and focus groups in 2007. These conversations helped the researcher to gain a wider and more in-depth understanding of the tourist-host relationship and the culture and context of the host, including their relationship with tourism. These conversations served to limit any assumptions that could be made by the researcher, and supported the humanistic approach adopted for this study. It was with these aims in mind that methods for this study were triangulated (O'Donnell & Cummins, 1999; Yin, 2003).

Access was a relatively simple process. Being based in a residential area of the Mijas urbanisation and surrounded by residents of various nationalities meant the researcher was able to carry out a number of purposeful conversations. These interviews took place in a variety of field settings, often ad hoc, but sometimes arranged in advance with key stakeholders. The host informants proved not only to be easily accessible but willing to engage in conversations and, as with tourist interviews, others sometimes joined in. At times these conversations did not appear to have much relevance, but when the data was collated and coded they often provided valuable insights into both ASB and the context surrounding the phenomenon. Hosts for example, discussed things they did as families, which

pointed to cultural aspects of Spanish life and therefore made it easier to distinguish subtle differences between the cultures.

Access was often through interaction with the host whilst using services and facilities and finally in the second year for key stakeholders through snowballing. Given the problems with a selection questionnaire pre-tested in the UK it was decided not to use this again. Stakeholder interviews numbered 57 and, at about an hour in length, were longer than those with UK leisure tourists (see Appendix 2). These interviews were conducted in public places for example, at work or in cafés. Interviews with stakeholders were kept on track with the support of the questioning route devised for the focus groups and adapted for these interviews (see Appendix 10). A host-tracking document helped to ensure that interviews with hosts represented an even spread between direct and indirect destination services (see Appendix 6).

UK leisure tourist interviews took place in a variety of field settings, often on an ad hoc basis. These interviews lasted for as long as the informant was willing to 'chat' sometimes five minutes but more often for twenty minutes. Tourist interviews conducted numbered 49. However, when interviewing these tourists, others often spontaneously joined in and this in effect doubled the number (see Appendix 3). Interviews with tourists were kept on track with the support of an abridged questioning route originally devised for the UK leisure tourist focus groups (see Appendix 11). This questioning route is linked closely to the objectives but the researcher was always careful and aware not to lead the conversation and so bias the results. As with hosts, a tracking document was employed in order to ensure an even spread of interviews based on the JICNARS/gender/age classification previously discussed (see Appendix 5). This was successful even though the majority of interviews were carried out either at heritage settings or beach areas.

2.10.3 Interviews: Tourists, Hosts and Expatriates

The host is difficult to define. In tourism studies the term resident may be employed (see Ritchie & Inkari, 2006) to denote the host possibly because this makes it clear that as Page et al (2006) suggest the host is defined as the people who resides in

the destination. When defining the term tourism in chapter 1, four key perspectives were proposed by Goeldner & Ritchie (2009) that reflect the multifaceted nature of tourism; the tourist, the businesses providing tourist goods and services, the government of the host community or area and the host community. The host could be further defined as a national of the visited country who is employed in the tourism industry and provides a service to tourists (Resinger & Turner, 2003).

The host generally referred to the UK leisure tourist as British or a Brit hence the reason for the interchangeability of these terms. The problem with this is that there is no distinction made between UK leisure tourists and UK expatriates. Throughout this study references to both tourists and hosts have been made but with regard to expatriates in this setting it has been difficult to separate tourist from host.

In line with the WTO (1991) definition given in chapter 1, tourists can be defined as:

'the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited'.

This definition brings together the different categories of tourist that are said to exist; international tourists (inbound and outbound), international tourists (inbound and domestic) and national tourists (domestic and outbound tourists) (Bowen & Clarke, 2009). Tourists were defined further, to include the activities of people travelling for leisure, business and other purposes (visiting friends and relatives, health tourism, hedonistic tourism, cultural tourism activity and special interest tourism to places outside their usual environment and staying for no more than one consecutive year (Theobald, 1994). For the purposes of exploring ASB in tourism the term UK leisure tourist has been adopted as it refers to a range of leisure rather than business activities.

An expatriate is *'a person who lives outside their native country'* (Dictionary of Leisure, Travel & Tourism, 2005; OED, 1998). Alternative terms are guest workers,

migrant workers and international workers. From an anthropological perspective this group are considered migrants but not necessarily economic ones (O'Reilly, 2000). There are many expatriates from other countries in the region, some legal and some not so. They come from all over Europe, North Africa and South America. The North African expatriate population is well established and the Arab culture is an inherent dimension of the Spanish culture in the region.

In general for this study UK leisure tourists were distinguished from UK expatriates by the length of time they were staying. For example, a UK leisure tourist would often say they were staying 1-2 weeks although they may be on a first or second visit whereas an expatriate would say that they lived there and by implication this is likely to be more than a year. There are British people in Andalucia who may visit regularly for short periods. They may also come to spend the winter or the summer. Some stay all year round and may consider themselves expatriates or, believing they have lived there for long enough consider themselves residents (even though they are not nationals). They may own or rent accommodation, some may be employed locally, others run businesses between the UK and Spain whilst some do not work. Like the UK leisure tourist they may be attracted to Spain by the weather and leisure opportunities and by the fact that British tastes and customs are catered for, including the use of the English language (O'Reilly, 2000). As MacCannell (1989) points out, they are anything but tourists. O'Reilly (2000:17) explains that *'the British in Spain are not an identifiable group of individuals, since people are moving back and forth all the time'*. From an observational perspective UK leisure tourists were further, although not invariably, distinguishable from expatriates by the way they dressed, their skin colour, pale and often sun-burnt and their choice of location, specific crowded tourist places.

Comments made by expatriates are used in this case study. Expatriates' reflections of life are multi-dimensional as they have been exposed through time to deeper levels of social and cultural life in the host country. For the purpose of this study the comments made by hosts about expatriates are categorised as comments about tourists. This is because hosts generally perceive both UK leisure tourists and UK expatriates as being tourists. To the host both these groups fail to embrace Spanish culture and are focused on making their own little England in

Spain (O'Reilly, 2000). It is, therefore, difficult for the researcher to determine which group hosts are referring to. However, when expatriates make comments about tourists the expatriates are categorised as hosts. They do not as MacCannell (1989) rightly observed consider themselves to be tourists and their comments often reflected those of the host for example, when the UK leisure tourist become overtly drunk. The middle ground occupied by the expatriates in this study proved to be useful as their comments reflected both tourists and hosts and helped to support interpretation. Expatriates could discuss the cultural traits of the host, which the UK tourist would not necessarily be aware of, and they could also discuss the implications of these. For example, Spanish eating times and choice of food and the effect of the British tourist on these.

2.10.4 Focus Groups

The two focus groups that followed the UK pre-test study, discussed in the next section, were conducted during the second year of this study. The purpose of each focus group was to encourage self-disclosure, whereby individuals impart what they really think and feel (Krueger & Casey, 2000). The concept of the group dynamic is the main reason for conducting group research as opposed to individual research, the aim being that as group members respond, others are similarly stimulated and the resulting interplay will yield more information (McDaniel & Gates, 1993).

The first group was made up of five young British males and the discussion was carried out in a café. These young males agreed to meet, having been encouraged to do so by worried parents – in effect, snowballing. The second group was organised to have four participants from the Costa del Sol tourist board in their place of work. The researcher met this group as a result of an interview with the manager of the Mijas tourist office. Again this was snowballing. However, two individuals who had agreed to take part did not and this compromised the status of the discussion as a focus group. The meeting went ahead and the information gathered was considered particularly useful. Some might argue that this was not a focus group in the true sense with only two participants because without sufficient participants having something in common, insights would be hard to share and less

diverse (Kruegar & Casey, 2000). As a method, focus groups are based on two fundamental assumptions. The first is that individuals can provide a rich source of information about a topic. The second is that the collective and individual responses encouraged by the focus group setting will generate material that differs from other methods (Glitz, 1998). As far as the researcher is concerned both the first and second focus groups provided a rich source of information that was used to add texture and depth to interpretations. Moreover, they served to consolidate opinions, reveal and expand on ideas and also provide insight where complication existed (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

Setting up focus groups with the stakeholders proved to be problematic, primarily because social networking needed to have already existed so that contacts could be made. Arranging other focus groups may have helped illuminate different perspectives of ASB, for example, key stakeholders in businesses and organisations. There was an attempt to organise this but in high season with long host working hours this proved to be difficult. Since a number of interviews were carried out with hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations often in ad hoc groups this was not considered detrimental. Both of the sessions lasted approximately one hour and followed a questioning route previously devised (see Appendix 10 for hosts and Appendix 11 for tourists). Both focus groups were audio-recorded but notes were not taken as the proceedings were found to be too complex. Transcripts of the focus groups were made to facilitate data analysis.

2.11 Pre-Test: Observation, Interviews and UK Focus Group

All three methods of data collection, observation, interviews and focus groups were revised and elaborated upon during the period of time spent in the field. This took place as part of the process of constant comparison, as it did in the river rafting study carried out by Arnould and Price (1993). However, all the methods used in this study were trialled in the UK to some extent before use in Spain as part of the process of building the tools. These trials were pre-tests rather than pilot studies because they were not a complete testing of the research methods and processes on a smaller scale. They focused on particular components for example, observation.

2.11.1 Pre-Test Observation

As observation is such an oblique method, a plan needed to be drawn up in terms of what to observe. Some time was spent in the researchers UK locale developing observation as a technique. An observation route was derived initially from Decrop (1999a) 'what to observe', Jorgensen (1989) Strauss & Corbin (1998) and Wolcott (1994). As an instrument, observation is less easy to trial because the interaction between the researcher and informants is indirect.

2.11.2 Pre-Test Interviews

With regard to interviews informal conversations took place with individuals in the UK. These conversations and those which resulted from the pre-test UK focus group, not only refined the study instrument, particularly in relation to routing (see Appendix 12), but also helped gain general insight into anti-social behaviour in the UK and ASB in tourism. These conversations consequently fed into pre-understanding and supported the development of sensitized concepts. The UK focus group pre-test was conducted in the researcher's place of work in February 2007, a further education college.

2.11.3 Pre-Test UK Focus Group Informants

Informants were notified of the focus group through a number of channels four weeks before the given date. These were:

- Newsagents' notice board
- Sussex Police email
- Sussex Downs College notice boards and intranet
- Home window poster
- Snowballing

Of the nine informants that agreed to take part, three young adults dropped out on the day of the session. The six remaining informants represented a reasonably

broad socio-economic group (see Table 2.6). Informants were grouped socio-economically using the JICNARS/age/gender classification system previously described. This group was constrained by age, as the group represented an older age group, but not by gender.

Table 2.6 Informants: Pre-Test UK Focus Group

Code	Socio-Economic	Age	Sex	Profession	Informant Route
01	C1	45-54	F	Garden designer	Snowballing
02	C2	35-44	M	Blacksmith	Snowballing
03	C1	35-44	M	Singer	Snowballing
04	C1	65+	M	Teacher	Sussex Downs
05	C1	25-34	F	Air stewardess	Snowballing
06	C1	45-54	F	Teacher	Sussex Downs

If the group is too small, two to six, it is possible that conversation becomes stilted and group experience hindered. Conversely, if the group is too big, twelve or more, the group can split into smaller groups with members talking quietly between themselves (Krueger & Casey, 2000). This group did gel well and discussion was particularly forthcoming in the second half when ASB in tourism became the focus. Questioning route development was the focus of this pre-test.

2.11.4 Reflections on the Pre-Test Focus Group

Although there was enough time to organise this event, the response was not overwhelming. It is likely that the advertising was not spread wide enough and that it contained too much information. In addition, the focus group selection proforma that respondents had been asked to complete prior to the session may have deterred people.

2.11.5 The Questioning Route

The questioning route proved to be a useful tool in guiding the conversation. It was timed over 120 minutes and the question sequence fitted this well. Omission of the phrase 'in the UK' in the opening question led the first informant to talk about their experiences on holiday abroad. This was halted and the informants were asked the question again with this phrase included. At the transition stage, the plan was to ask the informants to write down what types of behaviour they considered to be anti-social. However with only six participants this was included as a question only. Moreover, it was felt that stopping the conversation to administer the sheets would halt the flow. The same activity was planned for the second half of the discussion that focused on tourists and ASB. Again, this was left out and the question was delivered verbally.

An interesting occurrence that emerged from the focus group discussion was the spontaneous summarising that took place by the group. At the end of the session, when asked if there was anything anybody would like to add as a point that was important to him or her, the group discussed ASB. As a result, they concluded that anti-social behaviour was not as terrible as it was depicted in the media and that it was a natural phenomenon. Furthermore, they indicated that they now believed that they had all been anti-social in different countries owing to lack of knowledge about foreign customs.

2.12 Pre-Trip Planning Process

Following the review of the literature and the UK pre-test study a timetable for fieldwork in Andalucia, Spain was drawn up. The fieldwork was conducted in two stages over two years, 2006 and 2007 (see Table 2.7). The first year provided an opportunity to become familiar with the region, the people and the deployment of the data collection techniques. As data was collected the process of description, analysis and interpretation began to take place. The second year built on that experience expanding on the data and consolidating it.

There were originally nine field settings, but this was reviewed in situ to ten. The different types of tourist locations within the ten field settings were also reviewed in situ. It was planned that field settings would be visited more than once, at different periods of time during the day and at intervals during the research period. This pre-planning of settings acted as a guide for observation and tourist interviews and was reviewed throughout the duration of the fieldwork. It was not possible to determine the location for the focus groups in advance other than to assume that these could take place in a hotel.

Table 2.7 Fieldwork Stages

Stage 1 – 2006	Stage 2 – 2007
Observations at a variety of different types of settings and locations	Observations at a variety of different types of settings and locations
Interviews with hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations	Interviews with hosts and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations
Interviews with tourists	Interviews with tourists Focus Groups – one each of: tourist, host and key stakeholder

The interviews required prior administrative planning in part because some documents were required to be submitted in an application for university ethics approval. This was arranged prior to the pre-test in the UK. These documents consisted of recruitment advertisements for informants (see Appendix 13), participation information sheet (see Appendix 14) and a consent form (see Appendix 15). Additional material included a feedback sheet (see Appendix 16). Some of these documents were translated into Spanish.

2.13 Description, Analysis and Interpretation

In discussing a qualitative research approach it was previously noted that although rich description is a key part of the process, description alone would not fulfil the objectives. For these to be achieved, more complex reasoning must take place alongside. Boeije (2002) argues for a clear account of the analysis and

interpretation as this process, according to her, is often vague and can compromise credibility.

The exploratory nature of the study supports the justification for the case study approach but this does not act as a technique or method for describing, analysing and interpreting the data collected. The processes of description, analysis and interpretation are different but interactive activities carried out at the same time throughout the period of inquiry (Creswell, 1998; Strauss, 1987; Miller, 2000; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Wolcott, 1994).

The strategy for analysing and interpreting data is constructivist; this means that new theory is constructed from the meshing of data collection (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). This meshing of data referred to as the constant comparative method (CCM) is a dominant principle of qualitative data analysis (Boeije, 2002; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). It has been adopted as an analytical tool for this study. Whilst other methods of analysis do exist, for example, analytic induction and narrative analysis it is important that the main tool of analysis adopted meets the criteria of this particular study.

2.13.1 The Constant Comparison Method

The constant comparative method (CCM) of data analysis involves continually comparing one unit of data with another in order to derive conceptual elements of the theory, even though theory may not necessarily be developed (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2002). This is achieved by maximising comparisons across different groups of participants in differing contexts and situations through theoretical selections and saturation (Sprenke & Piercy, 2005). As Spiggle (1994:494) explains comparisons are made between *'each incident in the data with other incidents appearing to belong to the same category, exploring their similarities and differences'*. Maximising these comparisons is about taking them to their ultimate conclusions so that no more can be ascertained from them. This main principle of the constant comparative method is clearly outlined by Tesch (1990:393) as follows:

'The main intellectual tool is comparison. The method of comparing and contrasting is used for practically all intellectual tasks during analysis: forming categories, establishing the boundaries of the categories, assigning the segments to categories, summarising the content of each category, finding negative evidence etc. The goal is to discern conceptual similarities, to refine the discriminative power of categories, and to discover patterns'.

The categories and sub-categories that emerged as a result of the constant comparative process in this study are to be found in Appendix 17 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Informant Directed. This is discussed more fully in section 2.15 Coding Procedures. Making comparisons is an inherent part of the inductive process. Maximising the differences between people, texts or events is a useful way of making contrasts clearer (Potter, 1996).

Finding practical 'how to do' guides for constant comparison and coding is not easy as Patton (2002) points out no formula exists for the transformation of data. In part, this is because as an approach it was never originally intended to be a set of rigid procedures (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). There is a move away from the more mechanistic applications of grounded theory according to Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) because these do not reflect the original thinking of Glaser and Strauss (1967). However, it is not necessarily mechanistic to approach analysis in an organised and systematic way (Wolcott, 1994). Some authors such as Charmaz & Mitchell (2007:162) move far enough away from principles and processes to list some basic practical steps that help to organise ' thoughts' for this subjective process. They point out that whilst these could be considered sequential they are likely to be multi-dimensional and less clear-cut. This is because with this type of interpretative approach it is about working it up, down and across at the same time (see Holstein and Gubrium, 2004):

- Collect data on what happens in the research setting.
- Code data line by line to show action and process.
- Compare data with data in memos.
- Raise significant codes to categories.

- Check and fill out categories through theoretical sampling.
- Compare category to category.
- Integrate categories into a theoretical framework.
- Write the first draft.
- Identify gaps and refine concepts.
- Conduct a comprehensive literature review.
- Rework the entire piece.

These basic practical steps proved helpful in this study as the outline above was followed. It was certainly the case that the process was multidimensional as the researcher moved through the data and back again to refine the codes and develop categories.

Constant comparison, whilst being the primary constructivist method, does not have to operate in isolation. Potter (1996) presents a template for methods of analysis, and in doing so, groups together those most suitable for the inductive construction of this study. These are grounded theory, triangulation, sensitized concepts, thick description and maximising comparisons (discussed as the constant comparative method). None, he says, are any more superior to others; they operate in different ways and can be used together, balancing out strengths and weaknesses, a process that supports the quality of the work. How triangulation, sensitized concepts and thick description were usefully employed in the process of inductive construction in this study is discussed here.

2.13.2 Triangulation

In the context of qualitative research there is some discomfort with the term and technique of 'triangulation'. The essential idea of triangulation is to find multiple sources of confirmation in order to draw conclusion (Clark et al, 1998; Creswell, 2007; Patton, 2002; Willis, 2007). Denzin (1978) identifies four basic types of triangulation; data triangulation involves the use of a variety of different data sources including field notes. Method triangulation employs multiple methods to study a particular problem. Investigator triangulation uses different researchers to

interpret the same body of work. Theoretical triangulation involves using a number of different disciplinary perspectives to interpret a single set of data.

Willis (2007) feels that triangulation is used to imply that a variety of combinations of researchers, techniques, subjects and theory can provide an evaluative technique. However, even if data is derived from these different areas there is no guarantee that any agreement reached is due to the data being triangulated (Bloor, 1997). Willis (2007) agrees with Bogdan and Biklen (1998) who argue that regardless of the motivation to use different techniques of data collection, it is preferable to describe what was done and why and refrain from using the term triangulation. Although the argument for not using the term is strong, triangulation does have some validity in that it supports the justification of the study design. Decrop (1999b) believes that triangulation limits personal and methodological biases thereby providing a more sound opportunity for ensuring transferability. This case study was triangulated by data and method. Data not only emanated from interviews, focus groups and observation but also from secondary sources such as web sites and local media. Multiple methods have been used to obtain data from different groups for different reasons. None of these methods are more important than the others; they each provide a different perspective that enhances the picture (Decrop, 1999b). These methods of triangulation were employed so that a wider and deeper understanding of ASB in tourism could be achieved (Denzin, 1978; Decrop, 1999b; Flick, 2002; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; O'Donnell & Cummins, 1999; Yin, 2003;).

2.13.3 Sensitized Concepts

Bulmer (1979) suspects that problems arising from concept forming in qualitative data are different to those in quantitative data. He primarily believes this is so because new theory generation is approached differently; in quantitative it is prefigured and in qualitative it is fluid. Therefore, he defends two different solutions, as put forward by Blumer (1954 cited in Bulmer, 1979; Bowen, 2006). In the generation of quantitative theory concepts can be described as 'definitive' as they are prescriptive in nature and contain within them a scale such as factor analysis. Qualitative concept generation can be approached, he suggests, by applying

'sensitizing concepts' that reflect the empirical social world. These concepts provide '*a general sense of reference and guidance in approaching empirical instances*' (Blumer, 1954:7 cited in Bulmer, 1979).

The generation of sensitizing concepts extend beyond the immediate empirical social world. They exist in the mind of the researcher as ideas and provide starting points for codes prior to data collection (Gilgun, 2002). Making the sensitizing concepts explicit contributes to increased understanding (Potter, 1996) and may lead to the testing of hypotheses as patterns emerge (Gilgun, 2002). The propositions as groupings of sensitizing concepts are more about expectations than propositions in the traditional sense, and are likely to develop and change (Gilgun, 2002). Bryman & Burgess (1994) point out that Blumer's (1954) writings on concepts are now widely accepted amongst many qualitative researchers.

2.13.4 Thick Description

In order for concepts to be formed, interpretations need to be constructed. These interpretations should be 'thick' and of sufficient quality (Geertz, 1973). However, there is no consensus regarding what constitutes 'thick' as opposed to 'thin' (Wolcott, 1994). As with the other considerations discussed for this study they are for the most part only guidelines to follow. Essentially, for the purpose of interpretation, the guiding principle should be the phenomenon in question rather than the perspective of the researcher (Hirschman, 1986). Denzin (2001:98) explains that '*thick descriptions are deep, dense detailed accounts of problematic experiences*'. Meaning in thick description is what adds value to the possibility of transferability, as there is more information with which to make that judgment (Hobson, 2003). A thin description would report the facts while a thick description would take into account the context as an experience and the intentions and meanings within it would be represented as a process (Denzin, 2004). The combination aspect for achieving thick description has been used to a great extent in this study. Field notes written in the field settings provided the opportunity to describe what was obvious and then to contemplate the context beyond that. The ten structures presented by Wolcott (1994:18-22) help to illustrate the nature of thick description; they are not steps per se and are not all-inclusive:

- Chronological order
- Researcher or narrator order
- Progressive focusing
- Day in the life
- Critical or key event
- Plot and characters
- Groups in interaction
- Follow an analytical framework
- The “Rashamon Effect” (different versions of the same event)
- Write a mystery

This study was initially chronologically arranged but as the study progressed and previous events became more influential thick description moved toward progressive focusing. Ultimately coding and categories were developed, that grouped plots and characters together.

2.14 Coding Procedures

Coding is a core activity of constant comparison and theory generation and it begins the analysis (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2007). It is in some respects a practical task reliant on the researcher as an individual to organise and describe so that analysis and interpretation can take place and be understood by others. Charmaz and Mitchell (2007) suggest that codes should not be organised prior to the coding of data as this they believe forces the data into unnatural categories. Their opinion is shared by others who think that this activity can result in a loss of sense of context and narrative flow (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Weston et al (2001) believe that, as a process, coding does not happen before analysis. However, to a large extent coding and analysis go hand in hand. Although it is not desirable to code in advance the coding needs to be a balanced activity, organised but also flexible, so that it can move freely in response to change.

Strauss & Corbin (1998) discuss three types of coding: open, axial and selective. For this study a starting point for open coding was devised based on the objectives and divided into two areas. The first area is informant directed and primarily

reflects objectives 2 and 3, types of ASB as well as reasons why ASB occurs (see Table 2.8). The second area is context directed - for example, management responses and cultural traits (see Table 2.9). This arrangement provided the opportunity for the researcher at an early stage to generate an emergent set of categories and properties that fit (Glaser, 1978). At the same time sensitizing concepts influenced the coding activity as a natural part of the process before, during and after data collection was finished (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). Methodology was included as an additional category in open coding as this provided an opportunity to reflect on the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation.

Table 2.8 Open Coding – Informant Directed

Code	Main Category	Code	Sub-Category
TY	Types of ASB	T H	Other tourists Host population
RE	Reasons for ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia	T H	Other tourists Host population
CES	Compare and evaluate various ASB	VBE IBE RBE	The views on ASB The issues that arise The response of the stakeholder groups
CED	Compare and evaluate various ASB	BE VBE IBE RBE	The anti-social behaviours The views on ASB The issues that arise The response of the stakeholder groups

All data from the observations, interviews and transcripts of tapes from the focus groups was consolidated into a word format file as a hard copy. This process permitted the adaptation of the open coding categories through line-by-line analysis of the field notes. Key elements were identified and coded forming these initial categories (see Appendix 18). Field notes made when observing form an integral part of the narrative; a list of observations is located in Appendix 8. An observation-tracking document helped to ensure an even spread of observations across different types of field settings. This can be found in Appendix 9.

Table 2.9 Open Coding - Context Directed

Code	Main Category	Code	Sub-Category
MR	Management Responses	T H	To tourists To hosts
CTC	Cultural Traits and Content Symbols/rituals/heroes	T H	Tourists Hosts
CV	Cultural Values Differences and similarities and reasons why	T H	Tourists Hosts
RB	Rules of Behaviour Differences and similarities and reasons why	T H	Tourists Hosts
IIF	Intra-Individual Forces (attitudes, perceptions, motives and social skills)	T H	Tourists Hosts
IFP	Interpersonal Forces (number of people, context of meeting, group membership)	T H	Tourists Hosts
MIG	Geographical: (place, space and environment)	PL SP EN	Place Space Environment
ME	Media	RE IM	Responses Impacts
PS	Public Sector, Andalucia	RE IM	Responses Views
BI	Business Interests	VI IM RE	Vested Interests Impacts Responses
AF	Approaches/Framework	DE T H	Destination Tourists Hosts

Each tourist and host interviewee has been assigned a code to protect the informant's identity; these have also been included in the narrative found in chapter 4. Lists of host codes are to be found in Appendix 2 and those of tourists in Appendix 3. The findings presented in chapter 4 include quotes taken from focus-group transcripts with tourists and hosts. Where these occur the code for the interviewee ends with FG (focus group). All other interviewee codes are those derived from field notes rather than transcripts.

As the open coding scheme progressed it moved naturally to the second level of coding known as axial coding where codes relate to one another. At this point all the data was transferred from hard to soft copy analysis using computer aided qualitative data analysis. Recently researchers have benefited from specific CAQDAS (Computer aided qualitative data analysis) software. These do not eliminate the need for the researcher to think, because they do not analyse; this is the task of the researcher (Jemmott, 2002). The aim is to organize the data and to use verbatim quotations to illustrate certain points (Bryman, 1988). There are a number of packages that help with coding; some more popular and perhaps better known than others. However, it is more important to select a CAQDAS package that complements the researcher's method and the objectives.

MAXQDA is a software programme that was selected for this study. This proved useful, as it was easy to apply colour codes, move categories or sub-codes, and write memos. There are three key justifications for using CAQDAS software: firstly, it can facilitate data management, and secondly in doing so it enhances the analytic process. Thirdly, it can also enhance the acceptability and credibility of qualitative research (Fielding & Lee, 1998). This researcher found that it did indeed aid data management and supported the coherent chain of evidence that was so important. Notably it does not do the job of creating or sorting of categories nor is it able to offer any interpretative solutions. Such processes remain, as they should, the domain of the researcher.

Axial coding presents the opportunity to naturally form categories (Gilgun, 2000) because they are made up of codes that are obviously linked. The story to be told therefore, emerged as the categories and sub-categories of the axial coding were developed. The axial codes and their sub codes were found to match the objectives more rather than less, which augmented the flow of the narrative.

They can be arranged according to '*conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences*' (Strauss & Corbin (1998:96). In this study axial codes continued to reflect the objectives and were either informant or context directed in nature. Codes were also created in response to words used by the informants in other words they are in vivo codes (Glaser, 1978). Categories were

developed and were arranged according to themes. Table 2.10, shows an extract of axial coding for ASB in tourism that is informant directed in nature, the full axial coding table is found in Appendix 17.

Table 2.10 Axial Coding Extract: Informant Directed

Main Code and Sub Code
Objective 2
TYPES OF ASB
1.UK Leisure Tourists Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
Fighting
Animals
Loud/Yobs
Language
Eating
Drinking
Children Noise
Groups
Dress
Sun
Impatient
Being rude about the Spanish
Not polite
UK Leisure Tourist Views of UK Leisure Tourists
Embracing Britishness in Spain
British are ok
British Expatriate Views of British
Do not integrate
Do not speak Spanish
British are rude
2. UK Leisure Tourist Soft ASB of Hosts
Researcher Observations of tourist-host interactions
Fighting
Staring

During the process of analysis additional categories were added to the axial coding, some were deleted, and others had their labels changed to more accurately reflect content. For example, soft types of ASB moved from an initial category to three main categories and a number of sub-categories. A deleted category named 'is this ASB' was reassigned to either soft or hard ASB categories.

At times, deciding what information was to be attributed to the different categories was problematic as meanings and descriptions could overlap. In a study driven by

the need to be humanistic this is to be expected. However once a key theme was identified the relevant category could be assigned. Tourist discussions about the Spanish might yield comments on how pleasant they are, but at the same time they may contain comments on how they are very busy and have to look after many tourists. This ticks boxes in other categories. For example, numbers of tourists and geographical considerations of place, space and environment, which are context directed.

Throughout the process of axial coding attention was paid to contextual themes. Although some of these themes were acknowledged during the process of open coding they too developed. As with the comments assigned to the categories and sub-categories in Appendix 17, these too are a mixture of counts for that named category and may also relate to relevant researcher notes and/or contextual issues.

Table 2.11 shows an extract of axial coding in tourism for contextual themes, the full axial coding table is found in Appendix 19. Context directed categories changed more as a reflection of a greater understanding of the context as it emerged. These initial categories did not benefit from guidance provided by the objectives. Broad categories such as 'micro geographical' and 'macro geographical' became 'geographical' as a main category with key sub-categories more precisely defined as the data emerged. Findings that relate to the context are interwoven into the main narrative. These contextual elements not only enliven the narrative but more importantly provide an opportunity to understand as much as possible about the situation.

In analysing observations, the text develops a descriptive format, so the areas that these descriptions fall into need to be determined. To some extent this has been done in advance, because in investigating what to observe, categories became apparent. These include date, time, place, temporal considerations as settings, people, their movement, numbers, interactions and events such as a fiesta. Processes communicated and issues emerge as a result (Jorgensen, 1989 and Patton, 1990). However, in linking these, as themes to others, careful consideration was required of what needed to be illuminated, where, and why.

Table 2.11 Axial Coding Extract: Context Directed

MANAGEMENT RESPONSES
Management responses Soft/Social: Status quo Own interpretation Planning Mix types, ages, nationalities Segregate Intervene Protocol Tolerance Security guards
Management responses Hard/Police: New laws Stretched Intervention Bridge Less intervention Corruption
CULTURAL TRAITS – SPANISH
Transport
Networks
Pushing
Youth
Goods
Working hours: Work Services
Respect
Mentality: Rules are guidelines Macho Tolerance Arab
Dress
Families
Rituals

It should be noted that during the process of axial coding, issues relating to methodology were also coded and categorised. For example; researcher subjectivity, field settings, access, validity, reliability, interviews, observation, and who is a tourist, expatriate, immigrant or host? The full coding and categorisation of methodological issues is located in Appendix 20.

The third level is selective coding and is concerned with going back through the coding having reached a saturation point to see if any more can be added and as in this study tidied up. For example, in relation to the main category of 'UK leisure tourists soft ASB of other UK leisure tourists', linking similar data particularly when it related to fighting in relation to being drunk, or separating data into more defined categories for example, being rude, impatient, loud. The experience is one of consolidation, where strong story lines emerge as core categories and more importantly key elements within these. Not all codes will be of the same genre; some may be linked to actions, different people, words, and temporal conditions (Charmaz & Mitchell, 2007). Other authors discuss coding in relation to their own studies (Boeije, 2002; Daengbuppa et al 2006; Weston et al, 2001). Whilst these are useful they are also case specific. Therefore, in relation to this study the process of coding, description, analysis and interpretation will be discussed further in following chapters.

2.15 Categories and Concepts

As an inductive analytic procedure, categorising supports the researcher in creating meaning from the data, not discovering it (Dey, 2006). Interpretation is carried out as the data is being coded and categorised. While categorising, the researcher bundles specific empirical instances in the data, thus creating categories that can, over time, be systematically and methodically compared and contrasted (Dey, 2006; Spiggle, 1994). These bundles are analytic (Bulmer, 1979) in nature and represent concepts of key aspects of the data (Dey, 2006; Spiggle, 1994). They should be allowed to emerge and not forced (Bulmer, 1979); forcing may affect the quality of the study. There comes a point when categories stop emerging and 'theoretical saturation' has been reached (Dey, 2006). Low-level categories will be generated out of the process of constant comparison relatively early (Bulmer, 1979). Each category and sub-category will have a set of properties and dimensional qualifiers (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Categories cannot be simple representations because they are dependent '*on an underlying cognitive context that informs category judgments and invests them with meaning*' (Dey, 2006:88). In this study initial categories were broken down into sub-categories. Some were

added, for example, specific behaviours that might be considered soft ASB, and others deleted, for example, 'business interests', as the analysis progressed.

The generation of theory then may be defined as a set of concepts and generalisations (Jorgensen, 1989) that are formed as a result of interpreting meanings. This theory can only be generated if, according to Glaser (1978), theoretical sorting has taken place. The fractured data, memos, coded and categorised segments represent ideas, and it is these that need to be sorted so that interpretation is maximised. This process involves the researcher moving backwards and forwards through the data so that everything fits (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). During the sorting of ideas more memos and ideas may emerge, connections forming as a result. Not all codes, categories and concepts that emerge will be related to the core category that has been identified and, therefore, can be left out. Those that remain form substantive codes and represent the basic social processes of ASB in tourism.

It is not a simple process, as the researcher needs to be sensitive to the data. There is another dimension of description, analysis and interpretation that should also be considered, and that is the aptitude of the researcher to manage the process of analysis. This process can be likened to a picture that takes shape over time as more data is collected; analysis then becoming more directed and specific (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982). Although analysis and interpretation are presented, ultimately it is a creative process that requires personal judgment (Patton, 1990).

Subjectivity is acceptable providing that it is seen from an objective viewpoint. Whilst this appears a contradictory statement, it makes sense that a researcher needs to observe himself or herself from outside and inside at the same time. According to Goleman (1995:47) self-awareness or self-observation,

'manifests itself simply as a slight stepping back from experience, a parallel stream of consciousness that 'meta'; hovering above or beside the main flow, aware of what is happening rather than being immersed and lost in it'

Strauss and Corbin (1998:6) outline the personal skills that a qualitative researcher needs for interpretive analysis:

- The ability to step back and critically analyse situations
- The ability to recognise the tendency toward bias
- The ability to think abstractly
- The ability to be flexible and open to helpful criticism
- Sensitivity to the words and actions of respondents
- A sense of absorption and devotion to the work process

Imagination and creativity are cited as important skills for inductive research (Hart, 1998). O'Donnell and Cummins (1999:87) advise the researcher to acknowledge 'self' as part of the process of inductive research and '*not to draw a distinction between the collection of data, their analysis and interpretation*'.

2.16 Considerations in Data Analysis

Any inexperienced researcher will be concerned about whether they have the skill to interpret far enough beyond description for the standards to be reached. Bryman and Burgess (1994:6) and Wilson and Hutchinson (1996) comment in relation to grounded theory that although this approach to data analysis is referred to in research publications there is rarely a '*genuine interweaving of data collection and theorising*' as advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). These authors suggest that methodological mistakes occur in a number of areas and these can relate to other inductive approaches of analysis: methods may become muddled and grounded theory is compromised; generational erosion may occur which refers to the undermining of the original canons of grounded theory and premature closure or under-analysis may occur. This last point is also taken up by Goulding (1998:55) who suggests that the researcher should '*lift ideas from the data and explain them theoretically in order to give meaning to descriptions of behaviour*'. This view is significant, since the use of complex reasoning that is multifaceted and iterative is characteristic of qualitative research (Hobson, 2003). Although this study employs the constant comparison method these considerations are relevant. Additional concerns regarding mistakes in grounded theory include: the researcher being

overly generic so that discoveries are not necessarily-situation specific; importing concepts into interpretation that disfigure it; and methodological transgression, whereby positivist methods may creep in (Goulding, 1998). This researcher was able to avoid these pitfalls largely because the methodological process was clearly planned and organised from the outset. Moreover, once data collection was underway the different dimensions of trustworthiness provided a framework that guided the researcher and constantly reminded her of the need to stay close to the data.

2.17 Secondary Data

There are many sources of information that can contribute to the overall context of ASB in tourism. During the course of this research secondary data was collected, this consisted of academic work both published and unpublished, newspapers, blogs, on-line forums, and a number of websites such as those for expatriates, councils and travel. Although material such as this is not planned it is systematic. What is and what is not useful is determined purely by the researcher in the search for understanding (Clark et al, 1998). Once in the destination for example, Spanish language newspapers supported the process of interpretation.

2.18 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to provide a methodological platform for the exploration of the contemporary phenomenon of ASB in tourism. This study focuses on the social interaction between UK leisure tourists and hosts in a foreign destination – Andalucia, Spain.

Phenomenology is the primary influence on the interpretivist philosophy in this study, underpinned by the belief that reality is socially, rather than objectively constructed. In line with the aforementioned stance taken, a qualitative approach to ASB in tourism, as opposed to a quantitative one, is considered appropriate.

A case study approach in Andalucia, Spain, was justified. This strategy involves an *'empirical investigation of a particular phenomenon within its real-life context using*

multiple sources of evidence' (Robson, 2002:178; Yin, 20013:13). What characterises a case study is the unit of analysis: in this case the individual, not the topic of investigation. This study of ASB in tourism could be a qualitative study of tourist-host experiences anywhere in the world. For it to be a case study there has to be one particular occurrence (a bounded system), selected because it was typical, unique, experimental or highly successful (Merriam, 2002). The ASB of UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain was considered typical.

Whilst it may be difficult to justify case-study research attempting to do so by applying the criteria of credibility for a positivist, hypothetico-deductive inquiry is not the answer. Considerations for standards of quality for this qualitative study are based around trustworthiness components being credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Hirschman, 1986; Miles & Huberman, 1994).

There are ranges of ethical issues concerning this study in particular role playing by the researcher, privacy for the informants and risk concerning the ASB. However, a great deal of consideration was given to minimising risks at each stage and these were considered successful.

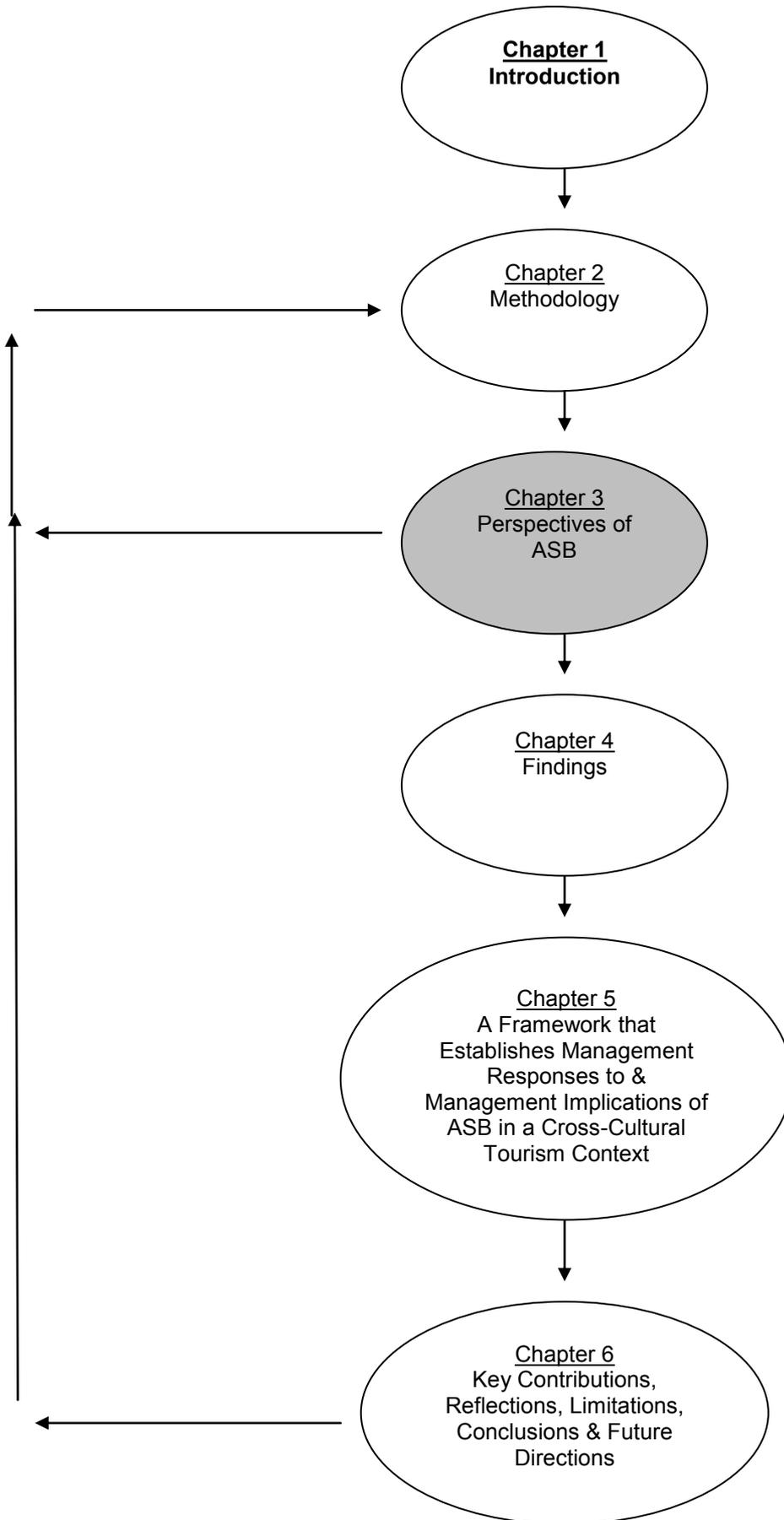
The way in which informants were selected reflects the underlying belief in this study that reality is a social construction and therefore knowledge is dependent on the actors. Because it is an exploratory study, informants were not selected as part of a statistically representative sample of the population. Informants or cases were selected on the basis of purposive sampling, in other words the researcher used her judgment to select cases that were best able to answer the research questions and meet the objectives (Saunders et al, 2003). As it was considered important that UK leisure informants represented a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds, gender, and age informants were mapped using the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising JICNARS (Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys) classification. It should be noted that although the JICNARS system has now been replaced by eight analytic classes numbered 1-8 (McDonald & Dunbar, 2004) the original format used for this study worked well.

The tools of data collection, or, as Arbnor and Bjerke (1997) prefer, the methodics, consist of observation, interviews and focus groups. Data was produced in the form of transcripts from the focus groups and interviews and observations resulted in field notes. There are three groups of informants; UK leisure tourists, hosts and stakeholders in businesses and organisations. All the methods used in this study were pre-tested in the UK to some extent before use as part of the process of building the tools. All three methods of data collection - observation, interviews, and focus groups, were revised and elaborated upon during the period of time spent in the field.

The strategy for analysing and interpreting the data is constructivist; which means that new theory is constructed from the meshing of data collection and theorising (Bryman & Burgess, 1994). The meshing of data, referred to as the constant comparative method (CCM), is a dominant principle of qualitative data analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Boeije, 2002).

Constant comparison, whilst being the primary constructivist method, does not have to work in isolation. Other methods have been incorporated. These are grounded theory, triangulation, sensitized concepts, thick description and maximising comparisons (discussed as the constant comparative method). Coding is a core activity, it is the key to constant comparison and theory generation and it begins the analysis. Three types of coding are discussed: open, axial and selective (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Coding provides the opportunity for the researcher at an early stage to generate an emergent set of categories and properties that fit. As an inductive analytic procedure, categorising supports the researcher in creating meaning from the data, not discovering it (Dey, 2006). The generation of theory then may be defined as a set of concepts and generalisations (Jorgensen, 1989) that are formed as a result of interpreting meanings.

Outline to Thesis



Chapter 3 – Perspectives of Anti-Social Behaviour

3.1 Introduction

This exploration of ASB is not intended to be a full exploration and debate of this phenomenon. Rather it is an attempt to understand ASB and how aspects of this contemporary social phenomenon in the UK could be related to ASB in tourism, specifically in Andalucia, Spain. The aim of this thesis is to identify, compare and evaluate types of ASB, reasons for ASB by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population, and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations and the subsequent response. In reviewing some aspects of the debate surrounding ASB in the UK there is an opportunity to ask questions and explore issues that may then support the exploration of ASB in tourism in Andalucia, Spain.

Following the extensive exploration of ASB in tourism the final objective of this study is to develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context, and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. If this aim is to be achieved then the theory must be reconciled with the more practical aspects of management of ASB in destinations through reflections on the various perspectives of ASB.

This chapter provides an opportunity to explore ASB from a theoretical and practical perspective, firstly from a general UK and Spanish perspective and then focusing on ASB in tourism. The starting point for this research is ASB in the UK because this is where the leisure tourists in this research case study come from and it is their behaviour on holiday in Andalucia, Spain, that is being explored. There is not an assumption that the behaviour of the UK resident is necessarily anti-social or that any behaviour that may be considered anti-social is then transferred to the destination.

3.2 ASB, Aims and Politics

Recently behaviour in modern society has come under scrutiny; people are asking whether we have declining standards of civility and whether incidences of bad behaviour are on the rise. At the same time they want to know whose fault it is and what to do with the disaffected teenagers and young adults who hide behind 'hoodies' and seemingly cause all sorts of alarm, harassment and distress (Manning et al, 2004). At the same time the media provides a continuous stream of editorial, discussion and debate that bolsters the high profile of this contemporary social phenomenon.

The interest in ASB has fuelled debate extending over a wide context, much of this debate focusing on the reasons for ASB. Whilst the wider context of ASB provides a relevant backdrop, only some of the issues will be directly linked to the ASB in tourism being explored in this study. However, it is important to illuminate the wider context of ASB so that a sound knowledge-based platform can be constructed.

3.3 ASB and Terminology in the UK

Without thinking about it too much, most people will associate ASB with, for example, alcohol-induced ASB, gangs of teenagers, bullying, vandalism, hoodies and other activities sometimes referred to as low-level criminal. But what does the term anti-social behaviour mean and what behaviour does it refer to?

Historically ASB is not a term that was used to describe those who eschewed the social rules of interaction. The term 'deviance' was, and is in some quarters, the preferred expression. Deviance is an older term, which has links to early psychological theories of crime. It was thought that deviance was the result of a specific psychological state whereby a person was inured to becoming a criminal or deviant (Giddens, 2001; Kitsuse, 1973). Burney (2005) points out that until 1997, when the Labour government adopted the term ASB, psychologists and criminologists used the term deviant to describe a certain personality type or a propensity for an individual to behave in particular way. Nowadays, the term deviant still has mental or psychological connotations, which may in part be a

reason why it is not widely used outside academic circles. Certainly the government does not use this term within its published ASB literature, and therefore neither does the media. Moreover, the police rarely use this term and if they do it is in the context of 'sexual deviance' and may reflect 'psychologists' assessments' (Johnson, 2007).

Giddens (2001) refers to deviance as being behaviour that is not necessarily sanctioned by law; it is behaviour that is different but not necessarily law breaking or even problematic. His description demonstrates that there has been a shift from the original meaning of deviance. It is now a broader term that reflects a diversity of non-conformism. The key difference between ASB and deviance is that the term ASB, unlike the term deviance, was never scientific or academic. It was and is a political label (Burney, 2005; Squires, 2008).

The term deviance, whilst appropriate and used extensively in the literature, is on the whole considered inappropriate in the context of this study. The use of the term deviance may link it to original theories of deviance. Furthermore, whilst deviance theories are well developed, ASB theory is not. For the purposes of this study, the term anti-social behaviour (ASB) will continue to be used as it is considered to have evolved from deviance studies and is concerned with a specific contemporary area of non-conformity. This is not to endorse ASB as an appropriate term per se; it is possible that a different term might be more suitable. Although the academic community prefers, from a sociological disciplinary perspective, to use the term deviance there is an argument for using a term that reflects behaviour that is not solely psychological in nature. This is particularly so when searching for practical solutions, as this study does, which are likely to be implemented by individuals from a variety of backgrounds.

In the context of this study ASB does not refer to the actions of someone who is introverted, or that indicates that someone is shy or has difficulty engaging with others in social situations. In addition it does not apply in this context to those people afflicted with a mental disorder known as anti-social personality disorder (Giddens, 2001).

At this stage it is important to note that the issue of 'football hooliganism' will not be part of this study although the term 'hooligan' may be relevant. Whilst 'football hooliganism' might be thought of as anti-social it is considered a separate social phenomenon because the behaviour is in relation to football rather than society as a whole (Sir Norman Chester Centre for Football Research, 2002). Government literature on anti-social behaviour in the UK does not usually incorporate football hooliganism but may use the term 'hooligan' albeit rarely.

There are a number of definitions, interpretations and responses emanating from key political and legal bodies; these include housing organisations, the government, police, councils, community organisations and other agencies. Each of these with their differing roles represents different perspectives of ASB within the public sector. As it was the Labour government that adopted the term ASB and launched high profile ASB initiatives, the public sector makes an ideal starting point.

3.4 ASB and Housing in the UK

Housing studies and ASB provide some insights into the origins of ASB, reasons why it occurs, attempts at definitions and management responses; however, these studies tend to concentrate on specific aspects of ASB and fail to provide details of any consultation with the service users (Moore & Lawrence, 1999).

In the UK industrialisation encouraged people to move en masse from the countryside to the towns and cities. As a result there were huge areas of slum housing (Papps, 1998). These slums were cleared and replaced with social housing, which was intended to eliminate the social problems within these communities (Papps, 1998). Initially the individuals causing trouble were referred to as deviants or delinquents. Whilst the term anti-social existed it was not used to any great extent until the 1990s when it was adopted by the new Labour government in 1997. In the 1970s the problems on housing estates became worse, badly affected estates were called 'sink estates' (National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO), 2003), and the types of behaviour emanating from them have continued to dominate political and public thinking ever

since (Papps, 1998). The term anti-social behaviour has become typically associated with these estates. Since then this researcher agrees with Burney (2008) who says that the perceived negative and arguably aggressive or criminal nature of ASB has fostered a myopic understanding of this social phenomenon. Initially in order to address these problems the Conservative Government introduced the Protection from Harassment Act 1997 (NACRO, 2003). The Labour Government, which came to power in 1997, took this phenomenon on board with a number of initiatives and legislation that, as we will see, focus on controlling behaviour that is considered to be anti-social.

