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Tourism, mood and affect: Narratives of loss and hope

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ABSTRACT

Beyond looking to emotion and affect for the purpose of understanding better the tourist experience in itself, this article considers what affect produced through tourism might *do* vis-à-vis our relationship with the world around us. With a particular focus on the production of 'hopeful mood', the article discusses the links between affect and tourism narratives of loss and of hope performed in two New Zealand tourism destinations. That both loss and hope narratives are produced in both destinations illustrates not only how tourism narratives are 'affective', but also that the affect produced is potentially selective. The implications of these narratives for tourism's hopeful 'worldmaking' capacities are considered, along with suggested further avenues for research on tourism narratives, mood and affect.

Introduction

Affect, emotion and feeling are increasingly considered to be important when looking at tourism encounters and tourism places. According to Buda (2015), for example, it is important to consider 'affect' in tourism because: "Affect is to be found in visceral intensities that circulate around and shape encounters between tourists, local tourism representatives and places" (p. 3). Similarly, D'Hauteserre (2015) argues that, in line with the broader 'critical' and 'emotional' turns in tourism studies, the aim in talking about affect and feeling is "to bring to the surface some of the not 'completely rational' aspects, or some of the underlying layers, of tourism reality" (p. 78). Hence, D'Hauteserre (2015) argues, drawing upon theories of emotion and affect enables us to "formulate a more complete understanding of the elements that influence the kinds of experiences that are created in destinations" (2015, p. 78). Going beyond aiming to gain a better understanding of tourist experiences in destinations, moreover, it is important to consider emotions and affect, produced through tourism, in terms of what they *do* or *can do*. That is, rather than limiting our enquiry by seeking to understand emotions and affect in tourism experiences as ends in themselves, we could usefully consider how affect might have a propensity to impact upon our being in and engagement with the world more broadly.

Indeed, the 'affective' or 'emotional' turn in humanities and the social sciences (Brooks, 2014; Buda, 2015) points us to the importance of considering the relational qualities, as well as the socio-political aspects, of affect and emotion. For instance, according to Sara Ahmed (2014, p. 14), being "in this mood or that" makes the world "appear this way or that", and so it may be reasonable to argue, in turn, that mood has the propensity to make us *engage* with the world in this way or that. This point then relates to what Hollinshead (2009a, 2009b) terms the 'worldmaking' power of tourism. Whilst the concept of worldmaking refers to the privileging of particular dominant place representations over others, the worldmaking effects of tourism are much broader than the representations in marketing or branding exercises (Hayes & Lovelock, 2016), since worldmaking is both holistic and nebulous in nature. We thus propose in this article that the combination of narrative and affect might be what gives tourism much of its worldmaking power. To make this case the article draws on two New Zealand case study destinations: the city of Christchurch and Doubtful Sound in

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Fiordland National Park. The use of both destinations shows how, in even very different destinations, the combination of tourism narrative and affect can have the potential to produce 'this mood or that' and thereby make the world 'appear this way or that'.

Moreover, amongst our considerations of mood and affect more broadly, we will focus attention on the relationship between tourism and the production, in particular, of *hopeful* mood, or affect. This is because it is generally agreed, both in the affective geography and the cultural studies literatures, "that hope matters" (Anderson, 2006, p. 734). In her discussion on the importance of hope for environmental engagement among young people, for example, Ojala (2012, p. 638) argues that hope is "a feeling that can transform worry into a constructive motivational force", and in this sense, "finding ways to instil hope could therefore be seen as vital" (Ojala, 2012, p. 626). In this article, we extend Edelheim's (2015) suggestion that tourist attractions and tourism places can be studied as narratives in order to consider the ways in which the narratives produced through tourism may, or may not, produce hopeful affect. Our intention in doing so draws also on Ahmed's (2004) suggestion that in addition to producing particular 'worldly orientations', emotions and moods create particular orientations towards the future.