An early definition for ASB is found in the Housing Act 1966:

'Conduct which is capable of causing nuisance or annoyance'.
(Together, 2005)

Another comes from Legg et al (1981:14) cited in Papps (1998:6):

'They are annoying but relatively minor events like children playing games in unauthorised areas; there are also the serious matters such as burglaries, muggings, and racial harassment. In between these two extremes there is a wide variety of types of vandalism ... and noise is a constant source of complaints in many areas'.

The definition from Legg et al is limited in that the types of behaviour are not comprehensive. The more serious matters appear to be criminal in nature; this would seem to imply that low-level criminal activity is anti-social and therefore ASB can be both criminal and non-criminal, or 'hard' and 'soft' ASB. However, there is likely to be a point at which the behaviour is interpreted as criminal in order to trigger punitive sanctions. At the time these sanctions might be ASBOs (anti-social behaviour orders). The impact is 'annoyance' which could be on any number of levels and is difficult to measure. Furthermore, 'unauthorised areas' suggests a built environment but ASB could as easily take place in a rural one. Whilst this definition attempts to label certain actions as anti-social and identifies two impacts, those of annoyance and complaints, it is incomplete.

Given the political nature of ASB the shift of this phenomenon from social housing estates to a general population level was part of a broader political response to it. Whilst there are numerous studies of social problems on different housing estates there are fewer on ASB within the general population. If the generalisation of ASB was politically rather than scientifically informed then the basis of this move and the responses employed might be considered questionable.

3.5 ASB and the Government

Since it is the last Labour Government that has focused on ASB it is here that more formal definitions are found in conjunction with a number of new laws. The legal definition of behaving in an anti-social manner is found in the Crime and Disorder Act (1998 cited in RDS, 2004a:2).

'Acting in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household'

This definition highlights the impacts on an individual but not what types of behaviour might be considered anti-social. The absence of specific indicators to determine what is and what is not anti-social could lead to some confusion. A more recent definition comes from the government home office website:

'Anti-social behaviour (ASB) includes a variety of behaviour covering a whole complex of selfish and unacceptable activity that can blight the quality of community life' (Home Office, 2008)

The implication here is that some individuals do not give any thought to others when engaged in anti-social activity. This is a key consideration in the current government strategy for tackling ASB. However, identifying selfish activity is both subjective and difficult to measure (Manning et al, 2004). The term 'unacceptable' could refer to any behaviour that is objected to in normal day-to-day social interaction. This makes the regulation of behaviour inherently difficult. Eccentric or distasteful does not mean anti-social (Manning et al, 2004). The impact is equally broad, referring as it does to 'quality of community life', a concept discussed in the

previous chapter. However, the idea of community provides some indication of who is being affected but not why.

In 2003 the Research, Development and Statistics Directorate (RDS) produced for the Home Office a 'one day count' of anti-social behaviour in England and Wales. This was carried out on Wednesday 10th December 2003 between 00.01 and 24.00 hrs (RDS, 2004a) (see Table 3.1). The aim of this study was to '*better understand how anti-social behaviour impacts on members of the public and on key service providers*' (RDS, 2004a: 10). The data from this report was aimed at setting out methods for defining and measuring anti-social behaviour at a local level. Members of the public were asked to report incidences of ASB to participating agencies. These agencies represented those in the public sector; police, fire service, local authorities and others through the Crime and Disorder Partnerships (CDRPs) and Community Safety Partnerships (CSPs).

Table 3.1 ASBU One Day Count of Reported Anti-Social Behaviour

Behaviours reported within the one-day count of ASB	Number of reports
Drug/substance misuse and drug dealing	2,920
Street drinking and begging	3,239
Prostitution, kerb crawling and other sexual acts	1,011
Vehicle-related nuisance and inappropriate vehicle use	7,782
Intimidation and harassment	5,415
Noise	5,374
Rowdy behaviour	5,339
Nuisance behaviour	7,660
Hoax calls	1,286
Animal-related problems	2,546
Abandoned vehicles	4,994
Criminal damage/vandalism	7,855
Litter/rubbish	10,686
TOTAL	66,107

(Source: Research, Development and Statistics Directorate, 2004a)

This report is probably one of the most comprehensive studies on types of ASB. The point is made within the report that to date very little work has been published on how anti-social behaviour can be defined and measured. In order to address this problem they suggest that although the original definition as contained in the

Crime and Disorder Act 1998 lacks precision this might allow for a broad range of activities to be included. However, these are not specified.

This one-day count provides, as the RDS reports, a snapshot. However, it is only over one day, and there are many variables which could have affected the result. These include double counting by agencies, not knowing the degree of annoyance, or who was making the complaints and where they came from (Burney, 2005). Furthermore, only those who wished to and knew how to report to the agencies did so.

These lists also fail to differentiate between major and minor ASB. The latter could arguably be said to affect more people and therefore be more of a problem because low-level ASB occurs frequently (Moore & Lawrence 2005). One noteworthy aspect is that the ASB reported can be assumed not to have been derived solely from social housing estates and therefore it may be concluded that ASB is not confined to these areas.

Categories of ASB were supplied as a guide to agencies beforehand and these were based on an existing table of ASB typology, shown in Table 3.2. Unfortunately this means that expectations regarding ASB were made explicit at the outset. Whilst these informants are UK residents rather than UK leisure tourists in a foreign destination, this data could be used to make comparisons in terms of types of behaviours. However, the usefulness of this report is limited due to its predetermined nature.

Table 3.1, the one-day count, shows that whilst litter and rubbish attract the highest number of reports, nuisance behaviour, criminal damage/vandalism, and vehicle-related nuisance all come fairly close. The nuisance behaviour figure is interesting because it represents some relatively nondescript acts which nevertheless could, over a period of time, become extremely distressing or annoying to other individuals. Suffice to say the repetitiveness of an act is an important issue in this debate. Whilst annoying when carried out once, an act is not necessarily bothersome, but if this builds up over a period of time then it may end up causing

distress to the victim(s). Preventing the repetition of unacceptable behaviour is a key motive of the government strategy towards ASB (Squires, 2008).

In addition to the one day count shown in Table 3.1 the RDS also collated a typology of ASB, shown in Table 3.2. This was based on ASB definitions in use, including those detailed in the Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships (CDRP) Audits (2001) or Strategies (2002). They also used definitions found in Home Office funded research and other government departments. The British Crime Survey (BCS) (2000) also provided additional material.

Table 3.2 categorises behaviour of UK residents; most are probably recognisable to the majority of people. These are not necessarily new forms of bad behaviour, nor do they appear to be overtly criminal. Many of these behaviours could be associated with a particular social class and especially with young males in deprived areas, a fact that is not a new concern (Squires, 2008). This table does not indicate who the perpetrators were; ages and socio-economic background, for example, might link behaviour and motivation. The report suggests that this may provide a useful starting point for assessing ASB in an area. However, since the reports were not consistent across areas it would seem to show that ASB is localised.

Together Table 3.1 and 3.2 provide some examples of what types of behaviour constitute ASB in the UK. Many of these appear to be general bad behaviour, they could be either 'soft' or 'hard' ASB depending on who is interpreting the behaviour, how it is done and what law may be being interpreted as broken. The categories are a mixture of impact in the form of environmental damage and acts directed at people or disregard for personal well being but in this case not the impact.

Armitage (2002) finds that some operational definitions of ASB are quite clear: if someone is shoplifting, for example, then this is clearly a criminal offence because stealing from shops is illegal. However, things become problematic when an act is

Table 3.2 RDS Typology of Anti-Social Behaviour

Misuse of public space	Disregard for community/personal well-being	Acts directed at people	Environmental damage
<p>Drug/substance misuse Taking drugs Sniffing volatile substances Discarding needles/drug paraphernalia</p> <p>Drug Dealing Crack houses Presence of dealers or users</p> <p>Street Drinking</p> <p>Begging</p> <p>Prostitution Soliciting Cards in phone boxes Discarded condoms</p> <p>Kerb crawling Loitering Pestering residents</p> <p>Illegal Campsites</p> <p>Sexual acts Inappropriate sexual conduct Indecent exposure</p> <p>Vehicle-related nuisance Inconvenient / illegal parking Car repairs on the street / in gardens Abandoning cars</p>	<p>Noise Noisy neighbours Noisy cars/motorbikes Loud music Alarms (persistent ringing/malfunction) Noise from pubs/clubs Noise from business/industry</p> <p>Rowdy behaviour Shouting and swearing Fighting Drunken behaviour Hooliganism/loutish behaviour</p> <p>Nuisance behaviour Urinating in public Setting fires (not directed at specific persons or property) Inappropriate use of fireworks Throwing missiles Climbing on buildings Impeding access to communal areas Games in restricted/inappropriate areas Misuse of air guns Letting down tyres</p> <p>Hoax calls False calls to emergency services</p> <p>Inappropriate vehicle use Joyriding Racing cars Off road motorcycling Cycling/skateboarding in pedestrian areas/footpaths</p> <p>Animal related problems Uncontrolled animals Dog fouling</p>	<p>Intimidation/harassment Groups or individuals making threats Verbal abuse Bullying Following people Pestering people Voyeurism Sending nasty/offensive letters Obscene/nuisance phone calls Menacing gestures</p> <p>Can be on the grounds of: Race Sexual orientation Gender Religion Disability Age</p>	<p>Criminal damage/vandalism Graffiti Damage to bus shelters Damage to phone kiosks Damage to street furniture Damage to buildings Damage to trees/plants/hedges</p> <p>Litter/rubbish Dropping litter Dumping rubbish Fly-tipping Fly-posting</p>

(Source : Research Development and Statistics Directorate, 2004a)

more obscure, for example, making a noise or throwing missiles. Then we need to know more about the context, who was making the noise, what was the level of

nuisance, over what period and so on. Now it is easier to understand where the subjectivity for the interpretation of ASB comes in and what might move the act from non-criminal 'soft' ASB to criminal 'hard' ASB. The quality of this type of data collection could be affected if geographical and temporal considerations are factored in. This makes understanding ASB more complex.

3.6 Reasons for ASB in the UK

The government is careful to point out that the factors identified as the reasons for ASB in the UK in Table 3.3 do not cause anti-social behaviour but that they do increase the risk of it happening. However, there may be other reasons that also increase the risk of it happening. If for example, there is little investment in a neglected area and the individuals within them then, it is possible that the area will attract crime and vandalism. Therefore, although they do not actually cause ASB they do provide the circumstances for it to arise.

The risk factors outlined in Table 3.3 may be symptomatic of a deeper and wider social malaise in the UK. This was something that the Labour government headed by Tony Blair seemed to want to address. Interestingly there is an acknowledgement that weak aspects of community life may be a contributing factor. Aspects described as disorganisation and neglect in Table 3.3 are not clear. The idea of a community having problems may, however, have more relevance precisely because it refers to a community rather than to the general population. Some of the risk factors in table 3.3 may be reflected to some extent in the behaviour of UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain for example, drugs and alcohol.

Some authors such as Downes and Rock, (2007), Burney, (2007) and Nixon and Hunter, (2004) believe that Tony Blair, in trying to address social problems in the UK, was influenced by the writings of Etzioni (1995). He wrote about the moral decline in society and what could be done to reverse this. In simple terms Etzioni promotes a strategy of civic renewal, whereby responsibilities and rights go hand in hand and carry with them a belief that citizens should take responsibility for their

communities; the tool for addressing moral decline was, he suggested, increasing social capital.

Table 3.3 Reasons for ASB in the UK

<p>Family environment – risk factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor parental discipline and supervision • Family conflict (between parents or between parents and children) • Family history of problem behaviour • Parental involvement/attitudes condoning problem behaviour
<p>Schooling and educational attainment – risk factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aggressive behaviour (e.g. bullying) • Lack of commitment to school • School disorganisation • School exclusion and truancy patterns • Low achievement at school
<p>Community life / accommodation / employment – risk factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community disorganisation and neglect • The availability of drugs and alcohol • Lack of neighbourhood attachment • Growing up in a deprived area within low income families, high rates of unemployment and a high turnover of population • Areas where there are high levels of vandalism
<p>Personal and individual factors – risk factors include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Alienation and lack of social commitment • Early involvement in problem behaviour • Attitudes that condone problem behaviour • For young people, a high proportion of unsupervised time spent with peers and friends or peers involved in problem behaviour • Mental illness • Early involvement in the use of illegal drugs and crime

(Source: Home Office, 2008)

Social capital arises from relationships between individuals, families, groups, or communities that provide access to valuable benefits and/or resources (Turner, 2006). Other types of capital are human, cultural and even spiritual (Zohar & Marshall, 2004). The central tenet of this theory is that in developing relationships individuals will take more responsibility for communities and by association for ASB. This is a complex area of sociology with different theoretical orientations and subsequent debate. Of note however, is a comment made by Etzioni (1997:4) in which he argues that a *‘good society requires a carefully maintained equilibrium of order and autonomy, rather than the maximization of either’*.

Positive outcomes might not be achieved simply by increasing social capital. This is because negative social capital can be developed through criminal activities (Aldridge and Halpern, 2002) that put the improved facility for networking and self-regulation to their advantage. It is possible for criminal behaviour to exist both between the public and private sector and within them. A prime example of this was in the resort of Marbella, Spain, where in 2006 twenty-three people including the mayor, officials and businessmen were arrested for developing land in an undesignated zone (BBC News, 2007b). This demonstrates the dilemma facing those who advocate decentralisation and higher levels of community involvement in social control: how to empower local communities without also empowering those groups who commit ASB at any level.

The use of one strategy to address different problems in a variety of social groups is dubious. Moreover, the implementation of coercion with the most reluctant (who are often, but not always, from a specific social group) is confusing. A push strategy that aims to increase social capital may work well when selling certain products but when it is aimed at complex social events then it is questionable. In the attempt to control this process rather than manage it, the response to change has become one-dimensional. Squires (2008) says it will be difficult for ASB to be transformed because it is instilled in the minds of the public and there are many laws and agencies set up to deal specifically with it.

In 2010 the Labour government lost the election and were replaced by the Conservative Liberal Democrat coalition. Whether their approach to ASB echoes much of the previous administration's policies remains to be seen. There is however a new definition of ASB in place; *'antisocial behaviour is any aggressive, intimidating or destructive activity that damages or destroys another person's quality of life'* (Home Office, 2010). This definition is similar to the previous but focuses on the individual rather than the community. The new home secretary has announced that anti-social behaviour is core business (Home Office, 2010) and has suggested that ASBOS will be discontinued (BBC, 2010). Russell (2010) writing in The Times pre-election criticised the Labour Government saying that it has developed a centralised, rule-bound, controlling state, and a culture where people have been consistently disempowered. A new report by HMIC (2010) says

that change where ASB is concerned is not optional, there are two ways forward. Firstly to identify what works best in terms of police and partnership action but concludes that this is damage limitation. The second is an early intervention strategy which refocuses attention on what causes harm in communities regardless of whether it is a crime or not. This is a more promising approach. Will the new government with its ideas of the Big Society where individuals become more empowered be able to improve on the efforts of the last government?

3.7 ASB and Views of Other Agencies

There are a number of community-based organisations that have their own understanding of ASB but not necessarily a definition. Some like NACRO will work in partnership with the government to provide research. In a report written by Armitage (2002) on tackling anti-social behaviour NACRO explain why it is problematic to define anti-social behaviour. NACRO believe that the definition used within the crime and disorder act 1998 focuses on the consequences of ASB rather than on the actions, which, it argues, leads to different forms of interpretation. As a result NACRO do not offer a definition.

The NCH (2006) children's charity acknowledges the legal definition of ASB as set out in the Crime and Disorder Act (1998). However they also say that it is complex and covers many activities. Furthermore, they argue that the approach so far has been populist and simplistic, merely skimming the surface of a complex web of issues. They also suggest that enforcement rather than prevention has been over-emphasized.

The homeless charity Shelter (2008) does not offer a definition of ASB. They say they support tough measures to protect communities but that they are opposed to policies that not only are ineffective at resolving anti-social behaviour, but, in the process, also exacerbate homelessness. Their view is that a more balanced approach is required to address the complex and deep-rooted causes of ASB.

Both these charities convey the need for an in depth and balanced approach. Government campaigns to address ASB are at odds with the agencies because

responses are not considered balanced. The question is, what responses might be considered more appropriate?

3.8 ASB and the Public

Where does this leave the public? How do they perceive ASB, the reasons for it and the controls in place? Millie et al (2005) carried out a study of people's views on the causes of ASB and from this they were able to identify three main narratives. The first was that there was a social and moral decline. The second pointed to disengaged youths and families. The third was that youths had always behaved in this way; it was the context that was changing and people were getting more upset. These categories serve to highlight the focus of ASB that is so predominant in the government literature, that of families and youths. Not all ASB emanates from these specific social groups and the reasons for it may also be different.

Much of the impetus for public perceptions can be attributed to the media through which the government communicates. Individuals may have experience of ASB but Burney (2005) argues that there are already laws to deal with this mostly criminal behaviour. When the term ASB became widely used it was then easily applied to any situation, even those which were merely irritating. This creates a problem in itself: constant exposure to negative reports about behaviour can lead people to believe that society is falling apart (Burney, 2005), and, as already noted, they may become fearful.

Definitions of ASB by the public typically differ from the formal 1998 Crime and Disorder Act; they include the usual ASB, but also minor disorder and quality of life issues. These definitions include a wide variety of different forms of behaviour ranging from noise and unkempt gardens to using and selling drugs, prostitution and racist harassment (RDS, 2004a). Moore and Lawrence (2005) argue that persistent low-level nuisance could affect more people and therefore constitute a greater problem. It may be that some of these minor disorder and quality of life issues were previously addressed at a community level but now are not.

Perceptions of the motives for ASB were recorded as part of the British Crime Survey 2002/03 (RDS, 2004b). Table 3.4 lists some types of behaviour that are considered anti-social by the public. Perceptions listed in Table 3.4 do indicate that the motive was perceived as deliberate across the range whether it was simply to annoy or, indeed, frighten.

For individuals to perceive that all ASB was deliberate and negative would indicate that they might have personally experienced this behaviour. Perhaps the most relevant to the UK leisure tourist in Andalucia, Spain, is that of the perception of individuals in affluent areas who, as with the motive for 'stranger incidents', cite drunkenness as well as to get money from them as the most likely motives.

Table 3.4 Perceptions of the Motives for ASB

The most common motive for insulting, pestering and intimidating behaviour for respondents in the 2002/03 BCS in all areas was to embarrass, humiliate or annoy them (26%). However, those in council estates and low-income areas were more likely to feel the behaviour was designed to frighten them than those in affluent urban areas (21% vs. 14%).
People in affluent urban areas were more likely to perceive these incidents were the result of drunkenness and to get money (23% and 17%) than respondents in council estates and low income areas (14% and 9%).
The perceived motive varied depending on whether the offender was known to the victim. The perceived motive was more likely to be to embarrass, humiliate or annoy when there was some level of familiarity with the offender (35% of incidents where the offender was well known vs. 21% of stranger incidents).
Drunkenness was more frequently mentioned as a motive for stranger incidents (21% for strangers vs. 5% for known casually).
To frighten was most frequently mentioned as a motive for stranger incidents (31% vs. 14% of stranger incidents).
The offender was more likely to be a stranger in affluent urban areas than in low-income and council areas (69% vs. 51%).

(Source: RDS, 2004b)

3.9 ASB around the World

In other countries around the world it is likely that the acts described as anti-social in the UK by residents are similar to those which might be considered anti-social in other countries. See Table 4.5 that shows categories of ASB compiled from a Europe wide survey (ADT, 2006). It is equally likely that the reasons for it and its management will be similar but that the terminology used to define this behaviour

may be different. This said, it is quite possible that the use of the term ASB could spread, as other countries are able to identify with the phenomenon. In Europe, where there are attempts to homogenise aspects of law, this may be especially true. However, it may not always be possible to translate the term effectively from one language to another. Moreover, the meaning of the ASB phenomenon may undergo metamorphosis to reflect national perceptions and culture.

In 2006 ADT Fire and Security carried out research into ASB across Europe. This was in the form of a survey of the perceptions that individuals have of ASB. This survey is likely to represent the concept of ASB more closely because it was not pre-determined or influenced by government agencies. The categories of behaviours of concern that emerged are shown in Table 3.5. These reflect some of those in the RDS Typology of ASB in Table 3.2.

Table 3.5 Behaviours of Concern

1. Vandalism	70%
2. Rowdy behaviour	59%
3. Disrespectful behaviour	58%
4. Bullying	36%
5. Street drinking	24%
6. Noisy neighbours	17%
7. Graffiti	17%

(Source: ADT, 2006:0)

The concerns are mainly about non-criminal behaviours, although it is possible to see why some of these behaviours might become criminal. Vandalism is broadly a criminal offence. Graffiti is more interesting, because the younger generation are seemingly more accepting of this than the older generation, indicating a change in attitudes. That a survey was possible recognises that ASB as it exists in the UK also exists in other European countries. The ADT (2006) report says that the extent to which ASB is governed by law in other countries varies on a national and regional basis. ADT (2006:8) defined ASB as follows:

'... minor criminal activity such as vandalism and graffiti and unpleasant or inappropriate behaviour (e.g. street drinking, bullying and noisy neighbours). The definition did not include significant criminal activity (e.g. theft).'

These were simply perceptions that were measured, but perceptions can be influenced by actual experience and/or the media and, indeed, by gender and age. Each country will perceive a particular aspect of ASB as being worthy of more concern than others.

Site specific areas for anti-social behaviour differ between countries but again are recognisable; it is interesting to note in Table 3.6 that Britain and Spain have the same site specific areas – those in and around bars, nightclubs and pubs – and an almost equal risk factor.

Table 3.6 The Location of Greatest Risk for Each Country

1. France – on residential housing estates/suburbs.	80%
2. Germany – at transport termini (bus stations etc).	83%
3. Great Britain – in and around bars, nightclubs, pubs.	80%
4. Italy – on residential housing estates/suburbs.	64%
5. The Netherlands – in shopping areas.	72%
6. Spain – in and around bars, nightclubs, pubs.	81%

(Source: ADT, 2006:11)

Table 3.7 lists the main contributory factors to the problem of ASB in Europe. This shows a lack of discipline at home and school as the perceived primary reason and reflects the observation that parents are not in some cases controlling the behaviour of their children. Other contributory factors are recognisable but they seem to be outcomes rather than contributory factors of ASB. The order of importance in which each country might place them differs; Britain has alcohol in second place, in Spain they think drugs are a secondary problem, and in France cultural and social tensions are seen as secondary.

In Australia, where they are quite likely to be influenced by other western strategies, similar reports regarding ASB appear in the media. The terminology is the same; ASBOs for example, exist as part of a 'Social Order Crime Reduction Strategy'. Anti-social behaviours identified are familiar; offensive noise from car sound systems, camping in cars, drinking alcohol in public places (ABC News Online, 2007; Geelong Media Release, 2006). A limited search of the internet reveals ASB terminology, ASBOs, and a new Social Order Crime Reduction

Strategy as a tough new approach to ASB in Australia (ABC News Online, 2007; Geelong Australia, 2006; Penrith City Council, 2007). Downes and Rock (2007) place the position taken by Britain between the USA on one extreme with zero tolerance and European countries such as France, Italy and Spain.

Table 3.7 What Contributes to the Problem of ASB in Europe

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Lack of discipline• Alcohol• Cultural/Social tensions• Lack of role models• Illegal drug use• Unemployment• Violent entertainment

(Source: ADT, 2006:13)

3.10 ASB and the Media

ASB in the media is covered from a number of different perspectives. These may be concerned with the latest news on government initiatives, the Respect Action Plan for example (BBC News, 2006). There is a regular flow of editorial on the effectiveness of this and other initiatives, aimed quite often at specific groups, for example, single mothers, problem families and youth. The media therefore provides a reliable and up-to-date window of opinion on the concept of ASB.

Articles tend to either highlight specific aspects of behaviour and outcomes or move swiftly to making criticisms with little more than passing reference to why it happens. One example is an article in the Observer Magazine, 'The banned play on' (France, 2007), where the lives of some individuals on estates are followed and the negative impact that ASBOs have had over their lives is discussed.

Much that is written about ASB focuses on incidents that have occurred, quite often involving teenagers, estates, and the resulting fear (BBC, 2007a). The government campaign to make individuals, and particularly youth, behave better could be quite alarming to the individuals themselves. Moreover, this can be compounded when the media also targets youth with emotive headlines that can only serve to alienate

them further by frightening everyone else. Behr (2007) reflects on this. He argues that behaviour considered anti-social is often merely rudeness, and he goes on to say that the best word for the problem is incivility.

3.11 Anti-Social Behaviour in Spain

The ADT (2006) study of ASB in other European countries indicates that this phenomenon is recognised in Spain, not necessarily because the behaviour in question is new but because the context has changed. An on-line survey concerning primarily perceptions, which are formed through experience and the media, was carried out. This informs us that the Spanish see themselves as having the worst problem with ASB in Europe (ADT, 2006). However, this may not actually be the case (ADT, 2006). They, like other countries, will be influenced by a number of social influences but it is the nature and scale of these that will vary (ADT, 2006). As in the UK the ADT report highlights the concern regarding levels of civility in Spain. The perception of incivility by the Spanish may be a reflection of the move away from formal and informal regulations strongly backed by the Catholic Church (Grad, 2006). It is worth considering that these extreme perceptions may be a result of the higher expectations associated with conformity to traditions and social norms associated with the Catholic Church (Barke, 1999; Grad, 2006).

Before advancing any further it is important to note that the term ASB is not widely used outside the UK (Squires, 2008). The researcher of this study discussed for clarity the concept of ASB with a group of Spanish students in the summer of 2007. These students, whilst familiar with specific acts such as vandalism (*vandalismo*) and graffiti (*pintada*), were not aware of a translation of the ASB term or what behaviour it might refer to. It is an anglicised term that does not always translate.

With reference to ASB in Spain, it is noteworthy that there is no dedicated government website for this phenomenon, as there is in the UK, and therefore there is no specific strategy, unlike in the UK, where the government has introduced its Respect Action Plan.

The 17 autonomous governments in Spain have to some extent, depending on the level of the crime, different approaches to certain behaviours; these are regulated through local by-laws because regions can organise their own institutions, territory, and financial activities (Cabrero, 2005). This is reflected in the laws on drinking. A relatively new phenomenon called the 'bottellon' (big bottle) where large groups of young people gather in public places to drink, listen to music and talk has been the subject of considerable controversy (BBC News, 2002, Furriol, 2002). These groups can number into the hundreds and sometimes, but more rarely, thousands, and many regions have banned it (Mateo-Yanguas, 2009). In Andalucia older adults have in many areas organised protests and demanded help from the town hall. However, rather than call for a ban, they want suitable areas for young people to gather and carry on their late-night customs without bothering anyone (Andalucia.com, 2008). This suggests a more tolerant attitude towards youth and a proactive involvement by the local community.

In Spain there are three levels of police force: the Civil Guard (Guardia Civil), the National Police (Policia Nacional), and the Municipal Police. In addition, some regions like Catalonia and Basque have their own police forces. It is the Municipal Police who address low-level criminal behaviour such as traffic violations, protection of property, civil disturbances (that will cover the unauthorised 'botellon') and they enforce municipal laws (Hampshire, 2003).

In resort areas they will deal with drunken tourists, and can impose on-the-spot fines for a number of offences. Other more serious criminal offences in large towns are controlled by the National Police. These are more likely to include theft, rape, muggings and the control of crowds (Hampshire, 2003). In the UK there was not such a distinction between national and local police until recently when community support police were introduced, but their powers are much more limited than those of the local police in Spain. However, in the UK what the community officers may or may not do does vary depending on the force (Home Office, 2006c).

The majority of Spanish feel that 14-17 year olds are associated with ASB and, as previously discussed, parents are held largely responsible for the control of ASB. Older people feel this more strongly (ADT, 2006), which is not surprising given that

this generation would have been more affected by the Francoist drive for tradition in families (Grad, 2006). This points to the deeper effects of social changes and gaps between generations.

Barcelona, a large city in the region of Catalonia in the North of Spain, introduced a new by-law in December 2006. This new law, the first of its kind, is called 'L'ordenanca de convivencia' or 'order of cohabitation'. It targets the anti-social behaviour of both residents and tourists and aims to promote 'peaceful co-existence' (Barcelona City Council, 2006). It is interesting to note that this law is translated from Spanish to English as 'anti-social'. ASB does not exist as a specific phenomenon in Spain, but the behaviour it covers is clearly very similar to that in the UK, as Table 3.8 shows.

Table 3.8 The Barcelona By-Laws

Graffiti	Conduct of those begging for money	Offences against rights of the individual
Prostitution; offer and demand	Posters, stickers and leaflets	Gambling on the street
Games in public areas	Noise pollution	Use of beaches and parks
Unlicensed street traders	Inappropriate use of public areas	Physiological needs
Vandalism	Drinking alcohol	Other activities

(Source : Barcelona City Council, 2006)

Specific types of behaviour are referred to although some categories such as 'offences against the rights of the individual' and 'other activities' appear to allow for some flexibility and therefore subjectivity in determining what might constitute an offence. There is a mixture of soft and hard anti-social behaviour, as there is in the UK. Types of behaviour will be dependent to some extent on the location. Near Barcelona there are beaches and therefore the groups of people there will include both foreign and national tourists, and hosts.

The council reports that *'the text of the by-law will be updated every two years, to cover situations as they arise. In the text, behaviour is not qualified as being good or bad, nor is there any attempt to make moral judgments. What it attempts to*

cover is behaviour that may generate problems and conflicts in public places' (Barcelona City Council, 2006). At present, the region of Andalucia does not appear to have followed suit but this may come in the future. It seems by-laws are used in Spain to a far greater extent to control unacceptable behaviour than they are in the UK.

The media in Spain, like those in the UK, often publish stories involving youth. In the Malaga daily newspaper (Malaga Hoy), uncivil conduct by young people was being targeted at the time of field research, specifically vandalism and anti-social comportment. Here, then, the term exists within the context of youth (Malaga Hoy, 2005). Spanish media also publish stories about tourists, often about those who have caused trouble by being drunk. In Sucesos, a daily in the Costa Brava, a report told of eight British and Irish tourists between the ages of 27 and 37 being arrested for being drunk and causing damage in a nightclub (Sucesos, 2006). There is a difference between the Spanish and British in terms of age when it comes to drunken behaviour. For the British it is not just youth that are considered responsible but older groups. Whereas in Spain it is Spanish youth, that is to say sometimes very young people (in the case of the 'botellon' drinking parties 12 years of age), that are mostly linked with alcohol and bad conduct. There appears to be concern about young people and drinking in Spain, which is reflected both in the media and in reports such as the one carried out by ADT (2006).

Table 3.9 presents a summary of the different perspectives of ASB in the UK and in tourism in Spain. To a great extent ASB in Spain is perceived now as it used to be in the UK before the introduction of the term ASB by the Labour government. It is clear that social changes have prompted a general debate and in the UK a more profound reaction regarding unacceptable behaviour particularly where it concerns a particular class of youth and especially males (Squires, 2008). This debate provides a valuable starting point for exploring ASB in tourism which to date has remained largely within the area of criminality.

Table 3.9 Perspectives of ASB in the UK and in Tourism (Spain)

ASB in the UK	Tourism and ASB in Spain
Unacceptable behaviour – contemporary social phenomenon	Unacceptable behaviour – contemporary social phenomenon
Blamed on decline in moral standards	Blamed on decline in moral standards
Labour Government adopted the term ASB in 1991 Political, not a scientific term	UK media use this term in reference to UK leisure tourists Political, not a scientific term
Roots in social housing estates	Roots in social housing estates in home culture
Definition created but is not behaviour specific	No definition in the literature, definition has been proposed in this study
Largely drunk and disorderly, formerly deviant behaviour	Largely drunk and disorderly, formerly deviant behaviour. Gaps in the literature demonstrate lack of knowledge of ASB that is not alcohol related.
Can be criminal 'hard' ASB or non-criminal 'soft' ASB	Can be criminal 'hard' ASB or non-criminal 'soft' ASB
Is dependent on interpretation largely by government agencies	Is dependent on interpretation in a cross-cultural context by government agencies and hosts
Special government task force – covered extensively in the media	No special task force – term not generally used and not covered extensively in Spanish media
Reasons linked to poverty and social housing estates	Reasons not linked to poverty and social housing estates but to ignoring, opposing or not knowing rules of behaviour
Usually but not always young adults	Usually but not always young adults
Blame is on parents and lack of discipline	Blame is on parents and lack of discipline – UK culture
Police intervention Fines, new laws and legal sanctions	Police intervention and fines; legal sanctions through local by-laws.
Public encouraged to report to official agencies Public encouraged not to become involved	Hosts report but largely ignored Hosts often do become involved in addressing ASB
Soft ASB often ignored – hard to interpret and is reliant on number of times and level of distress.	Soft ASB often ignored – hard to interpret and is reliant on number of times and level of distress.
Studies are largely quantitative and prescriptive resulting in more government initiatives	In tourism, studies often do not refer to broader context, are largely theoretical and may not acknowledge the importance of the socio-cultural dimension
Confusion in interpretation has led to local interpretations by government agencies and police	Visitor management techniques related to park and heritage (environmental, not to tourist resorts and socio-cultural)

(Source: author. Based on: Burney, 2005; Carr, 2002; Home Office, 2008; Hughes, 2008; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Page, 2007; Papps, 1998; Squires, 2008)

3.12 ASB in Tourism

Tourism is a multifaceted concept that has been approached from many disciplinary perspectives. The broad and interdisciplinary context of this study reflects the need for a humanistic approach to exploring these phenomena. Figure 3.1 outlines the various academic fields that this study has reviewed in its search for meaning.

There are number of popular categories for tourism research; social and cultural, psychology and tourist behaviour, economics of tourism, resort development and planning, host-guest relationships, government and policy issues and destination image and marketing (Ma & Law, 2009). Those that are concerned with investigating tourist behaviour rarely consider tourist behaviour from an interactive processual perspective and as this behaviour exists in reality. Often researchers try to understand tourist behaviour by focusing on consumer behaviour (Wong & Lau, 2001) particularly satisfaction, however consumer behaviour studies, whilst important, are limited in their ability to consider the wider and deeper aspects of tourist behaviour.

This is an exploratory study of the contemporary phenomenon of ASB in tourism. Identifying the key sociological aspects is the primary concern, acknowledging the links to the psychological is secondary. The most relevant disciplinary bridge between these two areas is that of social psychology. Social psychology seeks to understand how people think and interact and why (Baron & Bryne, 1991). When exploring the context of ASB in tourism and asking what are the reasons for ASB, it would seem appropriate to consider the conditions that influence behaviour. There are of course many variables but these can be categorised into four main areas; cognitive processes, characteristics of people in the environment, influences of the physical environment and the cultural context of where the behaviour and thought takes place (Baron & Bryne, 1991). Cognitive processes are linked with psychology. Attempting to understand ASB in tourism from a psychological

perspective moves the exploration to an individual level. The last three areas have a more pronounced role in this study.

3.13 What is ASB in Tourism?

When ASB in tourism is identified it is most likely to be that which is associated with young people, alcohol-related incidents, and, often, violence (Hughes, 2008). This is possibly influenced by media coverage both in the UK and in Spain. Frequently this type of ASB is linked to young adults, the 18-30s who travel to popular European destinations where they can meet like-minded tourists and, through the consumption of alcohol, may behave in an anti-social manner. If this behaviour is licentious, mainstream media often report it. Examples of these media reports in 2008 are contained in Table 3.10 Tourism and Alcohol in the Media. Some of the most prominent resorts for the alcohol-related ASB of tourists at present in the EU are Magaluf in Mallorca, Ayia Napa in Cyprus, Playa del Ingles in Tenerife, San Antonio in Ibiza, Mykonos in Greece, Malia in Crete, and, more recently due to cheap flights, Prague in the Czech Republic (Blackden, 2004, Club 18-30, 2008).

Notwithstanding the inadequacy of terminology employed to describe unacceptable behaviour in society, from this description it might be assumed that ASB in tourism as a social phenomenon does exist. This might indeed be the case if it were only drunk and disorderly behaviour which was generally considered to be unacceptable. However, there is a dilemma here because it must be assumed that alcohol related ASB exists at a point on a scale and is therefore surrounded by other examples of unacceptable behaviour. At this point this is not known. The literature review that follows exposes gaps in the knowledge base of soft ASB demonstrating why it is not known if soft ASB exists in tourism when it is not alcohol related

Figure 3.1 The Fields of Inquiry for ASB in Tourism

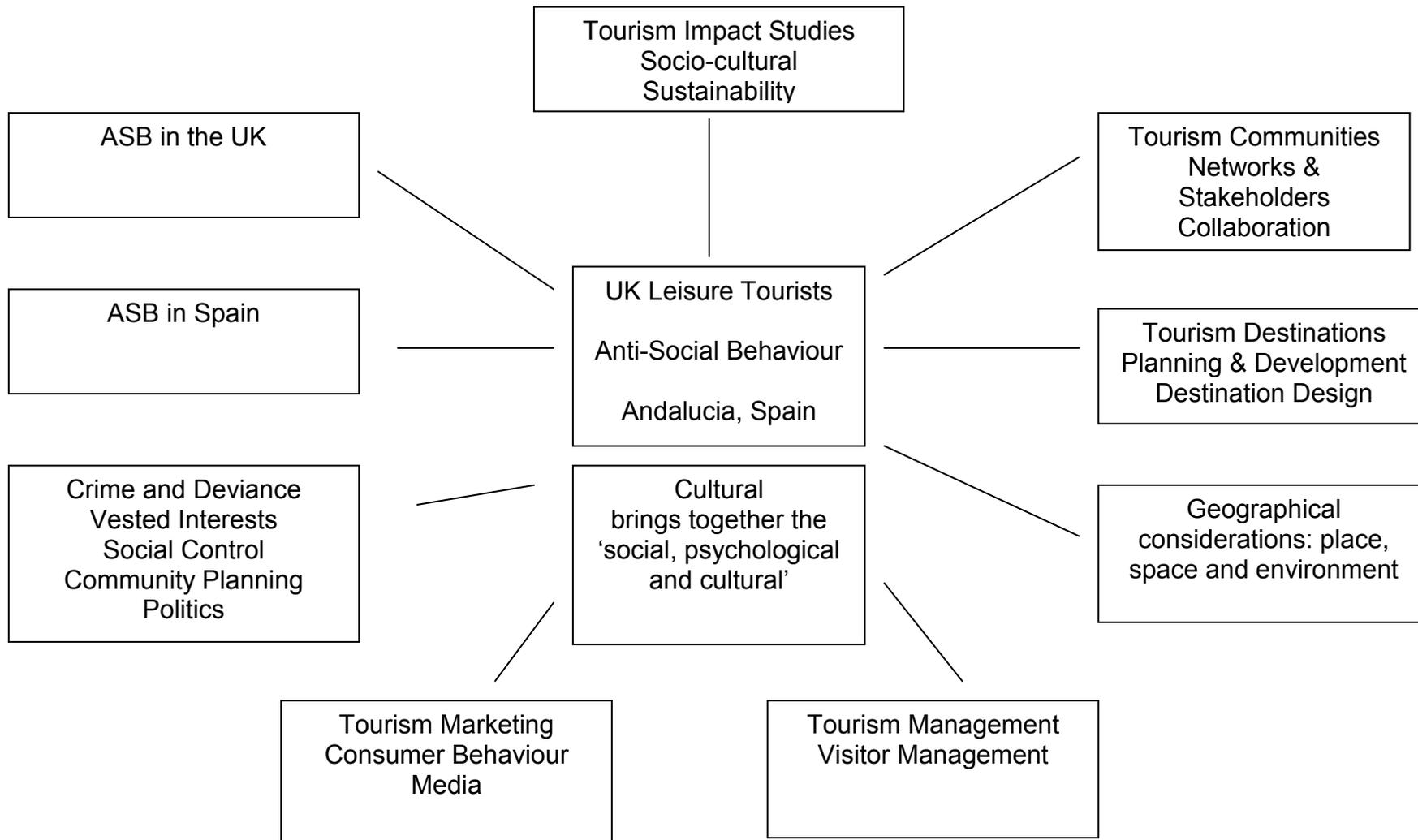


Table 3.10 Tourism and Alcohol in the Media

Philby, C. (2008) The Independent	Zante Bloody Zante
Massey, R. (2008) The Daily Mail	Shame of binge drinking Britons abroad
Smith, H. (2008) The Observer	Curse of the boozy Britons returns to Greek resorts
Worden, T. & Condron, S. (2008)	Drunken British students wreck Spanish resort
The Independent (2008)	Drunk and abusive Britons wreak havoc in Spain as 2,000 are jailed.

If ASB represents a continuum of behaviour as described above then it is possible to say that all behaviour has the potential to be anti-social because some actions may be interpreted as being anti-social by someone at some point. This discussion highlights the inherent fuzziness of the term ASB. Therefore, for the present and until there is some resolution, there is an underlying but uncomfortable assumption that anti-social behaviour does indeed exist in tourism. Unlike ASB in the UK, ASB in tourism is not defined possibly because the high profile of alcohol related ASB in the UK can easily be related to that exhibited by UK leisure tourists in overseas tourist destinations. Given the controversy surrounding the concept of ASB this is probably a good thing.

In this chapter it was decided that for the purposes of this study the term anti-social behaviour (ASB) would continue to be used. Moreover, there has already been some acknowledgement in this study that ASB does indeed exist. Having discussed ASB in the UK and in other countries it is considered helpful to define what it may constitute within the context of tourism. This not only provides some clarity regarding focus, but it also to a certain extent reflects the understanding of this phenomenon as it is presently understood within the context of this study. This may develop further, particularly in response to the primary research analysis that follows this chapter. At present a definition of ASB in tourism does not exist this author therefore, defines it as follows:

'Leisure tourist anti-social behaviour (ASB) includes a wide variety of activities by individuals or groups which affects the quality of lives of other tourists, the host

destination community and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations through lack of awareness and choosing to ignore and/or oppose the accepted social norms of the host majority population.'

Like the UK government definition this definition does not make explicit the types of behaviour that may be considered anti-social. This is because it is not clear at what point soft ASB can become considered criminal in nature. Rather than propose outcomes such as harassment, alarm or distress this definition makes it clear that quality of life can be affected, this is deliberately broad in nature because different people are affected in a variety of ways in different locations. Who is affected is important to consider particularly as this definition is specific in its application. Reasons for the ASB are proposed and again these are specific to this case study of ASB in tourism although it must be said they could apply in other circumstances.

3.14 Tourism and Crime

Although criminal or hard ASB in tourism by UK leisure tourists is not the subject of this study it cannot be assumed that it is criminal unless a breach has been made of a legal rule. For that to be ascertained the rules of that country have to be known both by the tourist and the researcher. This is not always evident, particularly where laws are flexible in interpretation, which means there is likely to be a grey area between criminal and non-criminal acts. Literature on crime in tourism often focuses on the effects of crime, which can include harassment, on the tourist or on tourism (Ajagunna, 2006; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Brunt & Shepherd, 2004; Levantis & Gani, 2000; Pizam, 1999).

Other studies highlight opportunities for and influences on deviant behaviour by the tourist (Brunt & Brophy, 2004), in this case within the home nation. Where crime is concerned, it is the host who is largely regarded as the perpetrator but in some circumstances the tourists themselves behave in extremely anti-social and criminal ways (Shaw & Williams, 1997). Pizam et al (1998) explored the relationship between tourism and crime, particularly tourism as reason for crime to

exist or at least become more common – a contentious issue that Brunt et al (2000) and Pizam believe to be true. A key topic area for criminology studies in tourism is sex tourism; prostitution, child prostitution and organised crime in tourist destinations. Although these are likely to be considered criminal and therefore discounted they should be mentioned because they exist as part of the ASB continuum.

Pizam's (1999) study is interesting because it is an attempt to classify acts of crime and violence at tourism destinations. The aim was to determine the effect of these acts on tourist demand, which is relevant to all stakeholders but particularly to hosts. English language newspapers, weekly magazines and professional tourism periodicals from a ten-year period were reviewed, 300 incidences of crime and violence were recorded, and a typology identified.

- Five attributes of the criminal/violent act, namely motive, victim, location, severity, and frequency.
- Three attributes of the effect, namely magnitude, expanse, and duration.
- Methods for prevention
- Parties responsible for prevention
- Methods for recovery and
- Parties responsible for recovery

The study presents a qualitative and humanistic approach to a problem in a destination at a deeper social level. Of the conclusions presented as propositions one appears to be particularly relevant to this study of soft ASB:

'the relationship between frequency of occurrence and the intensity, expanse and duration of the effect. All else being equal, acts occurring more frequently will have a more intense, widespread, and lengthy effect on tourism demand than those occurring less frequently' Pizam (1999:6)

A question that needs to be asked is 'what drives the frequency of these acts?' Although there may be differences in rules of social interaction at an individual

level, non-adherence to these are unlikely on their own to be the trigger for the behaviour to be registered as being anti-social. Other variables such as numbers of tourists or smaller groups of the same types of tourists in a small area concentrating the behaviour may have an impact, like the alcohol related incidences of the 18-30s.

3.15 Tourism, Alcohol and Drugs

Much of the literature that concerns tourists and alcohol/drugs is to be found within criminal tourism research for example, Botterill & Jones (2010) and Brunt & Brophy (2004). Industry literature such as Travel Weekly and Travel Trade Gazette regularly discuss concerns that events involving alcohol and drugs impact on the destination image. More recently anti-social behaviour at events in tourism communities has been the focus of a study by Deery and Jago (2010). At times local controls as management responses are discussed, as well as some of the behavioural aspects of UK leisure tourists. Media articles are more likely to be related to young adults, as is some academic literature, for example Bellis et al (2007); who examine the effects of backpacking holidays in Australia on alcohol, tobacco and drug use of UK residents.

Both Faliraki and Ayia Napa marketed as a haven for clubbers and a hedonistic retreat have had high profiles in the media for violence in the streets and licentious behaviour (Knox, 2009). A particularly prominent year was 2003 in which interest in the behaviour of British tourists was under scrutiny (Knox, 2009). The case of Faliraki in Greece demonstrates the scope of public and private sector responses over a period of time. The peak of Faliraki's reputation as a party destination was in 2003 when a young teenager died, another was jailed for bareing her breasts and five holiday reps were arrested for organising bar crawls (Guardian, 2003). Following a summer of *'drunkenness on a biblical scale. Like it or not, this is how people enjoy their holidays'* (Dymond, 2002), the mood changed. During 2003 Greek authorities started to crack down on unruly behaviour. The locals believed that the authorities had merely found the courage to stop looking the other way (Travel Weekly, 2003).

3.16 Impacts of Tourism and ASB

The most relevant theoretical area for literature on anti-social behaviour in tourism is tourism impact studies. Social-cultural impact studies are crucial for destinations attempting to understand the benefits and disadvantages of tourism (Deery, et al, 2010). Tourism impact studies accounted for 6% of all articles in twelve major tourism journals and the majority of these articles showed a predominance of quantitative methods (Ballantyne et al, 2009 Deery et al, 2010). New topics show a preference for quantitative methods which is surprising given that exploratory studies are needed in the early stages of a topic's development, a good example is this study (Ballantyne et al, 2009). Whilst these fields tend to be dominated by anthropologists there are examples of work by sociologists (Dann, 2000). Although social and cultural domains frequently overlap it is worth distinguishing their respective impacts (Sharpley, 1994). Social impacts relate to effects such as quality of life of both the tourists and host communities as health, moral behaviour, the family, gender roles, crime and religion. Cultural impacts comprise values, beliefs, practices, and include such features as dress, food and artefacts (Sharpley, 1994). Impacts that arise from change at a social-cultural level in tourism studies have often focused on tourism and tourists being a negative force across the impact spectrum (Aronsson, 2000; Harrison, 2007). Furthermore, this perspective is reinforced in sustainable tourism development literature. Sustainable tourism development, as a response to tourism impacts, is a dominant approach to the promotion, management and practice of tourism (Sharpley, 2000).

The concept of sustainability is concerned with managing a range of impacts. The use of the term 'sustainable' has become widespread across the world. It is described as '*development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*' (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987:8). When the broad ideals of sustainability are articulated it is possible to see that they encompass all aspects of the tourism impact spectrum;

'Sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations...Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic and social-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability' (WTO website, 2004).

The concept of sustainable development emerged primarily during the 1980s. It was not so much a paradigm shift as it was a strong consensus between a variety of individuals, communities and other organisations that were attracted by concerns for both social justice and ecological health (Middleton & Hawkins, 1998; Reid, 1995). The term is vague and ambiguous and offers little information about what sustainable development involves in practice (Reid, 1995). Debate over the usefulness of sustainable development, both as a term and as a practice, continues. Foster (2008) recently published a work entitled 'The Sustainability Mirage' in which he argues that the emphasis of future needs will always be under strain from those of the present resulting in moveable targets.

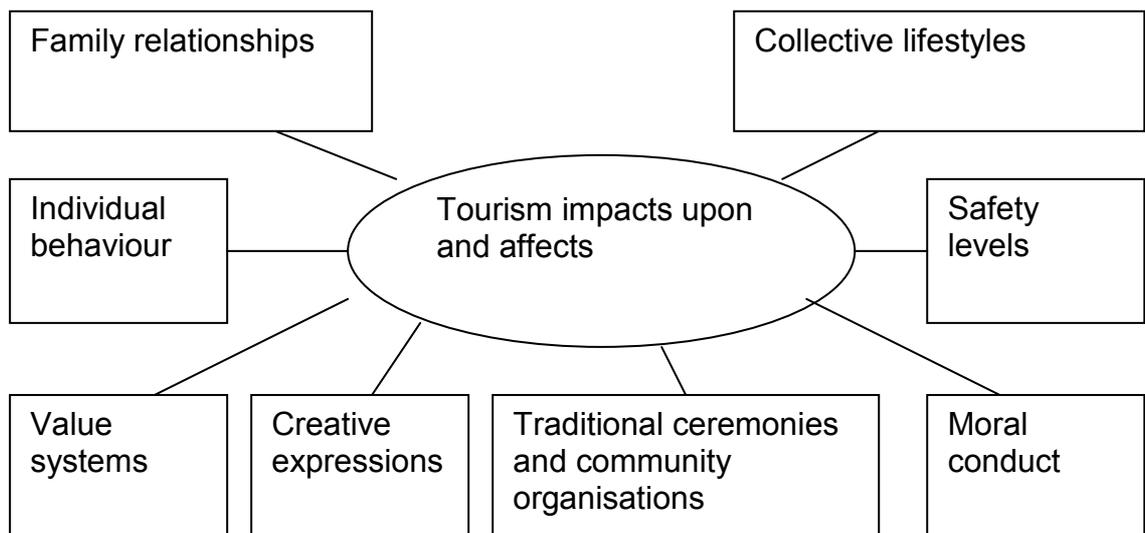
Tourism impact literature covers four areas: economic, political, social-cultural and environmental. These four impact areas are interlinked. Social-cultural impacts can arise from those that are physical and vice versa. For example, overcrowding of tourists at a site could lead to verbal abuse of staff by tourists, unease between tourists, resistance to re-visit and degradation of the site. It should also be noted that social and cultural areas of tourism are difficult to disentangle, often because there is insufficient research (Pearce, 1994). Of the four impact areas, social-cultural is the key area for exploring ASB in tourism. Negative social-cultural impacts may arise,

'when tourism brings about changes in value systems and behaviour and thereby threatens indigenous identity. Furthermore, changes often occur in community structure, family relationships, collective traditional lifestyles, ceremonies and morality... But as often happens when different cultures meet, socio-cultural impacts are ambiguous: the same objectively described impacts are seen as

beneficial by some groups, and are perceived as negative – or having negative aspects – by other stakeholders’ (UNEP.co.uk, 2008)

Figure 3.2 considers the various social and cultural impacts and effects of tourism on destinations. The impact is what happens and the effect is an outcome of the impact. This is related to the way in which the impact affects or induces change (Page, 2003). Individual behaviour may relate to both the tourist and the host. These impacts may not be negative. Furthermore, not all the impacts will exist in a destination, if at all, and those that do exist are likely to be across a range with some more visible than others. Moral conduct and value systems form the core of culture. Family relationships, collective lifestyles, creative expressions and traditional ceremonies are affected as a result of social and cultural impacts. These effects may be as a result of an adoption of behaviours by the host and to some extent by the tourist (see Burns, 1999). Fisher (2004) points out that tourists may well copy the behaviour of hosts.

Figure 3.2 The Social and Cultural Impact of Tourism



Page (2007:400)

According to Mathieson and Wall (1982) research on the social and cultural impacts of tourism falls into three different categories; first the tourist in terms of the demands they make for services, their motivations and consumer buying patterns. Second, the host, services they offer and the labour and organisation required to do so. Third, the tourist-host relationships, the nature and

consequences of these interactions. Gjerard (2005) adds a fourth, social-cultural impacts as perceived by the locals, which is a dimension of the last. This study falls into the category tourist-host relationships.

Although the main area of interest for this study are impact studies that relate to the tourist-host interaction and relationship, the categories above are interrelated and are linked to the broader context. This interrelation may also change the perspective of the social-cultural impacts, which could be psychological, economic or sociological. The relationships between tourists and local people are infinitely variable, with a variety of factors that may influence the way in which those relationships develop (Gjerard, 2005).

Social-cultural impacts as perceived by the locals are a popular research area (Deery & Jago, 2010; Pearce, 1994) and particularly relevant to this study because these assess resident reaction/attitudes and opinions to tourism at the local level (Williams & Lawson, 2001), (see Table 3.11). There is some criticism regarding the definition of attitudes (including perceptions and reactions). These are considered to be inconsistent across studies on social impacts (Deery et al, 2010).

There is a distinction to be made between tourist-host impacts (deriving directly from tourists' engagement with residents and vice versa) and tourism the phenomenon, influencing residents' attitudes and feelings (Pearce, 1994). It is quite possible that the way in which the tourist and host interact will be influenced by perceptions, so what is real and what is perceived are equally important.

Perceptions are more likely to be outcome-orientated, focusing on, for example, changes in community structure, acculturation, and quality of life either positively or negatively (Pearce, 1994). A search of tourist-host perception studies in impact literature reveals that of the research carried out much rests on case studies that are quantitative in nature. There is also a bias towards studies in undeveloped areas such as parks, heritage sites, islands, and indigenous communities, with particular emphasis on undeveloped countries.

Table 3.11 Social-Cultural Impact Studies: Tourist-Host Perspectives

Study Title	Research Approach	Researchers
Residents' Perceptions of the Socio-cultural Impact of Tourism in Mauritius.	Quantitative: Survey	Nunkoo, R. & Haywantee, R. (2005)
Socio-cultural Impacts of Tourism: A Case Study from Norway (residents' perceptions).	Qualitative: Grounded theory	Gjerald, O. (2005)
Perceived Social Impacts of Tourism by Residents in the OTOP Tourism Village, Thailand.	Quantitative: Questionnaires	Huttasin, N. (2008)
Community Issue and Resident Opinions of Tourism	Quantitative: Questionnaire	Williams, J. & Lawson, R. (2001)
Host Perceptions of Sociocultural Impacts	Qualitative: Framework method	Brunt, P. & Courtney, P. (1999)
Socio-demographic Impacts of Residential Tourism: a Case Study of Torrevieja, Spain	Quantitative Survey	Casado-Diaz, M.A. (1999)
Evaluating the Social-Cultural Carrying Capacity of Rural Tourism Communities: a value stretch approach	Quantitative Value stretch model	Mansfeld, Y. & Jones, A. (2005)

(Source: Author)

When studies are at an individual level they search for the effect of attributes of the individual (socio-demographic variables) that may influence attitude to or opinion on tourism in respect of age, income, community attachment, and economic dependence on/benefit from the industry (Williams & Lawson, 2001). Often the onus of responsibility is on the relationship between the host and the tourism industry rather than the extant relationship between the tourist and host, whilst at the same time acknowledging the context with its influences. In terms of the context the tourism industry forms part of this but not the whole. Since the context is a very broad area it is likely that what is and what is not important in terms of social-cultural impacts can only be accurately portrayed by those directly involved. Research on resident attitudes indicates that residents' opinions on tourism development within a community can vary greatly (Jamal & Getz, 1995).

Some studies, however, have interesting and relevant perspectives. McKercher et al (2008) carried out a study of how tourists are able to justify their behaviour at contested cultural heritage sites through an analysis of weblogs of people who climbed Uluru, Australia. The study revealed three types of climbers: those who reject the Aboriginality of the place; those with different value sets who see nothing inherently wrong with their actions; and a large group of people who are aware that their actions may be inappropriate and who, therefore, need to invoke some sort of neutralisation technique to rationalise their decision. The authors conclude that this last group is the one most likely to respond to demarketing activities. The study is interesting in that not only does it examine tourist behaviour as it exists in reality but, more importantly, it is also able to assess to a certain extent why the behaviour occurs. The three types of climbers reflect the thoughts of Matza (1964) whose views were discussed in chapter 3. He believed that delinquency was episodic and that the guilt felt when rules were knowingly broken was neutralised. There is also a clear link in this study to management responses albeit only in one area, that of demarketing. This is a contentious tool of sustainable tourism development, whereby it is hoped that in the absence of consumer marketing fewer visitors will arrive and therefore impacts are reduced. Gerlach (1991:2), frustrated with the debates over the positive and negative impacts of tourism, finds that *'direct field observation (in Majorca) – going to a tourist destination and gaining an understanding of the area – can eliminate some of the bias that crops up when qualitative statements are made from a distance'*.

Overall impact studies have a bias toward natural areas rather than tourism resorts. Where visitor management is discussed it is in relation to, for example, protected areas. Impact studies have much to offer as management responses are being continually redefined but there needs to be more research on the tourist and their experiences in different types of environments such as urban areas and resorts. Deery et al (2010) comment that what is lacking in social impact studies at present is the meaning and nuances of the findings and in-depth understanding of perception formation and its consequences.

3.17 Management Responses and ASB in Tourism

'One day a fat man stood gazing at a lovely emerald pool. "Pretty ain't it?" he said – and tossed in the stub of his cigar.' Smith (1953:36) was describing in his wonderfully entitled article 'Tourists who act like pigs' for the Saturday Evening Post, a visitor to Yellowstone's National Park where he says *'people still write their names all over everything: they load their cars with souvenir specimens which they usually throw out a few days later, and they vulgarly scatter their rubbish along the road-sides'*. He concedes that not all tourists are like this.

The United States National Parks Act of 1916, in setting up the Park Service, defined its purpose thus: *'...to conserve the scenery and the natural and historic objects and the wildlife therein, and to provide for the enjoyment of the same in such manner by such means as will leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations'* (Smith, 1953:36). The UK, inspired by The United States, followed suit, and in 1949 created the National Parks and Access to the Countryside Act 1949. It has since 1968 been called the Countryside Commission. The purpose of these parks is to prevent the areas of land from being spoiled so that people should be able to enjoy the countryside. In the UK the National Trust works to preserve and protect the coastline, countryside, and buildings of England, Wales and Northern Ireland. These aims are very similar to those of sustainable tourism development and it is from these roots in park and heritage (outdoor and leisure) management that the concept of tourist or visitor management has emerged (Page, 2007).

Actions of tourists and management responses, particularly those that are practical, are more likely to be found in heritage and park management studies. It is easy to understand why; these types of tourist environments have more easily defined physical boundaries, unlike other types of tourist destinations such as resorts. Historically, designated bodies within these areas have managed tourists. Whilst destination development and planning models in resort destinations are numerous, research in this area remains fragmented and even ad hoc resulting in an under representation of tourism interests in city planning and management

(Prideaux, 2009). In resort destinations such as Torremolinos, Marbella, and Fuengirola in Andalucia, Spain, the management of tourists has not, therefore, been as progressive as that in park and heritage. Bad behaviour by tourists in resorts is largely the domain of the police particularly when it is alcohol related. This is not generally the case in heritage and park sites perhaps because the ASB is likely to be different. Types of impacts of visitors to parks and heritage sites may be more observable as they are likely to be, at least in the first instance, environmental rather than social-cultural or economic impacts, (see Table 3.12).

Table 3.12 Types of Impacts: Heritage and Park

<p>Evans and Fielding (1998) point out inappropriate behaviour observed at Giza in Egypt:</p>	<p>Exploring sensitive areas Dropping litter Graffiti Urination (on limestone) Removal of souvenir pieces Climbing on monuments</p>
<p>Garrod (2003) cites impacts on the local community, in this case around Hadrian's Wall in the UK:</p>	<p>Trespass Loutish behaviour as a result of alcohol Consumption Rudeness Treating locals without due respect Treating locals as curiosities</p>
<p>Visitor impacts can be placed into the following categories:</p>	<p>Overcrowding and congestion Wear and tear Traffic-related problems Impacts on the local community Impacts of visitor management itself no the authenticity of visitor attractions (Garrod, 2003)</p>

Overcrowding is often a focus of tourism management debates. This outcome of too many tourists in resorts has physical impacts (quality and quantity of accommodation, transportation, water supply, energy, etc), social impacts (changes in the social and cultural patterns), and economic impacts (ability to cope with new and increasing economic activities without marginalising traditional economic activities) (Mandke, 2001). But how much is too much? From a tourist perspective the numbers of other tourists may not present a problem. Yagi and Pearce (2007) found that there were different encounter preferences between Japanese and Westerners. Westerners preferred few or no people whilst the Japanese preferred some people and could tolerate large numbers of people.

Although this was carried out in a rainforest or natural setting it does demonstrate that this concept is not straightforward. Moreover, how is it possible to translate the concept of 'carrying capacity' as a practical tool for overcrowded destinations? Practical techniques for managing visitor impacts are grouped below:

Controlling visitor numbers: queue management, flexible capacity, increasing capacity.

Modifying the resource: site hardening – to reduce wear and tear.

Modifying visitor behaviour: demand management techniques – price incentives, marketing, and education.

(Fyall et al, 2003; Mason, 2005)

The area of visitor management is developing and being adapted for different types of tourist areas. Geographical Information Systems (GIS), for example, allow visitor impacts to be analysed. Decisions can then be made on how to manage them and what planning mechanisms need to be put in place (Boniface, 2005; Page, 2007). Calvin (2008) discusses the contribution that Tourism Satellite Accounts (TSA) can offer; improving information for tourism policy development and economic impacts assessments, both of which he believes guide resources and support for new tourism infrastructure and individual events.

There are many studies that discuss impacts and techniques of visitor management from a variety of perspectives in natural or park and heritage settings. However, this is not the case for tourist resorts. These studies are intrinsically linked to sustainable tourism. Table 3.13 lists some examples of visitor management techniques in tourism (Page, 2007). These are very much park and heritage orientated. They are also practical and are related to environmental impacts.

Recent incentives to manage tourists in resorts are still focused on the natural environment for example; in Benidorm new beach rules were introduced by the council. These include fines for using the beach between midnight and 07.00, and placing an umbrella on the beach early in the morning in order to reserve a space

for later (Cain, 2008). In Switzerland speed cameras have been introduced for skiers and snowboarders to try and reduce the increasing number of accidents (Pancevski, 2008).

Table 3.13 Examples of Visitor Management Techniques in Tourism

Technique	Examples
Regulating access by area	Excluding visitors from sacred sites such as Aboriginal lands
Regulating access by transport	Park and ride schemes to prevent in-town use of cars. Car-free environments and pedestrianisation schemes as part of town centre management programmes.
Regulating visitor numbers and group size	The use of group size restrictions in Antarctica
Regulating visitor types	Discouraging certain groups through marketing and products on offer
Regulating equipment	Prohibiting off-road driving except in permitted areas (e.g. in Forest Enterprise's four-wheel drive track in the new Loch Lomond National Park
The use of entry- or user-fees	Charging visitors to Kenya's National Parks and Reserves so that some of the fee is used for conservation
Modifications to sites	Constructing hardened paths to direct visitors
Market research	To identify reasons for visiting, in order to understand how to develop tools to modify visitor behaviour
Promotional marketing campaigns	The provision of alternative destinations in the Lake District, UK, to relieve pressure on congested sites
Provision of interpretation programmes	Provision of guided tours or guides to avoid congestion at key sites

(Page, 2007)

Geographical studies have much to offer tourism management because many of the main contemporary issues with which tourism management deals are related to geography (Aitchison et al, 2000; Boniface, 2005; Page, 2007 and Hall; Page, 2009). Some authors contributing to tourism studies do so from a geographical perspective, that is to say they are interested in place, space and environment.

They may also focus on why tourists go on holiday to certain locations, when they go, what they do when there, where the impacts of visitor activity occur, and what can be done to minimise the effects (Aitchison, 2000). Examples of tourism geography studies are; Awaritefe (2003) and Carr (2002). An advantage of these studies is that their perspective is not wholly confined to the tourism industry and there is also an opportunity to incorporate the wider context. This is something that this study strives to do in its attempts to understand ASB. In Carr's (2002) study for example, the leisure or home environments of the tourist were discussed as part of tourist movement in place, space and environment.

3.18 The Culture and Context of ASB

Prior to further discussion relating to the tourist and host the concept of culture and its influence on the development of relationships is discussed as this permeates much of the discussion that follows. People from different countries and regions within them behave in different ways and culture is often employed to explain those variations in behaviour. However, culture is a multi-faceted phenomenon that embraces a range of topics, processes, differences and sometimes paradoxes (Jenks, 1995). The complexity of this concept is highlighted by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1985) who note that there are over 160 definitions of culture within the literature. It is a phenomenon that is notoriously difficult to define (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1985; Pizam, 2000; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Because culture can be defined in a variety of ways how it is perceived will depend on the disciplinary background of the researcher. For example, behavioural anthropologists believe that culture determines human behaviour and other anthropologists such as symbolists believe that symbols help to communicate and develop attitudes to life (Reisinger & Turner, 2004). Geertz's (1973:5) explanation of culture popular in the 1970's saw the concept of culture as a semiotic one *'that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance the has himself spun...'* This explanation highlights the concept that culture is constitutive of other social processes (Eagleton, 2000). Whilst cross-cultural studies are numerous they are limited in the field of tourism (Reisinger & Turner, 2004) and criticised for being inhibited by the various models that exist (Nardon & Steers, 2009). Studies often

focus on perceptions of others; tourist or host or destinations and motivational preferences for travel are popular themes, for example, perceptions/images (Kay, 2003; Kozak et al, 2003; Pizam, 1999; Seddighi et al, 2001) and motivational preferences of tourists (Kang & Moscardo, 2006; Ritchie & Hudson, 2001). As Reisinger and Turner (2003; Pizam & Sussman, 1995) conclude from their review of other studies, national cultures do influence tourist and host behaviour and therefore national culture of tourists should be explored more fully.

Culture exists as a construct in a variety of group settings (Dahl, 2004) but it is tourism and host culture that is relevant to this study (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). UK leisure tourists and hosts are groups within the larger society in Andalucia, Spain. Communities consist of different groups of people who live in the same geographical area but do not necessarily belong to the same 'community' and in any given geographical area there may be a number of communities (Gursoy et al., 2002; Williams & Lawson, 2001). Groups can exist in the form of people regularly interacting with one another face to face, like the tourists and hosts in this study. Tourists and hosts can also be a representational category (Eysenck, 1998).

The group is representative of a sub-culture, or a *'way of defining and honouring the particular specification and demarcation of special or different interests of a group of people within a larger collectivity'* (Jenks, 1993:11). The tourist and the host each represent sub-cultures which are bounded nationally. The country, therefore, becomes the unit of analysis (Dahl, 2004).

When tourists join other tourists they may be heard at times to say that they are not tourists, defending this position with claims that they do not associate with a defined tourist group. As MacCannell (1989:10) points out *'the touristic critique of tourism is based on a desire to go beyond the other 'mere' tourists'*. However, we as humans have a need to belong to groups that are important to us because this gives us a social identity (Giddens, 2001). Therefore, when a tourist joins other tourists they may do so because there is a sense of belonging, regardless of how they might want to be perceived. Tourists, like other groups, are culturally

programmed to interact with members of certain groups and the group provides the motive for their behaviour (Giddens, 2001). These in-groups are:

'groups of people about whose welfare (we are) concerned, with whom (we are) willing to cooperate without demanding equitable returns, and separation from whom leads to discomfort or even pain' (Gudykunst, 2004:75).

Conversely,

'out groups are groups of people about whose welfare we are not concerned, and groups with whom we require an equitable return in order to cooperate' (Gudykunst, 2004:75).

Each sub-culture, like other sub-cultures, has its own unique pattern of values, expectations and interactions (Gudykunst, 2004; Reisinger & Turner, 2004). How these manifest is the subject of many discussions. For the purposes of this study it is enough to suggest that genetic and environmental influences shape personality and that the latter includes cultural influences (Triandis & Suh, 2002). There is a large body of evidence that suggests that it is possible to determine relatively meaningful long-lasting distinctions among various cultures. However, it is important to recognise that intra-cultural variation is ubiquitous (Au, 1999) and that cultural variation exists across and within different sub-cultures. The focus in this study is on the dominant culture of the tourists and hosts, and the public social interaction between their cultures. The dominant culture directs the form of public social interaction and therefore it is this rather than the variant minor subcultures that are of specific interest (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The definition of culture below implies the existence of a larger (dominant) culture that is made up of the different cultures of societies (Dahl, 2004). Hence the idea of a British culture and that of a Spanish culture in which multifaceted values and resulting behaviour and artefacts abstractly represent those particular societies as national cultural characteristics.

'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artefacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached value; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action'

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:181)

Culture can be loosely summarised as the complex of values, customs, beliefs and practices which constitute the way of life of a specific group (Eagleton, 2000, Triandis & Suh, (2002). The definition of culture above provided by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:181) was devised after a critical review of the concepts and definitions of culture (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). This definition has also been widely discussed by other authors who highlight its advantages over other definitions because it not only summarises interpretations of culture but also refers to patterns of human behaviour and values (Brislin, 1981; Dahl, 2004; Jenks, 1993; Reisinger & Turner, 2003). This definition provides a guide for the interpretation of culture in this study.

A question that is particularly relevant to this study is 'what is the purpose of culture?' Although authors such as Hofstede (2001) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2000) provide definitions of what culture is in terms of cultural traits and content, Spencer-Oatey (2008:3) expands the definition to incorporate what function culture performs

'Culture is a fuzzy set of basic assumptions and values, orientations to life, belief, policies, procedures and behavioural conventions that are shared by a group of people, and that influence (but not determine) each member's behaviour and his/her interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour.'

Spencer-Oatey (2008) and other authors such as Hofstede (2001) and Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2000) believe that the concept of culture exists in layers like those of an onion (see Figure 3.3). Primarily this comprises

values that are considered invisible and core, and not visible until they become evident in behaviour, they are less prone to change than cultural practices. Values are followed by cultural traits and content and behaviour, which are visible and outer. Cultural traits, content and behaviour are represented by symbols, rituals and heroes (Dann, 2002). These are visible outer practices which are superficial and more prone to change than values (Dann, 2002). Symbols are words, gestures, pictures or objects that carry a particular meaning or are recognised as such by those who share the culture. Symbols are easily copied from one cultural group to another. Rituals are collective activities, technically superfluous to reaching desired ends, but which, within a culture, are considered socially essential. Heroes are persons, alive or dead, real or imaginary, who possess characteristics that are highly prized in a culture and thus serve as models for behaviour (Hofstede, 2001).

Values are the core of culture. They are abstract ideas (Giddens, 2001). Values provide a normative dimension and in doing so guide patterns of interaction. They represent criteria for evaluation of self and others and standards for these evaluations; they can be prioritised and can differentiate between various cultures (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Values are defined by Hofstede (2001:5) as '*A broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others*'. Values denote how things ought to be and strongly influence behaviour (Dahl, 2004; Laungani, 2007; Pizam, 2000). The behaviour under scrutiny in this study between the UK leisure tourist and the Spanish host is to a great extent a reflection of each group's core values. If behaviour needs to be altered because it is causing social problems it is likely that culture at both levels needs to be understood and addressed.

Culture is expressed for the most part subconsciously. It represents shared values that manifest themselves in the behaviour of a given group (Dahl, 2004) – in this case the groups that represent the UK leisure tourist, the host, and key stakeholders in organisations and businesses. However, societies are always changing and therefore values too are constantly developing and changing. Changes in values and the resulting impacts appear amplified in destinations when the tourist becomes an agent of change as a result of the direct or indirect

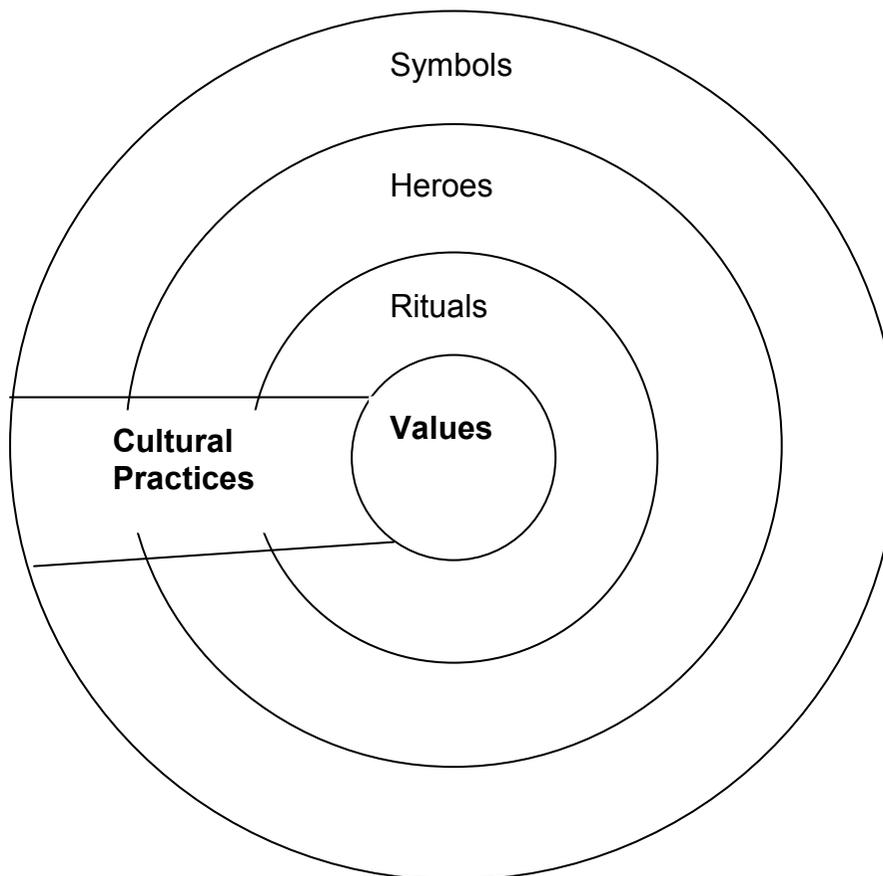
impacts of their actions (Page, 2007). Perhaps this amplification is an effect of the sheer concentration of tourists and level of cultural difference that is exposed when two different national cultures meet in one locale.

Figure 3.3 The Onion: Manifestations of Culture at Different Levels of Depth – Tourist and Host Culture and ASB in Tourism

Cultural Practices are visible to an outsider but their cultural meanings are invisible to outsiders. They are prone to change.

Cultural Differences in rules of behaviour are exposed when host meanings are not ascribed by tourists because they are invisible

Common Values act as group/community glue, differences act as the solvent. The greater the cultural similarity, the lower the cultural impact.



Values are a core element of culture invisible until they become evident in behaviour (practices). They are not prone to change.

National Culture represents core values, which are reflected in Group Culture. When tourist and host culture meet cultural collision results (visible in cultural practices). This process may result in the host perception of cultural destabilisation.

(Adapted from Hofstede, 2001:11)

3.19 Determining the Basis for Cultural Differences

How different are tourists and hosts? Mair (1972) believes that if we study primitive societies and compare them to those of the western world, we can see that certain fundamental principles of life in society are to be found both among 'them' and among 'us'. She suggests that it is by comparing many different kinds of society that people find common principles. In relation to tourism, MacCannell (1999:2) believes that all cultures are composed of the same elements in different combinations.

The theme of common principles or elements is elaborated further by Zohar and Marshall (1993) who suggest that these represent society's 'higher self'. It is here they say, that shared experiences and values lie and it is in these that the true cement of society lies. Focusing on similar values between the tourist and host, it seems, is just as important as identifying those that make them different.

When one group who share assumptions and another group meet in a cross-cultural setting such as Andalucia, Spain, there may be a number of cultural differences between these groups. Hofstede (2005) believes that information about the nature of cultural differences between societies, their roots, and their consequences should be established before any judgements are made or action is taken. Negotiation, he suggests, is more likely to be successful if the parties concerned understand the reasons for the differences in viewpoints. This points to the broader social context and may help to answer the question why does ASB in tourism occur.

There are a wide number of elements that differ between cultural groups (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Spencer-Oatey (2008) believes that there is no absolute group of features that can distinguish one group definitively from another. Therefore, ascribing formally to any one cultural dimension or model in order to decide which elements should be used to compare and evaluate the UK leisure tourist and the host in Andalucia, Spain, does not seem appropriate. Moreover, it is likely that elements of differentiation will emanate from a number of sources and be case-specific. However, to ignore completely the work undertaken in this area by respected authors such as Hofstede (2001, 2005, 2010), Hall (1983) and

Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (2000) would be unwise. Hofstede advanced the most widely used model of cultural differences in the organisations literature. Trompenaars built on the work of Hofstede and Hall carried out extensive work on how cultures vary on interpersonal communication (Nardon & Steers, 2009). The different dimensions of these authors and others are considered valuable particularly during the process of ascertaining meaning. Rather than review the various dimensions that exist Table 3.14 below summarises the core cultural dimensions of these into an integrative summary. It is easy to see from this table how complex and problematic it would be to attempt to choose a dimension for this study as all of the core dimensions are likely to have some relevance.

Table: 3.14 Core Cultural Dimensions: an integrative summary

Core Cultural Dimensions	Focus of Dimensions
Hierarchy – Equality	<i>Power distribution in organisations and society:</i> Extent to which power and authority in a society are distributed hierarchically or in a more egalitarian and participative fashion.
Individualism - Collectivism	<i>Role of individuals and groups in social relationships:</i> Extent to which social relationships emphasise individual rights and responsibilities or group goals and collective action; centrality of individuals or groups in society.
Mastery – Harmony	<i>Relationship with the natural and social environment:</i> Beliefs concerning how the world works; extent to which people seek to change and control or live in harmony with their natural and social surroundings.
Monochronism– Polychronism	<i>Organisation and utilisation of time:</i> Extent to which people organise their time based on sequential attention to single tasks or simultaneous attention to multiple tasks; time as fixed vs. time as flexible.
Universalism – Particularism	<i>Relative importance of rules vs. relationships in behavioural control:</i> Extent to which rules, laws, and formal procedures are uniformly applied across societal members or tempered by personal relationships, in-group values, or unique circumstances.

(Nardon & Steers, 2009:10).

Core values expressed at an outer level by the cultural traits and behaviour of tourists are grounded in cultural norms. Norms are the rules of behaviour that reflect or embody a culture's values (Giddens, 2001). Similar terms used to express values and their associated norms include mores, morals, customs and manners; they express the normative dimension of rules. Cultural differences manifest themselves in a variety of ways, for example, in language, religion, politics and economics (Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars, 2000).

Cultural differences that comprise values and therefore 'rules of social behaviour' have an especially close link to tourism. A lack of knowledge of 'rules' can often cause misunderstandings between cultures in tourist destinations (Gudykunst, 2004; Thyne, 2004). So might ignoring or opposing them. It is for this reason that the focus of cultural differences in this study is based upon 'rules of behaviour' which is represented in both outer and core areas of cultural differences. They are not in themselves formal dimensions or models but they are considered to be relevant starting points for determining cultural differences between the UK leisure tourist and the host.

3.20 Who is The Tourist?

Earlier in this chapter a discussion about social psychology highlighted the importance of the need to seek to understand how people interact and why. The section that follows provides the opportunity to look deeper into the social and psychological aspects of the tourists so that they may be more fully understood. The tourist is an empirically verifiable social fact (Picard, 2002) and the world of the tourist is a constructed social reality and therefore very real.

When the tourist is seen as human, motivation becomes desire for something else and is complex. While motivation is only one of many variables in explaining tourist behaviour, it is a very important one as it constitutes the driving force behind all behaviours (Fodness, 1994). Urry (2002) thinks that tourists seek to experience 'in reality' the pleasurable dramas they have already experienced in their imagination. MacCannell (1973) claimed that the basis of the tourist experience is like that of a religious or sacred journey. The tourist is searching for authenticity because everyday life in the homeland is inauthentic. Dann (1996) proposes that tourists are childlike in their motivations. The concept of escape is employed in marketing communications, he says, to assuage the needs of the tourist who can regress and indulge in hedonism, fantasies, and the cliché of sea, sex and socialisation. In reality the tourist is controlled although they may believe they are not. These complexities make tourist motivations difficult to classify because they satisfy a variety of individual needs (Holden, 2000; Mathieson & Wall, 1982). Desire for something else has roots firmly embedded in the individual as a tourist

and it represents the emotional aspect of the tourists' intercultural experience. At a fundamental level tourists travel because they enjoy it and it makes them happy (Brown, 1998; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Selanniemi, 2004). There are numerous studies on tourist motivation but as Krippendorf (1987) says there are many things hidden in the subconscious that cannot be brought to light by simple questions. Furthermore, what people know cannot always be put into words (Winch, 1958 and Garfinkel, 1967). Krippendorf suggests that there are two common threads to travel motivation for the tourist. The first and most dominant motive supported by Dann (1977) and Lundberg (1972) is that individuals travel to 'go away from' rather than 'towards' something or somebody, hence the term used by tourists 'getting away' Secondly, motives and behaviour are self orientated; the traveller decides what is good for them and what is not good, and they don't have to receive orders anymore – instead, they give them.

As the tourist escapes from their humdrum world at home there is the potential for them to reveal more about the conditions in the generating society than that about the way of life in the receiving society (Dann, 2002). This is a particularly relevant aspect for this study because there is an opportunity to explore and reflect upon the possible antecedents of soft ASB between the UK leisure tourist and the Spanish host. Escaping is perhaps a natural human instinct; it is a temporary alteration in life that ensures the smooth functioning of society (Brown, 1998). Perhaps this is because the liminal state of being outside of everyday relationships provides a setting for unique experiences for tourists that are potentially creative and thought provoking (Holden, 2000, Prayag & Ryan, 2011; Selstad, 2007). Escape is one of a number of possible push factors and is exploited by the tourism industry as a way to promote their holiday products. The promotional material for Club 18-30 (2008) encapsulates this well: it mentions breaking rules, although whether these rules are the tourist's own or those of the host culture is not (probably deliberately) made explicit. The breaking of rules is still implied, indeed it seems an integral part of being a tourist:

'What to love about 2009? There comes a time in life when you need to do it for yourself. A time to break free, break rules and break the mould. To explore, leave the map at home and find yourself. To find that one moment and make it last a

lifetime. That time is now. Sunrise to sunset. Sunset to sunrise. This is the time of your life. Love every single second of it'.

Dann (2002) believes, that the extant invigilated society of the UK provides the conditions for escape through tourism. Pull factors act as attractors, for example, promotion by tourist resorts (Prayag & Ryan, 2011).

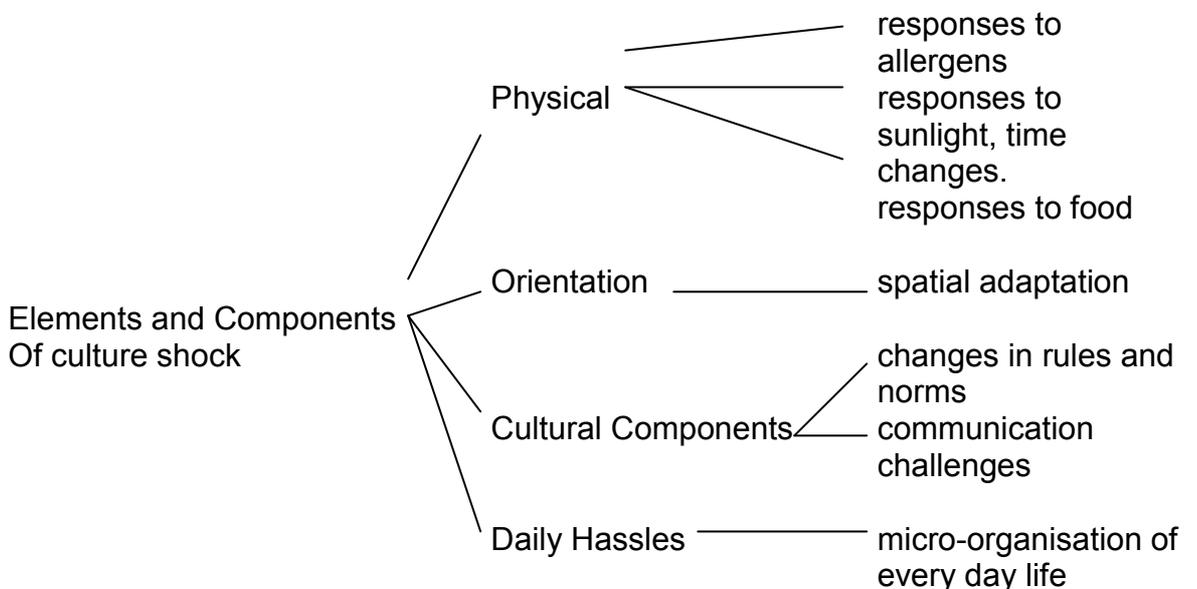
Tourists according to Jafari (1987) behave differently from the way they do at home, they bring with them their own culture (cultural baggage) but behave differently when in another culture and create a distinct 'tourist culture', a view endorsed by Carr (2002) and Sharpley (1994). Furthermore, the more the physical environment of the destination replicates that of the home environment the more this cultural baggage becomes evident in their behaviour (Carr, 2002). Smith (1978) gave tourist culture another name, the tourist 'bubble' that aptly describes the tendency of tourists to stay among themselves and to be physically 'in' a foreign place but 'outside' its culture. The concept of the tourist 'bubble' has been employed in destination development to separate tourist and leisure areas as a way to create familiar cultural environments where tourists could feel safe (Ros-Tonen & Werneck, 2009). The tourist constructs his/her own culture as part of the process of escaping and as a reaction to the exotic (Furnham & Bochner, 1982). Jafari (1987) suggests that this tourist culture should be analysed in relation to the residual cultures of both tourist and host, as this would explain how tourists from different cultures behave. Jafari also believes that tourist, host and residual cultures mix together to produce a distinct type of culture at each destination. This author agrees with this view. Pizam (2000) wonders to what extent are touristic cultures relatively free of national cultures and universally reflected in the behaviour of all tourists regardless of nationality. It is quite possible that aspects of tourist culture are endemic.

Anxiety can be experienced by the tourist as an intrinsic part of this reaction to the exotic. The larger the degree of cultural differences between the contact participants, the greater the culture shock they may experience, the less information is exchanged, and the less effective is their interaction (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Tourist experience of a different culture may be a mediating factor.

Pearce (2005) has expanded Oberg's (1960) analysis of culture shock in order to demonstrate the wider components (see Figure 3.4).

These components under the headings of physical, orientation, cultural, and daily hassles illuminate the types of elements that a tourist has to re-negotiate in an exotic environment. Whilst seemingly simple they do together create a heavy learning experience for the tourist. It is perhaps the changes in rules and norms and the communication challenges that are the more challenging for the tourist. When people arrive in a destination they may shift through various feelings over time, which are described as acculturation phases (Hofstede, 2005; Jafari; 1987:6).

Figure 3.4 Expanded Components of Culture Shock



(Pearce, 2005:130)

Pearce (2005) argues that the models of phases of culture shock are unlikely to be widely or uniformly applicable to the diversity of the tourist types. Moreover, some tourists may not be confused at all (Hottola, 2004) as Milstein (2005) points out some tourists have a greater capacity for self-efficacy in a tourist destination than others.

3.21 Who is The Host?

A starting point for understanding the host is provided by Jafari (1987), who believes that hosts behave differently because many of them offer tourist services either directly or indirectly in a destination. They may also be responding to direct experience, which is mediated by images and stereotypes concerning different types of visitors (Oriol, 1989). One informant in a study carried out by Brunt and Courtney (1999: 509) perhaps captures the essence of the attitude of the host's behaviour towards tourists: *“they don't really want to mix, the make up of the town doesn't lend itself to it”*. Tourists stay for a short period of time, which makes it difficult for the tourist-host relationship to move beyond being shallow and superficial (Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Sharpley, 1994). It is also very much a commercial relationship, which means there is little room for spontaneity. However, this is not considered to be a negative interaction between the host and guest. Expectations and goals are different; Krippendorf (1987) observed that while the host works the tourist is engaged in leisure. And, whilst engaged in this pursuit of leisure, the host observes the tourist, at times adopting the attitudes, values or behaviour of those tourists (de Kadt, 1979). The greatest effect is on young people who desire change and in doing so create greater generation gaps and class differences (Page & O'Connell, 2006).

Pearce (1982) believes that the tourist-host encounter is asymmetrical, transitory in nature and provides an opportunity for exploitation. Within this encounter there are many small types of interaction which contribute to the general tourist-host friction. Hosts may use a variety of methods for protecting their values and customs; these are mainly techniques of social distancing (Ayres, 2002)). They include covert action, hiding from tourists, communal celebrations, fencing tourists out, organised protest and even overt aggression to protect the hosts' own interests (Boissevain, 1996). More subtle actions may include setting up restaurants as primarily for either tourists or locals, achieving this through location and advertising. In Gozo, Daly (2006) reports that tourist restaurants are on the waterfront and have large eye-catching signs while restaurants used by and intended for locals have nothing more than a simple sign above the door.

Hosts may choose to locate themselves in different areas of a destination as they have in Torrevieja, Spain, as a result of a number of factors. These may be associated with socio-demographic characteristics of hosts and tourists/immigrants (Casado-Diaz, 1999). These techniques of social distancing are socially engineered and they are largely bottom up. They are also social rather than environmental in nature, and demonstrate a closer response to the impact with practical technique.

McCannell (1973:591) discusses the concept of avoidance behaviour surrounding back regions in his paper on arrangements of social space in tourist settings. He says that *'an unexplored aspect of back regions is how their mere existence, and the possibility of their violation (by a stranger), functions to sustain the commonsense polarity of social life into what is taken to be intimate and real and what is thought to be show'*.

Urry (2002:9) thinks that *'the development of the constructed tourist attraction results from how those who are subject to the tourist gaze respond, both to protect themselves from intrusions into their lives backstage and to take advantage of the opportunities it presents for profitable investment'*.

Andrews (2008) feels that the fancy-free behaviour of many tourists in the area of Majorca known as 'Shagluf' (Magaluf) is actually manufactured in a conservative commercial climate. Cultural social control methods by the host exist primarily for the local population but may not necessarily be applied to the tourist, who is transient. It may be that the host does not expect the tourist to conform, because they are foreign and therefore different, and/or perhaps it is in their best interests to keep the tourist happy for economic reasons. This may mean that the host chooses to ignore transgressions.

The attitudes of all residents towards tourism represent an important way in which this stakeholder group contributes to policy and public support for or dissent towards tourism (Ayres, 2002; Holden, 2008). Issues of coordination, collaboration and partnership are now at the forefront of much tourism research into finding new solutions to resource management and destination development problems (Dallen

et al, 2003; Hall, 1999; Haughland et al, 2010; Ruhanen, 2009). Grassroots empowerment is the foundation of sustainability in tourism (Dallen et al, 2003). The lack of coordination and cohesion within the tourism industry is a well-known problem to destination planners and managers (Jamal & Getz, 1995; Ruhanen, 2009). It is seen as increasingly important for tourism planning in destinations to involve the multiple stakeholders affected by tourism, including environmental groups, business interests, public authorities and community groups (Medeiros de Araujo & Bramwell, 2000; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). However, while locally based tourism collaborations may offer advantages to stakeholders and destinations, development itself does give rise to difficult challenges. These include problems with resource allocations, policy ideas, and institutional practices embedded within society that may often restrict the influence of particular stakeholders on the collaborative arrangements (Bramwell & Sharman, 1999; Ruhanen, 2009). The power of stakeholders is often unequal (Ruhanen, 2009). Hall (1994:52) suggests that *'power governs the interaction of individuals, organisations and agencies influencing, or trying to influence, the formulation of tourism policy and the manner in which it is implemented'*.

Although studies propose processes, and discuss issues and impediments to consider for multi-collaborative tourism planning, the institutional practices embedded within society cannot be ignored, but often are. This results in idealistic proposals that are unlikely to have practical outcomes. They are rarely multi-collaborative for example, including both direct and non-direct stakeholders at national and local levels, and they are often prescriptive in nature, top down, and lacking in a practical dimension (Aramberri, 2010). Part of the problem lies in the lack of empirical studies that can provide guidance in how destinations can be developed from an integrated multilevel perspective (Haughland et al, 2011; Ozturk, 2010). Power hierarchies exist in destinations and in society; these reflect the culture of that destination. If power is unequal it can be difficult to change this. Jamal and Getz (1995:190) propose a collaboration process for community-based tourism planning. The actions for problem setting and direction setting include identifying and legitimizing stakeholders and ensuring that power is distributed among several stakeholders. However, who is responsible for identifying and appointing stakeholders, what position of power do they hold, will it be fair, and

who will adjudicate this? This is a politically charged process. Often, proposed processes seem overwhelming because they represent an alien organisational concept that is prescriptive in nature and may be counter to the way that society organises itself socially and culturally. Goals and objectives for community tourism development should be defined in accordance with the ethos and aspirations of the resident population. Each situation must be tailor-made for every locale on an individual basis (Dallen et al, 2003; Ruhanen, 2009).

3.22 The Tourist – Host Encounter

In this study there is a desire to understand the social phenomenon of ASB in tourism as it exists in reality, hence the humanistic approach. Pearce (2005:113) supports this perspective:

‘A full understanding of behaviour (and tourist behaviour) requires the interacting parties to be viewed as actively constructing their experience and their relationships. Tourists, like other social actors, are not passive bodies pushed from place to place and from group to group by mechanistic internal forces and external factors. Rather, they are best viewed as organisers of their social world and experiences, acting out roles, communicating their identities and purposefully structuring their time.’

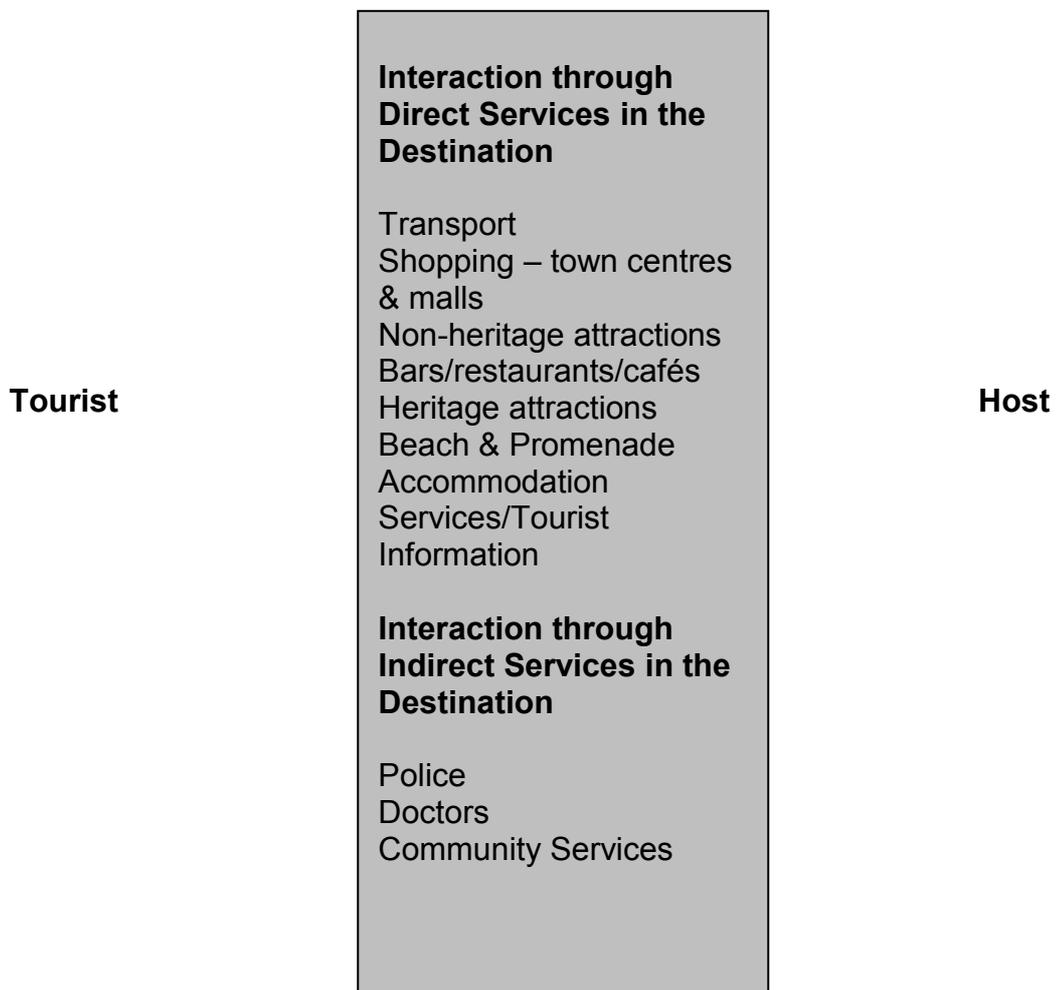
The tourist-host encounter has been divided into three areas so that the context in which the social processes between these groups take place are understood: the cross-cultural interface (referred to in the methodology as the field setting); the contextual influences; the interaction; and the social processes that result.

3.22.1 The Cross-Cultural Interface

The interface is the physical setting where the interaction takes place. These places act as a stage for the encounters and the interactions between the tourists and hosts, or the actors. The tourist-host encounter is one in which one or more visitors interact with one or more hosts and are staged within a network of goals and expectations (Sutton, 1967). Interactions can be direct or indirect depending

on where the interaction occurs and how. Figure 3.5 represents the landscape of the tourist-host interface at a micro-geographical level. For this in a broader macro context see Figure 3.6 Destination Stakeholder Mapping. This figure of stakeholder mapping highlights the extensive influences of the tourist-host environment and the relationships within it for example, those between the tourist and provider.

Figure 3.5 The Tourist - Host Interface



3.22.2 The Tourist - Host Context

For this study it is useful to be able to separate actions of the tourist and host from the social context, that is to say the cultural traits or characteristics and content. They are, according to Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), different; the actions are more likely to transform than are the cultural traits and content, which are more entrenched. Therefore, patterns are more easily identified when distinct levels of

culture are separated. This study is concerned with the patterns, form, structure and organisation of tourist-host actions in a given culture, in this case Andalucia, Spain. However, cultural traits and content are not ignored, as they will help to define the context and potentially provide links to key issues. Contextual issues will be discussed as part of this case study research in later chapters.

De Kadt (1979) suggests three tourist-host contact situations: when the tourist purchases an item or service from a resident; when the tourist and resident find themselves side by side at an attraction; and when the two parties come face to face with the objective of exchanging ideas and information. Tourist-tourist interactions will also occur. These interactions range along a continuum from negative (hostile) to positive (symbiotic) and are moderated by time, space, situational factors, resource allocation, and a whole host of other elements (Fennell, 2006). For this study the range of the continuum is limited to 'soft' ASB in tourism, that is to say behaviour that can be considered non-criminal. As was pointed out in chapter one, the decision as to whether ASB is criminal or not varies according to how it is interpreted and who is the interpreter. The problem of defining ASB can possibly be overcome as it should be possible to determine key influences or family resemblances as they emerge from the tourist and host groups based on cultural differences in rules of behaviour.

This study focuses largely on two types of social contact, tourist-host and tourist-tourist. At surface level the behaviour in tourist-host interactions is clearly perceivable, yet below the surface lie other dimensions, which, as discussed, are an important part of the whole. These sub-surface dimensions influence both behaviour and the meanings attributed to behaviour (Spencer-Oatey, 2008).

The context is as important as the actors, in this case the tourists and hosts. It does not stop at the immediate social environment of family or friendship or workgroup (the micro-level systems) but should extend to intermediate-level and macro-level contexts (Orford, 2008; Petric, 2005). Context presented as levels in this way links to decision-making hierarchies in destinations and communities in general. See Figure 3.6 Destination Stakeholder Mapping, which demonstrates the context of the tourist-host relationship at micro and macro levels. The core and

secondary features of culture shown below in Table 3.15 provide a useful starting point for constructing the overall landscape of the context of the tourist and host.