Thus, the purpose of this article, to draw attention to the ways in which tourism narratives may produce one or other affect or mood, is premised on the broader idea that the affect produced through tourism could have ongoing, or future-oriented, effects. It is worth clarifying here our usage of the terms *affect* and *effect*, *affective* and *effective*. Traditionally, *affect* has been used as a noun, '*an affect*', or *an impact on*, or as a verb, '*to affect*', or, *to have an impact on*; its meaning being dependant on the context within which the term is used. Also, in a more specialised way, *affect* is used to stand in for a suite of typically longstanding moods to do with physiological arousal. *Effect* may be used as a verb, meaning 'to bring about' e.g. 'to effect regime change', and as a noun, where it refers to the result of an action; 'the effect of the invasion was regime change'. The appropriate use of these terms is densely nuanced and available for all manner of wordplay; here, for the sake of clarity, we try to keep the intended meaning of the terms as unambiguous as possible. Thus, with the aim of exploring how tourism narratives might 'make' the world through the production of *affect*, this article provides insights into the relationship between tourism, affect and 'mood'.

The article is intended primarily as a conceptual contribution, with its conceptual argument being illustrated by the outlining of affective narratives, of loss and of hope, as they are produced and performed in two New Zealand tourism destinations. Our use of these two tourism destinations illustrates the ways in which very different types of tourism settings can produce varied narratives, which in turn can evoke varied emotions among tourists. Thus, including both destinations is specifically intended to move beyond the naïve assumption that a particular destination lends itself more readily to one or other narrative (for example, of *either* loss *or* hope). Indeed, both narratives are shown to be applicable in both places. Before moving on to the Christchurch and Fiordland National Park narrative illustrations, we will first provide an overview of the relevant literature on affect, mood and tourism, as well as introducing the methodological framework and our narrative methods and analysis. The key affective narratives in the two destinations will then be outlined, beginning with post-earthquake tourism narratives in Christchurch, and then moving on to the nature-related narratives produced and performed in Fiordland National Park. Finally, we will discuss the implications of considering hope production in tourism in relation to broader ideas about hope being an affective state which 'matters'.

The affective turn

The "affective turn" in the social sciences has occurred as a reaction to the dominant thinking within Enlightenment modernity wherein emotion was "conceptualised as a sphere of the self that needed to be restrained and managed within a structural-functional model of society" (Brooks, 2014, p. 45). The affective turn has taken place across various social sciences, including anthropology, sociology, geography and cultural studies, and there has been a developing move to include emotion and affect within tourism studies also (Buda, 2015; D'Hauteserre, 2015; Picard & Robinson, 2012; Tucker, 2009). For some, this move has been part of broader attempts to redirect tourism scholarship away from its tendency "overall to be dominated by post-enlightenment rationality and positivism" (Robinson, 2012, p. 23), whilst for others the inclusion of emotion and affect has been linked with a desire to more fully understand tourism encounters by further including the body in our readings of tourism (Andrews, 2005; Johnston, 2001; Pritchard, Morgan, Ateljevic, & Harris, 2007). Buda (2015) argues that there is too much of an "affective and emotional gap" (p. 12) in tourism studies and, consequently, she calls "for an affective and emotional turn in tourism studies akin to the one in socio-cultural and feminist geography" (Buda, 2015, p. 12).

D'Hauteserre, whose 2015 article links affect theory and "the attractivity of destinations", argues that it is likely to be because "affect is beyond the senses that can be signified" that "its role has remained unrecognized in tourism, especially since it is not consciously directed by actors upon others" (p. 82). D'Hauteserre suggests also that this 'non-representational' aspect of affect is what differentiates affect from emotion, with emotion being somewhat more easily put into words. Whilst there is considerable debate regarding the distinction between emotion and affect, a commonly drawn distinction is that "emotion refers to cultural and social expression, whereas affects are of a biological and physiological nature" (Probyn, 2005, p. 11). Duff (2010) similarly argues that since "affect ought to be understood as a specific manifestation of a body's 'power of acting', its lived force or action-potential", a focus on affect should "avoid restricting the analysis of affect to particular emotional expressions" (p. 882). Whilst clearly there are nuanced conceptual complexities involved in scholarship related to non-representational aspects of affect, what is of particular interest here is the relationship between affect and place in tourism contexts.

Affect, place and tourism

Duff (2010, p. 881) argues that "to experience place is to be *affected by place*". Similarly, and more directly related to tourism, D'Hauteserre (2015, p. 86) argues that "tourist destinations offer many opportunities for visitors to be affected", even "if the stay is

temporary" (p. 80). D'Hauteserre contends also that certain places are more conducive to producing particular kinds of emotions and affect than others, and this is due to the particular 'affect vibes' generated in different tourism spaces. Anderson (2009) refers to these diverse affective resonances as 'affective atmospheres', whilst Ahmed (2014, p. 15) refers to such resonances as 'mood', which she describes as "rather like an atmosphere". Duff (2010) argues that particular places are conducive to particular 'moods', or 'feeling states', even if one is not able to consciously describe or explain them. Duff suggests that these moods or feeling states "constitute the emotional palette of lived experience, which includes anger, shame, hope, fear, disgust, sorrow, joy, and so on" (Duff, 2010, p. 884).

Moreover, in referring to 'collective affects' or 'collective moods', Anderson (2014, p. 106) argues that "particular collective affects may condition life, have a longer duration than affects or emotions, and come to frame the world as a whole rather than be attached only to particular objects". Similarly, Pfau (2005, p. 7) contends that mood conditions our engagement with the world: "mood speaks – if only circumstantially – to the deep-structural situatedness of individuals within history as something never actually intelligible to them in fully coherent, timely, and definitive form". This point is suggestive of a temporal dimension in 'mood' production, which not only would connect mood with the notion of 'narrative', but, as Ahmed (2004, p. 184) suggests, might implicate 'moods' in creating particular orientations towards the future, such as hope, or fear, for what we could become. It has been argued by some, though, that 'hope', as an affect or mood, has been analysed *too* readily in respect to its temporal dimension, to the neglect of considering its spatial dimension. For example, Raffaetà (2015, p. 116) advocates for the linking of hope and place because "the abstract and time-related aspects of hope become more concrete when they are elaborated in relation to place". Raffaetà (2015) makes this point in relation to migrants' experiences and affective states produced in and by the place to which they have migrated. Bringing in a tourism focus, then, a focus on the affective states produced through the tourism narratives performed in destinations would usefully combine *both* the temporal *and* the spatial dimensions of affect in tourism contexts.

Furthermore, Tucker and Shelton (2014: 650) point out that "the tourist subject position clearly establishes an opportunity for the production and performance or, production through performance, of narratives that ultimately are the product of the authors'/performers' choices". In other words, in the context of any tourism setting there may be a variety of potential representations, narratives and associated performances available for selection. Such selection is thus a form of tourism's 'worldmaking' power where:

> [worldmaking] is the creative and often 'false' or 'faux' imaginative processes and projective promotional activities that management agencies, other mediating bodies, and individuals strategically and ordinarily engage in to purposefully (or otherwise unconsciously) privilege particular dominant/favoured representations of people/places/pasts within a given or assumed region, area, or 'world', over and above other actual or potential representations of those subjects (Hollinshead, 2009a, p. 643).

Whilst this definition of worldmaking specifically links the concept to "projective promotional activities", worldmaking appears to have a broader, more holistic reach than the place representations conjured in marketing and branding exercises. Moreover, as Hayes and Lovelock (2016, p. 1) argue, the fact that worldmaking includes representations of place which "may be part of a conscious and/or unconscious act offers an important distinction between worldmaking and marketing". Hence, and of direct relevance to the discussion in this article, as well as including deliberate and conscious place representations and narratives, the concept of worldmaking includes tourism projections and their effects which may not be purposefully or consciously produced. Importantly, then, this may include the production of particular 'affect' or 'mood'.

Furthermore, if some affective effects of tourism's projections/narratives are more or less unconsciously produced it follows that, in order to better understand tourism's affective worldmaking processes, it is important to bring those affective effects to 'consciousness'. The research upon which this article is based is intended to do this through studying various key tourism narratives of two destinations and considering their affective effects. In particular, we are concerned here with how tourism narratives may affect, or effect, 'mood' since, according to Ahmed (2014, p. 17), "moods are often understood as more general or worldly orientations rather than being oriented toward specific objects or situations". Since 'moods' attend to the world as a whole, they might also go on to affect our 'being in the world' and our ways of engaging in the world, hence having socio-political implications. An existing study of relevance which illustrates this point is Shearing and Kempa's (2008) discussion of Robben Island Museum in South Africa. This study provides an example of the deliberate process, in the context of South Africa's continuing political transition from apartheid, to promote a "hope sensibility" among visitors by "mobilizing such symbolic resources as stories and iconic images" (p. 374).