Table 3.15 Core and Secondary Features of Culture

	Core Features of Culture	Contextual Level
1	A past history, which may be recorded and/or oral.	Macro
2	Regulated political, legal, and social systems and communication networks.	Macro
3	A dominant, organised religion(s) within which the salient beliefs and activities (rites, rituals, taboos, and ceremonies) are given meaning, legitimacy, and a sense of continuity.	Micro
4	A set of core values and traditions, including regulatory norms of personal, familial, and social conduct, patterns of socialisation, kinship patterns, and gender roles which the people of that society subscribe to, and attempt to perpetuate.	Micro
5	Artefacts unique to that society, such as literature, works of art, architecture, paintings, music, dance, drama, religious texts, philosophical texts.	Intermediate
	Secondary Features of Culture	
1	Degree of freedom from linguistic, religious, political, and social persecution.	Macro
2	Shared common language(s).	Micro
3	Internationally recognised common physical and geographical boundaries within which people of that particular society live.	Macro
4	Housing and other living arrangements.	Intermediate
5	Socially accepted dietary, health and medical practices.	Micro

(Adapted from Laungani, 2007:35)

3.22.3 The Tourist and Host and Social Processes

How do tourists and hosts view one another? To answer this question it is necessary to consider the social processes that are at work between the tourist and host at a social psychological level. The aim is to elucidate the general processes and forces, which account for the perception and behaviour of these two groups when they are in contact. This can be achieved by examining the interpersonal and intra-individual forces that exist. Interpersonal forces, for example, consist of; the number of people present, the context of the meeting, and the group membership of the participants (Pearce, 1982). These are things that will be considered during the course of observation because they provide the backdrop to the encounter and enhance the narrative.

Intra-individual forces may consist of the attitudes, perceptions, motives and social skills of the individuals (Pearce, 1982). When anxiety is too high, for example, we may communicate 'on automatic pilot' and interpret strangers' behaviour using only our own frames of reference (which leads to inaccurate interpretations and predictions) (Pearce, 1982).

Therefore, misunderstandings may result from our interpretations of other people's behaviour rather than from other people's behaviour per se (Gudykunst, 2004). For the researcher, intra-individual forces need to be identified and accurately interpreted in order to establish meaning. Soft ASB may or may not exist, and if it does, it may do so within certain contexts. The purpose of examining the interaction between the tourist and host in this manner is to understand the quality and intimacy of their relationship. It is not about making any large-scale social generalisations (Pearce, 1982).

Figure 3.6 Destination Stakeholder Mapping

(Adapted from Middleton & Clarke, 2001:11)

Direct – Incoming Tour Operators

Accommodation Sector:
Hotels, guest houses, B&B, farmhouses, apartments, vacation villages, all inclusive, marinas, conference

Attraction Sector:
Theme parks, museums & galleries, gardens, sports centres, themed retail, festivals and events. Beaches

Hospitality Sector:
Cafes, bars, restaurants, nightclubs.

Services Sector:
Estate agents, retail shops and businesses. Attractions. Exchange facilities Spanish tourists

Indirect Community Sector:
Police, security, judiciary Hospitals Local authority & services Community organisations Residents, businesses, religious groups.

Geographical Sector:
place, space, environment
Natural environment
Built environment
Infrastructure
Developers
Planners

Objectives

1. To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, on ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and on cross-cultural theory.
2. To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
3. To explore reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
4. To compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB.
5. To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.

Political Sector:
EU
National government policies
Municipality management
Council
Political groups
NGOs -Conservation and environmental organisations
Landowners

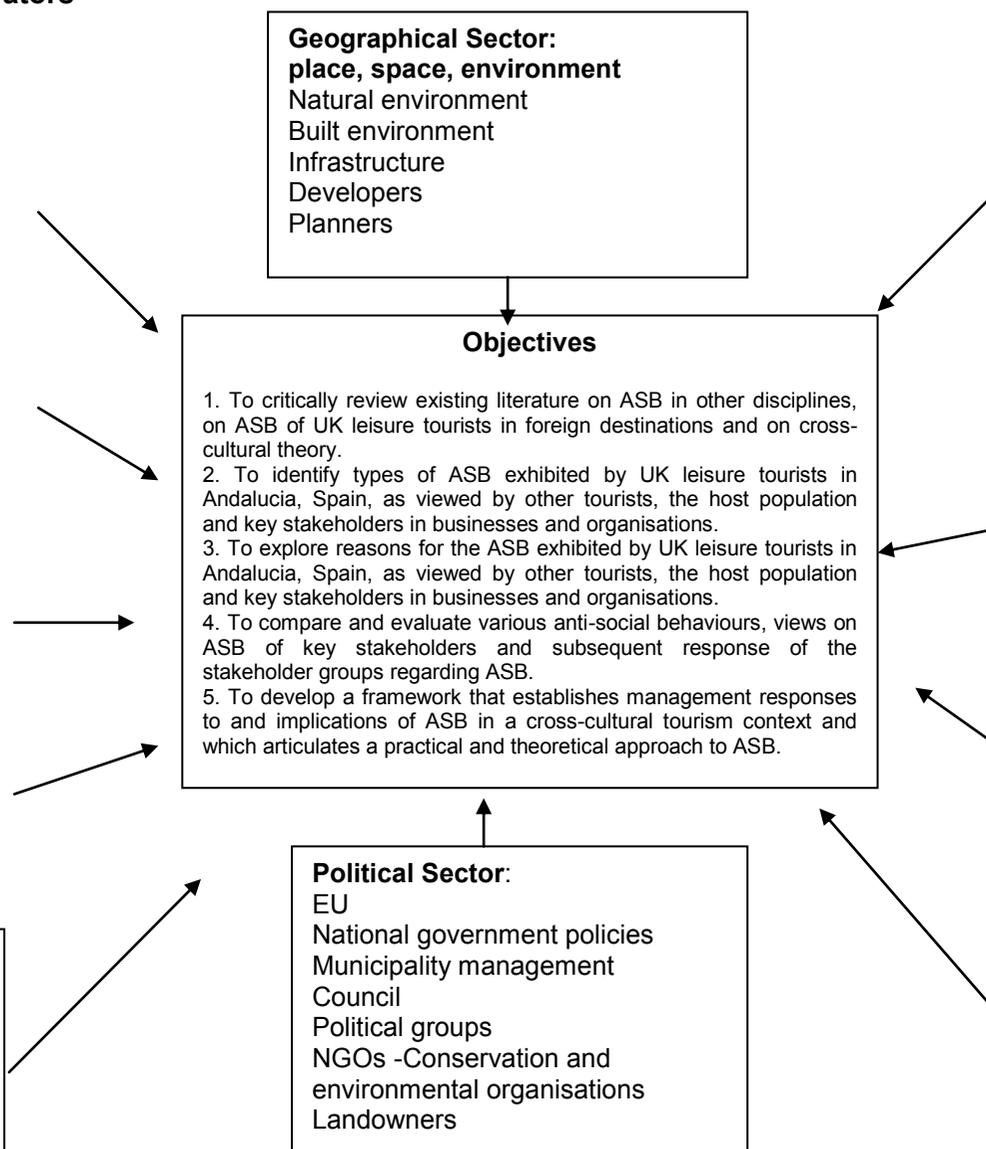
Direct - Overseas

Travel Organisers' Sector:
Tour operators, tour wholesalers/brokers, retail travel agents, conference organizers, bookings agencies, incentive travel organisers.

Transport Sector:
Airlines, shipping/ferries, railways, bus/coach operators, car rental. Taxis

Tourists:
Foreign residents
Business tourists
UK leisure tourists
Other nationalities

Tourist Sector:
National tourist offices
Regional/state tourist offices
Local tourist offices
Tourist associations
Destination marketing organisations



3.23 Summary

Anti-social behaviour is a contemporary social problem that is regularly covered in the UK media. Often this is prominent due to the aggressive nature of alcohol-induced ASB. However, what does this term mean and what does this behaviour refer to?

The term deviance is a scientific term whereas ASB is a political one adopted by the Labour Government in the 1990s. Originally the term deviance was employed to describe individuals who did not conform, although this term also had psychological implications. Terms such as disorder or incivilities have been used in recent years to denote problem behaviour on social housing estates in America but the term ASB was adopted in the UK instead. In the UK this term has expanded its frame of reference from the social housing estates to encompass a range of unspecified anti-social behaviour.

There are a variety of definitions emanating from key political and legal bodies as well as charities and other organisations. However, since it was the Labour Government that took up this term, and created new initiatives and laws to combat it, their definition provides a relevant starting point:

'Acting in a manner that caused or was likely to cause harassment, alarm or distress to one or more persons not of the same household'

(Crime and Disorder Act, 1998 cited in RDS, 2004a).

Research has lacked depth and breadth; furthermore it is often structured for responses through surveys and channelled through official agencies. Campaigns by the government such as the Together and Respect have been criticised for failing to address social problems at a grass roots level. They are also thought to rely too heavily on punitive sanctions rather than prevention. As definitions are as diverse as the behaviour believed to be involved, then it is difficult, as Armitage (2002) pointed out, to ascertain whether ASB has increased or not.

Behaviour that was criminal before ASB is still considered criminal now but ASB

legislation such as the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, blurs the boundaries between soft and hard ASB. Almost any behaviour can be considered anti-social and therefore becomes a criminal act if it is deemed to have caused enough distress. However, assessing levels of distress is subjective. With soft and sometimes with hard ASB, it is the frequency of the act that determines what action, if any, is taken.

Social and moral decline has been blamed, with parents receiving the most criticism. Agencies have condemned government approaches to ASB as being populist and simplistic with an over-reliance on the punitive instead of the preventive solution. The new Conservative – Liberal Democrat coalition has created a new definition on an otherwise dismantled website signaling perhaps a new direction, '*antisocial behaviour is any aggressive, intimidating or destructive activity that damages or destroys another person's quality of life*' (Home Office, 2010).

The UK is not the only country to suffer from ASB. As some research has shown, it is also to be found, both as a term and as a phenomenon, in other EU countries and Australia. However, the concept of ASB is not widely used outside the UK. Spain has problems with behaviour in social housing areas but these are largely a separate issue from other types of unacceptable behaviour such as graffiti. Notably the term is not used to describe these types of behaviour. Another separate issue concerns youth drinking. In Spain it is primarily the under 18s. What is considered 'youth' in the UK stretches over a greater range and generally alcohol-induced ASB can be spread over a much greater age range. Local by-laws have started to be introduced in Spanish resort areas, for example, Barcelona, which can become overly lively owing to alcohol and the numbers of tourists. In general the Spanish media do not refer to ASB in the way that the UK media has done because there are no large-scale government initiatives to address this phenomenon. There are instead specific laws that focus on youth or vandalism and graffiti.

When ASB in tourism is identified it is most likely to be that which is associated with young people, alcohol-related incidents, and, often, violence (Hughes, 2008).

From this description it might be assumed that ASB in tourism as a social phenomenon does exist. This might indeed be the case if it were only drunk and disorderly behaviour which was generally considered to be unacceptable. However, there is a dilemma here because it must be assumed that alcohol related ASB exists at a point on a scale and is therefore surrounded by other examples of unacceptable behaviour. The literature review exposes gaps in the knowledge base of soft ASB demonstrating why it is not known if soft ASB exists in tourism when it is not alcohol related.

At present a definition of ASB in tourism does not exist this author therefore, defines it as follows:

'Leisure tourist anti-social behaviour (ASB) includes a wide variety of activities by individuals or groups which affects the quality of lives of other tourists, the host destination community and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations through lack of awareness and choosing to ignore and/or oppose the accepted social norms of the host majority population.'

Literature on crime in tourism often focuses on the effects of crime, which can include harassment, on the tourist or on tourism (Ajagunna, 2006; Brunt and Courtney, 1999; Brunt & Shepherd, 2004; Levantis & Gani, 2000; Pizam, 1999). Other studies highlight opportunities for and influences on deviant behaviour by the tourist (Brunt & Brophy, 2004), in this case within the home nation. Much of the literature that concerns tourists and alcohol/drugs is to be found within criminal tourism research for example, Botterill & Jones (2010) and Brunt & Brophy (2004). Media articles are more likely to be related to young adults, as is some academic literature.

The most relevant theoretical area for literature on anti-social behaviour in tourism is tourism impact studies. Social-cultural impact studies are crucial for destinations attempting to understand the benefits and disadvantages of tourism (Deery, et al, 2010). Impacts that arise from change at a social-cultural level in tourism studies have often focused on tourism and tourists being a negative force across the impact spectrum (Aronsson, 2000; Harrison, 2007). Furthermore, this perspective

is reinforced in sustainable tourism development literature. Tourism impact literature covers four areas: economic, political, social-cultural and environmental. These four impact areas are interlinked. Of the four impact areas, social-cultural is the key area for exploring ASB in tourism. A search of tourist-host perception studies in impact literature reveals that of the research carried out much rests on case studies that are quantitative in nature. There is also a bias towards studies in undeveloped areas such as parks, heritage sites, islands, and indigenous communities, with particular emphasis on undeveloped countries. There are many studies that discuss impacts and techniques of visitor management from a variety of perspectives in natural or park and heritage settings. However, this is not the case for tourist resorts.

Prior to further discussion relating to the tourist and host the concept of culture and its influence on the development of relationships is discussed as this permeates much of the discussion regarding the tourist and host. The complexity of the concept of culture is highlighted by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1985) who note that there are over 160 definitions of culture within the literature. It is a phenomenon that is notoriously difficult to define (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1985; Pizam, 2000; Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Spencer-Oatey, 2008). Because culture can be defined in a variety of ways how it is perceived will depend on the disciplinary background of the researcher.

Culture exists as a construct in a variety of group settings (Dahl, 2004) but it is tourism and host culture that is relevant to this study (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). The group is representative of a sub-culture, or a *'way of defining and honouring the particular specification and demarcation of special or different interests of a group of people within a larger collectivity'* (Jenks, 1993:11).

Each sub-culture, like other sub-cultures, has its own unique pattern of values, expectations and interactions (Gudykunst, 2004; Reisinger & Turner, 2004). The focus in this study is on the dominant culture of the tourists and hosts, and the public social interaction between their cultures. The definition of culture provided by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952:181) was devised after a critical review of the concepts and definitions of culture (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). This definition provides

a guide for the interpretation of culture in this study. Values are the core of culture and are defined by Hofstede (2001:5) as '*A broad tendency to prefer certain states of affairs over others*'. Values denote how things ought to be and strongly influence behaviour (Dahl, 2004; Laungani, 2007; Pizam, 2000). There are a wide number of elements that differ between cultural groups (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Spencer-Oatey (2008) believes that there is no absolute group of features that can distinguish one group definitively from another. Therefore, ascribing formally to any one cultural dimension or model in order to decide which elements should be used to compare and evaluate the UK leisure tourist and the host in Andalucia, Spain, does not seem appropriate.

Cultural differences that comprise values and therefore 'rules of social behaviour' have an especially close link to tourism. These provide a starting point for exploring the tourist host relationship as a lack of knowledge of 'rules' can often cause misunderstandings between cultures in tourist destinations (Gudykunst, 2004; Thyne, 2004).

While motivation is only one of many variables in explaining tourist behaviour, it is a very important one as it constitutes the driving force behind all behaviours (Fodness, 1994). Krippendorf suggests that there are two common threads to travel motivation for the tourist. The first and most dominant motive supported by Dann (1977) and Lundberg (1972) is that individuals travel to 'go away from' rather than 'towards' something or somebody, hence the term used by tourists 'getting away' Secondly, motives and behaviour are self orientated; the traveller decides what is good for them and what is not good, and they don't have to receive orders anymore – instead, they give them.

Tourists according to Jafari (1987) behave differently from the way they do at home, they bring with them their own culture (cultural baggage) but behave differently when in another culture and create a distinct 'tourist culture', a view endorsed by Carr (2002) and Sharpley (1994). A starting point for understanding the host is provided by Jafari (1987), who believes that hosts behave differently because many of them offer tourist services either directly or indirectly in a destination. Hosts may use a variety of methods for protecting their values and

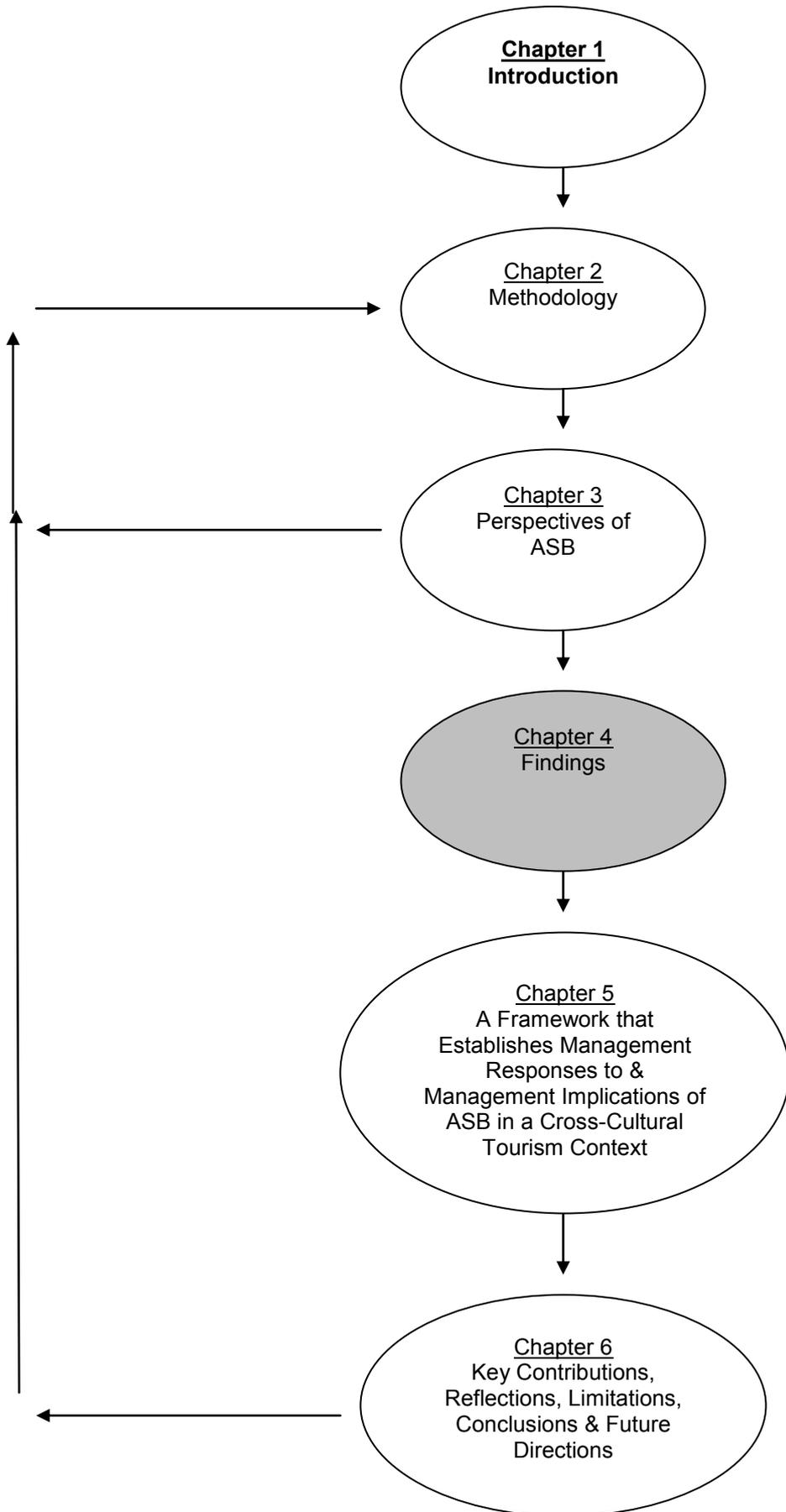
customs; these are mainly techniques of social distancing (Ayres, 2002)). They include covert action, hiding from tourists, communal celebrations, fencing tourists out, organised protest and even overt aggression to protect the hosts' own interests (Boissevain, 1996).

When people arrive in a destination they may shift through various feelings over time, which are described as acculturation phases (Hofstede, 2005; Jafari, 1987:6). The larger the degree of cultural differences between the contact participants, the greater the culture shock they may experience, the less information is exchanged, and the less effective is their interaction (Reisinger & Turner, 2003). Pearce (2005) argues that the models of phases of culture shock are unlikely to be widely or uniformly applicable to the diversity of the tourist types

Issues of coordination, collaboration and partnership are now at the forefront of much tourism research into finding new solutions to resource management and destination development problems (Dallen et al, 2003; Hall, 1999). The tourist-host encounter has been divided into four areas so that the context in which the social processes between these groups take place are understood: the cross-cultural interface (referred to in the methodology as the field setting); the contextual influences; the interaction; and the social processes that result. Clearly for ASB in tourism to exist then rules must have been broken in the first place. But establishing what rules are broken, by whom, why, what the consequences are, and by whom these infringements are judged is a controversial process.

The tourist-host encounter has been divided into four areas so that the context in which the social processes between these groups take place are understood: the cross-cultural interface (referred to in the methodology as the field setting); the contextual influences; the interaction; and the social processes that result.

Outline to Thesis



Chapter 4 - Findings

4.1 Introduction

The key elements that make up the types of ASB in tourism from the perspective of both the tourist and host have been identified. The resulting main categories discussed in this chapter are divided into two areas; informant directed categories and context directed categories. Informant directed categories represent the perspectives of the tourist and host at a micro level. Context directed categories reflect the broader cultural context at an intermediate and macro level.

The initial stage of research revealed that soft ASB was a difficult concept to identify or experience, and therefore to describe. The confusion created through this process provided the opportunity for the researcher to renegotiate her understanding of this phenomenon. Once the interviewing of informants took place during the second phase of field research elements of ASB began to emerge.

The most prominent tourist-derived ASB was alcohol-related and it was associated with UK leisure tourists. This provided a link to the home culture of the UK leisure tourist. In the UK being openly drunk and aggressive occurs frequently. In some tourist destinations this can also be the case. When this result was compared to the results for the host, alcohol-related ASB was not the most prominent ASB. When the UK leisure tourist is openly drunk this breaks a Spanish rule of behaviour and, to a lesser extent, a rule of UK behaviour too. Even though this rule breaking challenges a core feature of their culture, the Spanish were able to employ coping strategies in order to mitigate the impact.

Although not immediately obvious the host perspective of soft ASB revealed two key themes: language and eating. For the Spanish this is soft ASB. This relates to the tourist not embracing these aspects of Spanish culture. Whilst these aspects of Spanish culture are considered secondary cultural features, they are highly significant because they exist at a micro/intermediate level of culture and are thereby more closely linked to the core values of the host. The language use and eating behaviour of UK leisure tourists are visible, daily reminders to the Spanish

that some of their key cultural traits are not embraced. This situation is probably exacerbated by the inability of the Spanish host to change this situation.

4.2 Structure of the Findings

The aim of the sections that follow is to bring together and discuss the key elements of this case study. This chapter first discusses the six main categories of informant directed axial coding for ASB in tourism. See Appendix 17 for a complete list of categories and sub-categories and subsequent summary in Table 4.1. These categories are directly related to objective 2 (to identify the types of ASB in tourism) and objective 3 (to explore reasons for the ASB) and, they generally represent the micro level of culture. Although this study is not about hard ASB per se, participants reported it. This additional dimension provided the opportunity to understand the parameters of ASB. Each of the six categories that are discussed below has tables representing key elements of soft ASB that have been identified, together with an explanation, some illustrative key quotations, and field notes that help clarify the meaning of each. It should be noted that direct quotes from informants are derived from the two focus groups, as it was only these discussions that were taped and then transcribed. All other interviews with informants and observations made in the field resulted in field notes.

Table 4.1 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Informant Directed

UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts
UK Leisure Tourists Identify Hard ASB of Hosts
Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
Hosts Identify Hard ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
Hosts Identify Soft ASB of Non-British Tourists

The remaining categories, whilst linked to micro levels of culture, also reflect the broader cultural context, for example, management responses and cultural traits. The context does not stop at the micro-level (the immediate social environment of family or friendship or workgroup), but also extends to the intermediate-level (housing and other living arrangements and artefacts unique to society, such as literature, works of art, architecture, paintings, music, dance, drama, religious and

philosophical texts) and macro-level (past history, regulated political, legal, and social systems and communication networks, degree of freedom, geographical boundaries). Core and secondary features of culture guide the tourist-host relationship. Whilst core features act as the glue between groups, secondary features act as a window into core features. They represent the visible, outer cultural traits, the cultural content and cultural behaviour, that are more prone to change (Orford, 2008; Petric, 2005). The context provides a backdrop against which the ASB identified can be compared, contrasted and explained.

Table 4.2 shows the main categories of context directed axial coding for ASB in tourism (see Appendix 17 for a complete list of categories and sub-categories). These categories, which are discussed later in this chapter, exist largely at an intermediate/macro level - for example, management responses, cultural differences, geographical (place, space and environment), media and the public sector. They relate to aspects of the destination and the links to and possible impacts of the phenomenon of ASB in Andalusia, Spain. For example, social control, the physical aspects of the destination, decision-making dimensions of destination planning and the role of the media. These dimensions are also where the stakeholder power bases lie and their influences are, therefore, important to consider.

Table 4.2 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Context Directed

Management Responses
Cultural Traits - Spanish
Rules of Behaviour - Spanish
Cultural Traits UK Leisure Tourists
National Differences
National Similarities
Differences of ASB
Similarities of ASB
Geographical
Media
Public Sector

4.3 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Informant Directed

In the methodology chapter the concept of trustworthiness was discussed. One of the key components of building trustworthiness is the reflexive journal. Thirteen weeks of fieldwork spread over two seasons enabled the researcher to write over 100,000 words representing a mixture of conversations, observations and reflections. These reflections were consistently present throughout the fieldwork, numbering approximately 400. The field notes for this case study are peppered with comments relating to the researcher's perceptions and interpretations. The researcher moves between this role and that of a tourist and in doing so is able to explore the observations and experiences of informants. As Jorgensen (1989) said observing tourists in a variety of locations makes it possible to describe what goes on, where, when and how and why. All observations made in the field are listed in Appendix 8. This process supports interpretation, allowing natural changes to be made along the way. Key reflexive comments are incorporated into the narrative in this chapter.

Every informant was given a code. (T1 to T49 denotes the tourists interviewed, hosts were coded H1-H57.) Tourists numbered 49 in total and hosts 57. However, during the process of interviewing, particularly with tourists, others often joined in. Host and tourist informants with their respective coding can be found in Appendix 2 and 3. Any names that are in the text are pseudonyms.

Comments made by expatriates are used in this case study. Expatriates' reflections on life are multi-dimensional, as they have been exposed through time to deeper levels of social and cultural life in the host country. For the purpose of this study, the comments made by hosts about expatriates are categorised as comments about tourists because hosts generally perceive both British UK leisure tourists and UK expatriates as being tourists (see chapter 2.11.3). However, when expatriates make comments about tourists the expatriates are categorised as hosts. The middle ground occupied by the expatriates in this study proved to be useful as their comments reflected both tourists and hosts and helped to support interpretation.

4.4 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

What do UK leisure tourists think of their compatriots' behaviour? Whilst these interviewees appeared comfortable with this question they did not display a great deal of interest in what other tourists were doing. They have after all escaped their home culture and perhaps by acknowledging others they also are reminded of home. This point is well illustrated by the mother of a family on the beach in Fuengirola who said 'we don't get close enough to other Brits to get annoyed by them' (Appendix 3/T3). This was despite her being surrounded by many British people. Nevertheless tourists did make comments. These comments generally concerned the drinking culture of the British and reasons why this might occur (see Table 4.3).

A British man and his wife (Appendix 3/T43) confirmed their dislike of golfers to the researcher whilst on the promontory in Ronda. They listened to the researcher talking to five middle-aged British golfers (Appendix 3/T42) from Cardiff who said they had seen and heard noisy 'Scousers' (tourists from Liverpool, UK) in the bar of their hotel and that the British get drunk, are noisy and sing. The researcher asked if they sang football songs; they laughed and pointed to one of their group whom they said sang along to 'Queen'. The British man and his wife approached the researcher after the Cardiff group wandered off. They were staying in a hotel where there were many British golfers. They had not enjoyed the spectacle of a British golfer in a woman's dress and thong in the main dining room where families were gathered. The barman, they said, 'lost it' (got angry) with these drunken golfers but he was then made to apologise to them by his manager.

This highlights the importance the host places on their relationship with tourists. The British man and his wife probably had not come across this type of behaviour in the places they go to when in the UK, and this may be indicative of a clash between social classes. Golfers arrive in September, the region heavily promotes this market segment and more golf courses are planned. Tourists who come across drunken behaviour in bars and restaurants may make the choice not to visit that particular establishment again. It is unclear and doubtful whether hotels choose not to accommodate golfers.

Table 4.3 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists – Drinking

Key Element: Drinking	Interview Notes and Quotations
<p>Teenagers were not the focus of other tourist comments, perhaps because this group’s holiday lifestyle is different. They rose late, stayed up very late and frequented bars and clubs rather than restaurants. They are also a minority group in this destination. The Costa del Sol is not a party destination, being more popular particularly in the summer season with young families.</p>	<p>A group of teenagers were observed on a night out in ‘Linekers’ a bar popular with this age group. They had in front of them a large white bowl with a number of straws. An animated teenager happily explained ‘that it is a very big cocktail, the mix can be chosen from a list, eight litres for €40’ (Appendix 3/T1).</p>
<p>Many comments from tourists regarding drinking were directed at older groups of British being drunk in bars.</p> <p>Being drunk in Britain is not necessarily confined to one group although it is the youth that is considered to be the group most likely to be involved.</p>	<p>A British man with his family on the beach in Fuengirola said ‘that he did not like being surrounded by the Brits, they leave the UK to get away from Brits and do not want to be back in British culture when here. He found their drunkenness embarrassing’ (Appendix 3/T3).</p> <p>A British expatriate in La Cala felt that he could no longer rent out his two apartments to British golfers because of their drunken behaviour, which upset neighbours and caused damage to his property (Appendix 2/H30).</p>
<p>The main reason proposed for ASB was as a result of drinking alcohol. However, these were not numerous. The British are used to this type of behaviour and in the UK there are specific areas for drinking just as there are in Spain. These are generally in and around bars and nightclubs. In this case study Benalmadena is a specific area for partying.</p> <p>Cheap alcohol is probably a contributory factor but so might be the relaxed state of tourist who not at work and in a different context chooses to indulge.</p>	<p>One British couple explained that ‘Hull is really bad at the weekend. When I was young you could count drunk girls on one hand, now you can count thirty, that’s Yorkshire girls. So they bring it out here, it comes from home, it’s booze fuelled’ (Appendix 3/T9).</p> <p>Two teenage informants from the focus group say ‘<i>they offer two for one drinks and one free shot, 7 Euros for a shot and 2 cocktails</i>’ (Appendix 3/T10,T11).</p>

There were some comments regarding noisy tourists both adults and children (see Table 4.4). A key cultural difference can be seen in the way the British and Spanish socialise with their children. Rules of behaviour are compromised in this

context. The researcher in the role of a tourist visited a well-known English bar in Fuengirola with another female companion not only to observe but also to become more deeply embedded in the social life of the tourist. When the researcher and her female companion sat in the popular London Bar in Fuengirola five young British males came in clearly already inebriated. They stopped at our red velvet booth and after attempting to dance momentarily in an erotic manner asked, ‘what do you think girls?’ For us it was amusing in this bar with its flashing lights, plush red décor and a video loop of drunk people being sick in the street in the UK, and it was not surprising to be confronted by this type of behaviour. This context acted as a prompt, it was one, which we as British tourists recognised, and we did not feel the behaviour was anti-social. Some British tourists choose to frequent this type of bar because it is culturally more British.

Table 4.4 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists – Loud

Key Element: Loud	Interview Notes and Quotations
The expression ‘yobs’ or a ‘yobbo’ generally refers to young, drunk and badly behaved British males. Being loud is often therefore synonymous with being drunk.	An elderly female British tourist said, ‘We don’t come in the summer, we don’t see the yobbos,’ and ‘I have seen that behaviour in Majorca.’ (Appendix 3/T18).
Children were criticised for being noisy. Although they might be deemed uncontrolled this was usually in relation to the British staying up late with their children and being drunk. This rather than being an aspect of home culture was possibly more related to tourist culture. Children in Spain are used to staying up late with their parents who generally are not openly drunk. British children do not stay up late socialising with their parents in the same way. Being loud appears at times to be synonymous with being drunk.	Staying up late and having a good time is part of the holiday experience. An expatriate British journalist explained that when the British are like this with their children: ‘the Spanish will see that as being anti-social’ (Appendix 2/H30). There are lots of English and Irish bars towards the beach area in Torremolinos and they can get very noisy with the British (Appendix 3/T22).

However, it is these types of bars and the occasional behaviour in them that probably prompt other British tourists to make comments about the anti-social behaviour of their compatriots. This is possibly because these types of bars could

be seen to be encouraging ASB. Prompts such as these could act as predictors of ASB.

There were comments regarding fighting (see Table 4.5). Again these were limited, the first comment shows links to alcohol but the other more interestingly points to youth culture.

Table 4.5 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists – Fighting

Key Element: Fighting	Interview Notes and Quotations
<p>Two teenage girls cope with fights by ignoring them and moving away, not wishing to become involved. Fighting can be synonymous with drinking culture.</p> <p>This comment emanated from the young males from Sussex who in a focus group revealed that they felt at times that they were being provoked into a fight with young local Spanish men.</p> <p>It is possible that young adult males both in the UK and elsewhere have reputations amongst themselves and view each other as being aggressive.</p>	<p>‘Yes, in Puerto Banus. There are some fights but I don’t know if they are British because we just move far away’ (Appendix 3/T16).</p> <p>One interviewee said ‘I don’t know really, they’ve (the Spanish) got more of a reputation for being kind of violent’ (Appendix 3/T13).</p>

All over the coast there are cafés and restaurants serving familiar British style food. Comments from tourists regarding the British and their occasional need to eat roasts or fish and chips, popular British fare, were rare, indicating an acceptance and probably an expectation that this would be the case in this destination (see Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists – Food

Key Element: Food	Interview Notes and Quotations
<p>Perhaps the lack of comments regarding food was a reflection of the demand for British fare by tourists and an expectation that it was going to be easily available. In selecting this destination tourists knew in advance</p>	<p>A couple from Northern Ireland said ‘they eat roasts, you wonder why they come here’ (Appendix 3/T22).</p> <p>A British man highlights this well when he says ‘there are restaurants that sell</p>

that it had a strong British influence. These resorts have been popular tourist destinations for the British for fifty years.	English food like fish and chips and cottage pie, which is ideal for me because I am a very plain eater' (Appendix 3/T7).
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Tourists did not generally comment on the eating habits or dress sense of other British tourists as the Spanish sometimes did. This was possibly because tourists view other tourists in general as not exceptional in their choice of food or dress. Holiday attire is part of the tourist culture and may reflect the home culture (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists – Dress

<p>Key Element: Dress</p> <p>The researcher made field notes when observing tourists and hosts that related to the way the British tourist dresses. A certain style of dress was recognisable because the researcher was British. There was a propensity for pastel colours. British tourists and non-British tourists often wear swimwear when not on the beach; this stood out particularly in heritage areas such as Mijas. The Spanish were not observed in the same type of attire in these locations indicating that this was not a cultural trait for the Spanish even when adopting the role of tourist in their own country. This may not be the case when they are in other countries.</p>	<p>Observation Notes</p> <p>Outside the El Coto supermarket there are two families who are British, four adults, five children. The men are bare chested and tatoood, big bellies, fair skin. They wear football shorts and flip-flops (Appendix 8/O10).</p> <p>In front of us is a souvenir shop with a British family standing there with a map talking about which direction to go. The mother is wearing shorts and a bikini top, the father is in flip-flops, shorts and no shirt and the two girls in pale pink skirts and tops (Appendix 8/O14).</p>
<p>Key Element: Dress</p> <p>Tourist enclaves such as Puerto Banus have a reputation for entertaining the rich and famous and as a result attract all types of tourists who arrive to observe and take part in this display. It is sometimes difficult for the tourist to determine if their expectations will be met.</p>	<p>Interview Notes and Quotations</p> <p>'I have been to Puerto Banus. We dressed up to go there in our best casual gear, we thought that was what others did too, they did but there were lots of backpackers and I did not like them in their open toed sandals' (Appendix 3/T9).</p>

The ability to speak Spanish was not of concern to British tourists; they may try but they do not have to, because the English language is used as a common language between nationalities to communicate in this destination.

<p>exist it appears to be within acceptable behavioural parameters. It is also largely found in specific geographical areas, much as it is in the UK.</p>	<p>A teacher from Wakefield said ‘there is no hooliganism, no Brits abroad thing at all’ (Appendix 3/T23).</p>
<p>Some tourists are very happy with the influence of British culture, others such as this family find it difficult to come to terms with it, even though they have chosen a well-established British tourist destination.</p>	<p>They are on a tourist beach in Fuengirola but the father says ‘he does not like being surrounded by Brits. He finds their drunkenness embarrassing. They leave the UK to get away from Brits and therefore do not want to be back in British culture when here. They choose Spanish bars because English bars are full of English and English food’ (Appendix 3/T3).</p>

Children staying up late and making a noise is soft ASB that is linked to tourist culture and home culture. It is at times an extension of the British drinking encountered in the home culture but the children staying up late whilst on holiday is part of tourist culture. Spanish children stay up very late with their families often at the weekends either at home or out enjoying the ‘paseo’ or late night walk along the promenade. The older members of their family groups are not openly drunk and the children are not necessarily considered noisy or out of control.

Young British and Spanish males probably behave like many groups of young males around the world. It is possible that there is less of a cultural difference between youth than there is between older age groups. The British youths are enmeshed in tourist and youth culture at the same time.

4.5 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts

Comments regarding soft ASB by hosts as identified by UK leisure tourists were not strong in any sub-category. Either this behaviour was not regarded as anti-social ASB or it was difficult for the tourist to find a way of expressing him or herself. The researcher moving backwards and forwards between the roles of researcher and tourist also found it difficult to identify soft ASB. Soft ASB she found, could only be experienced if she herself was involved in the process. These experiences were fleeting in nature and therefore not easy to capture and describe. Their impact was mitigated to a large extent because they were not

repeated. They occurred as a social process between the researcher as a tourist and the host. It is possible that because any relevance to ASB was contained within the context of the tourist culture they became less important. The social and cultural distance between these two groups acts as an effective cushion. However, there is less of a cultural gap between UK leisure tourists themselves which explains why they were able to identify ASB from this group more strongly. The annoyances identified are discussed in Tables 4.9 to 4.12. Tables 4.11 and 4.12 are very much culture related, highlighting key cultural differences between the Spanish and the British.

The service encounter provides the opportunity for UK leisure tourists to comment on a familiar aspect of the tourist-host experience. Some friction between the tourist and host was noted when the interaction was part of the service encounter. This is inherently linked to tourist culture and at the same time to consumer behaviour and satisfaction. The comments made were good-natured, implying resignation and acceptance on the part of the tourist (see Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts – Service Encounter

Key Element: The Service Encounter	Field Notes and Quotations
<p>There were some comments about the Spanish being unfriendly and/or inefficient during service.</p> <p>At the height of the season this may be attributed to stress on the part of the Spanish owing to the numbers of tourists in the area.</p> <p>The International Marketing Director Costa del Sol said that more hotel schools were being planned so that standards of service were higher (Appendix 2/H39).</p>	<p>A British man on Fuengirola beach with his family said ‘in the restaurant the waiting staff were under pressure, we had to ask all the time for what we needed, they just don’t watch the tables to see when your drink is getting low’ (Appendix 3/T31).</p> <p>A family on Fuengirola beach thought that the Spanish were not as friendly as they used to be: ‘when we first came here they couldn’t do enough for you, no problems, they just do the job, they are swamped with tourists now’ (Appendix 3/T31).</p> <p>A man and his family said ‘they find the Spanish inland more friendly than here in Fuengirola. Here the locals just want money from the tourists and that is it’ (Appendix 3/T3).</p>

<p>Some tourists may like the slow pace and others take more time to adjust to this cultural trait. Those who wish to improve customer service standards are confronted with a dilemma regarding whose standards should be imposed? Making changes to a natural cultural trait of ‘taking things slowly’ has implications. The host may be reluctant to make these changes, moreover, ultimately such changes may reduce the difference between the tourist and host cultures, and thereby the tourist’s enjoyment of the holiday experience.</p>	<p>However, a mother with her family noted that ‘some British people in restaurants get frustrated with the slow service, but that is the way it is here’ (Appendix 3/T45).</p> <p>One British woman with a family and a business up in the hills said ‘I am nearly fluent, I get by. The Spanish are friendlier out here away from the coast. They get to know your face, and in the town they say hello. On the coast you are just another one that goes in and out’ (Appendix 2/H45).</p>
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At times key characteristics of Spanish culture become clear and apparent. In Spanish culture individuals will happily gather in close personal proximity and talk animatedly and loudly. In general, UK leisure tourists will feel uncomfortable in close proximity to strangers. As tourists interact with hosts, it is quite likely that this type of behaviour may surprise or even alarm the British, whose culture is accompanied by suitable cultural expectations (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts - Loud

<p>Key Element: Loud The Spanish are noisier in public places than the British might be, for example, in the street or on public transport. They interact in an animated manner, talking quickly and loudly, often in groups.</p> <p>Although both the tourist and host say each is loud this may be because they are so in different contexts. Each notices the other. This demonstrates the nature of cultural difference in a cross-cultural context.</p>	<p>Observation Notes The researcher noted: ‘I noticed on the train and in the streets here that the Spanish like to travel in groups, small ones, sometimes larger up to ten. Perhaps made up of friends and extended family’ (Appendix 8/O19).</p> <p>‘The train is busy today most probably because of the ‘feria’ (fiesta) in Malaga. Spaniards on public transport differ to the British in that they may talk and generally make a noise whereas on the tube or train in the UK it is largely quiet. This constant chat gives it a more friendly atmosphere, it is less threatening’ (Appendix 8/O20).</p>
<p>Key Element: Loud This is an example of how the definition of being noisy is relative to different contexts, and at the same time it reflects the different group make up.</p>	<p>Interview Notes and Quotations One expatriate comments that when she goes to bed the Spanish start their family party and are noisy (Appendix 2/H40).</p>

The tourist-host interaction described in Table 4.11 provides a clear indication of soft ASB as a result of cultural collision. It does not have the inherent negativity of ASB because the UK leisure tourist, in escaping their home culture, embraces to a certain degree the different culture of the host. The tourist expects in the process of escaping to experience a cultural difference.

For example, the mother of a family in Ronda said ‘there is a lack of road signs, we tried to park in Marbella, the people behind us were really blowing their horns, they (the Spanish) are impatient, we felt hassled but it was ok’ (Appendix 3/T19). This differentiation is important to the tourist and they are therefore unlikely to consider the host anti-social. The tourist does not necessarily need to be interacting face to face with the host in order to experience the differences between the cultures at a social level.

Table 4.11 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts – Personal Space

<p>Key Element: Personal Space Personal space is an issue for the British. They are generally not used to being in close proximity to others. In contrast the Spanish are comfortable with limited personal space and expect to be near others.</p>	<p>Observation Notes In Malaga for example, the researcher noted that she had ‘been bumped off the pavement by a large Spanish woman and scowled at by a waitress in a café’. Soft ASB when it is experienced like this is subjective in nature (Appendix 8/O19).</p>
<p>Key Element: Personal Space This reflects cultural collision between the lifestyle of the British and the lifestyle of the Spanish, where being in close proximity is acceptable and expected.</p>	<p>Interview Notes and Quotations Spanish people it was noted could be both pushy and irritating at times. A Scottish man said ‘the Spanish are very pushy, barge into you, there was a Spanish woman in the hotel, I was getting my tea from the machine, she just reached over me and started pushing the buttons when I was trying to use it. They don’t acknowledge you’ (Appendix 3/T33).</p> <p>A long term expatriate explained why the Spanish host and the tourist may at times find each other annoying. ‘Tourists don’t understand this culture which is more North African. English don’t like to bump into people they like their personal space but this is very</p>

	normal here and the Spanish do not apologise. The most they might say is 'scusi' but that is not always the case. The English don't like this' (Appendix 2/H30).
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The Spanish do drink alcohol but they do not generally become overtly drunk and disorderly. They also socialise in family units and therefore at the same time the drinking is controlled by rules of behaviour. This is perhaps why it was rare to come across negative comments made by UK leisure tourists about hosts drinking (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts - Drinking

Key Element: Soft ASB of Hosts – Drinking	Interview Notes and Quotations
The Spanish were observed out at night often in family groups eating, drinking and laughing. Tourists did not make comments about the way the Spanish socialised.	A large group of young Spanish were seen on Fuengirola beach early evening. They had large bottles of cola and spirits. These gatherings are known as 'botellón' and to a great extent are tolerated by other Spanish. An expatriate noted that because it was a bank holiday it was 'worse than usual' (Appendix 2/H19).
The Spanish like to congregate, particularly the young and this type of gathering was not considered unusual.	
Only once were the Spanish observed overtly drunk at a fiesta in Malaga. Perhaps at fiesta time this behaviour is more tolerated by the Spanish.	A group of drunken Spanish men entertained passers-by on a temporary stage with a part striptease. A British woman said 'it's nice to see it's not just the Brits who behave like this' (Appendix 3/T23).

The number of positive comments that British tourists made about the Spanish host exceeded those that were perceived as being negative (see Table 4.13). These positive aspects are broad in nature and highlight different aspects of the tourist experience. It is possible that many of the interactions between the tourist and host were considered to be within a range of day to day annoyances and therefore normal for that context. For example; a retired British man, probably an expatriate, gestures with his hand to a man driving a Spanish registered Mercedes to get off the pedestrian crossing in the centre of La Cala and at the same time says, 'You're blocking the crossing you prat.' Helpfully the man drove on but as his windows were up it is unlikely that he registered whether the retired man was

British or otherwise. This is an example of an unremarkable day-to-day annoyance that could have taken place anywhere (Appendix 2/H24). The focus group carried out by the researcher with five young British men from Sussex illuminates further the different aspects of Spanish culture at a national level and a local level.

Table 4.13 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts – Positive Perceptions

Key Element: Positive Perceptions Generally comments made about the host were positive in nature.	Field Notes and Quotations Norma, a civil servant in Malaga, said that ‘everybody impressed her’, the Spanish, she said, were ‘welcoming and friendly, customer service was good’ (Appendix 3/T32).
This comment regarding the Spanish on the road highlights a key cultural difference between British and Spanish driving. It also shows that tourists both recognise and accept those cultural differences.	A family on Benalmadena beach said ‘the locals are pleasant not rude, except when they drive then they are impatient and they beep their horns all the time’ (Appendix 3/T5).
To some extent the region of Andalucia has become dependent upon tourism for its economic stability. The comment made here by these tourists underlines this.	A couple in Mijas said ‘up here in Mijas they rely on the tourists, they want you to come. They are very pleasant, they can’t afford to be rude’ (Appendix 3/T39).
Feeling safe is an important dimension of the tourist experience.	‘I feel safer here than in Leeds town centre at the weekend’ (Appendix 3/T34). ‘No problems with security, we feel safe. We would recommend it here’ (Appendix 3/T15). ‘It’s such a nice family place to come here, it’s very safe’ (Appendix 3/T16).
The culture of the Spanish is an important factor to the British in escaping their own busy schedules.	A British couple with a young baby reflect on the Spanish lifestyle: ‘Everybody speaks English here. They tolerate you more than the French. He says traditional Spanish life is not all about money, it’s more about lifestyle and family, I see it with the Spanish I work with’ (Appendix 3/T45).

A group of young British men in hostel accommodation in Malaga were staying in a Spanish area rather than a tourist one; they were exposed to more Spanish cultural traits, content and behaviour than other groups of tourists. This group

stood out more in this area of Malaga. When they went to Benalmadena, a popular tourist destination, and embedded themselves in the tourist culture they felt welcomed, did not stand out, and therefore felt more comfortable.

One of the young men from the focus group said that they preferred Torremolinos to Malaga because they felt more welcome. *'The people there just seem to be nicer because in a way it's cos it's their job to be nicer, I mean that's what they have to do they have to like be nice to you.'* (Appendix 3/T10) This points to tourist expectations, which are linked to tourism and host cultures.

These young men from Sussex interviewed in a focus group thought the young Spanish men and others in Malaga stared at them. They found this unsettling, one describing this as anti-social. Moreover, because they perceived these men to be older, perhaps 21, they felt uncomfortable. They remained at their accommodation, which had a friendly international crowd, and took the local bus daily to Benalmadena where they said they felt welcome. This comment also points to a separation between tourist and non-tourist areas. Malaga is a working city, with many tourists visiting the centre but it is not a resort destination like Torremolinos, Fuengirola or Benalmadena. Groups of young British men in Malaga, particularly if they are under 18, could be conspicuous when there are no other groups of young Spanish or British men milling around. This is particularly so in heritage themed tourist areas where the age range is generally older.

They liked the bars in Benalmadena, one in particular that had been the subject of participant observation. Four litre bowls of cocktail mixes with straws, a very young crowd, and drug pushing were particular features. The young Sussex men had not personally encountered any drugs but had at times enjoyed getting inebriated. On one occasion one of them was picked up in a drunken state by police and driven back to the hostel without any charge and with some good humour. This is not an experience they had encountered in their own home culture. The response by Spanish police demonstrates a tolerance for aspects of youth culture.

Spanish locals intervened when other young Spanish males, who the group thought wanted to start a fight, took the group's football. On another occasion

when they went to play football on tarmac near the hostel, they were invited by other young Spanish males to join in their football game there. This they felt involved them and made them feel welcome. This behaviour by the locals demonstrates intra-cultural similarity between youth groups.

The group did not feel that they had encountered any ASB from other British individuals. They had seen people being thrown out of clubs in Benalmadena, mostly British – *'ridiculously drunk but none of the Spanish ever seem to be like ridiculously drunk'* (Appendix 3/T10). Being openly drunk in Spain is against social rules of behaviour, particularly when it comes to adults.

The young British men said they had not been asked to show ID (identification) when in bars and they did not have problems buying alcohol. Their perception was that the bars *'kind of decide their own age really, like when we're out in Malaga it's 18 and in Benalmadena it's 16'* (Appendix 3/T10). In Malaga, a predominantly working Spanish city, ID is probably requested more often because the legal drinking age is 18 and that is why the crowd are 18 and over in bars. However, in Benalmadena, a popular party area, the rules seem to be more relaxed for the tourists. The young Sussex men were surprised to be told that the official drinking age was 18. Young Spanish will be attracted to the tourist destinations because they are more likely to be able to drink if they are under 18.

In the local supermarket the group were the subject of a watchful eye by the security, this was probably because, as one of them explains, *'I think it's cos we go in and we don't have a huge idea of what we're going to buy so we end up looking around for...'* (Appendix 3/T10). For the store security this group are not behaving as other shoppers might, particularly Spanish teenagers and therefore they arouse interest.

4.6 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Hard ASB of Hosts

Possibly more alarming for tourists is the aspect of 'hard' ASB that seemingly exists in the region (O'Reilly, 2000). Table 4.14 summarises the main elements of this hard ASB.

The researcher observed the availability of drugs. Some were seen being sold from the boot of a car in Fuengirola, sold by a young Algerian in a residential area and a man smoking marijuana openly at a club opening night. One expatriate whose son had a local bar job said that his son had been told to let the drug dealers into the bar and to leave them alone to do their job (Appendix 2/H6).