While the hope mobilized at Robben Island Museum has specific 'deep deliberative roots' in relation to the history of the prison itself as well as to the broader struggle against apartheid (Shearing & Kempa, 2008), it resonates with a growing interest in hope more broadly. That is, due to an increasing recognition of the relationship between hope and positive social, political and environmental change (Drahos, 2004; Lueck, 2007; Ojala, 2012), there is a growing interest in considering how hope can be activated or mobilized. As Shearing and Kempa (2008, p. 380) suggest, "the question is not whether our experience is constructed but rather *how* it is constructed and toward what ends?" This point thus links the hope mobilization at Robben Island Museum back to the notion of 'worldmaking' in tourism. However, whist a cultivation (either purposefully or unconsciously) of specific moods or affective states has been a focus of considerable discussion in the cultural studies literature, for example in relation to film and other media, linking affect, and more specifically hope affect, to tourism's affective worldmaking power is an area not yet adequately developed in tourism studies. Therefore, with broader increasing interest in hope and how hope can be activated, it is pertinent to further consider where and how narratives of hope are, or are not, presented and performed in tourism contexts.

Furthermore, while Shearing and Kempa's (2008) discussion of Robben Island Museum provides a useful example of purposeful, or conscious, hope mobilization, it is important to look at tourism examples where such feeling mobilization may not be so deliberate and conscious. As suggested above, this will then help to 'bring to consciousness' the ways in which tourism narratives are affective, thereby furthering our understanding of tourism's affective worldmaking processes. The present article is thus intended to contribute to this understanding by 'bringing to consciousness' affective tourism narratives in two New Zealand destinations. It is important to

note that the point of including two different tourism settings here is not to compare them. Rather, viewed together the two settings illustrate that despite their dissimilarities, the production of affective narratives of both/either loss and/or hope is common to both. Not only does this demonstrate that multiple tourism narratives are available to be performed in *both* places but, taking 'hopeful' mood to be something which 'matters', a broader implication of this discussion is to prompt consideration of how tourism narratives might become more involved in mobilizing hope. Before going on to describe the prominent tourism narratives in the illustrative tourism settings, the next section will outline the narrative methodology employed in this research.

Narrative methodology

Edelheim (2015) argues that tourism destinations are brought into being, at least in part, by being *narrated* into existence. In other words, Edelheim takes a constructivist view on tourism-related narratives, whereby the meaning of the attraction or destination does not exist prior to the texts or narratives generated, but is rather constructed *by* those narratives. Similarly, in his linking of narrative and the understanding of place, Entrikin (1991) discusses the significance of plots in narrative so that different attributes of place (or, in tourism, a destination or attraction) are drawn together into a comprehensible, and we should add temporal, whole. In this article, we use a narrative analysis methodology (Berger & Quinney, 2005; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009), consistent with the constructivist use of narrative, with narrative taken to be:

> an analytical frame enabling small-scale stories to be located in relation to a wider (temporal, spatial) context of bigger stories, by perceiving connections, to one degree or another, between stories… The result is a meta-narrative, the interpretational overview produced by the researcher (Stanley, 2008, p. 436).

Hence, our methodology is closely aligned with that of Edelheim (2015) who, in his analysis of tourism attractions *as narratives*, argues that "an ultimate meaning is a formation based on the (mini-)narratives included in the analysis" (p. xviii). Whilst the actual methods employed in the two destination narrative projects discussed in this article differed in each case, our methods align with Noy's (2011, p. 919) contention that "in the highly mobile sphere of tourism, texts' meanings emerge in particular material and ideological settings through the dialectics of mobility-immobility". The two projects and their methods will now be described.