Table 4.14 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Hard ASB of Hosts

<p>Key Element: Hard ASB Expatriates were more likely to have some awareness of organised crime because they are more entrenched in the local culture.</p>	<p>Field Notes and Quotations Kate, an expatriate, said that businesses here have to be careful of the mafia. If you do too well and make the wrong contacts, she said, the mafia would move in, either demanding protection money and/or your business (Appendix 2/H25). Another, a journalist, said that he was writing a piece about the Russian mafia for a British newspaper locally but he said that he could only take it so far: 'I may be found at the bottom of the sea with concrete boots on' (Appendix 2/H30).</p>
<p>For tourists the main concerns were mugging and pick pocketing.</p> <p>One of the young men from Sussex had his phone stolen from his pocket and then experienced problems reporting the crime for insurance purposes to the police. The Spanish police had a special English speaking phone line to report crimes, which the young Sussex man could not get through on.</p> <p>If the police are not interested then it is likely that a true representation of mugging related crime cannot exist.</p>	<p>Jackie, an expatriate (Appendix 2/H39), a Spanish waiter in Torremolinos (Appendix 2/H26) and Mary a British tourist (Appendix 3/T41) all made comments regarding the influx of East Europeans into the area and the increased level of burglaries and muggings as a result.</p> <p>A couple with an apartment in Fuengirola said that 'you have to be careful, there are quite a few muggings there, they take your bag really quickly, the Moroccans took my purse you don't even see it. East Europeans (her husband interjects) are a problem too. I got robbed twice around Christmas last year' (Appendix 3/T41).</p> <p>A young Swedish waiter said 'I got mugged late at night after work in Marbella, the man put his arm around my throat and choked me so that I passed out. When I went to the police</p>

	they said ring the English number to talk to someone, they were not interested, and nobody answered the phone' (Appendix 2/H35).
Legal brothels do exist and therefore prostitution is not necessarily hard ASB although tourists may perceive it to be so because they are not legal in the UK. However, prostitution could be considered to be another aspect of tourist culture.	Tourists made comments about prostitutes approaching them (Appendix 3/T43) in hotels, in the street and in bars (Appendix 3/T48) but did not appear to be concerned.

Africans known by the British locally as 'lookie lookie men' sell counterfeit goods along the beaches. In an interview with them they admitted that they were working illegally but said that they were left alone by the authorities. It was clear they had a code of conduct, as they worked the beaches moving on quickly and with little fuss from tourists who said no to them. The tourists were observed buying goods which they probably knew were illegal. They were not necessarily aware, however, that the vendors were illegal. No-one made disparaging comments about them. The young group of men interviewed for the focus group said that they were only doing their job. They also said they had watched a tourist run off with an African vendors' pair of sunglasses without paying, an incident they thought unfair. Tourists accept these men as another dimension of tourist culture. The Africans said that the tourists could be very rude telling them to 'fuck off'. Since this is English terminology it is assumed these were British tourists. For them, all tourists look the same and they could not tell the nationalities apart.

Tourists were less likely to discuss hard ASB than British expatriates. Their short sojourns mean that they are not as exposed to hard ASB or perhaps any more aware of its existence than they might be at home. However, this does not mean they do not experience it. High tourist numbers may indicate that incidences are lost in the flow of tourism. Moreover, some tourists may not report incidences and official figures may not be accurate. Tourists and expatriates alike are able to discern types of hard ASB because this is familiar to them in their home culture. Core values associated with being safe transcend nationalities so when tourists or expatriates are exposed to muggings, for example, they know that this is hard ASB. If there is a problem, it is with the reaction of the host to the tourist who is a

victim. This is because it may differ from the reaction tourists might experience at home and their safety is compromised.

4.7 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

Hosts were generally reluctant to make negative comments about British tourists, perhaps for economic reasons but there are clearly aspects about British tourists that they find difficult to accept (see Table 4.15).

Table 4.15 Hosts Perceive Tourists as Positive

Key Element: Positive Comments	Field Notes and Quotations
Perhaps the reluctance to criticise British tourists is linked to the reliance on tourism for the local economy. British tourists are the most numerous and represent economic gain.	A Spanish tour guide said that ‘the British are the most appreciated of all the tourists’ (Appendix 2/H27) The owner of a café on the beach in La Cala was happy for example, to discuss tourists in general. There were lots of English and Germans she said, fewer Italians and French, but she did not want to say whether English tourists were rude in any way because she said she liked them and many come back year after year (Appendix 2/H23).
It is possible that the British are tolerated by the host because they are less demanding in the role of a tourist than the Spanish, who in their own culture have different expectations of the customer service encounter. It is possible that the British would be more demanding in their own culture too.	A Moroccan selling boat trips from Benalmadena said ‘the British are the easiest tourists to look after; they are no trouble at all.’ Conversely the Spanish, he said, were ‘the most difficult’ (Appendix 2/H29).

A Spanish car hire worker at Malaga airport initially had a different view of the British. He said that the ‘British are the rudest, they say fuck off they don’t like to wait’. However, as the conversation progressed his attitude to the British changed. He said, ‘Here at the car hire they get impatient. It all depends, they are not all like that, you get nice people and other nationalities can be rude too.’ (Appendix 2/H43)

Since the researcher is British it is likely that the host reactions she experienced were much the same as they would have been toward other British tourists. This demonstrates the care with which the host handles their relationship with the tourist. The willingness of the host to nurture their relationship with the tourist/researcher may have an impact on the data as this indicates social bias. At the same time it does also appear that incidences of ASB are considered low level by the host. With the predominance of British people in the area and a long established tourism industry the relationship between the tourist and host appears to be a comfortable one. The host may consider some issues concerning tourist behaviour within a range of day to day annoyances, possibly because they are part of tourist culture.

Tourists in Andalucia are known as 'guiris' by hosts. This is an affectionate and amusing term used to describe pale tourists that burn in the sun, dress in a particular way and behave like tourists. Hosts are tolerant of these 'guiris'; they say they are just tourists but they are seemingly less tolerant of the expatriate population and often complain that they do not integrate. Whilst their relationship with tourists might be superficial because they stay a short time their relationship with expatriates is long term. There is probably therefore, an expectation for the expatriate to engage in a social and therefore cultural relationship with them.

The main source of annoyance for the host concerned the reluctance of the British (and possibly other nationalities) to speak Spanish; again this related more to expatriate British (see Table 4.16). Businesses are keen to accommodate tourists and tourism so there is a dilemma for hosts wanting tourists to speak their language. Moreover, in this destination where the host is inundated with English speaking tourists the pressure to speak anything but English is low. If the host is residing in a tourist enclave then is it unreasonable for him to demand that the tourist speaks Spanish?

The examples given in Table 4.16 relate more to the British expatriate rather than the UK leisure tourist. There is a difference perceived by the host between the British expatriate and the British tourist, as this conversation with two employees from the Costa del Sol Tourist Board highlights:

Researcher: 'Does it matter that tourists speak Spanish or not?'

Host: 'They normally don't speak.'

Researcher: 'They don't speak Spanish?'

Host: 'No, no, it's not normal.'

Researcher: 'But it doesn't matter?'

Host: 'No, doesn't matter.'

Researcher: 'They come here for a short time.'

Host: 'Exactly.'

Researcher: 'And then they go.'

(Appendix 2/H51, H52)

The host recognises that the tourist and expatriate are different; they are neither tourist nor host to them. But at the same time expatriates, for the host, are not easily distinguishable in reality and then for the host both groups become tourists.

Table 4.16 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists - Language

Key Element: Language	Field Notes and Quotations
When the host is surrounded by British nationals – tourists and/or expatriates – they may feel that their culture is being overwhelmed. However, in their quest to accommodate the tourist they may feel obliged to communicate with them in English and in doing so boost the tourist culture dimension.	The director of the Mijas tourist office recounted a situation in his local community that highlights this problem: 'In my community where I live there are ten houses. Seven are British households and three are Spanish. They wanted our community meeting in English but I said no it has to be in Spanish. They said they did not understand so I said well you have to get someone to translate for you. They push their British culture on us, they should try to adapt' (Appendix 2/H31).
Her comments reflect possible divisions between UK leisure tourists and expatriates, generations and rural and coast life.	Barbara, a British expatriate in her late fifties, said the British don't integrate well, they have their own bars and supermarkets, but some are better than others. British people, she said, 'do not speak Spanish, they are colonial'. Barbara herself lived in a rural town farther inland, away from the British that she said have no culture, don't integrate, remain very British, have British businesses and eat British food (Appendix 2/H50).

<p>A Spanish tourist office official illustrates in a conversation with the researcher who asks, ‘Do the Spanish mind all the development here and the foreigners buying homes?’ The lack of integration by the British expatriate is clearly an important issue.</p>	<p>Miguel replies ‘yes they mind because the foreigners that live here do not integrate, the ones that come for two weeks don’t matter but the others they should integrate but they don’t. They don’t speak Spanish and that is wrong. Yes, English is the common language used between the different nationalities here’ (Appendix 2/H57).</p>
<p>Some tourists do indeed visit heritage attractions but the majority visit this part of Spain for the coast. On the coast where there are many tourists there is very little need for them to speak in English. The lawyer himself was fluent in English; he needed to be proficient in order to carry out the paperwork for the property purchases made by the British.</p>	<p>A Spanish lawyer pointed out that ‘they (the British) can be here for ten years and not speak any Spanish and they are only here for the beer not to visit places nearby like Cadiz’ (Appendix 2/H32).</p>
<p>Key Element: Language English is spoken everywhere, it is employed as a common language between nationalities.</p>	<p>Observation Notes At a café in La Cala a German couple speaking in German ordered their meal in English (Appendix 8/O260706). Field Notes and Quotations And a British expatriate couple residing in the residential area of El Coto for 17 years and who had a property maintenance company spoke very little Spanish. The woman said ‘after 17 years she still could not speak Spanish and did not need to because everyone speaks English’ (Appendix 2/H11).</p>

Comments about the domination of British culture in the area appear to be related to fundamental aspects of Spanish social life. For example, a Spanish lawyer in Fuengirola says, ‘I encourage them (the British) to get integrated. They try to impose their own system, they don’t try and comprehend the Spanish system’ (Appendix 2/H32). By this he means the Spanish way of doing things because he processes the legal documentation for British expatriates. Although this scenario is more likely to refer to British expatriates it does illustrate the frustration of the host with alien cultural systems seemingly imposed upon them. The English language is used between the various nationalities including the Spanish that visit the area to communicate between each other. Therefore, it is not only the British who perpetuate the type of tourist culture in this destination.

The lawyer, the administrator of the Mijas tourist office and the representatives from the Costa del Sol Tourist Board all made comments regarding the lack of formality concerning the British way of dressing. These professionals believed that male British tourists (and other male non-British tourists) should wear shirts in restaurants and supermarkets. In the first comment made by the Spanish lawyer it is possible that again there is an issue with social class between nationalities (see Table 4.17).

Table 4.17 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists - Dress

Key Element: Dress	Field Notes and Quotations
<p>Not only is there a cultural comparison at professional level but also a clear divide between ‘them and us’ – the tourist and host, and this is most noticeable between men.</p> <p>It is possible that the inability of the Spanish to tell what the tourist does professionally is confusing and frustrating to them.</p> <p>This Spaniard was visibly annoyed about British men not wearing shirts in eating establishments, something the Spanish would not do and therefore a breach of rules of behaviour.</p> <p>Many restaurateurs did not care how the British dressed, as the tour guide in Ronda pointed out. They want the business.</p>	<p>The Spanish lawyer in relation to dress said ‘the English care more about results than the way they dress. The Spanish like to show what they do by the way they dress’ (Appendix 2/H32).</p> <p>He says ‘in shops and restaurants tourists should wear shirts but it is not the law. I would make it law because you should not need a sign, it’s just etiquette to know when you should wear a shirt. You can tell the nationality of the way the tourists dress’(Appendix 2/H57).</p> <p>‘We know it gets very hot and it is difficult for people ... people are not particularly bothered with that’ (Appendix 2/H16)</p>

There were minor comments from the host regarding the eating habits of the British. In a similar way that the occasions when the British are loud are inappropriate, the British eat Spanish food for example, paella at the wrong time and with the wrong drink. They also eat their own type of food, which causes consternation. The cultural traits of eating and dress are linked and represent key Spanish cultural rituals (see Table 4.18).

Table 4.18 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists - Eating

<p>Key Element: Eating This is a good example of the tourist taking a culturally Spanish product and adapting it so that it has a British orientation.</p>	<p>Field Notes and Quotations 'Why drink tea when eating fried fish? The Spanish think this is strange' (Appendix 2/H10). 'Why eat Paella in the evening? The Spanish eat this at lunchtime' (Appendix 2/H36).</p>
<p>British fare is easily available. It is possible that if there were more Spanish restaurants in the tourist areas the British might choose to eat Spanish food. Moreover, a different type of tourist may choose to visit.</p> <p>But how valid is this perception of the British? Spanish tourists may well seek out familiar Spanish style food when they go on holiday to a foreign destination.</p> <p>This retired British man liked it here because he could eat food that suited him. How much is too much when it comes to tourist culture? – this is a dilemma for planners. British individuals own many businesses, they provide what they believe the British need and want.</p>	<p>A long-term expatriate said of the British 'they don't take time to integrate, speak Spanish, get into Spanish culture; they eat English breakfasts, the egg, bacon and beans. The Spanish are 'blasé' about this because the British are paying regardless of whether it is eggs or Spanish food. It is what the tourists like, so it is what is dished out, it's what brings in the money' (Appendix 2/H44).</p> <p>An incoming tour operator noted that 'the British want the location to be like it is at home; they can do the same things. In Spain we have a saying: wherever you go do whatever you see, but here it is opposite for the British, wherever you go do the same as you do at home, drink beer and eat fish and chips' (Appendix 2/H31).</p> <p>'There are restaurants that sell English food like fish and chips and cottage pie, which is ideal for me because I am a very plain eater' (Appendix 3/T7).</p>

There were a number of comments regarding the drinking culture of the British, see Table 4.19. The Spanish clearly found it difficult to comprehend the behaviour of the British when inebriated because they did not behave in this manner. In spite of these comments it was possibly the reputation of the British rather than their actions that was the problem. Generally the Spanish, in order to avoid the British, would not choose to socialise in crowded tourist areas, although young Spanish people might do so.

Table 4.19 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists - Drinking

<p>Key Element: Drinking</p>	<p>Field Notes and Quotations</p>
<p>It is possible that this young Spanish man was trying to understand why older British tourists became drunk when out in restaurants. This type of behaviour is not considered appropriate in Spanish culture. He believes that a particular social class of British tourist behave in this way.</p> <p>Drinking seems to be something the British have a reputation for. Acceptance of this cultural trait appears to have increased. It could be more difficult to change this trait because it has become more strongly linked to core values.</p> <p>Because drunkenness is against rules of behaviour in Spanish culture he finds it difficult to believe this behaviour does indeed exist in the British home culture.</p>	<p>In response to a comment the researcher made about a local bar frequented by British people who became drunk, a 17 year old Spanish host said ‘I have been living here for 17 years and it’s always the same at El Brujo, its lower class English people’ (Appendix 2/H8).</p> <p>The British have a reputation for drinking. Miguel from the tourist office clarifies this: ‘We don’t have problems with the English here, if they get drunk they do this in Fuengirola – they go from beach to disco to apartment and do nothing else. These people are not interested in culture. They get drunk here, when they come here its like a ‘chip’ has changed in their head and they think they can do what they like.’ The researcher asks if he thinks they don’t behave like this at home. He replies ‘Of course not’ but later he says ‘the English have a reputation for alcohol.’ (Appendix 2/H33)</p>
<p>These two comments clearly highlight the rules of social behaviour in Spain and the way they differ to those in the UK with regard to drinking. Fighting and being openly drunk is not acceptable in Spanish society.</p> <p>This refers to the British breaking a Spanish social rule. The Spanish, unable to apply their social rules of control, choose to stay away from them.</p> <p>When out in tourist areas it was the experience of the researcher that restaurants, bars and cafés were frequented mainly by non-Spanish customers. It is possible that the Spanish avoid drunken tourists. This observation points to a coping strategy adopted by the host.</p>	<p>A waitress in Torremolinos said ‘it seems to me that in the UK the girls seem quite prepared to fight and get very drunk which the Spanish girls do not or not as much’ (Appendix 2/H21).</p> <p>A Spanish lawyer in Fuengirola pointed out, ‘the Spanish when we get drunk we joke and sing but there is no violence it is socially forbidden. English behaviour when they are drunk are aggressive and this is not tolerated. The Spanish stay away from the British’ (Appendix 2/H32).</p> <p>A local lawyer says ‘the English are aggressive when they are drunk and this is not tolerated, the Spanish stay away from the English’ (Appendix 2/H32).</p>

The potential reasons given by the host for the behaviour of the British when inebriated were superficial in their analysis: they suggested that it was because alcohol was cheap. However, the administrator in Mijas did identify the escape factor for the UK leisure tourist as a potential reason, and in doing so pointed to possible deeper social issues (see Table 4.20).

Table 4.20 Host Reasons for UK Leisure Tourist ASB – Drinking

Key Element: Reasons for Drinking	Field Notes and Quotations
<p>The administrator from Mijas rightly points out the escape factor as one of the reasons for British tourists behaving as they do when on holiday. The cost of the alcohol may also be a factor.</p> <p>The escape factor may indicate a predisposition of the tourist towards a type of behaviour that they would not adopt in their home culture. This factor and the cheap alcohol could act as predictors for ASB.</p> <p>This insightful comment from the host highlights cultural differences between the British and Spanish, and the general nature of tourist culture as potential reasons for tourist ASB.</p>	<p>‘It is cheaper to drink here,’ says the administrator from the tourist office in Mijas, ‘their behaviour when they drink, well you don’t want to be here’ (Appendix 2/H31).</p> <p>A hotel bookings director explained that the ‘British are known for going on drinking binges, it’s understandable because it’s half the cost than back home, same with tobacco’ (Appendix 2/H44).</p> <p>The administrator of Mijas tourist office said ‘when people go on holiday they forget everything, they forget to be people. They have nothing to do all day, which helps encourage drunken behaviour. They don’t have these actions at home. It’s cheap here and cheap to drink here’ (Appendix 2/H31).</p> <p>‘Normally you relax on vacation, so maybe you get to the point of losing control more quickly. We don’t start drinking until we eat, this might be quite late. The British have already been drinking for hours and they eat earlier. I have to drive so I may only have one or two gin and tonics. But on vacation you drink more, it is the same for the Spanish in the Caribbean’ (Appendix 2/H31).</p>

4.8 Hosts Identify Hard ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

Hosts did not identify hard ASB by tourists. However, at times the tourist becomes too much for the host as a British journalist recounts: 'In a bar not long ago I saw a British man get drunk and have an argument with another British man. It got really out of hand, a Spanish man got involved because the British were insulting the Spanish football team. In the end the Spanish man went and got a gun.' (Appendix 2/H30) It was the Spanish man in this scenario who was responsible for the hard ASB. When cultures collide individuals can get aggressive but this seldom happens, which is perhaps why this type of behaviour was rarely observed or experienced by the host.

4.9 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of Non-British Tourists

Hosts made little reference to different cultures probably because the researcher made it clear that the focus was on British tourists. However, some comments were made and these provided an additional dimension to the overall context.

When hosts make comments about British tourists it is possible that when doing so they place all tourists together, particularly when it is about a general aspect of tourist culture. A young Spaniard, for example, says, 'The Spanish are just happy to take the tourists' money and they don't care because they depend on them for their livelihoods' (Appendix 2/H9).

At other times hosts made comparisons between nationalities; for example, a bar worker at the Marriott said, 'The Americans are very fussy but it is ok because they leave a tip but the Spanish don't and they like everything just so too' (Appendix 2/H48). Another, a waitress in Malaga said, 'We have mainly British customers at the hotel, they are easy to look after, I am used to them. The Spanish are difficult' (Appendix 2/H56).

Hosts made comments about the behaviour of other hosts that could be linked to the tourist culture of the destination. A jewellery vendor in Ronda explained that

Spanish musicians play in restaurants without asking and then come to the tables to beg, something he did not like (Appendix 14/H53).

4.10 Types of ASB

Table 4.21 presents a summary of the types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations. This is not presented as a list of specific behaviours per se; they are responses made as a result of the interaction between the tourist and host and which reflect, therefore, the social and cultural processes between them. Reasons for ASB become evident when the various anti-social behaviours are compared and evaluated in relation to ‘cultural differences in rules of behaviour’. When the tourist undermines core values, for example, by being overtly drunk, disorderly and aggressive, this is considered to be a serious breach of rules by the host. The further away the behaviour is from core values, the less of a problem it is for the host. For example, tourists choosing to shop at their own type of supermarket whilst in Andalucia is less of a problem than when they engage in the ritual of eating and drinking. Reasons for ASB in tourism are discussed further in chapter 6.

Table 4.21 Types of UK Leisure Tourist and Host ASB

Tourist Categories	Host Categories
<p>UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB by UK Leisure Tourists Drunken behaviour – is part of home and tourist culture, it is soft ASB rather than hard in tourist culture. Being loud/noisy children – staying up late with adults who may be drunk is symptomatic of tourist culture, as is being loud. Young men can be aggressive – tourist and host share tourist culture and youth culture. Although fighting was not an apparent issue, it can be associated with drinking. Food, dress and language – whilst commented upon, were not considered to be an issue for tourists.</p>	<p>Hosts Identify Soft ASB by UK Leisure Tourists Host reluctant to identify ASB by tourists. Recognition and acceptance of tourists and tourist culture. Local business is keen to support tourism. Tourists and expatriates do not speak Spanish. British men do not wear shirts in restaurants. Tourists and expatriates eat British-style food. Tourists and expatriates enjoy their own bars and supermarkets. British become drunk. Tourists exhibit same behaviour as host but the context is different.</p>

	Tourists are on holiday and they don't know the rules of behaviour.
<p>UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB by Hosts</p> <p>No strong evidence found in any category:</p> <p>Slow service – reflects culture to some extent.</p> <p>Loud – in general not necessarily as a result of drinking.</p> <p>Personal Space – tourists found the lack of personal space accorded to them by the Spanish uncomfortable.</p> <p>Spanish were found to be pushy at times, possibly as an outcome of reduced personal space.</p> <p>The British felt the Spanish stared at them.</p> <p>Drinking – was not an issue.</p> <p>Encounters are fleeting in nature and therefore not easy to capture.</p> <p>They are day to day annoyances and are a subjective experience.</p> <p>Actions are less likely to be repeated in a short sojourn.</p> <p>Tourist culture acts as an effective cushion between two different cultures.</p>	<p>Hosts identify Soft ASB by Non-British Tourists</p> <p>Did not identify specific ASB but made instead comparisons between nationalities in terms of group character traits.</p>
<p>UK Tourists Identify Hard ASB by Hosts</p> <p>Muggings and pick-pocketing – reported but not responded to in the same way as in home culture by police – Spanish police less concerned.</p>	<p>Hosts Identify Hard ASB by Tourists</p> <p>Hosts did not identify hard ASB by tourists.</p>

4.11 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Context Directed

The sections that follow discuss key aspects of the context in this case study. The headings reflect objectives 3 (to explore reasons for ASB) and objective 4 (to compare and evaluate the various anti-social behaviours). There are many factors that might contribute to the overall understanding of ASB in tourism. However, as was pointed out in the introduction, whilst it is tempting to follow interesting paths there comes a point when a decision has to be made about the direction and the information being presented. The factors discussed in the categories that follow

illuminate those key elements that are considered the most prominent and that are within the parameters of this case study.

4.12 Implications of Management Responses

Official and unofficial management responses relate to the behaviour management strategies employed by the host (as individuals and as organisations with responsibility for managing tourists) and by the tourist. These management strategies used by hosts (individuals and organisations) and tourists represent written and unwritten rules. Every culture will have a different set of written and unwritten rules; some of those that are unwritten embody core cultural traits, they are less visible, and therefore more difficult for the tourist to comprehend. Particularly when the cultures are not dissimilar, will probably tend to represent those core values that correspond in both the tourist and host cultures. These are more easily identifiable for the tourist.

4.12.1 Implications of Unofficial Management Responses of the Host

The host has limited choices in how to respond to tourist culture but nevertheless can be creative in their unofficial responses. In chapter 3 some of these tactics were discussed as coping strategies. When the host is exposed to reoccurring situations that have an impact they can adapt either through the development of effective coping strategies and/or passively by becoming desensitized to the effects (Faulkner, 2003). The key tool for the Andalucian is their lifestyle which through its close networking segregates them from the tourist. The host may choose to overtly exclude the tourist (and expatriate) from their social lives. This action is particularly evident with expatriates who do not speak Spanish.

At an interactive level the host is free to eject unwanted tourists from their bars. Tellingly a British couple with an apartment in Nerja said, 'The Town Hall there is very strict with the bars if they are noisy on the beach, except if you are Spanish then there is an exception.' (Appendix 3/T29). Bar-workers also put notices up asking tourists to dress appropriately. Some give tourists their bills as they serve their drinks so that they don't leave without paying, although the Spanish normally

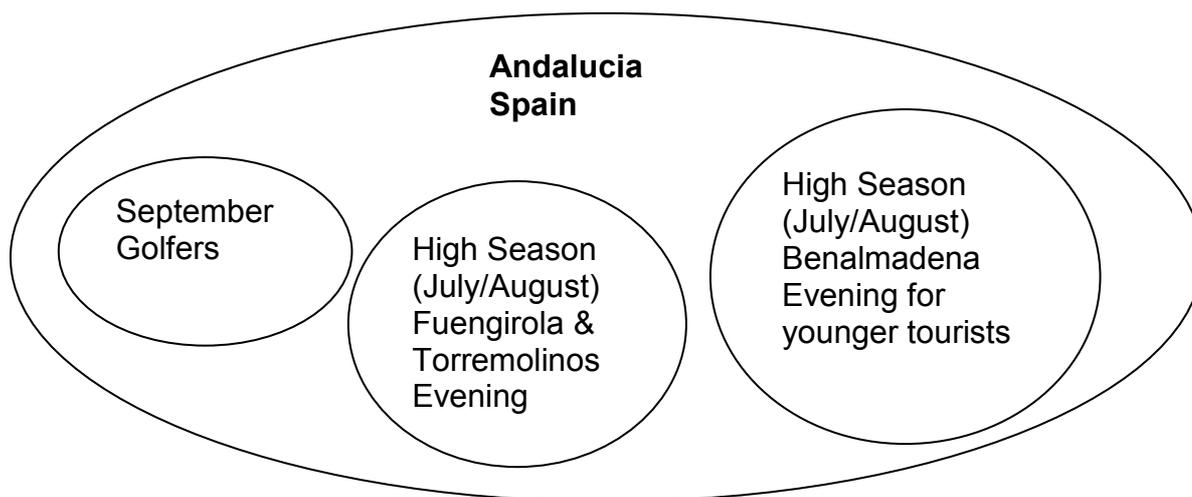
pay for everything at the end of their session. Spanish customers choose to stay away from tourists in case they cause trouble, yet are willing to intervene in situations, often together with other customers. In the UK the police discourage this type of reaction by customers and this message is reinforced through media stories about the unpleasant consequences of becoming involved in disputes.

The Costa del Sol could be described as one large tourist enclave with other enclaves embedded within its structure. These enclaves exist as responses by the tourist and host to tourist culture. Enclaves serve to delineate and act as a geographical control method. An enclave or tourist ghetto is *'a more or less enclosed and separated tourism destination area, in which tourists are concentrated and isolated from contact with the resident population, sometimes by design in order to avoid conflict'* (Medlik, 1993:150). This area is not inhabited solely by tourists, it does contain a mix of migrant workers, expatriates, locals and businesses. Within this area are many other smaller enclaves. For example, Finnish tourists frequent an area on the outskirts of Fuengirola named 'Los Pacos', the Germans like Nerja. Wealthy tourists head toward Marbella and further west, which is an example of socio-economic segregation. Torremolinos is popular with gay tourists and has gay bars and clubs. UK leisure tourists like Fuengirola and Benalmadena whilst British expatriates are keen on Calahonda. But these trends can vary with the time of year. For example, the Canadians like to visit Torremolinos in winter.

Tourists can choose to avoid both other tourists and the host. Hosts can do the same. Within enclaves there may be specific sites where soft ASB occurs. Both British and Spanish, for example, will avoid areas where British tourists are known to exhibit openly drunken behaviour. The tourists who exhibit anti-social behaviour are found in 'pockets' within the enclave, sometimes at certain times of the day and often only at certain times of the year. This temporal separation is clearly seen in restaurants, as the Spanish eat later than the British: the more rural the restaurant the more deserted it will be early on in the evening, then from 9pm onwards the Spanish arrive and the restaurant will be suddenly very busy. Figure 4.1 shows key pockets of ASB due to the consumption of alcohol by the UK leisure tourist. Fuengirola and Torremolinos are populous resorts in high season

particularly at night, with many tourists however, the resort of choice for younger tourists is Benalmadena. Golfers prefer to arrive when it is cooler in September and seemingly have a reputation for being drunk.

Figure 4.1 UK Leisure Tourist Alcohol Related ASB, Andalucia, Spain



4.12.2 Implications of Official Management Responses of the Host

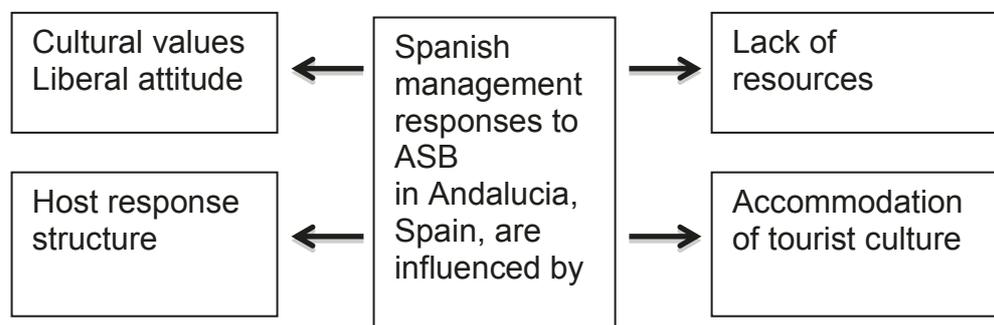
The Spanish public sector deploys official coping strategies: they insist, for example, that all publications are in Spanish first. They also have encouraged local public services to speak only Spanish and encourage English speakers to employ an interpreter if they cannot speak Spanish. This strategy is not always popular at the doctor's surgery, often full of English speaking British expatriates.

Figure 4.2 focuses on four key areas of Andalucian culture that are considered to provide some of the circumstances for soft ASB to occur. These are not necessarily considered to be negative. The first two; liberal attitude, and the host response structure, largely reflect the Spanish culture. They are, in a similar way to the accommodation of tourist culture by the Spanish, fully embedded concepts that form an integral part of the destination's pull aspect for tourists.

Possibly the most controversial of the key areas is the response by the police towards tourists who are victims of crime, and the apparent lack of resources. Although tourists generally feel safe, it is clear through conversations with

expatriates that crimes do occur and responses to crime are weak. The political system seems to be in some disarray. For example, discussions with the Spanish and German sales executives revealed that both the Mayor of Mijas and the Mayor of Marbella were, at the time of these interviews, in custody following the illegal sale of public land for development. The issue of weak planning strategies was in evidence during stage a two interview with a host who was a property developer. He was able, he said, to achieve planning permission very quickly, often within 3 months rather than the usual 6-12 months. Key stakeholders who wield the most power possibly have more influence on the planning process than others.

Figure 4.2 Key Areas of Spanish Management Responses to ASB



It is questionable whether even with additional resources, responses from the police would be different. To some extent this laissez faire attitude is again linked to the way of life in this part of Spain, but there are also deeper organisational issues that are more difficult to address. It is evident that crime and violence in tourist destinations will have some effects on tourism demand (Cohen, 2004; Pizam, 1999). At the very least in order to protect the long-term economic interests of the tourism industry, tourists should be able to access a system that takes them seriously when they have been the victims of crime. Tourism related crime has been found to increase during the tourism season in some resorts (Brunt & Hooton, 2010). Therefore, the case for improving policing in Andalucia is strong.

The host response structure refers to the way in which the Spanish use written (legal) and unwritten rules of behaviour (Berger, 1998) within their own social networks. Dahl (2004:3) describes those that are unwritten: *'culture consists of the unwritten rules of the social game. It is the collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from others'*.

However, they employ these to a far lesser extent outside of these networks. The host is keen to accommodate the tourist and the tourist culture that arrives with them, so they are more likely to permit tourists to behave as they wish. Finally the lack of resources in the region contributes to an already liberal attitude and way of life.

The lifestyle of the Spanish lends itself to efficient management of rule breaking within social networks. However, it may not be so efficient at managing ASB by those who exist outside their in-groups. In Spain the absence of official agencies to manage behaviour may well indicate to the British tourist that rules do not exist, when in reality they do. In the UK, management of ASB carried out by individuals in any group is largely the domain of official agencies such as the police. The lifestyle of the British is less effective at managing rule breaking within its social networks; they have, in effect, less social efficacy. This concept will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

The focus group carried out with the young men from Sussex regarding policing in Spain was interesting. They had not seen any Spanish police until the fourth day of their holiday. They said that police did not come in the bars and even when bar owners were throwing people out when there were problems, the police did not come. Many of the bars have bouncers and the young men in the focus group said that if there was a fight the bouncers sorted it out. They compared this with the corresponding situation in Brighton: there were bouncers in Brighton (UK), but the police were usually called if there was a problem. There were many more police in Brighton. When they went out with other friends in groups the police would often stop them, ask them a series of questions, and then send them on their way with a filled-in form, which confirmed that they had been stopped. They were asked if they felt harassed by the police in the UK, to which they resoundingly replied, 'Yes.' They would frequently be stopped and searched on their way home from a night out and if a police car was spotted they would know they would be stopped. The fact that police in resort areas in Andalucia do not stop individuals may explain the persistence of drunken behaviour. Yet police presence in the UK does not guarantee prevention of this behaviour. Again, this points to more fundamental social issues.

4.13 Similarities and Differences – UK Leisure Tourist and Spanish Host

The aim of objective 4 is to compare and evaluate the various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and the subsequent response of the stakeholders' groups regarding ASB.

When an American walking onto the promontory at Ronda says loudly, 'Oh my God, talk about a vast land – holy cow!' (Appendix 3/T47), nobody visibly registers this action as being untoward. After all she is just like the researcher, a tourist, who to other tourists and hosts is passing time in the region and will soon be gone. There are many differences between the tourist and host, the most prominent of which have been discussed above. But, there are also many similarities which came to light particularly when both groups discussed children, young people and alcohol, and aspects of being a tourist.

In chapter 3 the concept of common principles or elements was discussed in relation to their place in cementing relationships. Zohar and Marshall (1993) suggest that these represent society's 'higher self'. The impact of cultural differences on the tourist-host relationship can therefore be mitigated to some extent when values are shared at a higher level. This is because they are linked to core values and can transcend cultural barriers spreading across groups at the same time.

There were many references regarding the cultural traits of both the British and Spanish during the process of categorisation and coding that led to unexpected sub-categories (see Appendix 17 for a full list of axial coding). These have been useful in framing the context and in highlighting cultural similarities and differences. Key categories relating to cultural similarities and differences are listed in Table 4.22 and 4.23.

Table 4.22 Similarities of Tourist and Host Cultures

Tourist and Host Similarities
Drinking as a social ritual
Embracing of tourist culture created by both tourist and host
Smoking
Eating as a social ritual
Tourists experience some Spanish rituals
Youth culture
Embracing of tourist culture created by both tourist and host
Language (English as a common language)

Table 4.23 Differences of Tourist and Host Cultures

Tourist and Host Differences
Drinking traits – British openly drunk, Spanish less likely to be so
Eating is less of a formal ritual for the British than it is for the Spanish
Personal space – Spanish less than the British
Working hours – different
Pace of life – slower in Spain than the UK
Traditional rituals – more evident in Spain
Intensity of interaction – Spanish close, loud, direct
Masculinity/Femininity dimension – Spanish macho society
Interpretation of rules and sanctions – Literal interpretation of laws
Policing – rules treated as guidelines at times by the Spanish
Concept of ASB – generally not recognised by Spanish, clear concept for British
Language not the same

Tourist culture as a concept implies differences between tourist and host cultures but in this destination tourist culture acts as a bridge between these two cultures. There is much about host culture and its contribution to tourist culture that the UK leisure tourist is willing to embrace. For example, eating and drinking, enjoying rituals such as fiestas and markets, and embracing the slower pace of life of the Spanish. The British also enjoy the sense of freedom that comes with a more relaxed approach to policing. These could be considered aspects of national culture. The home culture of the tourist does not in general reflect these cultural practices but UK leisure tourists do adopt them, and in doing so, close the cultural gap and reduce the level of cultural confusion. The way in which the Spanish value their lifestyle and family over money may be something that the British admire and embrace about the Spanish.

It is the balance between these similarities and differences that probably determines the state of the relationship. When too many tourists transgress too many rules of behaviour even, the counter-weight of tourist culture cannot necessarily be relied upon to re-balance the relationship. In Andalucia, Spain, the relationship between the tourist and host has been developed over a period of fifty years, it has had time to adjust and develop, and therefore generally exists as a positive one. This view is endorsed by Barke (1999:247), who points out that '*on balance Spaniards have been extraordinarily accommodating of the tourist phenomenon*'. This view has seen little change in the intervening years. However, there is one key discrepancy with this summary of the tourist-host relationship and that relates to the British expatriate. For the host the lack of integration by the expatriate causes considerable resentment. Integration for the host means that the expatriate is expected to move beyond the boundaries of tourist culture to embrace, to a greater extent, the cultural traits, content and behaviour of the host. It is possible that because the boundaries between the UK leisure tourist and the British expatriate are at times blurred, any resentment the host feels is directed freely and therefore indiscriminately between these two groups.

4.14 Differences in Rules of Behaviour

Much of the rule breaking that is done by the British is clearly culture related. A lack of knowledge of rules seems to be a primary reason for ASB, but there are indications that tourists do indeed know but choose not to comply with host rules. The host has coping strategies in place, for example, social distancing, and through doing this provides the tourist with more freedom. The tourist, as Matza (1964) suggested, is able to employ techniques to neutralise any guilt because of these and other potential extenuating circumstances (see Table 4.24).

The British journalist (Appendix 2/H30) said that the Spanish do not understand sarcasm or shouting and getting angry. When the British do get angry they do not do it in the same context as the Spanish do, for example, the British become annoyed in the supermarket queue because it is slow and the Spanish take their

Table 4.24 Differences in Rules of Behaviour

Key Element: Differences in Rules of Behaviour	Field Notes and Quotations
<p>The British obey some rules but not others and sometimes are clearly not aware of the ones that the Spanish do not obey themselves. The contravention of unwritten rules of behaviour is perhaps the most challenging aspect of rule breaking in a culture. They are subtle and often strongly linked to core values.</p> <p>When these rules of behaviour are broken there are generally corresponding instruments of social control that can be used. But it is clear that to some extent the British fall outside of this arena of social control. This applies to both the British as expatriates and as tourists. The impact for the host increases as a result of the cumulative dimension. Their apparent frustration in redressing these issues is symptomatic.</p>	<p>An expatriate journalist explains that ‘when the British arrive at the airport they arrive to a different driving experience. British obey rules, the Spanish tend not to, they will park on a yellow line, if they get booked they know they probably won’t get a ticket’ (Appendix 2/H30).</p> <p>The Spanish administrative assistant at the tourist office in Mijas said in response to a question about controlling the tourists that there was not really any way of doing this. He said, ‘I have been to the UK and there are signs up everywhere telling you what you should do, park here, do this, sit down, do that. Here there are no signs so the British think they can do what they like because there are no signs.’ (Appendix 2/H57)</p> <p>A long-term British expatriate said, ‘The British come here because they can behave in the way they want to, nobody stops them.’ (Appendix 2/H30)</p> <p>A tourist responded, ‘It’s wonderfully unpolitically correct here in Spain.’ (Appendix 2/H30)</p> <p>A Spanish lawyer’s secretary laments, ‘There are so many foreigners, they have bought their customs to here, they don’t learn local customs. They live here twenty years and don’t speak Spanish. If they live here they should, they keep the same times for the lunch time, dinner.’ (Appendix 2/H41)</p>

time. If friction is perceived to exist then it is possible that it is not so much the incidences themselves that are noticed, as where and when they take place. This points to the importance of considering context in framing ASB when making an assessment. As the interviewee at the Costa del Sol tourist office said of the

British, 'they get loud, Spanish people are loud too but it's different' (Appendix 2/H51).

The frequency of the incidence may be a factor as well; the more an activity happens in a specific context the more likely it is to graduate from being unnoticed or fleeting to being observed and annoying. Perception magnifies when tourist numbers increase.

The conversation held at the Costa del Sol Tourist Board provided further clarification for aspects of ASB in Andalucia. The young Spanish promotion executive said that the term ASB did not exist as a phenomenon in Spain. The term for individuals who were rude, disrespectful and perhaps aggressive was 'macara', but this did not apply to tourists; they were 'guiris'. However, individuals who were 'macara' were not to be found just here in Andalucia, she felt that this happened 'in a lot of the world' (Appendix 2/H52). Further clarification was sought and she confirmed with the German promotion executive (Appendix 2/H51) that because tourists were not 'macara' but 'guiris', they were in effect excluding them from being labelled as anti-social. They were, as she said, tourists; they were 'here on holiday and they don't know'.

The concepts of graffiti and vandalism were discussed, both of which have their own terms but they are not 'macara'; this only applies to individuals, and not to the result of what the 'macara' have done. Young Spanish drinking culture was discussed, particularly the phenomenon of the 'botellón'. This is when large groups of young Spanish gather generally in town centres with alcohol and have a party. They do this, the Spanish sales executive says, because alcohol for them is expensive. However, it is also possibly because the Spanish are social, they like to congregate in groups, and with a good climate it is possible for large groups of young adults to congregate for much of the night. Having witnessed a 'botellón' in Benalmadena, the researcher thought it was a relatively sedate affair. If 100 or so young people gathered on Brighton (UK) promenade with alcohol it might not be so sedate. Moreover it would not be allowed to occur, because the police would move everyone on. The tolerance that exists in this culture was evident when the Spanish promotion executive said that 'it would be difficult to stop this type of

gathering and say 'no drink' because there are times when they can drink and its ok because everybody else is doing it' (Appendix 2/H52). The official drinking age is 18 although this seems quite relaxed particularly with tourists. The Spanish promotion executive confirmed this; she said that in the normal course of the Spanish buying drinks, bar staff would ask for ID (identification). She said this might not be the case, however, with tourists.

When discussing UK leisure tourists and ASB, tourism officials are reluctant to be overtly critical. Again, like other hosts, this reluctance is indicative of a desire to apply social conventions and therefore bias is acknowledged. However, this in itself was a true reflection of the general stance of the host towards tourists and tourism. The conversation moved more comfortably when the authentic Spanish experience was discussed. They said this was more likely to be found in the white pueblo villages up in the hills and it was also here that they felt the expatriates had integrated better into Spanish life. There was a British woman who had been voted mayor, they said. There are ramifications to the buying of Spanish properties by tourists: the Spanish promotion executive said that for many local people house prices are rising too high, making it difficult for them to purchase. This is possibly the source of some resentment.

There appears to be a recognition and acceptance of tourists and tourist culture by the host. When the host does experience a problem with the tourist it largely concerns the British expatriate, who, the host believes, chooses not to integrate. Separation of the British tourist group from the expatriate group is problematic, however, because both groups use a number of the same services that are British or geared towards the British, particularly restaurants. (Expatriates are more likely to use support services such as lawyers and estate agents.) Both these groups may also encounter difficulty in learning the Spanish language, and for the host the groups are superficially homogenous because the host is generally unable to physically distinguish either group.

4.15 Geographical Considerations

Comments from UK leisure tourists regarding the large-scale development on the coast were rare, which, given the number of cranes and building work along the coast, was surprising. There is, however, some resentment from the Spanish regarding development in the region and the cost of housing. Public sector issues including planning permeate much of the discussion surrounding the context of ASB in tourism. A Spanish tour guide in Ronda said that, whilst he lives in Ronda at his family home, many workers have to live elsewhere because accommodation is difficult to find (Appendix 2/H16). In the focus group held at the Costa del Sol Tourist Board one participant said that when the foreigners buy property it puts the prices up and the locals then find it difficult to buy.

In chapter 1 rising numbers of tourists to Spain in general and Andalucia were discussed in relation to impacts of development. There were a number of comments regarding the development of the region particularly by hosts and expatriates who have witnessed the changes. The hosts and expatriates were less sanguine about this than the tourists. For the tourists perceptions are more immediate; prices had increased and some places were more expensive than others. Tourists did make comments regarding the scale of the development in the region. One Spanish incoming tour operator said that there was now a new plan for development in the Costa del Sol. This is because everything has been developed so fast that it needs to be reassessed which will give more quality to the destination overall. He commented that the road signs are in different colours and that they need to be uniform, which is perhaps a reflection of a broader lack of planning cohesion in the region between the different councils (Appendix 2/H31).

Along the coast between Malaga and Marbella and up into the hills, development and change is highly visible with many cranes in place. Spain has witnessed a building boom in recent years. Andalucia and Catalonia combined accounted for 33% of hotels in Spain in 2007 (Euromonitor, 2008). Although the pace and scale of development along the coast of Spain has long been the subject of criticism, the impact that this is having on the tourism industry is unclear. Management of tourists outside of the national parks and heritage sites still appears to be minimal.

(This phenomenon is not restricted to Spain.) Numbers of tourists flow into the destination, development continues, albeit more slowly, and change brings more challenges at a number of levels.

The challenge for the public sector is to maintain a coherent course of action particularly with reference to market positioning in the face of change and the many difficulties that this presents.

4.15.1 Numbers of Tourists

Tourists and hosts alike made reference to the numbers of tourists and the impact of this on the tourist-host relationship, pointing to psychological carrying capacities. There were indications from tourists that they avoid visiting at high season, and/or they avoid places like Fuengirola and Mijas (either because the resorts become too busy or the tourists expect they will encounter drunken behaviour from British tourists).

If there had been fewer tourists, it would have been less likely that their actions in terms of their attitude to Spanish language and food would have been observed and discussed by hosts. Fewer tourists may mean less frequent occurrence of this anti-social behaviour, and therefore a lower cumulative dimension, resulting in lower impact. Barke (1999) argues that conflict can exist in areas where tourist numbers are lower. This may point to more fundamental issues concerning the marketing and the planning and development of this destination.

An increase in the number of people leads to additional strain on resources; people, infrastructure, the built and the natural environment. There were murmurs referring to de-salination plants which were planned but not built. These may or may not provide an answer to resource problems that may emerge in the future, or that may indeed already exist. During the period of this study some of those interviewed identified a downward trend which had occurred before the credit crunch took hold in 2008/09. Restaurants were not as full, estate agents were struggling, and properties were losing value and not selling. One interviewee

blamed the empty restaurants on expatriates eating at home, but this is a symptom rather than the root of the problem.

Reduction of the tourist population may alleviate frustration on the part of the culturally overwhelmed host, but achieving this without infuriation of local businesses would prove problematic. Numbers of tourists and types of tourists are influenced by the quality of the product on offer. In the rush for business opportunities some field settings in Andalucia appear to have had little impact on short and long term planning for tourism, Fuengirola being a prime example. Others such as Mijas provide examples of planned tourist destinations. Planning for tourism in Mijas is evident in that new development was carried out in keeping with the old town and situated on the outskirts of the town. The food outlets are more international rather than Spanish. Yet Mijas has a more authentic feel because the built environment is predominantly heritage in style. Moreover, the flow of visitors is controlled to some extent because Mijas is an excursion destination, with tourists often arriving at 10am and leaving after lunch. Planners of destinations will have to consider ways to differentiate from other destinations in the future, particularly as many new ones emerge.

Organising the dispersal of tourists around a destination is a key aspect of destination planning. In Andalucia this mainly seems to have occurred largely organically rather than according to planning. Again this lack of organisation is not necessarily a negative aspect of planning, although in other destinations this may have very different consequences. Weak planning regulations in Andalucia have made it possible for tourists and hosts to group themselves in enclaves. Because the cultural and geographical distance between the British and Spanish is not as great as it might be between other nationalities, this segregation does not generally appear to affect the tourist-host relationship. Tourists and hosts mix within enclaves and around them. Extensive property purchasing in the area by expatriates probably supports the demarcation of the enclaves that exist.

4.16 The Media

The media can provide efficient aid to public sector tourism in re-positioning destinations in the market, as was seen with Faliraki and Malia in Greece. An interviewee urged the researcher to watch a television programme; she said to the researcher, 'Watch Costa del Sol Crime on the TV satellite channel. There is a TV journalist that lives here and is English, he commentates.' (Appendix 2/H17) Another British woman said, 'Have you seen that television programme Marbella Belles, all about the cheap cosmetic surgery you can have in Marbella?' (Appendix 3/T2)

Tourists themselves are just as effective at communicating their perceptions about a destination through websites and travel blogs, such as the excerpt about Kavos in Greece, discussed in chapter 1. There are also social networking sites and, of course, word of mouth. As with the media coverage of ASB in the UK, if negative perceptions occur frequently over a sustained period of time they can have a cumulative impact. These perceptions of the Costa del Sol may help to drive change in a way that could affect the current popularity of the region in the future. The types of tourists who visit the region have changed over the years, particularly since airfares became less expensive. Some comments referred to the 'quantity over quality' of tourists, some described aspects of the destination as tired, and said that popularity was waning. A British couple from Cheshire asked the researcher, 'Have you seen an aerial picture of the Costa del Sol in the Daily Mail last year, it showed all the development and the countryside covered in plastic where they grow tomatoes.' They went on to say, 'we tended to have the impression it would be like Blackpool here which is very downmarket. The typical industrial worker will come here rather than Blackpool because it's dole on sea, there are lots of DSS on the south side of Blackpool because it's lost its tourism.' (Appendix 3/T29)

This comment reveals opinions about the south coast of Spain and its relationship with a particular social class of tourist. Even so this couple had not only enjoyed their holiday they had recently bought a property to the east of Malaga. The rate of development there has probably increased availability of new properties and

perhaps at the same time decreased cost for the tourist. More are able to visit, and, as the tourist culture becomes more embedded, it attracts a certain social class of tourist.

4.17 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to present the findings of the field research carried out in Andalucia, Spain. The structure of the findings is based primarily on the six main categories of the axial coding for ASB in tourism that are directly related to objective 2; to identify the types of ASB in tourism, and objective 3; to explore the reasons for the ASB. Potential reasons for soft ASB in tourism have been identified and are discussed in relation to cross-cultural differences and with reference to the broader context using additional categories as support.