The research project focusing on Christchurch's post-earthquake tourism narratives set out to develop an understanding of key narratives relating to the earthquakes which were produced and performed through tourism during the five year period following the major earthquakes in 2011. Our research involved a narrative analysis of text primarily culled from archival digital and print media: New Zealand newspapers and magazines; tourism industry reports and planning documents and archival New Zealand television news coverage. *The Press* is the major newspaper for the Christchurch region and provided the most extensive coverage. *The New Zealand Herald* is the leading national newspaper and *Stuff* (stuff.co.nz) is a national web-based news repository. These media were searched initially using the term 'Christchurch + earthquake' and the leads that emerged, particularly leads that linked with tourism, were then followed. During this process we were looking for narrative threads in the textual material we had gathered and then linking these threads with an adaptation of Noy's (2008) ideas on sampling procedure, specifically snowball sampling. Here, the snowballing is the constant broadening of the search terms in response to positive leads; a discursive opening-up of the topic rather than a refining of the search in pursuit of stronger truth claims. In this discursive process of following positive leads, it is accepted that "knowledge is in fact dialogical… and therefore is essentially partial and continuously negotiable" (Noy, 2008, p. 332).

Along with our narrative analysis of news and tourism media text, we undertook ethnographic-style methods by visiting Christchurch and recording detailed field-notes at approximately six-monthly intervals throughout the five years following the major earthquakes. Each fieldwork visit lasted for one week on average, and during the visits we visited earthquake exhibitions at the Canterbury Museum and 'Quake City', as well as visiting other earthquake-recovery related projects and festivals. Also, we travelled twice on the Red Zone coach tour while the army still guarded access to the site, and later on the renamed Rebuild Tour, again twice, when the army had been stood-down. The commentaries of each of the tours, along with other observation field-notes collected, constitute primary textual data and complement the secondary textual data of the other media. We analysed the texts by seeking connections between stories and weaving these connective narrative threads together in order to create 'bigger stories', or proper narratives. Consequently, thematised narratives were derived from the material, showing how the post-earthquake tourism narratives in Christchurch transitioned over time from a narrative of loss to one of positivity and hope (Tucker, Shelton, & Bae, 2017).

The other research project was focused broadly on tourism narratives involving 'nature' and its place in New Zealand. This project involved ethnographic-style methods including participant observation and interviewing with guides, tour managers and tourists on ten coach and boat tours to Doubtful Sound in the Fiordland National Park and World Heritage area of New Zealand's South Island. The Doubtful Sound research was conducted in two phases, firstly with the purpose of gaining insight into 'on-tour' interpretive commentaries and tourists' reactions to the commentaries, and secondly with the purpose specifically of understanding how tourism narratives constructed 'futures' with regards to 'nature'. During the first fieldwork phase, we participated in five tours of the same route but with different guides and tourist groups. The guides' commentaries were recorded through observation-note collection and audio recording where permission was obtained. The recordings and notes were later analysed in view of their narrative structures and it was learned that, although the tour providers undertake guide training and provide 'scripts' for the on-tour interpretative commentary, the commentaries provided were idiosyncratic and depended on the individual knowledge and personal interests of the guides involved. During this fieldwork, we also took field-observation notes particularly in relation to tourists' reactions, including their apparent emotive reactions, to the idiosyncratic commentaries and hence to the bigger narrative frames formed.

The second fieldwork phase again involved repeated trips on the same tour product which included coach and boat rides with commentary. This fieldwork phase differed slightly from the first in its inclusion of more purposeful interviewing of tourists as well as

guides in order to ascertain their narrative framings of past(s), present(s) and, more particularly, future(s) in relation to the situation of 'nature'/'natural areas' both in New Zealand and the wider world. In total across both fieldwork phases, conversation interviews (Noy, 2004) were conducted with approximately 30 tourists and 12 guides. Both authors undertook the trips together so that, along with gathering textual/interview material from guides and tourists, we could produce a reflexive frame within which our own experiences could be situated (Noy, 2011), as well as our analyses triangulated. The commentaries, field-notes and interview material were treated as textual data and, as with the Christchurch project, were analysed seeking connections between stories and weaving the narrative threads together in order to create bigger narrative frames.

During both the Christchurch and the Doubtful Sound research projects, thematised narratives were derived from the material which, as outlined below, were grouped as either narratives of destruction, despoliation and loss, or as narratives of restoration, renewal and hope. For his imputation of narrative, Edelheim (2015, p. 176) uses Bal's (2009) analysis of metaphor; the text, the story and the fabula: "The only concrete matters the analyst can examine are the texts – the other elements of the theory are abstract constructs" (p. 177). Therefore, by analysing the stories told in the 'texts' (for example, news media texts about Christchurch and guides' commentaries during tours in Fiordland), we were able to determine "the fabula that might be constructed in the tourist's mind from the different stories" (Edelheim, 2015, p. 28). Moreover, Edelheim (2015, p. 177) continues that the point of studying tourist attractions *as narratives* is "to open up an understanding of how the fabula is constructed in the tourist's mind and how that has an impact on how the tourist enjoys the attraction as a narrative". This interest in how narrative has an impact on how the tourist enjoys the attraction links with our intention here of considering the ways in which destination narratives might produce affect or mood. However, our purpose in doing so is not limited to understanding tourist 'enjoyment' or otherwise in the sense that a marketing agenda might have, but is rather to interrogate the nature of tourism narratives in relation to their affective 'worldmaking' effects. Again, as stated above, inclusion of the two different tourism settings here is not for comparison purposes, but is rather to illustrate that multiple tourism narratives, each with particular affective qualities, can be performed in *both* places. The affective narratives produced in both destinations will now be outlined.

Post-earthquake tourism narratives

In September 2010 and February 2011, Christchurch, the largest city in New Zealand's South Island, experienced major earthquakes, followed by further significant aftershocks. The February 2011 quake was centred close to the city centre and, causing 185 fatalities and catastrophic damage, it brought devastation to the city. A state of emergency was declared and a cordon was placed around the entire city centre, what became known as The Red Zone, as damaged buildings needed to be cordoned off for safety reasons until they could be demolished. In addition, many architecturally and historically significant buildings had collapsed. With a severe shortage of tourist accommodation, the entire city centre 'off-limits', and many of the city's tourism attractions damaged or closed, there was a dramatic downturn in tourism in the city (Orchiston & Higham, 2016). Soon, however, the earthquake damage itself became a tourist attraction. D'Arcy (2011), in an online *Lonely Planet* article, noted "people are wandering around, taking photos. It's hard not to gawp in awe at the destruction; it's incredible". By late 2011, several tourism operators had begun to offer 'post-quake tours' of the city, initially predominantly performing a narrative of loss.

Narrative of devastation and loss

Whilst most of the post-quake tours had to operate around the perimeter of the cordoned off area of the city centre, the 'Red Bus' transport company was authorised to offer tours within the cordoned city-centre Red Zone, which was otherwise not accessible to the general public. The Red Bus 'Red-Zone Tour' reportedly took more than 37,000 passengers into the Red Zone to view the earthquake damage during the initial two-and-a-half-year period following the major earthquakes (King, 2013). Not unlike the tours offered through the post-Hurricane Katrina landscape of New Orleans (Miller, 2008; Pezzullo, 2009), these tours enacted a predominantly dystopic post-apocalyptic narrative of the city by emphasising the damage and loss that was on display. Tour clientele often comprised a mix of Christchurch residents, New Zealanders from elsewhere and overseas tourists, and the mood on the tours was reportedly usually sombre. The tours were also controversial because of residents' sensitivity regarding what they saw as tourists, who had not been through the earthquakes themselves, 'gawping' at their loss. This loss included the many damaged heritage buildings in the city, many of which had to be demolished. In particular, the centrally located Christchurch Cathedral quickly came to represent the 'tourism of loss' narrative. A decision on whether the damaged Cathedral should be demolished and a completely new one built in its place, or whether the original structure be repaired and restored, had not yet been made by the end of our five year research period. The Cathedral therefore continued to perform a narrative of devastation and loss in the city.

Narrative of renewal and hope

In late 2012, despite the devastation and slow progress in terms of re-build, Christchurch was placed onto *Lonely Planet's* 2013 list of the world's top ten cities to visit. This placement fuelled the beginnings of a narrative of hope, which contrasted with the narrative of loss that had predominated in the period immediately following the February 2011 quake. A significant turning point was the opening of the *Re:START Mall*, a 'pop-up', temporary retail mall built out of shipping containers and which attracted arts and crafts stalls, buskers and street-art performers. Subsequently, many other such temporary projects emerged in the many empty spaces left after demolitions. These projects provided, both for local residents and tourists, activities and spaces for play and creativity, such as giant board games, a live music venue built out of wooden pallets, and a sound-garden made from demolition debris. With the fate of

the Cathedral still undecided, also, a temporary replacement 'Cardboard Cathedral' was built. This 'cardboard' replacement cathedral quickly became one of the city's major post-quake tourism attractions. Along with the Cardboard Cathedral, the many pop-up projects, full of creative innovation, started to become the focus of new city tours designed to enable tourists to view not only the damage caused by the earthquakes but also the new creativity and sense of 'hope' emerging in the city.