The reflexive journal as a dimension of trustworthiness has prompted links between key elements. Approximately 400 reflections were made during the 13 weeks of time spent in the field which covered two seasons.

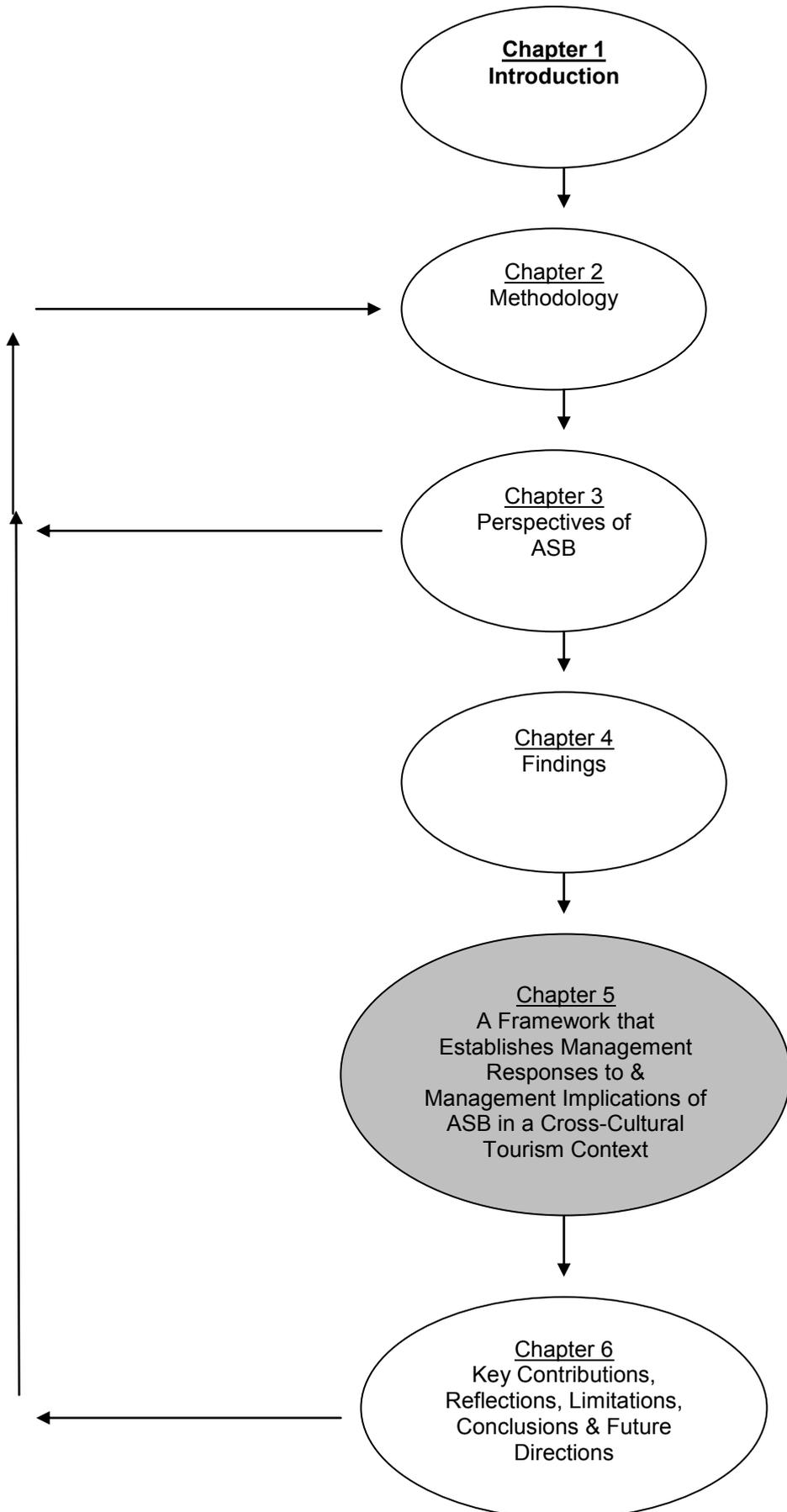
Tourists and hosts both identified soft ASB in relation to drunk and disorderly UK leisure tourists. For the hosts this was not deemed a priority in terms of soft ASB. It was a priority, however, for the tourists. Hosts found the inability of the tourist to embrace key aspects of their culture frustrating, particularly when it came to language and food, and, to some extent, dress. Socialising and eating are key Spanish cultural rituals, so when the tourist does not embrace these the host feels that their culture is being rejected. Tourists were generally disinclined to make specific comments regarding the behaviour of their Andalucian host. Comments made by tourists were largely culture-orientated: they felt uncomfortable with the lack of personal space when mixing with the host, they found them loud and the service encounter slow at times. In spite of the comments made, tourists and hosts were generally positive about each other, indicating an acceptable balance between the tourist and host cultures.

This humanistic cross-cultural study highlights the importance of context in defining anti-social behaviour. Without the context to frame the actions, very little

meaning can be derived from their study. Additional categories have supported the process of description, analysis and interpretation. Cross-cultural similarities and differences are discussed with specific reference to types of ASB and rules of behaviour. Key elements in the broader context are also discussed, focusing on the implications of management responses, cultural differences and similarities, numbers of tourists including the public sector, development and change and the media.

Chapter 6 develops a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.

Outline to Thesis



Chapter 5 – Discussion and Framework

5.1 Introduction

The contemporary phenomenon of ASB in tourism is multifaceted and to a large extent it appears to be localised particularly when it concerns soft ASB. It would be a mistake therefore to conclude that each episode of ASB in general is an outcome of the same set of underlying variables. In a constantly changing environment the outcomes of ASB often attract a predetermined response, both from hosts as individuals and organisations, and from tourists. Whilst this might be appropriate for criminal or hard ASB it may not be the most appropriate response to soft ASB. The aim of this chapter is to address objective 5, to develop a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. However, before addressing this last objective there is a need to define and revisit the concept of ASB in tourism.

Throughout this study a great deal of importance has been placed on the need to consider ASB in tourism from a direct and in depth perspective. The humanistic nature of this study does not follow predetermined paths but allows these to emerge as the exploration moves forward (see Hirschman, 1986). The path is broad in scope but not necessarily at the expense of depth. When a social phenomenon such as ASB in tourism is examined from a specific perspective rather than as a reflection of the situation as a whole and as it exists in reality the contributions of the broader context become largely irrelevant. In this case study the broader context supports the narrative, and is therefore of great relevance.

Throughout this humanistic exploration of the tourist-host encounter, a narrative has emerged that provides valuable insights into the phenomenon of ASB in tourism. The encounter is without doubt a complex social arena, but the findings that have emerged are considered to be trustworthy. These findings form the basis for developing a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context. There are

many variables and outcomes in this complex dynamic; not all will be relevant to this study. The aim is to identify those instances that are most prominent in the context of this study. As Pearce (1982) suggests the purpose of examining the interaction between the tourist and host in this manner is to understand the quality and intimacy of their relationship. It is not about making any large-scale social generalisations.

5.2 What is ASB?

Although it was accepted in chapter 3 that ASB as a concept did indeed exist in the UK broadly speaking as unacceptable behaviour, it was not clear what that behaviour related to or how it came to be regarded as ASB. This was largely because this phenomenon has been heavily politicised and has attracted much discussion, resulting in a variety of viewpoints. This lack of clarity also surrounds the concept of ASB in tourism. In the early stages of fieldwork this meant that the researcher investigated how instances of ASB were deemed to exist because it was difficult to correlate definitions of anti-social behaviour in the literature with this case study. Even when these correlations had been made through continued observation and analysis, questions still remained as to whether a particular behaviour was anti-social or not. Elusive definition of ASB in the context of this study restricted further questioning of this social phenomenon. A way of understanding whether behaviour was anti-social or not had to be devised.

A recent event recounted to the researcher by a 17-year-old student provides the opportunity to highlight the variable characteristics and definitions of ASB and the ways it can develop. On New Year's Eve in the centre of Brighton, Josh and his girlfriend were standing outside a bar. His sister arrived and took the opportunity to make disparaging remarks about his girlfriend, whom she did not like. This prompted Josh to exchange verbal insults with his sister. Taking offence at her remarks Josh threw the slice of chocolate cake he was holding in his hand at his sister. She retaliated with more verbal abuse, and his girlfriend insulted her verbally and then hit her. At this point the bouncers of the bar intervened and the police arrested Josh's girlfriend for assault. The police acted when Josh's girlfriend hit his sister because this constitutes common assault and as such contravenes

the law. This account serves to demonstrate the distinction made by police between soft and hard ASB. When behaviour is recognised as being anti-social it is done so against a backdrop of cultural values which encompass social rules of behaviour. Values are the core of culture, they provide a normative dimension, and in doing so guide patterns of interaction (Giddens, 2001). Cultural values, therefore, form the foundation for determining if actions are anti-social in nature.

Josh and the observers present were able to identify the behaviour of his sister (and later that of his girlfriend) as being anti-social because the event had an element of longevity: enough time lapsed for them to witness it and they became involved in the process. Both the recipient and the observers may then witness, as they did in this case, the consequences, and potentially be affected by them. If the action is repeated the element of frequency elevates the anti-social status of the behaviour. The longevity together with the frequency of the action acquires a cumulative dimension. Increasing numbers of individuals may observe and then be implicated in the resulting impacts.

Had Josh's sister and his girlfriend met each other by chance while shopping, and had his sister made an unobserved disparaging verbal comment and/or a low level physical assault on his girlfriend (the recipient), her behaviour might or might not have been considered by the recipient to be anti-social. One function of observers is that they act as witnesses. They are able through group consensus to reach a high level of agreement regarding rules of behaviour through group problem solving (Argyle, 1986). When observers are not present, proving the existence of ASB becomes more problematic.

The importance of cultural values in determining differences in rules of behaviour and, therefore, potential breaches, now comes to the fore. Some features of culture will exist at a national level and possibly across different cultures and sub-cultures (Clarke et al, 1985). Written and legal sanctions for transgressions of rules of behaviour tend to reflect key cultural values at a national level and again across cultures. This is particularly relevant where hard or criminal ASB is concerned. Quite apart from the presence or non-presence of witnesses, pre-determined criteria relating to specific behaviours exist in order to determine

whether an individual has not conformed and the law has been broken (Giddens, 2001).

Other features of culture will be more specific either to sub-groups, specific social situations, or relationships (Argyle, 1986; Evans et al, 2009), but not necessarily within defined geographical areas. Culture at this level is complex; for example, individuals may belong to many subcultures (Solomon et al, 2006), and as a result it can be difficult to interpret what rules of behaviour they may have broken. Soft ASB is generally considered to be non-criminal, reflecting unwritten rules breached at sub-group level. However, these rules may not be specific in nature. Their implementation may involve a variety of instruments of social control (Berger, 1998) that are unwritten and also appear non-specific and more spontaneous than those that are written (Giddens, 2001).

It is possible for non-observers (those not present when the action takes place) such as the researcher, to determine if soft ASB has taken place. However, the greater the distance of non-observers from the prevailing sub-culture surrounding the soft ASB, the more difficult it will be for them to determine meaning. When the guiding normative cultural dimensions differ, events can be misinterpreted because the culture is not shared and therefore understood (Clarke, et al, 1985). To prevent misinterpretation, the world of the tourist and host in relation to soft ASB should be understood from a direct perspective. In this case study the researcher did not observe all of the ASB actions. However, she was able to identify key areas of soft ASB through the interpretive research approach she adopted. Consensus was reached through the process of prioritising categories, which is discussed in section 6.3.

Where the degree of cultural distance between the host and tourist is greater, so might the impact of ASB be more significant. If, for example, Spanish individuals were in the habit of becoming openly drunk and disorderly in the UK whilst on holiday, their behaviour would not necessarily be considered remarkable by the British because the British do this at times in their home culture. However, if either the Spanish or British behaved like this in some parts of the Middle East where

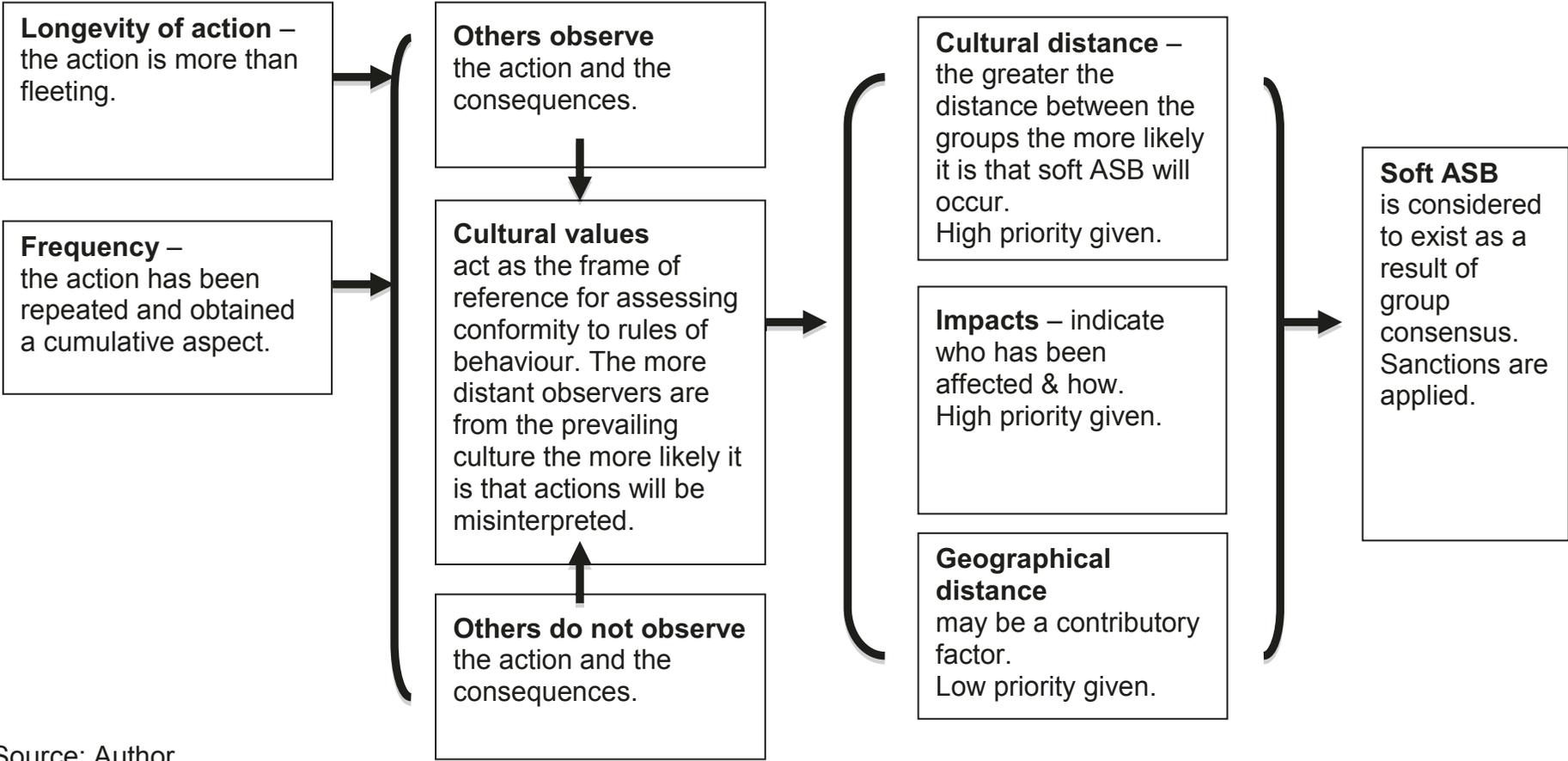
alcohol consumption is subject to strict controls then the impact would be far greater.

The importance of cultural distance outweighs that of geographical distance. Not only is it possible for individuals to travel a short distance and experience great cultural change but they could also travel a long distance and be immersed in a culture that is very similar to that of their own. For example, British nationals travelling to Australia, for example, could broadly be considered to have a similar ethnic community to that in Britain due to historical, trade, and migratory connections (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Although it is difficult therefore to correlate geographical distance and degrees of cultural difference, geographical variations such as meteorological features and the natural landscape do contribute to the cultural distancing that might be experienced by the tourist (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). Figure 5.1 summarises the principal characteristics of ASB that need to be considered when attempting to determine if ASB has occurred.

When the UK Labour government introduced the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003 their aim was to rebuild community bonds by addressing ASB across the cultural spectrum because they believed that communities had lost the ability to deal with bad behaviour informally (Burney, 2005). However, this law made it possible to criminalise any behaviour; it was in effect an attempt to formalise social interactions across all levels of culture (Burney, 2005). It is impossible to create a list of specific behaviours and apply appropriate sanctions across all levels of culture and it must be said it is questionable to do so. Whether communities have been strengthened as a result of this strategy is considered controversial (Manning et al, 2004).

A definition of ASB in tourism was proposed in chapter 4 in response to the literature review because no definition of ASB in tourism had been found. This definition is revisited here with no alterations to the previous definition, as this was not considered necessary.

Figure 5.1 Characteristics of ASB



Source: Author

'Leisure tourist Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) includes a wide variety of activities by individuals or groups that affects the quality of lives of other tourists, the host destination community and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations through lack of awareness and/or choosing to ignore or oppose the accepted social norms of the host majority population.'

The definition above identifies reasons for ASB within a specific context, unlike the UK definition under the Labour government. These reasons, like those concluded in a report by Millie, (2006) focus on a person's lack of consideration for others or lack of respect regardless of age. The Labour government definition, which was previously discussed in chapter 3, is:

'Anti-social behaviour (ASB) includes a variety of behaviour covering a whole complex of selfish and unacceptable activity that can blight the quality of community life.' (Home Office, 2008)

A fresh definition of ASB by the new Conservative Liberal Democrat coalition has replaced the above definition. This definition is similar but focuses on the individual rather than on the community and again does not offer reasons.

'Anti-social behaviour is any aggressive, intimidating or destructive activity that damages or destroys another person's quality of life.' (Home Office, 2010)

Whilst the author accepts that the concept of ASB exists, she is uncomfortable with the grouping of all unacceptable behaviour under one label and with the home-office terminology. Soft ASB is different from hard ASB because, whilst the latter can usually be attributed to specific actions that compromise values at a deep core and national group level, soft ASB is not specific and therefore not so easily attributable, particularly as it exists generally at a sub-cultural level. Moreover, whilst hard ASB is criminal in nature, soft ASB is generally not. The term 'anti-social' is difficult to replace, particularly when it is concerned with soft ASB. Terms such as 'irritation', 'annoyance' and 'friction' all have negative connotations which may not represent the reality of the situation. Transposing the

ASB label to the area of tourism may result in providing added momentum to the negative images that can surround tourism and indeed tourists.

UK leisure tourists abroad, in this case in Spain, encounter differing cultural rules of behaviour both written and unwritten. They may be unaware of the rules or they may ignore or oppose them and these rules are broken. Argyle (1986) identified social situations that caused the most trouble because of different rules: bribery, nepotism, gifts, buying and selling, eating and drinking, punctuality, and relations with women. The difficulties arising from these situations relate to different factors: eating and drinking rituals, time, money, and relationships at work and in the family. This is broadly consistent with the findings in this study.

5.3 Types of ASB

To create a typology of soft ASB those actions considered to be anti-social need to be prioritised. However, a typology cannot be created without considering where the ASB emanates from and why. As Patton (2002) points out, a well constructed case study should be both holistic and context-sensitive. Prioritising qualitative data is challenging, as no formula exists for transforming data into findings (Patton, 2002).

For this study a starting point for coding was devised based on the objectives, primarily the types of ASB as well as reasons why ASB occurs. Formal questions inform the coding and categories, whilst encompassing the essential aspects of trustworthiness. The types of ASB are encouraged to emerge from the informants and the context through the process of description and analysis. Both the first and second focus groups served to consolidate opinions, reveal ideas and expand on others, and they also provided insight into more complicated areas (Krueger & Casey, 2000).

This study is conducted from a humanistic perspective (where the tourist is considered from a subjective rather than objective perspective) so the analysis is also humanistic in nature. The words and terms used by the informants guide the formation of categories of soft ASB. The substantive significance of categories in

relation to others and their grouping into more general conceptual classes is derived from; clustering, noting patterns and themes, making comparisons and contrasts (for example, between variables), and considering the different dimensions in terms of, for example, intensity and focus of a given element (Daengbuppha et al, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Spiggle, 1994). When a theme is identified and isolated, then it is natural to ask how many times does this occur (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

The final part of this process is an attempt to move beyond description and analysis. The aim is to point the way to interpretation beyond the boundaries of the case in order to find broader meaning. The role of the interpreter is to suggest parallels between the words and actions in a particular setting, inviting us to ponder what things mean (Wolcott, 1994). Trustworthiness is reflected in the synthesis of the in vivo coding and in the coherent chain of evidence that is presented.

The main categories of axial coding for ASB in tourism – informant directed - were identified in chapter 2 (see Table 2.10). These categories reflect types of ASB (Objective 2) from both the tourist and host perspective and are now discussed more fully in each of the tables below (see Tables 5.1, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6). This discussion culminates in a typology of soft ASB in tourism (see Table 5.7). Reasons for ASB (Objective 3: To explore reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population, and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations) are represented in Table 5.8.

A further category reflecting axial coding for ASB in tourism – context directed (see Table 2.11) and relating to Objective 3 and to Objective 4 (To compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of stakeholders, and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB) is management responses and implications of management responses, see Table 5.9. Interwoven into the discussion are sub-categories relating to context for example, cultural traits, similarities and differences and geographical. A comprehensive listing of the Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – informant directed can be found in Appendix 17

and Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – context directed can be found in Appendix 19. Further consideration of these objectives will elevate and consolidate primary concepts for soft ASB in tourism, allowing them to be prioritised and ultimately to guide the development of a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context (Objective 5).

5.3.1 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

Table 5.1 shows the main categories and sub-categories of soft ASB as identified by UK leisure tourists. Drinking (33 comments) occurs whilst on holiday often in specific crowded tourist places, in town centres at home, and generally between sub-groups of young males and females. It is also found at events as rowdy and delinquent behaviour together with excessive drinking and noise (Deery and Jago, 2010). Drunkenness is overt and occurs frequently in front of any age group.

Table 5.1 UK Tourists Identify Soft ASB of UK Tourists

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
UK Tourists identify Soft ASB of UK Tourists
Fighting
Animals
Loud/Yobs
Language
Eating
Drinking
Children Noise
Groups
Dress
Sun
Impatient
Being rude about the Spanish
Not polite
Tourists' Views of UK Tourists
Embracing Britishness in Spain
British are ok
British Expatriate Views of British
Do not integrate
Do not speak Spanish
British are rude

Being overtly drunk in the UK is not generally considered socially unacceptable until it acquires an aggressive dimension. Because individualists have looser reference group ties, particularly in terms of family, they have more scope to express themselves (Goodwin et al, 2006). To some extent being overtly drunk has become a cultural trait, meaning that when some UK leisure tourists travel to different cultures they take this trait with them. Since a holiday is in itself a vehicle for escape they expect to be able to express themselves in their own way once they have arrived. In a destination their primary frame of reference becomes other British tourists who largely ignore them. In Andalucia, Spain, it is possible for tourists and hosts to avoid socialising with UK leisure tourists who are drunk. Generally drunken behaviour is not widespread in this destination. It should be remembered that for the British the concept of ASB is strongly related to drinking culture, and because it has an aggressive dimension it has a high profile. So although it does exist in this destination it is at a low level when compared to other destinations but its high profile ensures that it is at the forefront of any discussion regarding ASB.

An outcome of being drunk is, on occasion, being loud (both adults and children) and sometimes provoking fighting, hence the categories for these. Often it is only the host and British tourists that are party to excessive drinking because others ignore them, choosing different geographical locations. Even when in the same geographical location British tourists will choose to ignore other Brits. Again this is a characteristic of the British culture and is possibly part of the reason why there is an apathetic attitude towards those who are overtly drunk in the UK.

UK leisure tourists choose Andalucia because it is different. However, the level of cultural difference is not marked because key British cultural traits have been adopted as part of the process of acculturation (Reisinger, 2004). Authentic Spanish food jostles for position alongside international and British cuisine; the British tourists seem generally content with this. English is used as a common language between tourists and hosts (O'Reilly, 2000) and the researcher noted between different cultures in this destination. One of the most important indicators of acculturation is the extent to which newcomers speak their native language as opposed to that of the host (Reisinger, 2009). The extensive use of the English

language demonstrates a high level of acculturation here. It should be noted that whilst tourists are not expected to speak Spanish, this is not the case for expatriates. However, distinguishing between these two groups is problematic for the host.

From the host's perspective, a substantial level of acculturation is important as this ensures that a particular type of British tourist visit, tourists who appreciate the 'Britishness' of the destination. UK leisure tourists are likely to have expectations regarding this Britishness and regarding the behaviour of other British tourists. Comments regarding other tourists (see British are OK – 24) were positive but not expansive, possibly reflecting their expectations; for example, 'there is no hooliganism, no Brits abroad thing at all' (T23). The high number of comments for dress (21) is prompted by observations made by the researcher regarding the way the British dress on holiday and in relation to the Spanish rather than comments made by the UK leisure tourists, as dress is not an issue for them. In certain circumstances for example, in restaurants and bars/cafes the way the British dress is an issue for the Spanish. This is discussed more fully in 6.3.5. The researcher asked a tour guide 'does the way the British tourist dress offend the residents?' 'He said no, we know it gets very hot and its difficult for people'. The researcher said that she had seen British people in swimwear in shops and walking around towns. The tour guide replied 'I know but people are not particularly bothered by that' (H16). For example, the researcher noted 'outside the El Coto supermarket there are two families who are British: four adults and five children. The men are bare-chested, have big bellies, and are fair-skinned; they wear shorts and flip flops. They stand out from others around them because they do not dress like the Spanish'. Some comments relate to those made by expatriates regarding the inappropriateness of the way the British dress at times: for example, 'they wear bizarre things on holiday and I think it affects their behaviour'. This comment may reflect the acculturation of the expatriate to the host culture rather than tourist culture.

Marketing and destination planning and management are inherently linked. Planning allows the proliferation of British style cafes and restaurants. Regardless of how much the host might complain (and they do), tourist services are consumer

led and in order to guarantee economic prosperity key stakeholders follow. Murphy (1991) believes that the stronger culture may dominate and begin to change the weaker culture and that the relative strength of a culture is based on its socio-economic conditions. Although the south coast of Spain is economically dependent on tourism this does not mean that the exchange process between cultures will be uneven, as Murphy (1991) suggested. Smith (1989) argues that tourism is not the major element of cultural change in host societies. So whilst the Andalusian host feels that they have been colonised (O'Reilly, 2000) by the tourist, other forces such as wider multinational systems will have a part to play in the process of change (Smith, 1989).

5.3.2 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts

Although the British commented primarily on the loudness and lack of personal space accorded to them (particularly on public transport) by their Andalusian hosts, their comments were few, largely restrained, and non judgmental. Other categories include staring and being pushy, both aspects of Spanish culture that made the British feel uncomfortable: 'the Spanish are very pushy, they just barge into you ... they don't acknowledge you' (T33).

UK leisure tourists were at times irritated by other aspects of Spanish culture, for example: 'there is a lack of road signs, we tried to park in Marbella, the (Spanish) people behind us were really blowing their horns, they are impatient and we felt hassled, but it was ok' (T19).

British tourists are exposed to these cultural traits frequently within their day-to-day interactions with their host, yet the comments they make indicate a level of tolerance and acceptance. A British man said that 'the British are impatient, they can't wait for the bill (in restaurants) because it takes longer than it would in the UK so they go up to the bar to pay' (T2). This informant as part of the culture accepts slower service. Having experienced interaction as a tourist would with the host, the researcher made this comment regarding her own experience 'I have been bumped by a large Spanish lady off the pavement and scowled at by the

waitress because I did not want cheese in my sandwich but this is part of normal day-to-day life here’.

Although soft ASB is often judged as being negative it can be viewed as being positive. It is possible that the cumulative dimension of this exposure to certain aspects of the host culture serves to familiarise and reassure the tourist. Accepted as recognisable cultural traits by the British these become an integral part of tourist culture and serve to highlight the ‘different’ aspect of the dimension of escape for the tourist. The ability for conflict to emerge is reduced in these circumstances (Barke, 1999). At the same time this cultural difference enhances the dimension of escape by reminding them they are somewhere different.

The British did not comment on the Spanish drinking habits. Andalucia is still very traditional which means the Spanish do not generally drink to excess in public, and they also socialise largely with close family and friends. However, young Spanish do gather to socialise with alcohol and most of the 9 comments in Table 5.2 relate to the researcher’s observations of the ‘botellón’ (group drinking by young Spanish in public areas). Because the host generally avoids the British and British-style food they rarely frequent the same establishments. The host segregates themselves from the tourist. This is a sanction adopted as a result of rules of behaviour being breached by tourists; however, it is not considered an offensive tool of social control.

Some categories such as touting and over-charging represent familiar characteristics of home and tourist culture; they are not as culturally different and therefore attract little comment. Given the low number and low intensity of comments regarding these aspects they are not considered to be high-level soft ASB (see Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Soft ASB of Hosts

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
UK Tourist Soft ASB of Hosts
Researcher's observations of tourist-host interactions
Fighting
Staring
Rowdy young Spanish
Irritating
Touting
Pushy
Noisy
Overcharging
Gypsies
Dog mess
Drinking

5.3.3 UK Leisure Tourist Views of Hosts

The category of 'service' straddles tourist and host culture (see Table 5.3). On the one hand the style of service reflects the slow Andalucian lifestyle – again it is a characteristic that reminds tourists they have escaped. At the same time poor service and unfriendliness indicate a lack of investment in the tourist over the long term. A tourist commented that 'in the restaurant the waiting staff were under pressure, we had to ask all the time for what we needed, they just don't watch the tables to see when your drink is getting low' (T31).

Table 5.3 UK Leisure Tourist Views of Hosts

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
Tourist Views of Hosts
Friendly
Lazy
Forgiving of tourists
Just want money from tourists
Not friendly
Good with children
Spanish are OK
Driving
Culture
Tourist Views ASB

Anti-social at times
Not a problem here
Service
British expatriate views of host

Linked to this category are comments concerning the host not being as friendly as they used to be and just wanting money from tourists; these are indicative of socio-economic pressures. The pursuit of economic benefit has led to over-development in the tourist trade (Barke, 1999; O'Reilly, 2000). With the stagnation of tourist numbers since 2003 (TTG, 2008) the type of tourists visiting has possibly been at the expense of the quality of both the types of tourists and the service they receive. Two hosts, both male professionals, made comments regarding the class of tourist not being the same as they once were. In the early days of development tourists were mainly middle class but this has changed (Barke, 1999). Culture also relates to class (Clarke et al, 1985), and it seems that the host was able to distinguish between tourist sub-cultures. They were able to do this by comparing rules of behaviour between sub-groups of British tourist against their own rules. The seemingly unfriendly interaction of the Andalucian towards the British is unlikely to register with the tourist as being anti-social because, although the Andalucian might regard this as being anti-social, for the British it is an acceptable way to interact. Again this stance by the host may also enhance their relationship with the tourist.

The only group that found the host anti-social were the young males from Sussex, who in a focus group said 'yeah we find them a bit anti-social really' (T10). These young tourists chose to expose their real feelings about themselves more deeply to the host culture possibly as part of the process of self-actualisation; in other words, feeling fearful and mastering this (Mura, 2010). All the comments in the sub-category 'anti-social at times' relate to this group. Comments made by expatriates regarding hosts were often related to specific interactional incidents; for example, 'if you ask them if they speak English they say no, then you find out they do' (H25).

Overall the UK leisure tourist decided that the 'Spanish are ok' (16 related comments), perhaps because the host is also forgiving of the tourist. This

comment from a tourist highlights their acceptance of the Spanish and their culture 'the locals are pleasant, except when they drive. Then they are impatient and they beep their horns all the time' (T5).

5.3.4 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Hard ASB of Hosts

Expatriates rather than tourists revealed the nature of hard or criminal ASB in the area; hence the number of comments relating to organised crime, mugging, stealing and drugs. For example, an expatriate said that 'businesses have to be careful of the mafia. If you do too well and make the wrong contacts the mafia will move in and either demand protection money or your business' (H11). Immersion in the host culture in the region over a longer period than UK leisure tourists permits expatriates to become more aware of criminal activity.

Although criminality or hard ASB is not the subject of this case study it is related to soft ASB because it exists at the upper end of the non-conformist spectrum. When comparisons are made between categories of soft ASB and hard ASB it is easy to see why ASB is so controversial in the UK. The categories of hard ASB presented in Table 5.4 are broadly criminal in both the UK and in Spain; for example, organised crime and mugging. They are more specific to an action, unlike the more general categories of soft ASB listed in tables 5.1 and 5.2. In chapter 2 types of ASB in the UK were listed in Table 3.2. This list does not differentiate between soft and hard ASB. The distinction is not necessary because the list was created in order to provide guidance for the Anti-Social Behaviour Act 2003, and all the behaviour listed is potentially criminal. However, much of this behaviour can be attributed to laws that already exist; for example, drug dealing and prostitution (Burney, 2005). Other categories on this list, for example, skateboarding in pedestrian areas and repairing cars in the street (see disregard for community/personal well-being) could be considered nuisances and therefore soft ASB (see Table 5.4). It is quite possible that tourists do to a certain extent expect to encounter some aspects of criminality, for example, stealing, prostitution and begging. They are also on occasion happy to engage in the purchase of counterfeit goods, an activity which was observed by the researcher on the

beaches of Andalucia. Studies have found that in general tourists are not fearful or particularly concerned about crime on holiday (Mura, 2010).

Table 5.4 UK Leisure Tourists Identify Hard ASB of Hosts

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
UK Tourist Identify Hard ASB of Hosts
Begging
Prostitution
Organised crime
Drinking
Counterfeit goods
Mugging/stealing
Fighting
Drugs

To summarise, tourists identified the key elements of soft ASB in order of saliency, behaviour that was alcohol related and linked to being drunk, being loud, and fighting. This was in relation to other UK leisure tourists. Regarding the host, tourists focused on: poor service, the Spanish being generally loud, the lack of personal space the Spanish accorded them, and the Spanish being pushy, being challenging, or staring (see Table 5.7).

5.3.5 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

At times the cultural differences between the tourist and host become particularly evident to the host. This is principally because the differences concern a key aspect of social interaction. Eating and drinking is an important cultural ritual for the Spanish. With a proliferation of British and international-style cafes, bars and restaurants the host feels their territory is colonised, meaning that they are excluded and in the search for a more authentic eating and drinking experience they are themselves segregated by the tourist culture (O'Reilly, 2000).

There were a number of comments (20) regarding the drinking culture of the British and the ensuing loudness. The British have a reputation for being drunk and loud and at times aggressive, perhaps encouraging the Spanish to segregate. In this region this reputation possibly derives from the past and at present also

from the media. A UK leisure tourist commented on other British tourists: ‘men with shaved heads, tattoos, sports clothes were like clones, you see them in Turkey too but less here at the moment ... I don’t want to go away and be embarrassed by the yobbish behaviour because that is what we are known for’ (T2). In the UK some men do not always wear a shirt on the beach, on the street, in retail premises or in cafés and bars. When they travel to a different culture they carry this habit with them, often not wearing a shirt in the same places. For Spanish hosts this is offensive because dressing appropriately, particularly in restaurants, is not only considered respectful but it also indicates your social status. Status in many cultures is important and is inherently linked to dominant social networks of friends and family (Clarke et al, 1985).

Language is another problem area. Because the common language is English this has the effect of diluting the prevailing culture. This challenges the destination’s authenticity and positioning. Moreover, it makes communication in general uncomfortable for the host. When English is used, expression is compromised and again leads to the host being excluded (O’Reilly, 2000).

These key elements of soft ASB identified by the host are directed at tourists and expatriates; it is possible that both groups behave in the same manner (see Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Hosts Identify Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
Host Soft ASB of UK Tourists
Dress
Loud/drinking
Eating habits
Language
Smoking
Queuing
Ignore/misunderstand rules
Not friendly

5.3.6 Hosts Identify Hard ASB of UK Leisure Tourists

Hosts did not identify hard ASB of UK leisure tourists. They were however able to point to aspects of criminality which may, of course, involve the British and possibly tourism. Tourists as victims of crime, a frequent subject of research, were discussed in chapter 5, but it is quite possible that tourists and/or expatriates are involved in criminal activities. It is easy for British nationals to disappear in Spain where there are many visitors and where if they do not register with the police they are not known to exist (O'Reilly, 2000).

5.3.7 Host Views of Tourists

Generally hosts in Andalucia, Spain, regard all tourists in much the same way. However, it is clear that they are able, when asked, to relate to specific interactional incidences, and in so doing, to differentiate at an individual level (see Table 6.6, views category 'depends on the tourist'). In spite of the criticisms of UK leisure tourists and others for not being interested in local culture, not having their own culture and not being curious, they are welcomed primarily for the economic benefits they bring, (Barke, 1999) hence the number of positive comments made. For example, 'the residents here are happy with the tourists, it's good for the economy here' (H36).

Comments regarding lack of integration are probably directed at British expatriates and at the same time are linked to the perception by the host that British culture dominates by virtue of the number of British services available. That expatriates do not integrate is to some extent a choice that both groups seem to make and it must said they will always be seen as outsiders however much they integrate because they are not Spanish. British expatriates live in a parallel society, congregating (Jacobsen et al, 2009). O'Reilly (2000) found that many Britons in the Costa del Sol not only socialised with other Britons but also preferred to use the services provided by them (see Table 5.6). Repeat tourists and expatriates are likely to have developed an attachment to this destination through feelings of having had good experiences which for many are entirely connected to the many familiar aspects of home culture that surround them (Prayag & Ryan, 2011).

Table 5.6 Host Views of Tourists

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
Host Views of Tourists
Not into local culture
Not curious
Depends on the tourist
British/Tourism OK
British are polite
British have no culture
Domination of British Culture
Host Views of British expatriates:
Buy property
Do not integrate
Host Views of Others
Rude

In summary, the soft ASB of the tourist is perceived by the host to be, in order of saliency: when Spanish is not spoken; when male tourists do not wear shirts; not eating Spanish food; and, as was the tourist's perception, when alcohol is involved; and overt drunkenness (see Table 5.7).

5.3.8 Typology of Soft Tourist and Host ASB

Table 5.7 is a summary of the key categories of soft ASB in tourism identified in Andalucia, Spain. A comment was made in chapter two regarding the possibility that had one type of destination been selected the ASB identified may have been different. This researcher believes that whilst this may be a consideration for UK leisure tourists when summing up the behaviour of their compatriots, rather than the host, the views of the host were unlikely to have been different. This is because Tourist ASB, particularly that which is alcohol related, can be predicted to some extent in certain resort areas. For the host who perceives tourists and expatriates alike their views are likely to be standardised to a great extent. This table differs from the RDS typology of anti-social behaviour in chapter 3 (see Table 3.2) in that it is cultural and non-criminal in nature rather than social and criminal. It is also rooted in empirical evidence which means the categories are informant directed rather than management directed. The most striking aspect of the host soft ASB identified is that they represent aspects of behaviour that could be

altered as part of strategic planning and development for tourism in the Costa del Sol. This is because they are external features of culture and therefore prone to change (Orford, 2008; Petric, 2005).

Table 5.7 A Typology of Soft Anti-Social Behaviour in Tourism – Andalucia, Spain

Tourist	Host
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Alcohol Related Drunk – British tourists drinking & being overtly drunk and aggressive 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Spanish not Spoken – tourists (& expatriates) do not speak Spanish
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Alcohol Related Loud – British tourists being loud – linked to drinking culture 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Not Wearing a Shirt – British men eating/drinking in restaurants/café/bars whilst not wearing a shirt
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Alcohol Related Fighting – fighting amongst the British – youth and bar related 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Not Eating Spanish Food – the British eating British-style international cuisine
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Hospitality Service Poor – poor hospitality service from the Spanish 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Alcohol Related Drunk – British drinking & being overtly drunk and aggressive
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Loud Spanish – Spanish make more noise when communicating 	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Personal Space Reduced – lack of personal space given to the British by the Spanish 	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Pushy Spanish – the Spanish being pushy 	
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Challenging Spanish – the Spanish staring 	

The UK leisure tourist is generally very content with the host. They are, however, much more concerned by aspects of tourist culture that reflect home culture, with specific reference to the drinking of alcohol. The violent behaviour that can occur as a result of drinking to excess threatens the personal safety of individuals and never more so than when they are in a different culture. This is because anxiety is often experienced when communicating with strangers. In a different culture where cultural rules of behaviour are not always evident anxiety may become more pronounced this response was discussed as culture shock in chapter 3 (Gudykunst, 2004, Pearce, 2005). This heightened concern is to some extent a product of past media coverage of ASB in the UK (Burney, 2005). The host, unlike the UK leisure tourist, is more preoccupied by the lack of engagement with key Spanish cultural traits, with specific reference to language, food, and dressing appropriately.

It is highly probable that if a case study were carried out involving other tourist cultures, for example, Germans, Italians and Scandinavians, different typologies of soft ASB would be identified. This is an important point because it demonstrates that soft ASB is at some cultural levels group-specific and it is only by exploring the differences at this level that the underlying causes will be fully understood. Another key point that this case study demonstrates is that in order to understand another culture enough to make assumptions it is important to enter the world of that culture and allow it to express itself. Closeness to the culture under investigation is the key. Even though the researcher is not Spanish a far greater understanding of this culture has been achieved by allowing the pathways to unfold in their own time and on the host's terms.

5.4 Reasons for ASB

The underlying cause of ASB has a strong link to the concept of 'escape'. As Krippendorf (1987:47) explained *'tourism appears more and more to be an escape en masse from daily realities to the imaginary kingdom of freedom'*. This is a multi-dimensional and complex concept. Escape means different things to different people and in a similar way that culture itself has core values and more shifting, peripheral values, the external, more visible, characteristics of the escape concept

will be prone to change and they will be culture dependent (Dann, 2002, Prayag & Ryan, 2011). Elements of the dimension of escape are displayed in the tourist culture of the destination in, for example, the rejection of Spanish culture, being able to ignore the host because of language barriers, not knowing host rules, enjoying the free availability of cheap alcohol, and the lax control of their behaviour by the Spanish, both formal and informal. These may or may not be reactions against home-culture norms. Reasons for ASB are captured in the definition of ASB in tourism given previously in this chapter – *‘through lack of awareness and choosing to ignore or oppose the accepted norms of the host majority population’*. Table 5.8 identifies some key areas for reasons for soft ASB.

The host resents the rejection of their culture by the British and the feeling of resentment by the host was evident (19 comments). For example, ‘yes, the Spanish mind because the foreigners that live here do not integrate, the ones that come for two weeks don’t matter, but the others they should integrate, but they don’t’ (H33). Despite this resentment the host makes a considerable effort to fulfil tourist expectations and in doing so provides them with the freedom to expand the tourist culture that exists (Barke, 1999). The lax control on the part of the host, though convivial, is clearly the core of the problem. Whilst the Spanish know the rules of behaviour the British do not. Furthermore, when the host segregates the British they appear to relinquish even more control again at both at formal and informal level. This is seen, for example, in the availability of alcohol to under-age tourists, and often, as a result, to the under-age Spanish as well. Some aspects of soft ASB are a result of this lax control that is then permitted to develop and to a certain extent embed.

There are broader issues that need to be considered, for example the design of the destination: sprawling, hurried and unsightly development has changed the destination over the years, and although there were very few comments about this, there are impacts that relate to the use of the place, and its space and environment as a tourist destination. Host marketing is now largely focused on golf, rural tourism and the family market ignoring the need for better planning and overall strategic management.

Table 5.8 Reasons for Soft ASB

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
REASONS FOR ASB
Low pay for locals
Rejection of Spanish culture
Acceptance of Spanish culture
Cheap alcohol
Insulting host
Language barrier
Reputation
Reaction against norms
Tourist culture: UK culture Do not know rules Shallow relationship Socio-economic
Resources
Resentment
Competition
Destination design: Use of place, space and environment Dated
Lax control
Young people
Indifference
Capacity
Marketing
Like attracts like
Upbringing/parents
Cost
What could be done?

5.5 Management Responses to ASB – Andalusia, Spain

Comparison of UK and Spanish official agency responses will inevitably invoke negative criticism. The Spanish may attract some criticism concerning the way they react to tourists who are victims of crime. However, Andalusians, through their lifestyle, are relatively efficient at managing rule breaking within their own social networks both formally and informally.

Non-agency intervention is quite common; police do not wait outside bars, whereas this is common practice in the UK, and usually bar owners will only call

them if they are unable to address the situation themselves. A host explains that 'in the hotel it is forbidden, we have control, the waiters won't serve alcohol to people under 18. In Malaga they drink under age, but there is not the time for the police to control this' (H49). Self-policing may extend to other areas of their lives. Police do of course intervene; they attend fiestas and often maintain a very low presence, using a local town hall as a base and side streets to wait in. This is a less confrontational response than that adopted in the UK. The police do not have the resources to address the ASB of tourists, nor sometimes to address that of other hosts. A long-term expatriate explains that 'the British come here because they can behave in the way they want to – nobody stops them' (H30).

Even though the domain of the UK leisure tourist exists largely outside of these host networks the tourist is subjected to unwritten social controls by the Andalucians; they are, for example, ignored, excluded, and segregated. However, this same segregation helps to explain why the responses to tourists who are victims of crime are poor. Non-existent or relaxed rules have created opportunities for ASB, and some regions, for example, Barcelona, have had to create rules specifically designed to manage the behaviour of tourists. Enclaves of segregated tourists are an interesting phenomenon; to some extent they appear to have their own geographical boundaries and social rules (Medlik, 1993). The different ages for drinking alcohol, for example, were discussed above. Enclaves present an opportunity to consider the viability of segregating tourists as a method of management (Page, 2007).

The existence of enclaves does not appear to have a detrimental effect on tourism and may serve to reassure tourists. It is possible that the networks of the host encompass all levels of non-conformist behaviour and that where hard ASB exists and tourists are affected unwritten social controls serve to limit these impacts in order to ensure tourist flows are not impeded. In the UK, licensing laws were extended by the Labour government in the hope that a more Mediterranean approach (where individuals can drink slowly over a long period of time often with their family and friends) would reduce drinking and associated drunk and aggressive behaviour (IAS, 2007; Independent, 2004). However, the UK is not culturally the same as Spanish society, and the longer hours presented an

opportunity for excessive drinking over a longer period. The message interpreted was that drinking and being drunk was acceptable. The cultural values that act as mechanisms of social control underpin drinking culture; without these in place the effectiveness of strategies such as the extension of drinking hours is going to be questionable. Though some of the national and local characteristics of ASB may be recognised in other cultures there will be different underlying reasons for its occurrence. There is a need for responses to ASB to reflect progressive strategies fitted to the culture for which they are designed. Table 5.9 presents the main categories of management responses with the respective sub-categories.

Table 5.9 Management Responses to ASB – Andalucia, Spain

Main Categories and Sub Categories of Axial Coding for Soft ASB
Management Responses
Management responses Soft/Social: Status quo Own interpretation Planning Mix types, ages, nationalities Segregate Intervene Protocol Tolerance Security guards
Management responses Hard/Police: New laws Stretched Intervention Bridge Less intervention Corruption

5.6 A Framework that Establishes Management Responses to and Management Implications of ASB in a Cross-Cultural Tourism Context

The framework for this study has been developed as a response to the experiences and findings in this case study of ASB in Andalucia, Spain. The findings are clearly rooted in primary evidence something which has not been evident in other studies of ASB. Those that do exist have not attempted to look more closely at the role of ASB in tourism beyond that which is alcohol related.

This study has been able to transcend barriers to understanding ASB at a deeper level in tourist resorts. The aim is not to be prescriptive; instead this flexible framework articulates a series of actions and things to think about when strategies for management responses to and management implications of ASB in tourism are being considered. The framework addresses strategies for both the tourist and host. Discussing the management responses and management implications in this way reflects the humanistic nature of this study.

The foundation of the framework in this study is constructed using the key elements that have emerged, rather than specific incidences of ASB. These are employed in order to illuminate the concept of ASB in Andalucia, Spain. In order to facilitate practical application the framework is flexible in nature. The intention is that interpretation of the framework should rely on human and social ingenuity rather than on analytic models, technology and efficient business practices (Economist, 2008b). Recommendations provided in some collaborative studies for bringing about change do not pay attention to multilevel issues and theoretical integration (Arramberri, 2000; Haughland et al, 2010). They can be top down, prescriptive and created from a distance, which in this authors opinion can result in a poor fit between aspirations and abilities, culminating in stagnation.

Figure 5.2 presents the framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context – Andalucia, Spain. At each stage approaches to management responses are considered against the possible implications. The framework set out below has five key management response areas:

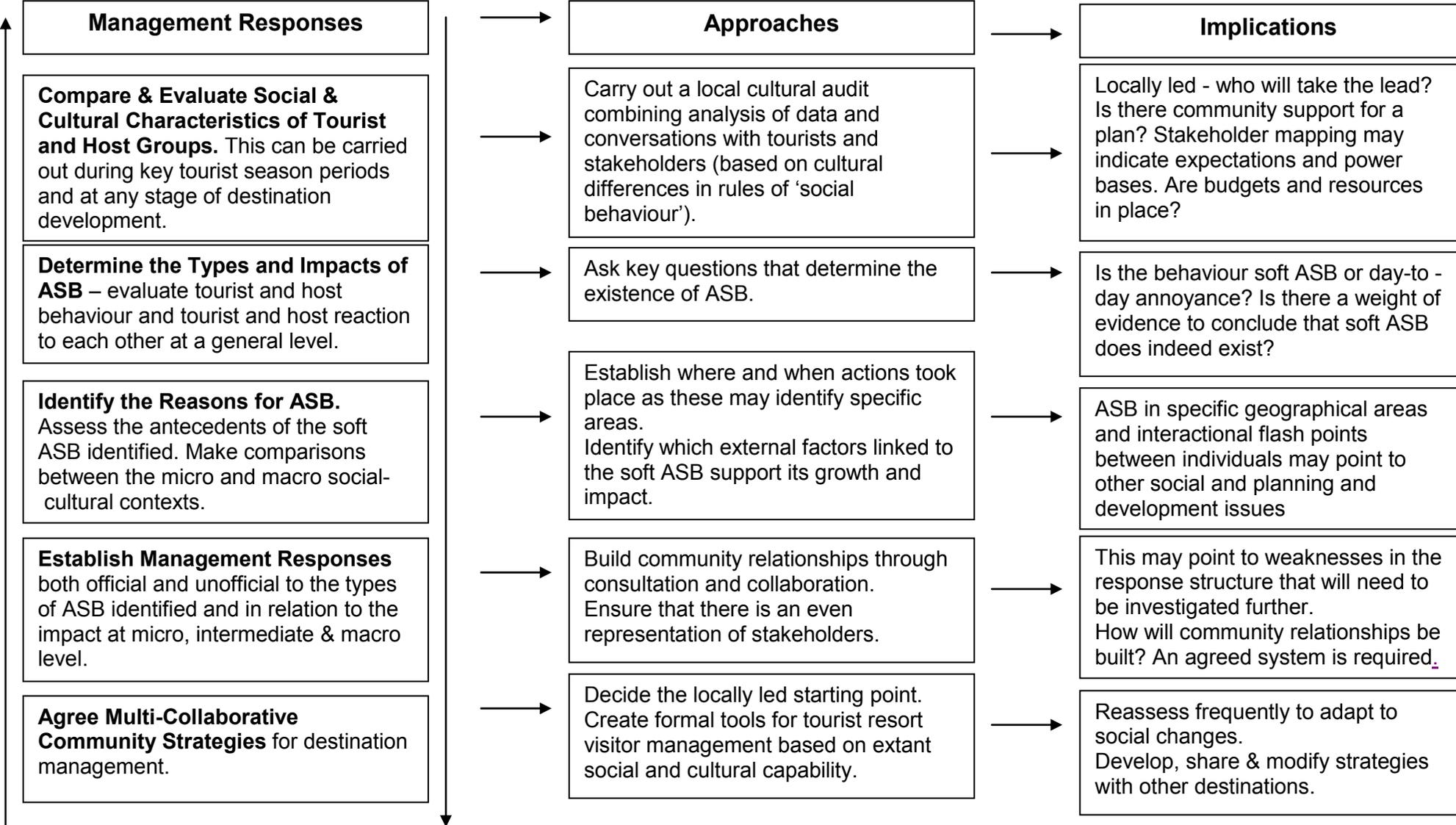
1. Compare and evaluate the social and cultural characteristics of tourist and host groups,
2. Determine the types and impacts of ASB,
3. Identify the reasons for ASB,
4. Establish management responses,
5. Agree multi-collaborative community strategies.