In the *Lonely Planet's* online travel guide announcement that "New Zealand's comeback city was a must-see for 2013", the reason given was "how fascinating it all is" (Atkinson, 2012). At the same time, the September 2012 edition of *Lonely Planet's New Zealand Travel Guide* declared that: "Nowhere in New Zealand is changing and developing as fast as post-earthquake Christchurch, and visiting the country's second-largest city as it is being rebuilt and reborn is both interesting and inspiring" (p. 480). In line with this narrative shift, also, from mid-2013 onwards, the previously mentioned Red Bus's 'Red-Zone Tour' was re-named the 'Rebuild Tour'. The Rebuild Tour was reported in *The Press* as being intended mainly "for tourists, although residents should like it as well", since the tour's emphasis was on "looking to the future rather than the past" (Turner, 2013). The tourism narratives presented and experienced in post-earthquake Christchurch had thus transformed a predominant narrative of loss into a narrative of hope. Although at times, such as on anniversaries of the major 2011 earthquake, a narrative of loss is performed utilising sombre commemorative spectacle, the Cardboard Cathedral, pop-up projects and other various ludic spectacles, have produced a narrative of hope which grew to dominate tourism in the city.

Doubtful Sound tourism narratives

Historically, as the subject of a play on words and, later, as a tourism product, Doubtful Sound has been known as "the Sound of Silence" (Hall-Jones, 1997, p. 90). The 'sound of silence' is also the name of a particular interpretative activity that takes place on a daily nature cruise on Doubtful Sound, part of a larger UNESCO World Heritage Area. The vessel motors to a secluded bay of the fiord and the boat's engines are turned off for a few minutes. The tourists on board are encouraged to go out onto the boat's deck and to stay absolutely still, so as to experience the 'sound of silence'. The intention is that the boat and the people on board are quiet so that the passengers can focus for a few moments on actively listening to the native bird song and other 'sounds of nature' in the bush. Attending to 'nature' through listening during these moments creates for tourists a distilling of tourism narratives involving conservation of nature in New Zealand. During our research, we observed that this activity can evoke strong emotions among the tourists on board, often eliciting tears. However, which particular emotion is evoked depends on which particular narrative is delivered to the group in the lead up to the activity. On such tour products in New Zealand, driver or guide commentary contributes substantially to the information that visitors receive about the natural and cultural environment. Although tour companies provide in their guide training certain 'scripts' for their on-tour commentary, we learned from our observations of multiple trips with different guides that the commentaries, and consequently the overall narrative frames delivered, varied according to the individual knowledge and views of the guides involved.

Narrative of despoliation and loss

It is important to note that when *Homo sapiens* arrived, New Zealand had no land mammals, and thus had an abundance of birds, endemic and native, ground-dwelling and flightless. *Homo sapiens*' arrival with mammalian predators soon produced a state of 'paradise lost' and, what Shelton and Tucker (2008) have termed, a narrative of despoliation, or plunder. The narrative suggests that since the arrival of *Homo sapiens*, the flora and fauna of New Zealand have sustained significant ecosystem modification due to habitat loss and predation by introduced pests; consequently, many species have become endangered or extinct. This narrative is prominent in New Zealand's tourism product, steeped in Romanticism and the sublime aesthetic (Morton, 2007), and delivered particularly to Western tourists.

The narrative of loss is also one which is held true by many New Zealanders, including some employed as ecotourism or nature tourism guides, who believe that the ecosystem modification is so significant as to have had tragic outcomes which are now irreversible. On some cruises, depending on the guide, the narrative sequence delivered in the guide's commentary places significant emphasis on the modification of the natural environment through the historical introduction of pest species. One claim that has currency, but no scientific support, is that up to 20 million possums munch their way through thousands of tons of native bush every night, gradually destroying the habitat of native birds. Some visitors are exposed to this myth up to six times while experiencing the Doubtful Sound product. For the guides who hold persistent and powerful narratives of despoliation and decline, the 'sound of silence' part of the cruise works to distil these, and the message which comes across during the activity is: "Listen to how *little* bird song there is; it used to be very noisy here, deafening, with bird song but, listen to how quiet it is now; it is paradise lost." Inevitably, the 'sound of silence' activity performed within a narrative of despoliation and loss produces a sombre, or melancholic, mood.