Each of these areas and their respective sub areas of management responses, approaches and implications are discussed more fully below. These key management response areas are deliberately not a sequential process because this would formalise the process rendering it less flexible in nature. The series of boxes that represent the process for management responses to soft ASB in tourism are intended to act as a menu. Individuals have an inclination to be drawn to that which is most recognisable and potentially actionable. So whilst experience and good organisation are ideal qualities to possess when approaching the problem, individuals using this framework could start wherever is most comfortable, hence the vertical arrows. The starting point may be a reflection of that culture and its capabilities something which is often not taken into consideration (Haughland et al, 2010). Moreover, it is likely that the starting point selected will inevitably create pathways into other areas.

Management responses #1 and #2 are potentially the most straightforward, whereas response #3, establishing the reasons for ASB, is more complex. It is also the most valuable in terms of seeking practical solutions. As Hofstede (2005), Jafari (1987) and Reisinger and Turner, (2004) pointed out, information about cultural differences, their roots, and consequences need to be established before judgements are made and action is taken. These are debated as part of management response #4. Response #5 creates the pathway for addressing ASB in tourism.

Tourist, host and home culture and community collaboration are considered to be prominent dimensions of this case study. These are discussed more fully following the management responses in Figure 5.2.

Figure 5.2 A Framework that Establishes Management Responses to and Management Implications of ASB in a Cross-Cultural Tourism Context (Source: Author)



5.6.1 Compare and Evaluate the Social and Cultural Characteristics of Tourist and Host Groups

This section relates to the first key management response area in Figure 5.2. Objective 4 set out to compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholders groups regarding ASB. The social and cultural assessment of tourist and host groups has been proposed because it has in this case study created an antecedent-orientated understanding of ASB in tourism. This process sets the scene for understanding what is happening, why, when and where.

A key question of this and any of the management response stages is 'who will lead?' The public and private sectors, the host community and the natural environment are interdependent stakeholders making it difficult for any single individual, agency or group to resolve strategic issues alone (Getz & Jamal, 1994; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). Politics and power arrangements in a destination indicate those trying to influence policy, it is about who gets what, where and how (Ruhanen, 2009). Those who benefit from tourism development may be in more powerful positions, able to defend and promote their own interests through the structures and institutions that are managed by them (Hall, 2003). Because of this many stakeholders find that they have to fight to be included in decision-making processes (Moscardo, 2011; Murphy & Murphy, 2004). Stakeholder mapping identifies stakeholder expectations and helps in understanding political priorities (Johnson et al, 2005).

The cultural assessment should seek to expose local and national features of culture at both core and secondary levels. When these are at a micro level (the immediate social environment of family or workgroup) they represent features such as religion, values and traditions/rules, artefacts and language. The intermediate level (housing and other living arrangements and artefacts unique to that society, such as literature, works of art, architecture, paintings, music, dance, drama, religious and philosophical texts) (Orford, 2008; Petric, 2005) straddles micro and macro contexts making less distinct but equally important contributions to the cross-cultural assessment being undertaken.

At a macro level there is an opportunity to explore the supporting context, for example, the history, regulated systems, degree of freedom, and physical boundaries. The more cultural differences there are, particularly those that are core values, the greater the potential impact (Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Robinson (1999). It should be remembered that during this assessment, because there are a wide number of elements that differ between cultural groups, a different set of elements for each case is likely to emerge as a natural part of the process. In this study language, non-verbal communication (including personal space) and social class represent aspects of cultural differentiation. However, there are numerous features of culture that are significant for the understanding of cultural differences (Reisinger & Turner, 2003; Spencer-Oatey (2008). Differences in rules of behaviour was selected as a primary dimension of culture for understanding ASB in tourism because cultural differences that comprise values and therefore 'rules of social behaviour' have an especially close link to tourism (Thyne, 2004).

Drinking excessively by UK leisure tourists occurs both in home and tourist culture. It is a cultural trait, however, rather than a core cultural value. Differences in rules of behaviour exist both at a core invisible level where they reflect values that are not prone to change, and also at a secondary level where they become more visible in cultural traits, content and behaviour. These are prone to change and so there is an opportunity to address these aspects of behaviour (Dann, 2002).

The host feels colonised by the tourist in this well established destination (Barke, 1999); avoiding tourists may be more difficult owing to the number of expatriates. When tourists and expatriates do not speak Spanish this deepens the feeling of resentment and this is felt at a core level. Whilst this issue is difficult to change, this is not the case with other issues, including British men not wearing a shirt in eating/drinking establishments, the propensity of the British to eat British or international food, and the drunken behaviour of the British. These are again secondary features of culture, and prone to change, can be more easily addressed (Dann, 2002).

Research skills, whilst desirable, should not be considered a prerequisite to this type of assessment by management. At the beginning of this study for example,

informal conversations with tourists and hosts quickly revealed that language and food were likely to be an issue for the host. This assessment was made by looking directly in on the culture, which is considered essential if the findings are going to be a true reflection of what is occurring. It might be argued that this type of assessment would be more accurate if there was also consultation with academics or other experts.

5.6.2 Determine the Types and Impacts of ASB

This section relates to the second key management response area in Figure 5.2. Destination planners may wish to employ approaches that reflect their own capabilities, those that are familiar, easy to deploy and interpret (Haughland et al, 2010). Regardless of the method of data collection employed, key questions should be asked in order to establish how the tourist and host perceive the concept of ASB. This understanding is likely to begin to emerge during the social and cultural assessment described above. This exploration will also provide an opportunity to assess the coping strategies adopted by the host (see Murphy & Murphy, 2004). These concepts will also provide links to reasons for ASB. For this case study it was clear that the UK leisure tourist and the Spanish host had different perceptions of ASB both at a local and national level. This is important to establish because if the researcher formulates the concept of ASB in advance the questions that follow will reflect this understanding rather than those of the tourist and host compromising the trustworthiness of the exploration.

Questions regarding the nature of the potential ASB need to be asked, for example; what do you not like about the behaviour of the tourist/host? Asking what the tourist or host thinks about anti-social behaviour leads, as this researcher found, to some confusion. The UK leisure tourist has a frame of reference for ASB that is based on media images, generally in the UK, of drunk and aggressive young adult males. This means that some will avoid, where possible, specific crowded tourist places where this type of behaviour might occur. As a result they may typically reply that they do not see this type of behaviour. Identifying potential soft ASB becomes problematic when an ostensibly open question is in reality a closed one.

It is crucial to be able to assess this type of behaviour for its impact. To do this the potential ASB identified needs to be considered within the local context. Who is reporting this behaviour, why, and what impacts are they experiencing? The non-golfers in this case study may, because of their experience of drunken golfers in their hotel, choose not to return. Hosts may retreat to specific geographical areas or use other coping strategies such as limiting engagement with tourists (Barke, 1999; Boissevain, 1996).

5.6.3 Identify the Reasons for ASB

This section relates to the third key management response area in Figure 5.2. Identifying the reasons for ASB is a process that is concerned with understanding where the antecedents of soft ASB in tourism may lie and therefore make a contribution to understanding the social-cultural impacts. Reasons for ASB will emerge as a result of exploring the social and cultural context of the tourist and host at a micro, intermediate and macro level and making comparisons. Discussions with tourists, the host population, and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations is essential. This process may be facilitated through consultation with academics or other experts. Whilst time in the field can be a constraining factor this process should allow for a comprehensive narrative to emerge.

Other external influences should be explored with particular reference to destination marketing. Official marketing channels such as national tourist organisations and the brochures and guides produced by tour operators may not necessarily fit with the destination image being portrayed more broadly. Often this is through negative customer satisfaction by the tourists (Opperman, 2000). The Internet provides an overt and covert information source for tourists who in sifting through destination information decide what is relevant to them. Not everything they come across will reflect official messages about the destination (Bowen & Clarke, 2009). This is because it is possible to assess the positioning of the destination from the perspective of the customer and from that of other stakeholders both direct and indirect. The involvement of stakeholders is important in determining destination image and their contribution to internal destination

development will reflect in external destination marketing (Hasse & Milne, 2005; Osmankovic & Kenjic, 2010). Through the process of stakeholder engagement there is the opportunity to identify the key elements that create the environment for the ASB to grow and develop. They represent things to think about rather than definitive answers.

5.6.4 Establish Management Responses

This section relates to the fourth key management response area in Figure 5.2. Throughout the time spent in conversation with tourists and hosts there is an opportunity to assess the management responses already in place for the ASB that is revealed, and how appropriate they consider these to be. Through conversations with these stakeholders, the stage, the actors and their actions become events that can be interpreted. Problem areas emerge with contextual information at micro, intermediate, and macro levels supporting the process of interpretation. At the same time this process opens the way to the possibility of conflict resolution (Hall, 2003).

The closer the ASB is to the perceptions of the informant the easier it is for the management response to be identified. For example, drunken behaviour in Spain is largely responded to by the bar owner, particularly when it is non-violent, because it may not be considered criminal. However, in the UK the police are called because this type of behaviour can be considered criminal in nature and this is what the informant will recount. Less obvious, soft ASB such as the tourist not eating Spanish food or not speaking the Spanish language will have more subtle unofficial management responses. These are more difficult to ascertain; for example, the host may say that they do not go where the tourists go. This indicates that the host has adopted a coping strategy (Barke, 1999; Boissevain, 1996). When this strategy is taken further, tourists and hosts may be observed occupying enclaves in specific geographical locations in order to avoid each other. Coping strategies are adopted in response to the change process. In the literature this subject often relates to crisis management and research is largely at the individual level (Kelly & Steed, 2004). However coping strategies are responses

that evolve over time as with the host in Andalusia, Spain. These strategies can be considered a form of social distancing that is sometimes considered detrimental to the economic exchange process between the tourist and host (Sinkovics & Penz, 2009). However, it could be argued that these strategies augment the status of the relationship between the tourist and host because each group is positioning themselves more comfortably in a cultural sense. These strategies as a response at a community level may be valuable in terms of viable management response options that could be developed alongside destination development (Ros-Tonen & Werneck, 2009).

Non-response to soft ASB because it is not criminal in nature has a social and cultural impact on the tourist and host, just as non-management of visitors in parks or heritage sites would have an impact on the site. This does not mean that soft ASB should become criminal but that there is an opportunity and a need to manage this type of behaviour as it affects the relationship between the tourist and host. Since the host is a key component of the destination as a product, this is an important issue, particularly as the concept of relationship is much broader in scope than the interactional dimension alone. It extends, for example, to customer satisfaction, quality of suppliers and ultimately destination planning (see Murphy & Murphy, 2004).

5.6.5 Agree Multi-Collaborative Community Strategies

This section relates to the fifth key management response area in Figure 5.2. This last management response is an extension of the process discussed above to explore and assess the official and unofficial management responses to ASB. The aim of this stage of management response is to construct multi-collaborative community strategies that reflect the capabilities of that destination (Haughland, 2010). It is important to consider the frailty of this concept as it is political in nature and, therefore, divisive (Hall, 2003). Community collaboration is not a new concept but it has at its core a power struggle in terms of the people involved in decision-making, it is essentially political in nature (Dallen et al, 2003; Erkus-Ozturk & Eraydin, 2010). A balance needs to be struck between the business and personal

interests of the host. Cultural traits, content and behaviour are visible and are an inherent aspect of the pull factor of the destination. When business leads the social and cultural dynamic can become challenged in the quest to fulfil tourist expectations leading to social and cultural impacts.

Community cooperation and collaboration are major issues in tourism planning and are linked to the idea of sustainable tourism development. The premise is that residents combine forces in order to make a contribution to the management of their destination (Erkus-Ozturk & Eraydin, 2010). However, as Hall (2003) pointed out this process does not automatically lead to more sustainable development or a reduction in conflict. Moreover he warns that the local should not be romanticized. The focus should be on the contributions of localised stakeholders to destination planning. With geographical information systems increasingly being used for destination development the participation of key stakeholders can support sustainable tourism development outcomes (Hasse & Milne, 2005).

As with management response #1, who will lead is an important question. Stakeholder mapping will help to identify prominent bases of power and their associated expectations (Johnson et al, 2005; Friedman & Miles, 2002). Formal tools for management responses in non-park or heritage attractions are limited largely to those linked to official management responses from institutions such as the police and planning departments. These tools are rarely progressive enough to address the changes taking place both in destinations and in tourism in general (Page, 2007). Phenomena exist in a process of continuous creation; it is meaningless therefore to designate one set of phenomenal aspects as causes and another set as effects (Hirschman, 1986). As an ongoing process an agreed system of information gathering can act as a key monitor for change over time. This process should be responsive and as such should draw on the human and social ingenuity of the key stakeholders to create the most appropriate tools for addressing the problems that have been identified (Haughland, 2010). Tools created and modified through crafting a joint direction (Murphy & Murphy, 2004) can be shared with other destinations. Over time these will become honed and more effective, similar to those of park and heritage destinations. During this process it is possible that key elements in one destination will emerge in another.

If this process is external and/or top down there is a likelihood that the links between the informants and the context at all levels will not be made and the responses will be compromised. For example, in this case study numbers of tourist comments can be linked to the perception that the service encounter was at times under strain. The concept of subjectivity is crucial to the success not only of this exploratory study but also to the practical aspect of this framework. The researcher cannot distance herself from the phenomenon, nor can the phenomenon be understood in depth without the personal involvement of the researcher, hence the interpretivist approach (Patton, 2002; Peshkin, 1988).

Empowerment at a community level should, it is argued, only be through individuals who are part of collective organisations because their influence will be reflective of the collective rather than just of themselves (Orford, 2008). However, local autonomy has its detractors who comment that it leads to groupthink and a kind of petty feudalism. Conversely, central command is accused of demoralising local administrators (Appleyard, 2009). A third way has been proposed by Fung (2004), which involves giving local people power whilst ensuring that there is accountability. This must go up towards central authority and at the same time sideways within their communities. Arguably this process should be controlled and directed toward the planning process (Hall, 2000). There are likely to be a myriad of grassroots organisations, churches and social groups for example, that can be the source of collective power. These collectives can use various instruments such as:

'bargaining resources, for example, in the form of organised money or influence with which to exert power, the ability to control what gets talked about in public debate, by constructing or eliminating barriers to participation, and by setting agendas and defining issues; and the ability to shape how residents and officials think about community by influencing shared consciousness through myths, ideology, and controlled information' (Orford, 2008:324).

The vision of community building and the power of collective efficacy are worthwhile but are also complex, at times idealistic, and prone to rhetoric. This is particularly so when presented as theoretical constructs, which make it difficult for

destination communities to translate into practical application. Perhaps the most appropriate way of starting to address ASB in a destination is to do so on a small scale within the extant social-cultural and business structures of the destination. It may be enough for a study such as this to identify a key problem and work with that using the public and private sector tools that are available. This can be guided by ideas of community building as they relate to that community. The process of change is incremental and will evolve as those involved in the process experiment and learn by doing. Some strengths and weaknesses associated with this type of approach have been identified. Primarily these are related to methodological criticisms both theoretical and practical, both of which, like communities and collaboration, are rooted in politics.

Each of the management responses in this framework is linked to the others, making it non-prescriptive. The starting point is not as important as making a start. As was mentioned previously there are issues associated with this case study that have implications when considering strategies for managing soft ASB in Andalusia, Spain. These issues relate to home, tourist and host cultures and community collaboration. They represent important dimensions of the concept of ASB in tourism.

5.7 Home, Tourist and Host Cultures

The dynamic nature of home, tourism and host cultures permeate all five management response areas in Figure 5.2. It is important to acknowledge and understand these different cultural dimensions at each management response stage as they provide pathways toward a greater understanding of soft ASB. Home, tourism and host cultures are interlinked dimensions containing within them the interactional processes that occur between the tourist and host and between them and the broader context. Interactional processes were discussed in relation to culture in chapter 3 as part of exploring the tourist and host and social processes. These cultures are different to national culture, created when the tourist and host cultures meet. To assume that they do not exist or that the tourist and host operate as they would within their own group settings is to underestimate the value of these cultural dimensions. Not only are they useful for understanding

the concept of cultural confusion they also provide a window into the world of the tourist and host and the social-cultural impacts that may arise.

5.7.1 Home Culture

The antecedents of some of the soft ASB of the tourist that were identified in Table 5.9 can be traced to the home culture and at the same time to reasons for ASB. See management response #3. The drunken behaviour of the UK leisure tourist in Andalucia, Spain, is the most prominent soft ASB and appears to be an accepted cultural trait within some groups in the UK. When UK leisure tourists consider the drinking culture of other tourists in Andalucia to be anti-social they do so because this behaviour is labelled as ASB. Although tourists may choose not to encounter bad behaviour resulting from alcohol, avoidance cannot be guaranteed in a tourist destination. Young groups of British tourists are not solely responsible for this type of behaviour as they represent a minority in the popular resort areas. Whilst young groups and other groups of tourists may be drawn to specific crowded tourist places to party, such as Benalmadena beach, other groups of drunken tourists may also be encountered in a variety of locations. These are generally in tourist areas, usually at night, often in bars and clubs, but also in some restaurants, or in the street.

Cheap alcohol was identified as a contributory factor to ASB by both tourists and hosts, but alcohol is cheap for the Spanish too and the Spanish do not on the whole become openly drunk and disorderly. For the tourist and host alike drinking alcohol is not the problem, it is sold throughout the area and consumed by both groups. It is the ensuing openly drunken behaviour which is seemingly aggressive and unpredictable that is deemed unacceptable by both the tourist and the host.

Why the British and not the Spanish become overtly drunk and at times aggressive and/or disorderly is a fundamental question. It is not the alcohol per se that causes the problem for the British as the effects of alcohol on behaviour are determined by cultural rules and norms. It is the change of context that lies at the root of behavioural problems in resort destinations. It is possible that the lifestyle of the Spanish ensures that rules of behaviour are more strictly adhered to. The British

are freer from the formal traditional networks of family and rules. They are more likely to rely on informal networks of kin and friends to offer support and assistance to individuals and families (Goodwin et al, 2006; Hofstede, 2005). Perhaps the more freedom individuals are permitted by society the more fluid their relationships are between informal groups. As a result, they may become less socially accountable. Whilst these informal networks permit a greater degree of personal liberty it does not explain why drinking as a British cultural trait has become more ingrained over time or why it can be so openly aggressive. It is likely that social changes and responses have become out of alignment, which is why it is possible to point to deeper social and cultural issues.

5.7.2 Tourist Culture

A key finding in this study has concerned the role of tourist culture in determining the state of the tourist-host relationship. Tourist culture, that is to say the culture that develops as a result of the tourist and host cultures meeting, is likely to reveal information about the nature of the tourist culture as it relates specifically to that destination (Carr, 2002; Jafari, 1987). Tourist culture is a powerful force that can greatly influence stakeholders and at the same time strategic management response decisions.

Tourists according to Jafari (1987) behave differently from the way they do at home, they bring with them their own culture but behave differently when in another culture and create a distinct 'tourist culture', a view endorsed by Carr (2002), Furnham and Bochner (1982), and Sharpley (1994). British tourists in Spain exemplify this cultural adaptation very well. Because the cultural difference is not too great, and the adaptation has a long history, the tourist culture that exists is well embedded and it is relatively comfortable for both the tourist and host (Barke, 1999). Tourist culture exists in other destinations as tourists of various nationalities visit. Tourists possess both aspects of tourist cultures and national cultures. However, the extent to which touristic cultures are free of national cultures and are then reflected in the behaviour of all tourists regardless of nationality is a key question (Pizam, 1999). It is possible that whilst some aspects

of tourist culture might be familiar in different destinations some may be destination specific.

Acculturation is a dimension of tourist culture and as such can indicate impact points to consider. The Spanish host makes a supreme effort to accommodate the British tourist regardless of the superficiality of the relationship (Barke, 1999). Although the host felt that the expatriates and therefore the tourists did not fully embrace Spanish culture, particularly when it came to language, dress and eating, it was evident that the tourist did indeed embrace many aspects. The numbers of UK leisure tourists and the Britishness of this destination may help to explain why the host felt colonised (O'Reilly, 2000). When large numbers of tourists behave in a way that is not acceptable to the host even on a low level (not eating Spanish food), this behaviour becomes visible and over a period of time has a cumulative impact. The more tourists there are, the more intense the impact is likely to be.

Some may argue that tourist culture goes too far in its adaptations, diluting the host culture so that authenticity is compromised. As Carr (2002) pointed out, the more the physical environment of the destination replicates that of the home environment, the more this cultural baggage becomes evident in tourist behaviour. This could be an argument for maintaining cultural authenticity. When two cultures meet, there is likely to be a degree of adjustment. How much adaptation by the tourist and the host is acceptable is an important question. For some tourists, like those in Spain, the degree of cultural difference is not too great and this is the way they like it. The host accommodates this type of tourist and the service providers, for example, tour operators, are able to benefit.

Tourist culture acts as a cushion between cultures, it provides a mental and physical foundation in order for understanding to develop between the tourist and host groups. Tourist culture promotes safety; tourists believe they will be excused, understood, forgiven and accommodated. Tourists can elect to retreat to tourist enclaves and specific crowded tourist places, immersing themselves in tourist culture (Medlik, 1993). Cultural similarities and differences shape social-cultural impacts; the greater the cultural distance the greater the impact. Tourist culture has a capacity to mitigate these impacts to some extent.

5.7.3 Host Culture

When management response #1 (compare and evaluate social and cultural characteristics of tourist and host groups) is undertaken, key host characteristics will emerge. When these are compared and evaluated in relation to the tourist they are likely to point to differences in rules of behaviour and reasons for ASB. Determining host characteristics, particularly in terms of official management strategies, is integral to planning management response strategies in the tourist destination.

The Spanish, unlike the British, do not always expect broken rules to be followed up with legal sanctions. Although this may be seen by tourists to signify a green light to freely interpret rules, this cultural trait is a reflection of the way of life in Spain. In reality rules do of course exist, but there are some dimensions of rules in Andalucia that need to be considered. Although rules for the Spanish are generally flexible for the reasons stated previously, at this level these rules do not particularly impact on tourist culture. This is because the family and extended networks of the Spanish are largely separate from the tourist, who is there for only a short while (Andrews; 2008). The Spanish are naturally social and bend their work to fit the demands of their social life (Gies, 1999). They are also relaxed and tolerant, bending their own rules in order to accommodate the tourist. Whilst this may cause some resentment because in order to accommodate the tourist they may have to transgress their own rules of behaviour, this is possibly linked to the numbers of tourists involved.

Another dimension of flexible control is linked to the resources available to address the needs of the tourists in terms of associated support and infrastructure. Resources are stretched in the region; police are low paid, there is evidence of corruption in planning disputes, and organised crime is acknowledged by hosts and British expatriates alike (O'Reilly, 2000). Although the police do react to situations like burglary and bar brawls they are more likely to do this for the host. This means that when tourists are the victims of crime the resources are not always there to support them; this situation may to extend to British expatriates as well. Although this does at times leave the tourist feeling somewhat vulnerable,

with particular reference to mugging/stealing, there were some confident comments from tourists that they felt safe.

The British have a reputation, acknowledged by the host, for drinking and becoming loud and aggressive. It is not only language and culture therefore that contribute to misunderstandings – attitudes and stereotypes have their place (Gudykunst, 2004). Stereotypes serve to reinforce expectations of how tourists will behave; it is possible this feeds into the demand and supply value chain so that it becomes self-perpetuating.

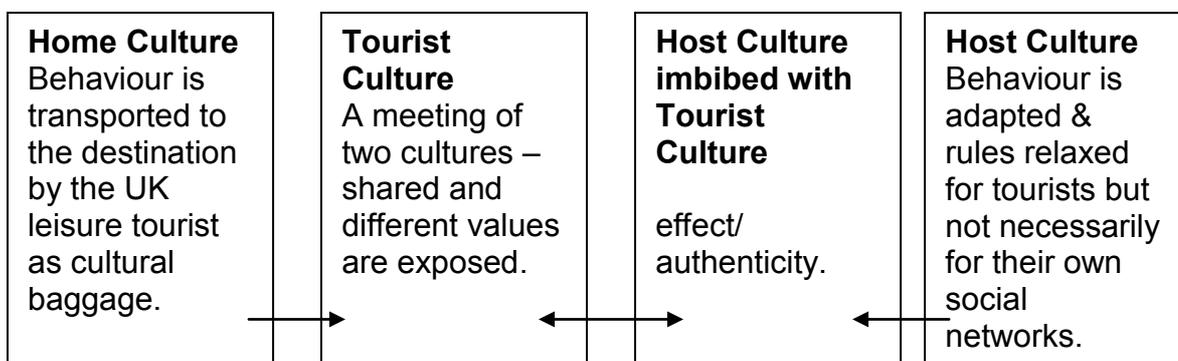
Establishing the dimensions of cultural differences is a complex process and sometimes-important factors can be overlooked. Jean, a young Frenchman with a Moroccan father and French mother and schooled in both France and Andalucia, has a broad perspective of life in Andalucia. He said it is the ‘mentality’ of the Spanish, which is Moroccan based, that is the problem between the British and Spanish. The Andalucian culture and, more importantly, its core values are heavily influenced by Arab culture, which is dominated by the Muslim faith. When this is considered the cultural gap increases, particularly where alcohol is concerned. The Spanish, he said, are just happy to take the tourists’ money and they don’t care because they depend on them for their livelihoods (H9).

When hosts perceive that expatriates, and by extension tourists, do not embrace their culture and customs they may feel resentment. They may also feel resentment towards other Spanish who embrace aspects of tourist culture. The coupling of young Spanish and the drinking of alcohol has, for example, become a subject of concern for the Spanish. For the Spanish, proud of their culture, respect is important. There are a number of ways that could limit aspects of tourist culture that impinge on the host and make them feel to some extent colonised. For example, more effort to erect signage in Spanish and a greater number of Spanish style eating establishments. It is likely that these things are not done because they are considered insignificant.

The key concepts of home culture, tourist culture and host culture are represented in Figure 5.8. The dimension of tourist and host culture has been added to

demonstrate the inter-cultural adaptations that can occur when cultures collide. Cultural traits, content and behaviour move more freely between cultures and because they are visible they can become contentious.

Figure 5.8 Reasons for ASB in Tourism: Home Culture, Tourist Culture, and Host Culture



5.8 Summary

The elusive definition of ASB in the context of this study restricted further questioning of this phenomenon in the initial stages of the study. A way of understanding whether behaviour was anti-social or not had to be devised. After determining the principal characteristics of ASB it was possible to create a definition of ASB in tourism.

‘Leisure tourist Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) includes a wide variety of activities by individuals or groups which affects the quality of lives of other tourists, the host destination community and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations through lack of awareness and/or choosing to ignore or oppose the accepted social norms of the host majority population.’

To create a typology of soft ASB those actions considered to be anti-social need to be prioritised. For this study a starting point for coding was devised based on the objectives, primarily the types of ASB, as well as reasons why ASB occurs. Formal questions inform the coding and categories whilst encompassing the essential aspects of trustworthiness. Types of soft ASB are encouraged to emerge from the informants and the context from the process of description and analysis. The

words and terms used by the informants guide the formation of categories and ultimately the typologies of soft ASB. This process is supported through in vivo coding that was referred to in chapter 2. The substantive significance of a category in relation to others and their grouping into more general conceptual classes is derived from; clustering, noting patterns and themes, making comparisons and contrasts (for example, between variables), and thinking about the different dimensions in terms of, for example, intensity and focus given to an element (Daengbuppha et al, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Patton, 2002; Spiggle, 1994).

ASB is discussed as typologies of soft ASB in tourism from both the tourist and host perspectives. Tables are divided into two sections; the first represents informant directed axial coding for ASB in tourism and is related to Objective 2 and Objective 3 – types of ASB and an exploration of reasons for ASB. See Appendix 17. These categories generally represent the micro level of culture. A typology of soft ASB in tourism is presented in Table 5.7. The second area is concerned with context directed axial coding for ASB in tourism. (See Appendix 19). This is related to Objectives 3 and 4 - to compare and evaluate various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB. These categories exist largely at an intermediate/macro level - for example, management responses, cultural differences, geographical (place, space and environment), media and the public sector. Further consideration of these objectives will elevate and consolidate primary concepts for soft ASB in tourism allowing them to be prioritised and ultimately to guide the development of a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context (Objective 5).

The framework for this study has been developed as a response to the experiences and findings in this case study of ASB in Andalusia, Spain. The aim is not to be prescriptive, instead this framework articulates a series of actions and things to think about when strategies for management responses to ASB in tourism are being considered. There are five different management responses to this process that need to be considered.

1. Compare and evaluate the social and cross-cultural characteristics of tourist and host groups,
2. Determine the types and impacts of ASB,
3. Identify the reasons for ASB,
4. Establish management responses,
5. Agree multi-collaborative community strategies.

Each of the management responses in this framework is linked to the others, making it non-prescriptive; the starting point is not as important as making a start. The framework is as flexible as possible in order to facilitate practical application. The intention is that interpretation of the framework should rely on human and social ingenuity rather than on analytic models, technology and efficient business practices (Economist, 2008b).

Compare and Evaluate the social and cross-cultural characteristics of tourist and host groups as a step has been proposed because it has in this case study created an antecedent-orientated understanding of ASB in tourism. The most important question at this stage is who will lead. Stakeholder power cannot be ignored as it permeates all aspects of management responses. Both the tourist and host are likely to be able to provide information relating to soft ASB some will be more contentious than others.

Determine the types and impacts of ASB relates to determining if ASB does indeed exist. The crucial part of this process is to be able to assess this behaviour for its impact. This is because it is the cumulative dimension that supports the existence of ASB.

Identify the Reasons for ASB – this management response is concerned with obtaining a deeper and broader understanding of the context of ASB by asking what the reasons for ASB might be.

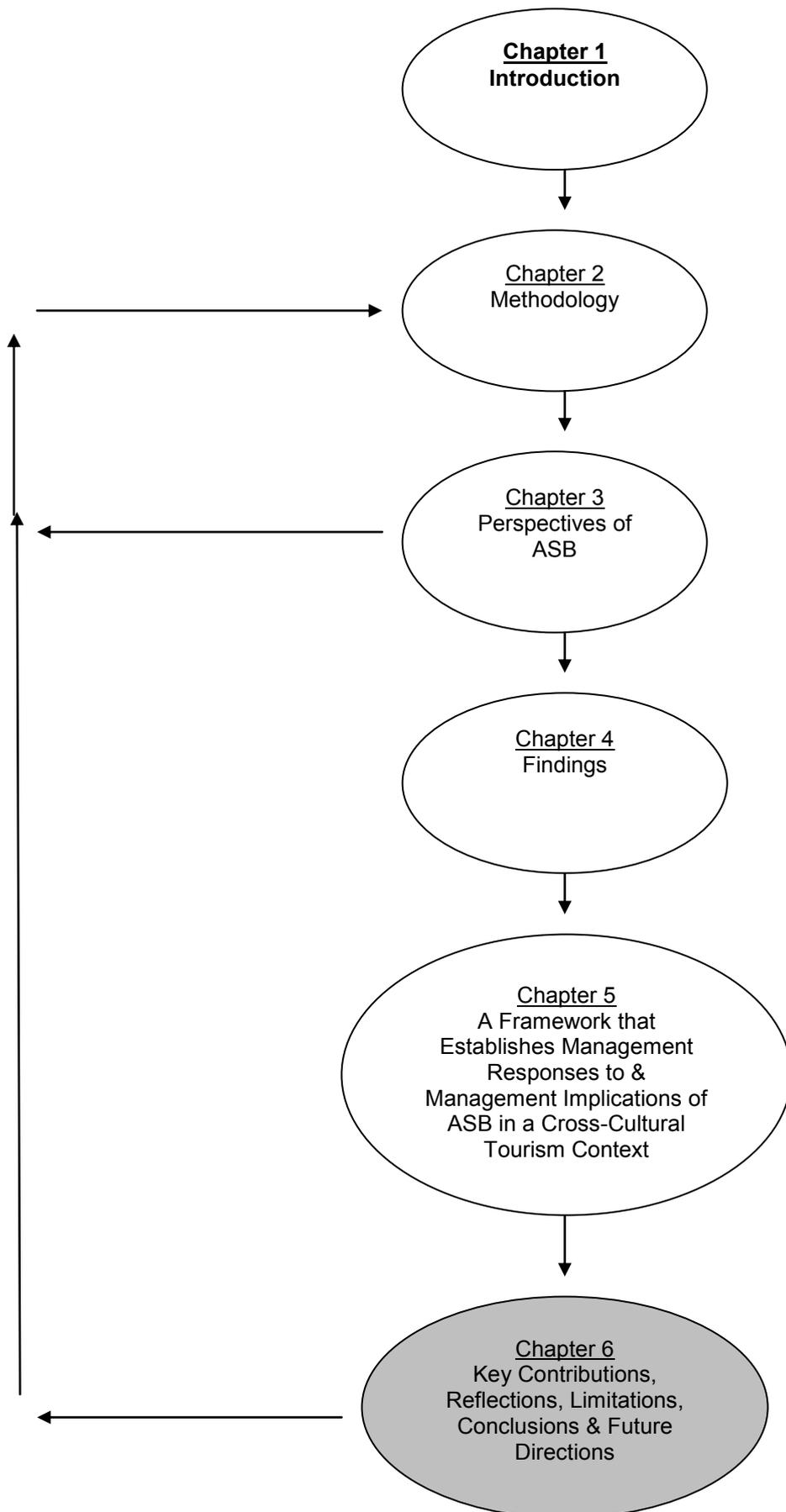
Establish Management Responses relates to identifying the official and unofficial management responses adopted by the tourist and host to the soft ASB that has been identified. What the impacts of the behaviour are and how appropriate these

responses are discussed. These are compared and contrasted against the broader context at micro, intermediate, and macro levels which is a process that supports analysis and interpretation.

Agree Multi-Collaborative Community Strategies. Community collaboration is not a new concept but it has at its core a power struggle in terms of the people involved in decision-making; it is essentially political in nature. Most communities will have the capacity to be responsive to a greater or lesser extent but this is likely to be dependent on the prevailing social, cultural and political environment. This is a responsive process whereby through human and social ingenuity key stakeholders create the most appropriate tools for addressing problems that have been identified. The discussion surrounding home, tourist and host cultures and community collaboration has effectively highlighted the cultural differences that exist between the tourist and host.

This qualitative study treads its own path. Whilst this may cause other authors to criticise it for not being more formulaic in nature, both from a theoretical and practical perspective a deeper and more realistic understanding of soft ASB in tourism has, it is believed, been achieved. Like the tourists, destination planners may not like being told what to do and how to do it. Whilst cross-cultural theory underpins the exploration of cultures with specific reference to differences in rules of behaviour, the concept of responsiveness forms the foundation for management responses. Destinations should be encouraged to engage on their own terms and within their own capabilities.

Outline to Thesis



Chapter 6 – Key Contributions, Reflections and Limitations, Conclusions and Future Directions

6.1 Introduction

Exploring the contemporary social phenomenon of ASB in tourism has been a journey of discovery. Some might consider this journey mundane in part because the concept of ASB appears so familiar. However, it was in reality a challenging and complex social phenomenon to explore. The objectives set out in chapter 1 provided the opportunity for the researcher to renegotiate her understanding of ASB and to reach a deeper understanding of this phenomenon.

This case study exploration of ASB in Andalucia, Spain, aimed to identify, compare and evaluate types of ASB by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, to explore the reasons for this ASB from the viewpoint of other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations, and to establish management responses to and management implications of ASB in tourism. The objectives of the research were as follows:

1. To critically review existing literature on ASB in other disciplines, ASB of UK leisure tourists in foreign destinations and cross-cultural theory.
2. To identify types of ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
3. To explore reasons for the ASB exhibited by UK leisure tourists in Andalucia, Spain, as viewed by other tourists, the host population and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations.
4. To compare and evaluate the various anti-social behaviours, views on ASB of key stakeholders and subsequent response of the stakeholder groups regarding ASB.
5. To develop a framework that establishes management responses to and implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB.

Each of the objectives above represents a path towards a better understanding of ASB in tourism. This was not a step process; as information was revealed in one area it would often feed into another and back again. At the same time the paths taken were far from solitary. The individuals that became involved along the way were ever present, their influences and those of others reached across the spectrum of enquiry.

Objective 1, the literature review, provided the opportunity to begin the exploration of ASB both as it exists in general and more specifically in tourism. The antecedents and consequences of ASB were uncovered to some extent, but left a number of questions unanswered, and led to the conclusion that the concept of ASB was unclear from the literature review. It became apparent therefore that the decision to explore this concept as it exists in reality was essential.

For objective 2 there was perhaps an expectation that the types of soft ASB revealed would somehow produce a succinct list rather like that of the one day account of ASB carried out by the RDS in 2004 (see Table 4.2). However, this did not occur. The methods used by other authors to determine what constituted ASB were not clear in the literature review. This seemed to reflect the lack of agreement between various groups in the UK as to what constituted ASB. Moreover, methods of assessing ASB were largely quantitative and to some extent therefore, formulaic in nature. As a result the researcher decided that for objective 2 to be achieved, a way of understanding ASB so that it could be identified needed to be devised. This process is discussed in the contributions section that follows. Having established the key characteristics of ASB, a working definition of soft ASB in tourism was created, thus making it easier to proceed. Types of ASB in Andalucia were identified, the results of which were discussed in chapters 4 and 5. They are considered to be a good reflection of the current areas of friction, or soft ASB, between the tourist and host. The culmination of this process has enabled a typology of soft anti-social behaviour in tourism to be created based on – Andalucia, Spain (see Table 5.7). Information gathered from the broader context has greatly supported the interpretive process.

Objective 3 posed the question, what are the reasons for ASB? This prompted some deeper considerations, particularly in terms of how to assess the antecedents of ASB. In probing social and cultural issues more deeply, core and secondary levels of culture were explored and exposed from both the British and Spanish national and local perspectives. Their manifestation through cultural traits, content, and behaviour provided the forum for discussions and explanations that proposed reasons for ASB. During this time, as with much of the research, it was tempting to follow paths that, whilst pertinent, were essentially outside the scope of this study; for example, a study of the tourist from a social psychological perspective in relation to behaviour in the destination, the antecedents of ASB in the UK, and other relevant areas such as the success of programmes to counter ASB, changes in political thinking, and issues surrounding the balance of decision making between central and local government.

Objective 4 focused on comparing and evaluating the discussion surrounding ASB in tourism. The variety of perspectives both theoretical and practical provided a broad knowledge base from which to assess the concept of ASB in tourism. Responses from the tourists and hosts, observations made, contributions from the broader context and theoretical cultural and social dimensions and impacts produced worthy contributions. As the knowledge base of ASB in tourism became more solid it was possible to then consider how this could feed into the construction of a management response framework.

Objective 5 set out to create a framework that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context and which articulates both a practical and theoretical approach to ASB. The literature provides a patchy basis for understanding ASB in tourism. To a great extent the phenomenon of ASB is largely associated with criminology regardless of whether it is associated with tourism or not. Soft ASB in tourism is linked to impact studies, primarily those that are physical in nature and often related to sustainable tourism, for example, visitors removing artefacts from a heritage site. Another popular impact topic is perceptions of tourists by hosts. Destinations that are not park or heritage orientated, for example, tourist resorts, as in this case study, lack the structures and processes to address soft ASB that are not obviously criminal or

physical in nature. Impact theory and specifically social-cultural impact theory is the most relevant area for exploring ASB in tourism. However, although there are numerous articles many of these are quantitative in nature. Moreover they often fail to engage directly in the process of tourist and host behaviour.

There have been criticisms of previous work in the area of destination management. These have concerned failings in practical application, and this with particular reference to collaboration, a management response that is commonly proposed. The framework for this study was always intended to be practical but not prescriptive. Its construction has been supported throughout by the findings in this study.

6.2 Contributions of the Research Study

The results of this study make contributions to two main areas of knowledge; the knowledge and theory of ASB in tourism and the management of ASB in tourism.

6.2.1 ASB in Tourism

The first contribution concerns the knowledge base of ASB in tourism. This case study has brought together familiar aspects of tourism that have been placed in diverse subject areas. The three key areas for this study are concerned with:

1. Tourist and host behaviour as a social interaction.
2. The unacceptable behaviour of tourists, which although widely acknowledged is subsumed into the area of criminology.
3. The management or control of human behaviour in a distinct setting, namely tourists in resort destinations.

ASB in tourism is not an area of tourism that has been explored to any great extent. Moreover, as was pointed out at the beginning of this study, responses to ASB in tourist destinations generally seem to be weak. Possibly this is because ASB is generally seen as criminal or hard ASB behaviour, and is therefore often associated with official agencies and the theory of criminology. This goes some

way to explaining why management responses for non-park-and-heritage tourist destinations are weak. Even when crime is discussed in tourism the concept of ASB can be absent (see Botterill and Jones, 2010). Although the theory of criminology and other related ASB literature helps to provide some answers regarding ASB, this is restricted, as it often relates to a specific genre of ASB, for example, teenagers and gang violence on social housing estates in the UK.

Studies of ASB in tourism often focus on sex tourism, teenagers, and drinking. Again these behaviours are more inclined to be linked to hard ASB and therefore criminology. When it comes to considering ASB in tourism that is not criminal in nature, the knowledge base is limited. There is, it seems, a lack of understanding of the difference between hard and soft ASB in tourism. Hard ASB in tourism is generally criminal in nature and has a narrow range, for example, aggressive behaviour as a result of drinking in resorts. Soft ASB in tourism is less distinct. This is because it is not overtly malevolent, the physical boundaries within which it occurs are not distinct, and because the actions are social and cultural in nature, this behaviour is difficult to identify and explain. This study has sought to clarify the distinction between soft and hard ASB. Indeed, in order to proceed, the process of reaching an understanding of this phenomenon was essential.

Whilst social-cultural impact studies are the most relevant field of research for ASB in tourism they have a bias for quantitative methodology and a focus on natural areas rather than tourist resorts. Whilst this area does provide the most fertile for studies relating to the tourist and host, they sometimes adopt a narrow and somewhat distant perspective, for example, tourist-host perspectives. These have a tendency to be outcome-orientated, focusing on the result of the impact on, for example, the community. Even when studies are at an individual level they will often focus on the effect of attributes of ASB on the tourist or more often the host. As Deery et al (2010) point out what is lacking in social impact studies at present is the meaning and nuances of the findings and in- depth understanding of perception formation and its consequences.

It is important from the outset that ASB should not be considered a concept that can be found in every resort destination. Where unacceptable behaviour occurs, it is as a response to social and cultural prompts, often at a deep cultural level in a specific locale. As a result of this case study it has been possible to propose a definition of ASB, which until now has not existed. Reasons for ASB in tourism are incorporated in the definition. This definition, which was created as a result of exploring the reality of the phenomenon, moves this particular dimension of the tourist-host relationship to a prominent position for tourism studies:

'Leisure tourist Anti-Social Behaviour (ASB) includes a wide variety of activities by individuals or groups which, over time, affects the quality of lives of other tourists, the host destination community, and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations through lack of awareness and/or choosing to ignore or oppose the accepted social norms of the host majority population.'

Even though it is recognised that cultural differences are important to understanding the social interaction between the tourist and host (Reisinger & Turner, 2003) studies are limited. Cross-cultural studies in tourism has a broad social perspective that brings together the social, psychological and cultural (Triandis, 1999), which makes it ideal for exploring ASB in tourism. Cross-cultural theory has been useful in exploring the tourist-host relationship at a deeper cultural level and has resulted in the exposure of key elements to consider. These include tourist, host and home cultures. The culture of a destination is reflected in its cultural traits, content and behaviour, particularly in differences between rules of behaviour. Culture informs the tourist about the destination prior to travel, on arrival, and after. It is also the foundation for destination differentiation and thereby for competitive advantage. When cultures meet, tourist and host behaviour is affected; this in turn influences relationships, particularly when there are differences in rules of behaviour (Thyne, 2004). Relationships include those between the tourist and host, other tourists, and the myriad of stakeholders.

6.2.2 The Management of ASB in Tourism

The second contribution is concerned with the management of ASB in tourism. A framework has been created that establishes management responses to and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context. The construction of this framework has been driven by the seemingly weak attempts to manage ASB in tourism and the limited number of studies that link the reality of the situation to a practical response. The construction of this framework of ASB in tourism provides a platform for further exploration of this subject.

This framework has been created as a direct reflection of the researcher's immersion in the environment where ASB exists as a phenomenon in a specific reality, in Andalucia, Spain. In reflecting the reality of ASB the management response constructed using this framework is likely to be more effective in addressing the particular ASB identified. Furthermore, as key elements in the broader context that could impact on the potential success of this framework in a practical setting have been identified, they can be addressed as influential factors within the response.

A key area of the management response strategy that cannot be ignored is the part played by the stakeholders and the question of who will lead. Collaboration was discussed in chapter 3 and again in chapter 5; it is not a new concept but its highly political nature means that although it is recognised as being an ideal way of planning and managing destination development, it is fraught with difficulties. A number of studies exist that endorse collaborative strategies in tourism destinations. However, these studies often have a marketing orientation or are linked to sustainable tourism initiatives which tend to be focused on the natural environment and/or undeveloped countries. They are rarely multi-collaborative for example, including both direct and non-direct stakeholders at national and local levels, and they are often prescriptive in nature, top down, and lacking in a practical dimension (Aramberri, 2010).

Managing tourist behaviour in destinations is often associated with heritage and park sites where boundaries, particularly those that are geographic, are more

distinct. Whilst these continue to develop and change in response to sustainability initiatives they have been less progressive in other types of tourist destinations, particularly those that are tourist resorts, as in this case study. Strategies for managing visitor behaviour at heritage and park sites may be borrowed by other types of tourist destinations, but there is a need for development of effective and progressive strategies for different types of tourist destinations. This case study has found that soft ASB is localised; this means that destinations are likely to be better equipped to manage this type of behaviour if strategies are created as a response to the destination's own soft ASB and the implementation of these strategies is within the destination's own capability. Flexibility is the key and it is the strength of this framework. Too often solutions are prescriptive and fail to take into consideration the large number of variables that are difficult to disentangle and, therefore, to manage. Moreover, they may also disregard more subtle responses such as the coping strategies employed by both the tourist and the host.

Limitations regarding this framework centre on the power bases of the stakeholders. The problem with non-park-and-heritage tourist destinations is that they are strongly linked to a wide variety of political ideas and personal agendas at a number of levels. During the course of fieldwork in Andalusia it became increasingly apparent that these power bases, in whatever form they existed in reality, should be embraced rather than ignored, as they might be useful in the quest for a perfect collaborative structure. Ignoring this political dimension is likely to severely hamper any attempts to instigate change, which is why the emphasis in this case study is on human and social ingenuity.

6.2.3 The Methodological Approach

The successful use of the adopted qualitative interpretivist research design lends further weight to the usefulness of this approach. Given the present bias towards quantitative studies this is of particular significance (Jamal & Hwan-Suk, 2003; Walle, 1997). Despite the uptake of qualitative methods in recent years quantitative methods continue to dominate, and in a recent study it was found that 59% (of twelve major tourism journals) used the quantitative method (Ballantyne et

al, 2009, Deery et al, 2010). Some may perceive limitations of this type of research approach. Primarily this is concerned with trustworthiness but also with the more fundamental problem of researcher training (Jamal & Hwan-Suk, 2003). The point needs to be made that quantitative research is different but not necessarily better than qualitative research. The aim of this case study of ASB in tourism is to make a contribution to a specific area of the knowledge based platform in tourism studies that is acknowledged as being weak. Explaining the problem, as a positivist would do, instead of understanding it as an interpretivist is unlikely to significantly strengthen the platform. Although quantitative research is considered to be the dominant paradigm in various areas of social science research (Hobson, 2003; Willis, 2007) there are many aspects of human behaviour and complex sets of relationships that quantitative research simply cannot measure or objectively evaluate (Hobson, 2003).

This study has demonstrated that the issue of trustworthiness can be overcome and result in a deeper understanding of the concept of ASB in tourism.

Trustworthiness has been achieved in this study through the use of a number of naturalistic techniques (see Table 6.1). Whilst the construct of trustworthiness is seemingly loose it is able to provide a trail of interlinked evidence through its various processes, for example, reflexivity. Reflexivity is a central dimension of the interpretation process and enables the reader to understand how the researcher of this study was able to arrive at her particular interpretation of the data (Merriam, 2002).

More specifically this case study provides additional evidence for research in tourism that focuses on understanding the tourist and host from a humanistic perspective. Understanding at depth requires the 'in-dwelling' of the researcher with the phenomenon under investigation (Hirschman, 1986). This apt explanation forms the crux of interpretive thinking and it is this dimension that is the source of unrest with some researchers critical of this type of approach. Boundaries are seemingly blurred and bias is accepted creating, some believe, instability and untrustworthiness. Although this researcher has undertaken to demonstrate how trustworthiness has been achieved there will be those who will remain uncomfortable with a methodological process that eschews the tight parameters of

measurement that are associated with the positivist paradigm. However, in conclusion, this study, it is believed, has achieved the standards of quality discussed here.

Table 6.1 Naturalistic Techniques Used to Achieve Trustworthiness

Naturalistic Term	Naturalistic Technique
Credibility	Prolonged engagement Persistent observation Triangulation Referential adequacy Peer debriefing Reflexive journal Clear account of analysis and interpretation
Transferability	Thick description Purposive sampling Reflexive journal
Dependability	Dependability audit Reflexive journal
Confirmability	Confirmability audit Reflexive journal

Social and cultural aspects of tourism research are a popular categories as are psychology and tourist behaviour (Jintao & Law, 2009). However, more qualitative work on tourist behaviour is needed if the 'why' dimension is to be advanced (Kozak & Decrop, 2009; Pearce et al, 2010). Exploratory research is often advocated in relation to new research themes or when addressing an existing issue from a new perspective, but it receives little attention (Mason et al, 2010). Additional exploratory case studies would not only answer the 'why' but at the same time through deeper understanding lead to a greater fit between practical and theoretical approaches to ASB in tourism, something that is currently lacking.

6.3 Reflections and Limitations

There has been a great deal of debate regarding the positive and negative attributes of tourism. This researcher believes that tourism and indeed tourists are an inherent aspect of social life. As such, tourist behaviour should be managed in all types of tourist destinations, just as behaviour is managed in other situations, for example, at university or in the work place. Tourism has developed and tourism

studies have advanced since the phenomenon of mass tourism emerged in the 1970s. However, there still appears to be a problem with managing tourists in resort destinations and as a consequence this draws much criticism. Until the issues surrounding collaboration, which are primarily political in nature, are resolved, it is difficult to see how progressive strategies for tourism management will become a practical reality.

For the researcher on a personal level this study has provided the opportunity to use the different perspectives of teacher, tourist and researcher to gain a fuller understanding of soft ASB in tourism. This has been possible not only in tourism in the UK and Spain but also generally as a social phenomenon in the UK and elsewhere.

The most important aspect of this exploratory study was the knowledge that nothing had to be or should be assumed in advance. This meant that the path was never guaranteed and that what needed to be reported or interpreted often revealed itself only as the process unfolded. This is not a path that would appeal to all, but it is in the nature of qualitative research that advantages are to be found over quantitative. There are of course hurdles to negotiate with this type of study, as there will be with other types. That this is a single case study may draw criticism in terms of its application outside its own parameters. However, single cases may be used to confirm or challenge a theory, or to represent a unique, typical or extreme case (Yin, 1994). The typical case study approach has been able to provide a more realistic response to the question of 'why does it appear that attempts to manage ASB in tourism are weak' than a purely statistical survey would have been able to. It is clear that whilst the findings in this study reflect soft ASB in Andalusia, Spain, the path of exploration and the framework could be adopted for research not only into soft ASB in other destinations but also into other types of social phenomenon (Belk, 1993).

Researcher experience was probably the most critical area in terms of research limitations. The aspects of trustworthiness; credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability, directly relate to the path the study takes and the way in which it then manifests. This dynamic process is one of balance; the researcher, as the

main tool of analysis and interpretation, needs to make decisions based on what is occurring and at the same time decide what this means to the study as a whole. Time is always a key limitation, particularly for qualitative studies. Additional interviews regarding the nature of anti-social behaviour with the different groups representing the tourist and host may have provided additional depth relating to types of soft ASB. This information would have been particularly useful during the early stage of field research when mainly observations were being carried out. However, key categories of soft ASB were identified and it was felt that saturation had been reached within the parameters of this study. Further probing concerning the nature of ASB, particularly during interviews in the UK, may have provided a deeper understanding of the antecedents of ASB. The most challenging aspect of data collection was when coming to an understanding of not only what soft ASB was but also how it could be observed. ASB occurs in fleeting moments and its nature is difficult to capture, as it has dimensions that are intangible and elusive. However, being in the right place at the right time is not as important as the process of interpretation. Personal involvement in the interactional process is helpful but prone to be one-dimensional. In order to achieve a broad perspective, a number of different viewpoints are required in conjunction with a coherent process of interpretation. The most prominent challenge identified before data collection became the easiest to overcome. The Spanish language was not familiar to the researcher but English is so widely spoken that this particular hurdle became manageable. However, being able to communicate with the host did not negate the issue of social bias. The host's eagerness to please the tourist (including this researcher) meant that at times the reality of the host may have been misrepresented. Bias cannot be avoided in a qualitative study such as this because it is an inherent part of the process. Knowing the reality of the host to a full extent would involve living their lives, but this was not the quest. For a qualitative researcher the aim is to ensure that this research is trustworthy and representative of the area being studied (Daly & Lumley, 2002).

6.4 Conclusions

This study began with the question, why does it appear that attempts to manage ASB in tourism are weak. After watching and reading so much media coverage of

ASB in the UK, including the antics of UK leisure tourists in holiday destinations, it became apparent that this social phenomenon should be investigated. Although, with the arrival of the new Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition in 2010, there has been a noticeable drop in the profile of ASB in the media, ASB remains an important social issue. Media coverage indicates that the social phenomenon of ASB has not gone away. Figures released suggest that 3.6 million incidences of ASB were reported in 2008/9, but the police believe the number is possibly double (Israel, 2010). At first glance, the links between ASB in the UK and in tourism destinations appear to be one-dimensional as they are often associated with alcohol-induced inappropriate behaviour that can be aggressive in nature. However, there is much more to the social phenomenon of ASB, as this case study has discovered.

For the researcher it has been important from the outset of this study that tourism and indeed tourists should not be depicted in a negative light. However, given the findings it is clear that some tourist behaviour does have negative impacts on the host. Soft ASB can refer to a broad spectrum of tourist and host behaviour that is clearly not criminal in nature but it can have serious impacts. Whilst the Spanish have managed to differentiate to some extent between soft and hard ASB at a general level, the British have had more trouble doing so. Both cultures, however, have had and continue to have difficulty in addressing ASB in a practical way both in general and in tourist resorts.

Society is dynamic and changes are inevitable; some of these changes will be more acceptable than others. Bad behaviour is nothing new but contexts have changed. For the UK leisure tourist in Andalucia, Spain, the context not only changes but lax controls permit behaviour to embed. Negative outcomes of encounters like ASB may be indicative of social malaise at a deeper cultural level. However, finding the most appropriate method of addressing these will always present a challenge. It is possible that the process of addressing deeper social and cultural issues is perceived as being complex and resource-hungry and this creates inertia. These issues are of course also political and this can impede progress.

If use of the ASB label is encouraged with respect to tourism it will intensify negative images of tourism. More research and development in the area of visitor/tourist management is needed. The contributions made will help to ensure that ASB does not develop and spread in the same way as it has done in other areas of society. The results of this study indicate that soft ASB in tourism was found to exist in this case study carried out in 2006 and 2007 in Andalucia, Spain. The existence of soft ASB as a social phenomenon in tourism was initially difficult to ascertain. This was because comparisons made between ASB in the existing literature and experiences in reality did not correlate. Furthermore, since soft ASB is often indistinct and exists in a fleeting moment it is difficult to capture unless there is personal involvement within the interactional process. Once the key characteristics of soft ASB had been established it became possible to identify this type of behaviour. Through this process it has been possible to create a definition of ASB in tourism, which until now had not existed.

The exploration of the social phenomenon of ASB as it relates to tourists, the host population, and key stakeholders in businesses and organisations has revealed characteristics of the home cultures of both the tourist and host. When these cultures meet in the destination, tourist culture is created, and impacts, which are by no means always negative, are generated. Impacts manifest in a number of ways between the tourist and host. The tourist was generally content with their relationship with the host, much of their criticism was directed at other British tourists who drank too much at times and behaved inappropriately as a result. The host considered the most objectionable aspects of UK leisure tourist behaviour to be; not speaking Spanish, dressing inappropriately to eat and drink, and eating international-style food rather than Spanish. Of lesser concern to them was the openly drunk behaviour of UK leisure tourists. The results also revealed that it was the long-term British expatriate that was more responsible for breaches in etiquette rather than the short-term tourist. However, it was difficult for the host to distinguish between these two groups, and as a result all British were considered by the host to be disrespectful but not necessarily anti-social.

The host accommodates the tourist and makes allowances for them in terms of their behaviour. Both groups adopt coping strategies, but these are not necessarily

negative. Coping strategies that are non-park-and-heritage visitor/tourist management techniques have largely been left to develop on their own. Should this be the case? ASB has important consequences for tourist destinations. Some of the coping strategies adopted by the tourist and host could be considered legitimate management responses, for example, the formation of enclaves. The corralling of tourists may be an acceptable form of management response. This is an idea that is promoted by authors such as Page (2007) and Williams (2010). This author agrees. However, not planning specifically for ASB in tourism means that the allowances made for tourists by hosts can encourage some of the ASB to embed and rapidly escalate (Hughes et al, 2008). An example might be the crowding of specific tourist areas for drinking and the resulting aggression shown by British tourists.

Destinations need to be able to offer a safe and differentiated environment. When the cultural and geographical distance is not too great the tourist will feel safer. But this can be compromised. There are 'no go' areas in Europe, areas tourists will not visit, in order to avoid other drunken tourists. Magaluf is one example. How much is too much when the host culture becomes diluted? How many tourists are wanted in these destinations? How far are the hosts prepared to go to accommodate these tourists? These are crucial questions that pose dilemmas for planners. The framework of management responses and management implications of ASB in a cross-cultural tourism context that has been created in this case study provides a practical starting point for addressing the social problem of ASB in tourism. However, it is only part of the solution. As more destinations develop across the world, planners and marketers will have to consider how to differentiate their destinations more carefully in order to secure their long-term survival. Krippendorf (1987) says that he is convinced that the native population in host areas is becoming increasingly aware of tourist related problems and that they are prepared to put up a fight to save their own values. Lessons have not always been learned and some destinations twenty-five years later are still following familiar patterns of development and even as the host puts up a fight.

6.5 Future Research Directions

Tourism as a field of study has endless possibilities both in terms of theoretical exploration and practical destination planning and development for the future. At certain points during the course of this study, paths which might have provided some pertinent information had to be excluded. This was due not only to time constraints but also because they began to lead out of the areas set out in the objectives.

Further extension to the knowledge base of ASB in tourism is needed. Additional case studies in a variety of tourist destinations would lead to greater coherency of information on this topic and of course to a deeper understanding. This researcher believes that there are likely to be certain aspects of this study that may indeed be identified in other resort destinations. However, additional studies are needed to provide the forum for the theoretical concepts that emerge to be transferred to other social studies or generate hypotheses to be tested (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Gummesson, 1991; Ruddin, 2006; Wolcott, 1994). Wolcott (1994) pointed out that any one case should provide enough information to learn what can be learnt and act as a guide for others. It is hoped that this study provides the impetus for this to occur.

Studies into communities and collaboration, including coping strategies, are particularly relevant because impacts from tourism activity has led to widespread, and generally well accepted, calls for multiple stakeholder groups, in particular the resident community, to participate in the process of destination planning and development (Ruhanen, 2009). Communities need to be multi-collaborative and they need to develop their own tools for planning and management. However, tools for resort destinations are not as progressive as those for park and heritage sites. Whilst tourist resort destinations have been subject to some research attention in recent years, this has not matched the degree of importance accorded to tourism in other types of destinations. Tourist resort destinations are after all complex, they have large populations, they draw tourists to their attractions, they are easily accessible, they have a large stock of accommodation, and they also appeal to a wider tourist market.

Further research in this area would help destinations to develop the marketing and management of this type of destination more effectively and ensure the long-term sustainability of tourism in these settings (Edwards, Griffin & Hayllar, 2007).

Locally led strategies developed in response to local soft ASB in tourist destinations are crucial because attempting to manage local soft ASB from a distance will inevitably lead to misunderstandings. The observations tourists and hosts make about each other and about the environment in which their behaviour is staged provide the explanations that can underpin the long-term marketability of the tourist destination.

One of the most interesting areas for study remains the concept of tourist culture. This is a dimension of cross-cultural theory that incorporates home and host cultures. As such it is immensely rich in information. Soft ASB in tourism as it is happening in reality is exposed as part of tourist culture, a part that presents an enhanced version of some aspects of home culture, pointing to the roots of ASB. An exploration of tourist culture offers the host an insight into what is happening where and when in that destination and it also has the capacity to highlight key aspects of ASB in the home culture and the reasons for its occurrence.

ASB emanates from society and the communities therein, and new approaches to addressing social issues like soft ASB are needed. As Zohar and Marshall said (1993:8) *'we need to evolve a new alternative, a third way that mediates between the self-centredness and fragmentation of extreme individualism and the imposed communality of extreme collectivism. Our whole sense of what it is to be a community must be transformed'*.

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Appendices

Appendix 2: Host Interviews, Andalucia, Spain – July/August 2006

Name/Code	Nationality	Resident	Relevance	Location
H1	Norwegian	4 years	Director Norwegian Tourism Inst	Jerez de la Frontera TC
H2	Norwegian	4 years	Administrator Norwegian Tourism Inst	Jerez de la Frontera TC
H3	British	5 years	Director Nursing Agency	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H4	British	2 years	Nurse	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H5	Portuguese	10 years	Ophthalmologist	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H6	British	2 years	Semi-retired inspector & nurse	Riviera
H7	Moroccan/French	20 years	Writer & photographer	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H8	Moroccan/French	17 years	Student	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H9	Moroccan/French	17 years	Student	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H10	Moroccan/French	20 years	Writer & photographer	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H11	British	17 years	Property management	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H12	Portuguese/Spanish	20 years	Property developer	Mijas Costa (Chaparral)
H13	British	1 year	Cocktail waitress (London Bar)	Fuengirola TC
H14	Moroccan	5 years	Waiter - Mijas	Mijas Town
H15	Moroccan	5 years	Waiter - Mijas	Mijas Town
H16	Spanish	35 years	Spanish tour guide	Ronda
HO17	British	3 years	Childrens Party Entertainer	Calahonda
H18	British	20 years	Hand Made Celebration Cards	Calahonda
H19	British	17 years	Property management	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H20	Moroccan/French	20 years	Writer & photographer	Mijas Costa (El Coto)
H21	Spanish	Life	Waitress - Torremolinos	Torremolinos

Appendix 2: Host Interviews, Andalucia, Spain - Easter 2007

Name/Code	Nationality	Resident	Relevance	Location
H22	Senegalese	Illegal residents	Beach sales	La Cala Beach
H23	Spanish	Yes permanent	Café owners	La Cala
H24	British	Yes	Pedestrian	La Cala
H25	British	Yes permanent	Overseas property sales	La Cala
H26	Spanish	Yes permanent	Waiter	Torremolinos
H27	Spanish	Yes permanent	Tour guide	Nerja
H28	Moroccan/Spanish	Yes	Shoe shop owner	Benalmadena TC
H29	Moroccan/Spanish	Yes	Boat excursions	Benalmadena TC
H30	British	Yes	Radio Station	La Cala
H31	Spanish	Yes	Tourist Board Director	Torremolinos
H32	Spanish	Yes	Lawyer	Fuengirola

Appendix 2: Host Interviews, Andalucia, Spain – July/August 2007

Name/Code	Nationality	Resident	Relevance	Location
H33	Spanish	Life	Tourist Office Assistant	Mijas Pueblo
H34	Indian	3 years plus	Waiter	Mijas Pueblo
H35	Swedish	1 year	Marriott Beach Club Reception	Marbella
H36	Spanish	Life	Director Mijas Pueblo Tourism	Mijas Pueblo
H37	Dutch	25 years	Foreigners Department	Mijas Pueblo
H38	British	10 years	Beautician	La Cala
H39	British	23 Years	International Marketing Director Costa del Sol	Torremolinos
H40	British	8 years	Overseas Property Sales	La Cala de Mijas

Appendix 2: Continued

H41	Spanish	Life	Legal Secretary	Fuengirola
H42	British	3 years	Tour Rep – Airtours	Fuengirola
H43	Spanish	Life	Car Rental	Malaga
H44	South American	10 years	Hotel Reservations	Mijas Costa
H45	British	7 years	Horse Riding Stables	Alhaurin el Grande
H46	South African	9 yrs	Animal rescue	Alhaurin el Grande
H47	British	30 years	Retired	Calahonda
H48	Spanish	Life	Mariott Vacation Club Barman	Marbella
H49	Spanish	Life	Hotel Duty Manager	Torremolinos
H50	British	19 years	College Director	Mijas Pueblo
H51FG	German	20 years	Promotion executive	Torremolinos
H52FG	Spanish	Life	Promotion executive	Torremolinos
H53	Spanish	Life	Jewellery Vendor	Ronda
H54	British	4 years	Estate Agent Administrator	La Cala
H55	Spanish	Life	Car Rental Booking Agent	La Cala
H56	Spanish	Life	Waitress in Torremolinos	Malaga
H57	British	15 years	Bathroom and Kitchen Suppliers	Fuengirola

* FG denotes Focus Group participant

Appendix 3 UK Leisure Tourist Interviews Andalucia, Spain - July 2006

Name/Code	Nationality	Length of stay	Relevance	Location	SEC	Age Category
T1	British	1-2 weeks	Students	Linekers, Fuengirola	C2	16-18

Appendix 3 UK Leisure Tourist Interviews Andalucia, Spain - Easter 2007

Name/Code	Nationality	Length of stay	Relevance	Location	SEC	Age Category
T2	British-	1 week	Not known	La Cala Beach	C2	35-44
T3	British-	1 week	Manager	Fuengirola Beach	C1	35-44
T4	British/Manchester	2 week	Taxi driver	Fuengirola promenade	D	45-54
T5	British/Essex	1 week	Teacher	Benalmadena Beach	C1	35-44
T6	British/Leeds	10 days	Electrician	Marbella shopping mall	C2	35-44

Appendix 3 UK Leisure Tourist Interviews Andalucia, Spain - July/August 2007

Name/Code	Nationality	Length of stay	Relevance	Location	SEC	Age Category
T7	British/Yorkshire	10 days	Insurance sales & legal secretary	Mijas	C1	55-64
T8	British/Manchester	2 weeks	Civil servant	Marbella	C1	45-54
T9	British/Yorkshire	10 days	Businessman & physiotherapist.	La Cala	C1	45-54
T10FG	British/Sussex	1 week	Student(18+yrs)	Torremolinos	C1	16-18
T11FG	British/Sussex	1 week	Student(18+yrs)	Torremolinos	C1	16-18
T12FG	British/Sussex	1 week	Student(18+yrs)	Torremolinos	C1	16-18
T13FG	British/Sussex	1 week	Student(18+yrs)	Torremolinos	C1	16-18

Appendix 3

UK Leisure Tourist Interviews Andalucia, Spain - July/August 2007

T14FG	British/Sussex	1 week	Student (18+yrs)	Torremolinos	C1	16-18
T15	British/Northern Ireland	2 weeks	Civil servant & aircraft engineer	Fuengirola	C1	35-44
T16	British/Southern Counties	2 weeks	University Students (18+yrs)	Marbella	B	18-24
T17	British/Essex	2 weeks	Builder	La Cala	C	35-44
T18	British/Leicester	2 weeks	HGV driver & childminder	Torremolinos	C	55-64
T19	British/Harrogate	2 weeks	White collar	Ronda	C	45-54
T20	British/Wokingham	2 weeks	Dentist	Ronda	C	45-54
T21	British/Canterbury	2 weeks/ Residential	Self employed	Malaga	C	45-54
T22	N.Ireland/Armagh	1 week	Pastor/ Missionaries	Malaga	C	55-64
T23	British/Wakefield	1 week	Teacher	Malaga	C	45-54
T24	British/not known	10 days	Not known	La Cala	-	45-54
T25	British/Sussex	3 weeks	Not known	La Cala	-	35-44
T26	British/Stratford	1 week	University Students x 4 (18+yrs)	La Cala	-	18-24
T27	British/Aberdeen	2 weeks	University Students(18+yrs)	Fuengirola	C	18-24
T28	British/Coventry	2 weeks	Not known	Fuengirola	C	35-44
T29	British/Cheshire	2 weeks	Tabloid News	Fuengirola	C	45-54
T30	British/Essex	2 weeks	University Students(18+yrs)	Fuengirola	C	18-24

* FG denotes Focus Group participant

Appendix 3

UK Leisure Tourist Interviews Andalucia, Spain - September 2007

Name/Code	Nationality	Tourist/length of stay	Relevance	Location	SEC	Age Category 25
T32	British/Sheffield	2 weeks	Civil Servants	Marbella	C	25-34
T33	British/Scottish	2 weeks	joiner	Marbella	C	55-64
T34	British/Leeds	2 weeks	Accounts/Office	Marbella	C	65+
T35	British/London	1 week	Not known	Marbella	C	55-64
T36	British/Torquay	10 months	Caravan Park	Marbella	C	65+
T37	British/Yorkshire	1 week	Civil servants	Mijas Pueblo	C	45-54
T38	British/Wales	2 weeks	Builder/installer	Mijas Pueblo	C	45-54
T39	British/London	3 weeks	Builder	Mijas Pueblo	C	55-64
T40	British/Essex	10 days	Not known	Mijas Pueblo	C	25-34
T41	British/London	3 weeks	Not known	Mijas Pueblo	C	55-64
T42	British/Cardiff	1 week	Not Known	Ronda	C	45-54
T43	British/Essex	2 weeks	PA	Ronda	C	55-64
T44	British/-	1 week	Retired	Ronda	C	65+
T45	British/London	1 week	Not known	Ronda	C	35-44
T46	British/Manchester	10 days	Nurse/Marketing	Ronda	C	25-34
T47	American	Not known	Not known	Ronda	-	55-65
T48	British/Sheffield	6 weeks	Plumber	Benalmadena	C	65+
T49	British/Liverpool	1 week	Not known	Benalmadena	-	25-34

Appendix 4 The JICNAR's Classification System

It was considered important that UK leisure informants represented a broad range of socio-economic backgrounds, gender and age. Informants were mapped using the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising JICNARS (Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys) classification. This is a method of socio-economic segmentation that assigns people into six categories. This classification system allows other variables to be grouped together (Swarbrooke & Horner, 1996), in this case an age and gender range were added. It was a subjective process but this system helped to ensure that the tourists interviewed represented as broad a range of socio-economic backgrounds as possible.

A – Upper Middle Class: The head of the household is a successful business or professional person, senior civil servant, or has considerable private means. A young person in some of these occupations who has not fully established himself/herself may still be found in Grade B, though he/she should eventually reach grade A. In country or suburban areas, A-grade householders usually live in large detached houses or in expensive flats. In towns, they may live in expensive flats or town houses in the better parts of towns.

B – Middle Class: In general, the heads of B-grade households will be quite senior people but not at the very top of their profession or business. They are quite well off, but their style of life is generally respectable rather than rich or luxurious... non-earners will be living on private pensions or on fairly modest private means.

C1 – Lower Middle class: In general it is made up of the families of small trades people and non-manual workers who carry out less important administrative, supervisory and clerical jobs, ie; what are sometimes called 'white collar' workers.

C2 – Skilled Working Class: Consists in the main of skilled manual workers and their families: the serving of an apprenticeship may be a guide to membership of this class.

D – Semi-Skilled and Unskilled Working Class – Consists entirely of manual workers, generally semi-skilled or unskilled.

E – Those at the lowest level of subsistence: Consists of old age pensioners, widows and their families, casual workers, and those who, through sickness or unemployment, are dependant on social security schemes, or have very small private means (Joint Industry Committee for National Readership Surveys).

Age Range	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
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Gender	F (Female)	M (Male)
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**Appendix 5 UK Leisure Tourists – Interview Tracking –
Andalucia, Spain 2007**

Heritage/Town						
SEC	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
A						
B						
C1		T32 T46	T42 T45	T8 T9 T20 T21 T23 T37 T38 T43	T7 T19 T22 T33 T35 T39 T40 T41	T34 T36 T44
C2					T18	
D						
E						

**Appendix 5 UK Leisure Tourists – Interview Tracking –
Andalucia, Spain 2007**

Beach/Bars						
SEC	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+
A						
B	T16					
C1	T1 T26 T27 T30 FG/T10 FG/T11 FG/T12 FG/T13 FG/T14	T48	T3 T5 T15 T25 T17 T28	T24 T29 T31		T47
C2			T6	T2		
D			T4			
E						Total 48

*FG denotes focus group participant

Appendix 6 Host Interview Tracking 2006/2007

Direct Tourist Services	Informants	Location
Local Businesses		
Services sector – retail outlets Café's/bars Shopping centres – shop owners Mobile phone shop in La Cala Newsagents in la Cala Beauty/Hair salon Attractions – heritage & non heritage Festivals and events Museums Galleries Accommodation – hostels, hotels, villa rentals, marinas, farmhouses, Golf courses (La Cala & Marbella Golf)	Spanish Waiter Moroccan waiter Spanish waitress Owners - El Deseo Café Shoe shop owner Indian Waiter Swedish - Marriott receptionist British – Beauty therapist British – Marriott Beach Resort Sales South African – Int Hotel Reservations Spanish – Vacation club barman Spanish – Hotel Duty Manager Spanish – jewellery vendor Spanish - waitress	Tapas Bar on Torremolinos beach Mijas Torremolinos La Cala Promenade Benalmadena Mijas Elviria La Cala Marbella Mijas Costa Marbella Torremolinos Ronda Malaga

Appendix 6 Host Interview Tracking 2006/2007

Direct Tourist Services		
Organisations: excursions On the beach: Beach sales – drinks etc Beach Bars Sun beds Horse riding Tour Reps Tour Guides Incoming Tour Operators Tourism Promoters Tourist Offices	Charter Boat Oceanic Lookie-Lookie African sales Spanish tour guide Spanish tour guide Airtours Rep Grupo Raytur Tourism Director Director Costa del Sol Tourism German Promotion Executive (focus group) Spanish Promotion Executive (focus group) Spanish Administrator	Benalmadena La Cala Beach Nerja Ronda Fuengirola Torremolinos Mijas Torremolinos Torremolinos Torremolinos Mijas

Appendix 6 Host Interview Tracking 2006/2007

Indirect Tourist Services		
Local Businesses		
Ambulance Police Fire Hospitals Doctors Estate agents Radio stations Car rentals	British - natural health practitioner Moroccan - photographer French - semi resident father working here – French/Spanish Spanish - property developer British - private nursing agency British – property management British - builder British - craft maker Dutch - estate agent Dutch – ophthalmologist British – radio station Spanish - Spanish Lawyer Spanish – Spanish legal secretary Spanish – Car rental Spanish – Car rental British – Estate Agent British – Retired Resident	Mijas Costa (El Coto) Mijas Costa (El Coto) Mijas Costa (El Coto) Mijas Costa (Chaparral) Calahonda Mijas Costa (El Coto) Mijas Costa (El Coto) Calahonda Mijas Costa (El Coto) Mijas Costa (El Coto) La Cala Fuengirola Fuengirola Malaga La Cala La Cala Calahonda

Appendix 6 Host Interview Tracking 2006/2007

Key Stakeholders		
Public Sector Town mayors Bus operators Train operators Schools	British – teacher Spanish – teacher British – head teacher Norwegian – teacher Norwegian– teaching administration Spanish –Foreigners dept	Marbella Fuengirola Rincon Jerez Jerez Mijas
Expatriates		
Expats – British – live here purchased or long term property rental - some of the time - work in the UK	British – work part time in the UK British – artist	Riviera Mijas Costa

Appendix 7 Observation Route – UK Leisure Tourists and Hosts in Andalucia, Spain 2006/2007

Research setting	Research Setting	Actions	Words	Secondary observations	Interpretation	Feelings, perceptions, values, and the process
Spatial	Temporal	Communication	Communication	Communication	Cultural	Cultural
Date	Numbers of tourists	frequency	quotes	Statements by observers	Researcher culture	Comments on
Time	Concentrations Times/ places	Non-verbal Body language	Flow of conversation		Search for different perspectives	
location		touch	Action and words together		Researcher experience	
Main functions of location	Types of tourists	Actions: pointing, use of barriers	Rules of conversation		Social location of informants	
attractions	Ages of people	encounters	Language used		Cultural manifestations	
businesses	People – not tourists	Interaction patterns	Expressing satisfaction/dissatisfaction		mentality	
Main features & organization of physical land space – buildings/spaces	ethnicity	Showing emotions	Exaggerations joking		Rules of social behaviour	
Physical human traces	dress	Self presentations	Personal questions			
photographs	Signs of social status		complimenting			
Maps of sites with observation points.	Couples, married/families/groups		Showing warmth			
Physical location of researcher	Roles of key participants		Addressing people			

Appendix 7 Continued

	Communication between participants		Apologising			
	Unusual/typical		Farewells			
	Arrangement of people in space		Gift giving			
	What are they doing		opinions			
	Why are they there?		Moral rules			

Adapted from: Decrop (1999); Jorgensen (1989); Strauss & Corbin (1998); Wolcott (1994)

Appendix 8 Observation - Field Settings – Andalucia, Spain – July/August 2006

Code	Site	Type	Date	Time
O1	Jerez de la Frontera	City famous for sherry, flamenco and horses – town centre	15/07-16/07	2 days
O2	El Coto	Residential suburb 10 minutes north of Fuengirola & research base.	16/07-31/07 04/08-21/08	16 days 16 days
O3	Journey Jerez to Malaga	Train	Sunday 16 July	5 hours
O4	El Brujo English Pub (El Coto)	English pub in residential area	Sunday 16 July	19.00-21.00
O5	La Cala	Beach and promenade	Tuesday 18 July	11.00-13.00
O6	La Cala	Beach and promenade	Thursday 20 July	11.00-13.00
O7	Mijas	White pueblo heritage small town	Friday 21 July	16.00-21.00
O8	Fuengirola	Town centre and promenade	Sunday 23 July	18.00-21.00
O9	La Cala	El Deseo – Beach promenade & café	Tuesday 25 July	11.00-13.00
O10	Mijas (El Coto)	On the pavement outside the supermarket	Sunday 06 August	11.30
O11	Marbella	Promenade	Monday 07 August	23.00-02.00
O12	Fuengirola	Town and promenade	Monday 07 August	20.00-01.00
O13	Fuengirola	El Cortes – shopping centre	Monday 07 August	18.00-21.00
O14	Mijas	White pueblo heritage small town	Tuesday 08 August	13.00-16.00
O15	Rhonda	White pueblo heritage small town	Tuesday 08 August	09.30-15.00
O16	Fuengirola	Restaurant – Chinese & town	Thursday 10 August	20.00-01.00
O17	Benalmadena	Seaside town with harbour, bars and all night clubbing	Thursday 10 August	02.00-04.00
O18	Cabopino	Small port – expensive apartments – port area	Monday 14 August	18.00-20.00
O19	Malaga	Heritage, fiesta, shopping	Tuesday 15 August	12.00-16.00
O20	Torremolinos	Tourist town by the sea – city centre	Thursday 17 August	10.00-16.00
O21	La Cala	Beach & promenade	Friday 18 August	11.00-13.00
O22	Fuengirola	Town centre	Saturday 19 August	10.00-13.30

Appendix 8 Participant Observation – Field Settings – Andalucia, Spain – April 2007

Code	Site	Type	Date	Time
O23	La Cala	La Cala Market	Wednesday 4 April	10.00-11.00
O24	Calahonda	'Solution' bar opening in La Cala/Calahonda	Thursday 5 April	20.00-24.00
O25	Torremolinos	Promenade and Beach	Saturday 7 April	12.00-18.00
O26	Benalmadena	Beach	Sunday 8 April	12.00-16.00
O27	Fuengirola	Myramar Shopping Mall	Monday 9 April	13.00-15.30
O28	Marbella	La Canada Shopping Mall	Tuesday 10 April	13.30-15.30

Appendix 8 Participant Observation – Field Settings – Andalucia, Spain – July/August 2007

Code	Site	Type	Date	Time
O29	Mijas	Heritage	Sat 14 July	11.00-13.00
O30	Cabopino	Port/beach	Monday 16 July	19.00-21.00
O31	Marbella	Beach	Tuesday 17 July	12.00-15.00
O32	Puerto Banus	Port/Bars	Thursday 19 July	21.00-01.30
O33	La Cala – Fuengirola	Transport Bus & Train	Monday 23 July	11.00-13.00
O34	Marbella	Heritage	Tuesday 24 July	10.00-14.00
O35	Benalmadena	Non-Heritage Sealife Centre	Thursday 26 July	16.00-18.00
O36	La Cala	Fiesta	Thursday 26 July	20.30-21.30
O37	Marbella	Hotels – Marriott	Monday 30 July	14.00-21.00
O38	Torremolinos	Hotel – Sol Principe	Tuesday 31 July	16.00-20.00
O39	Torremolinos	Shopping	Wednesday 8 August	12.30-14.30
O40	Malaga	Fiesta, Beach, Market	Saturday 11 August	12.00-21.00

Appendix 9 Observation Tracking 2006/2007

Observation Field Setting	Fieldwork
Heritage	Jerez de la Frontera Mijas Rhonda Malaga Marbella – old town
Beach (promenade)	La Cala Fuengirola Torremolinos Benalmadena Marbella Malaga
Bars / Restaurants / Clubs	Fuengirola Benalmadena Marbella Cabopino Puerto Banus Torremolinos
Shopping (town centres & malls)	Fuengirola town centre Fuengirola Myramar Mall El Cortes Ingles Mall Torremolinos town centre Malaga – town centre Marbella – La Canada Mall Marbella town centre
Non-Heritage Attractions	Sealife Centre - Benalmadena
Residential	El Coto Calahonda
Hotels	Marriott Vacation Club 5* Sol Principe 3*
Events / Feria	Malaga Fiesta La Cala Fiesta
Market	La Cala Malaga
Transport	Coast train Buses Roads and driving

Appendix 10 Questioning Route – Depth Interviews and Focus Groups/Interviews – Hosts – Spain 2006/2007

Category	Question	Timing	Aim of question
Opening	Topic 1 – Exploring ASB in the UK		
1	Tell me who you are, where you come from and what you like most about living here.	0-5	Ice-breaker, establishes commonality. Throughout moderator will improvise comments and questions to keep the discussion on track and open up or explore areas. Encourage personal opinions to be expressed..
2	What is the first thing to come to mind when you hear the term ‘anti-social behaviour’? Who is anti-social?	5-10	Starting point which makes explicit perceptions of ASB. This may be UK or Spanish based it may not be called this in Spain. It may generate information that is media inspired, which may focus on young people, hooligans, and drunkenness. Personal experiences or accounts based on local area of ASB and the police as managing agents.
Introductory	Topic 2 – Identify ASB in the UK & Reasons		
3	What do you think are the reasons for ASB?	10-20	Perceptions of where ASB rises from (responses may include sink estates, working class, young people that are bored and have not been bought up properly, may be influenced by media, TV reality shows, probably don't really know).
4	Could you list the behaviours that you would consider to be AS, please discuss these with each other.	20-40	The aim is to generate a number of types of ASB across the range from hard to soft. Individuals may have previously focused more on hard ASB.
Transition	Topic 3 – Personal Opinions & perspectives		
5	How does ASB make you feel?	40-50	Quality of life issues will be raised – this will also help individuals be able to relate to tourist ASB questions that follow.
6	Think back to previous holidays - have you experienced any anti-social behaviour? Who is anti-social?	50-60	Making the link between the UK and Spain – perceptions about ASB abroad, experiences, personal accounts, probably hard ASB and drink related. May bring out soft, as this is a subjective question.

Appendix 10 Cont	Topic 4 – ASB and Tourists		
Key			
7	What aspects of tourist behaviour do you think local people and other tourists might consider Anti-Social? Can you make a list of the behaviours you have identified?	60-75	Move from drink related to exposing a full range of soft ASB. Give out pre-prepared A3 sheet with 2 columns locals and tourists.
8	Why do tourists behave in an anti-social way?	75-90	Based on the assumption that tourists are anti-social as previously identified, drink related and possibly at this stage this has been expanded on to a fuller soft range.
9	Who should manage tourist behaviour? How should they do it?	90-105	Individuals may divide the soft and hard ASB at this stage – hard is criminal and police managed which does not need to be focused on – focus for informants should be the soft range identified.
Ending	Topic 5 – What does ASB mean?		
10	What does each of you consider has been the most important aspect of today's discussion?	105-115	Identify key points of interest for this study by participants.
	Feedback – This is the first in a series of research, is there anything we should have talked about but didn't.	115-120	General discussion which may provide additional details regarding ASB and comments regarding what might be included next time. Also Feedback Sheet

Appendix 11 Questioning Route Focus Groups & Interviews – Tourists – Spain 2007

Category of Question	Question	Timing 120 mins (focus group only)	What is the aim of the question?
	Introduction to FG – Plan – aims, timing, roles, equipment and facilities		
Opening			
1.	What is the first thing to come to mind when you hear the term 'anti-social behaviour'?	0-5	Perceptions of ASB in the UK
2.	Clarification of the term	5-10	Personal experiences of ASB in the UK
Introductory			
3.	Who do you think carries out ASB?	10-20	Are they the same as those for tourists on holiday - later comparison?
4.	What are the reasons for ASB?	20-40	Cross-cultural perceptions and differences
Transition			
5.	How do you imagine the locals here perceive you as tourists?		Tourists perceptions of host perceptions establishes
6.	Are tourists capable of ASB?	40-50	Perceptions & personal experiences
7.	How does their behaviour differ to that of local people?	50-60	Range of behaviour
Key			
8.	What types of tourist behaviour would you consider to be anti-social?	60-75	To identify types of ASB of tourists
9.	Why do tourists behave as they do when on holiday?	75-90	Sources of exhibited ASB
10.	What would you consider is the best way of responding to ASB?	90-105	How various behaviours are managed and could be managed.
Ending			
11.	How would you now sum up your feelings about the ASB of other tourists?	105-115	Reinforcement of views – key points
	Feedback	115-120	On session

Appendix 12 Questioning Route – Pre-Test UK Focus Group

Category	Question	Timing	Aim of question
Opening	Topic 1 – Exploring ASB in the UK		
1	Tell me who you are, where you come from and what you like most about living here.	0-5	Icebreaker, establishes commonality. Throughout moderator will improvise comments and questions to keep the discussion on track and open up or explore areas. Encourage personal opinions to be expressed..
2	What is the first thing to come to mind when you hear the term ‘anti-social behaviour’? Who is anti-social?	5-10	Starting point which makes explicit perceptions of ASB. This may be UK or Spanish based it may not be called this in Spain. It may generate information that is media inspired, which may focus on young people, hooligans, and drunkenness. Personal experiences or accounts based on local area of ASB and the police as managing agents.
Introductory	Topic 2 – Identify ASB in the UK & Reasons		
3	What do you think are the reasons for ASB?	10-20	Perceptions of where ASB rises from (responses may include sink estates, working class, young people that are bored and have not been bought up properly, may be influenced by media, TV reality shows, probably don’t really know).
4	Could you list the behaviour’s that you would consider to be AS, please discuss these with each other.	20-40	The aim is to generate a number of types of ASB across the range from hard to soft. Individuals may have previously focused more on hard ASB.
Transition	Topic 3 – Personal Opinions & perspectives		
5	How does ASB make you feel?	40-50	Quality of life issues will be raised – this will also help individuals be able to relate to tourist ASB questions that follow.

Appendix 12 Continued

6	Think back to previous holidays - have you experienced any anti-social behaviour? Who is anti-social?	50-60	Making the link between the UK and Spain – perceptions about ASB abroad, experiences, personal accounts, probably hard ASB and drink related. May bring out soft, as this is a subjective question.
Key	Topic 4 – ASB and Tourists		
7	What aspects of tourist behaviour do you think local people and other tourists might consider Anti-Social? Can you make a list of the behaviours you have identified?	60-75	Move from drink related to exposing a full range of soft ASB. Give out pre-prepared A3 sheet with 2 columns locals and tourists.
8	Why do tourists behave in an anti-social way?	75-90	Based on the assumption that tourists are anti-social as previously identified, drink related and possibly at this stage this has been expanded on to a fuller soft range.
9	Who should manage tourist behaviour? How should they do it?	90-105	Individuals may divide the soft and hard ASB at this stage – hard is criminal and police managed which does not need to be focused on – focus for informants should be the soft range identified.
Ending	Topic 5 – What does ASB mean?		
10	What does each of you consider has been the most important aspect of today's discussion?	105-115	Identify key points of interest for this study by participants.
	<i>Feedback – This is the first in a series of research, is there anything we should have talked about but didn't.</i>	115-120	General discussion which may provide additional details regarding ASB and comments regarding what might be included next time. Also Feedback Sheet

Appendix 13 A Request to Participate in a Discussion Group

A Request to Participate in a Discussion Group

'Tourists and Anti-Social Behaviour'

Understanding Anti-Social Behaviour and How it is Managed

This research is being carried out by Sarah-Jane Borradaile at Oxford Brookes University as part of a research degree. This is an initial investigation in the UK, which will contribute to further research in Andalucia, Spain in 2007.

A number of people will be taking part in this research in the UK, these will include people from a variety of professions who have some experience of foreign holiday travel. Discussions will be conducted in a focus group consisting of 8 participants. This will last approximately 2 hours. The session will be guided by specific questions covering a number of key areas and a tape recorder will be used.

Your participation in this research will be confidential as will all data collected. Participants must be 16 years of age or over.

It is hoped that all participants will find the subject of tourist behaviour in resorts interesting and will through their own experience be able to contribute to the general debate about this subject, thereby furthering understanding between cultures.

If you have been abroad to foreign holiday destinations and would like the opportunity to discuss your experiences please contact me.

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Appendix 14 Participant Information Sheet

PhD Research Project 2007

Participant Information Sheet- Interviews & Focus Groups

Tourists and Anti-Social Behaviour: understanding anti-social behaviour and how it is managed.

You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

The Research

The purpose of this research is to study the behaviour of tourists in Andalucia, Spain and to establish what local people and other tourists think of the behaviour and their views about how this is managed.

This research is being carried out by Sarah-Jane Borradaile at Oxford Brookes University as part of a research degree. Information from interviews and discussions will help to formulate a picture of the anti-social Behaviour of tourists. The project is being conducted through the Business School, Tourism Department, it is self-funded and will take approximately three years to complete. This project has received clearance from the university research ethics committee, if you have any concerns regarding this project you may contact them at ethics@brookes.ac.uk

Taking Part

All you need to do is to come along and join in a discussion, which will be kept on track with key questions from myself. A number of people will be taking part in this research; these include tourists, residents and local businesses. A tape recorder will be used for each session, subject to consent.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

The Data

Your participation in this research will be confidential and all data collected will be kept strictly confidential. Data will be kept in locked computer files and filing cabinets access is restricted to principal investigators (subject to legal implications). All data generated will be kept in electronic form for a period of five years in accordance with the University's policy on Academic Integrity. The data will be used to form a key part of the research degree dissertation. Once published this research will be available for you to read, you will have the opportunity to indicate whether you would like a summary copy of the research. It is hoped that all participants will find the subject of tourist behaviour in resorts interesting and will through their own experience be able to contribute to the general debate about this, furthering understanding between cultures.

Thank you for taking time to read this information sheet. If you have any questions please contact me at sarah-janeborradaile@brookes.ac.uk

April 2007

Appendix 15 Consent Form

CONSENT FORM

Tourists and Anti-Social Behaviour : understanding anti-social behaviour and how it is managed.

Sarah-Jane Borradaile, PhD Research Student.

Oxford Brookes University, Dept Hospitality, Leisure and Tourism Management, Headington.
Gypsy Lane, Oxford. OX3 0BP

Please Initial Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
3. I agree to take part in the above study.

Appendix 16 Feedback Sheet

Feedback

It would help greatly if you could give some feedback on the session. This not only helps monitor the way in which the research was conducted but is also an opportunity for you to express how you feel.

Questions	Answers
Did the questions asked progress in a logical order?	
Do you think they were relevant?	
Were there any others that could have been asked? If so what were they?	
Do you think the way in which you were selected for this session was professional?	
Are you happy with the confidentiality agreement?	
Were you happy to give your consent to the session and for it to be recorded?	
Have you experienced any changes in the way in which you feel now as opposed to at the start of the session?	

If you leave the session and feel that you have additional issues that you wish to discuss you are welcome to contact me. Please take my contact details at the end of the session. Thank you for your help.

Appendix 17 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Informant Directed (Micro Level)

Main Code and Sub Code
Objective 2
TYPES OF ASB
1.UK Leisure Tourists Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
Fighting
Animals
Loud/Yobs
Language
Eating
Drinking
Children Noise
Groups
Dress
Sun
Impatient
Being rude about the Spanish
Not polite
UK Leisure Tourist Views of UK Leisure Tourists
Embracing Britishness in Spain
British are ok
British Expatriate Views of British
Do not integrate
Do not speak Spanish
British are rude
2. UK Leisure Tourist Soft ASB of Hosts
Researcher Observations of tourist host interactions
Fighting
Staring
Rowdy young Spanish
Irritating
Touting
Pushy
Noisy
Overcharging
Gypsies
Dog mess
Drinking

Appendix 17 Continued

UK Leisure Tourist Views of Hosts
Friendly
Lazy
Forgiving of tourists
Just want money from tourists
Not friendly
Good with children
Spanish are OK
Driving
Culture
UK Leisure Tourist Views ASB
Anti-social at times
Not a problem here
Service
British expatriate views of host
3. UK Leisure Tourist Hard ASB of Hosts
Begging
Prostitution
Organised crime
Drinking
Counterfeit
Mugging/stealing
Fighting
Drugs
4. Host Soft ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
Dress
Loud/drinking
Eating habits
Language
Smoking
Queuing
Ignore/misunderstand rules
Not friendly
Host Views of UK Leisure Tourists
Not into local culture
Not curious
Depends on the tourist
British/Tourism OK
British are polite
British have no culture
Domination of British Culture

Appendix 17 Continued

Host views of British expatriates: Buy property Do not integrate
5. Host Hard ASB of UK Leisure Tourists
6. Host Soft ASB of Non-British Tourists
Rude
Objective 3
REASONS FOR ASB
Low pay for locals
Rejection of Spanish culture
Acceptance of Spanish culture
Cheap alcohol
Insulting host
Language barrier
Reputation
Reaction against norms
Tourist culture: UK culture Do not know rules Shallow relationship Socio-economic
Resources
Resentment
Competition
Destination design: Use of place, space & environment Dated
Lax control
Young people
Indifference
Capacity
Marketing
Like attracts like
Upbringing/parents
Cost
What could be done?

Appendix 18

Open Coding Categories (from all data as a hard copy)

Youth
Noisy Spanish
Destination Change
No Spanish language – British
More control of destination
ASB Types
Spanish Mentality to Tourists
Spanish Drinking Habits
Spanish Networking
Destination Image
Drug Dealers
British/Youth Drinking
British Dress
Change Spanish Society
Spanish Drinking
Crime – East Europeans
British Mum Shouting
Spanish Tolerance
British-Spanish Exchange
British Greeting Spanish
Spanish Greeting British
Spanish Traits
British – moving about
Drugs – Club
British Amble
Spanish Drugs & Parking
British Annoyed – own family
Moroccan Culture
Access to Tourists
British Youth Drinking
British – built up environment
British – are easy – egg and chips
Finnish – area of Mijas
Drinking Culture of British
Manners at home
Fines
Illegal Radio
Do the same as at home
Push British culture on us
Show Spanish Style
British Eat Earlier
Spanish – good at moving together
British stand out
British Children
Fiesta – crowd confusion
Drunk Spanish
ASB – on beach
British and Language
UK Culture
Not Understanding British Culture
Escape British Way of Life
Gypsies
Drunk Spaniards
They Answer you in English

Appendix 18	Open Coding Categories Cont
Bouncers (Spanish) handled bar trouble	
Spanish cannot afford to be rude	
Muggings	
Golfers	
Loud American	
British and Drinking	
Mugging – Lars	
Tourist Culture	
Social Change	
Shouting Spanish	
Term – Guiris	
British Louts Live Here	
Attitude	
Wild west	
Police – took him home	

**Appendix 19 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism –
Context Directed (macro/intermediate level)**

MANAGEMENT RESPONSES
Objectives 3 and 4
Management responses Soft/Social: Status quo Own interpretation Planning Mix types, ages, nationalities Segregate Intervene Protocol Tolerance Security guards
Management responses Hard/Police: New laws Stretched Intervention Bridge Less intervention Corruption
CULTURAL TRAITS – SPANISH
Transport
Networks
Pushing
Youth
Goods
Working hours: Work Services
Respect
Mentality: Rules are guidelines Macho Tolerance Arab
Dress
Families
Rituals
Movement

Appendix 19 Continued

Interpersonal/talking: Tactile/personal space Like to chat/take their time Confident interaction Not interacting Spanish encourage cultural interaction Noisy
Eating
Drinking
Who is Spanish?
Children
Weather
RULES OF BEHAVIOUR - SPANISH
Lax rules for Spanish
Lax rules for UK leisure tourists
Same for British and Spanish
Same for youth
Dress code
Drinking
Greetings
CULTURAL TRAITS BRITISH/TOURISTS
Tourist culture: Choices made/experiences Unfamiliarity Do tourist things Behave the same as at home Dress Young adult UK tourist Safe
Talking/Language: Children Interaction Notes Contextual influences
Eating
Familiar symbols, rituals
Polite
Animal loving
Dress
Move
Drinking
NATIONAL DIFFERENCES
Attitude to animals
Close communities: Relaxed/friendly

Appendix 19 Continued

Less restrictive practices
Drinking
Noisy
Timing
Local intervention
Physical attributes
Dress
Dog mess
All ages stay up all night
Time and Place
NATIONAL SIMILARITIES
Change
Beggars
Smoking
Complaining
Unreliable services
Eating
Being loud
Being drunk
Dress
Being a tourist
Old people
Children/families
Youth culture
Objective 4
DIFFERENCES OF ASB
Drugs
ASB as a concept
Eating
Swearing
Policing
Drinking culture
Fighting
SIMILARITIES OF ASB
Graffiti
Drinking culture
Objective 5
Framework

Appendix 19 Continued

Main Code and Sub Code
GEOGRAPHICAL
Development and change: As a destination Macro level
Movement: Shared space
Enclaves: Attract different types of tourists
Destination design: Traditional Spanish
Tourist views of destination
Numbers of tourists
Impacts
Social-cultural
MEDIA
Reputation Types of UK tourists Quantity over quality Popularity
PUBLIC SECTOR
Funding
Tourist motivation
Destination marketing: Booking Positioning Different nationalities Pull factor Tired resort Planning

Appendix 20 Axial Coding for ASB in Tourism – Methodology

Main Code and Sub Code
METHODOLOGY
What went well
What was not so good
Field settings
Saturation
Objectives
Access
On culture
Categories
Ranges of ASB
Generalisation
Response notes
Field notes
Interviews: Numbers Duration Questioning route Tape recorder
Observation
Who is a tourist, expatriate, immigrant, host?
Researcher subjectivity