Narrative of restoration and hope

Alternatively, again depending on the guide, the World Heritage Area is presented as now being transformed into a state of 'paradise regained'. This is the production of what Shelton and Tucker (2008) have termed a restoration narrative which is predicated on the notion that many areas of New Zealand are sufficiently unspoilt to be worthy of conservation, including greatly reducing the density of mammalian predators and protecting native flora and fauna. On Doubtful Sound tours, company policy of most tour providers dictates that the scripts used by guides celebrate the restoration narrative. Guides are expected to first tell the story of decline/despoliation, and then lead on from that to stories of restoration work. This narrative sequence showcases the contemporary

conservation focus on the concept of sanctuary, where endemic and native fauna may be reintroduced to an island where all mammalian predators have been removed. In Doubtful Sound, Secretary Island provides a pertinent example, able to be seen from the boat and able also to be interpreted. Another 'hope' story is that in 2016, an aspirational goal was announced by the New Zealand government to make New Zealand predator free by 2050.

The sequencing of 'decline followed by restoration', or loss then hope, characterises tour commentaries where guides privilege the restoration narrative, particularly those guides who feel passionate about the restoration going on in the Fiordland area. Those guides tend to view and introduce the 'sound of silence' part of the cruise as a positive, uplifting experience. In this case, the 'sound of silence' activity works to distil the restoration narrative of hope, and the 'silence' when the boat's engines are turned off comes across as a welcome moment of peace which enables visitors to: "Listen to how *much* bird song there is; we are succeeding in bringing it back; it is paradise refound". As mentioned, both narratives elicit tearful emotions involving an intense sense of melancholy and loss, or intense joy, depending on the 'sound of silence' being read and interpreted as the silence of paradise lost or, the re-emergence of the dawn chorus promised by paradise saved (Butler, Lindsay, & Hunt, 2014); a narrative of hope.

The mood-making of loss and hope narratives

The tears elicited during the 'sound of silence' part of the cruises indicate that some form of mood induction is taking place through the guides' affective narration. The 'paradise lost' narrative, as delivered, taps into widespread, contemporary, Western apocalyptic thought (Tucker & Shelton, 2014); even here in New Zealand, marketed as being as close to paradise as is possible, we are 'travelling through the end times' (Žižek, 2010). Conversely, the affective narration of the 'loss-to-hope' sequence still leads to the production of tears, but the affect and the mood induction are positive rather than negative. If the restoration/hope narrative is performed, not only may New Zealand retain its reputation as a little piece of paradise still available to be enjoyed but, in terms of Hollinshead's (2009a) worldmaking, the tourists who do experience the 'loss-to-hope' sequence are able to return home reassured that apocalyptic thought need not be overwhelming. In this case, affective narration had led to the induction of positive, hopeful mood, at least in relation to the future of 'nature' at Doubtful Sound, and possibly also beyond Doubtful Sound and even beyond New Zealand. Similarly, in contrast to the sombre mood of the Red Bus tour of the devastated Christchurch 'red zone', it may be that a visit to the city during its 'renewal' is so "interesting and inspiring" (Lonely Planet, 2012) in its prompting one to look "to the future rather than to the past" (Turner, 2013) that, having visited Christchurch, tourists may leave in a hopeful mood.

Importantly, the fact that both Doubtful Sound and Christchurch can produce narratives of both loss *and/or* of hope demonstrates that whilst places, peoples and pasts may often lend themselves to presenting or supplying certain narratives, tourism narratives are not inherent; they are not a given and nor are they stable. Rather, they are produced "as part of the complex and shifting terrain that makes up the social world" (Mumby, 1993, p. 3), with at certain times certain narratives being privileged over others. Whilst post-disaster tourism in the city of Christchurch would appear to lend itself more readily to the production of a narrative of loss, with this narrative revolving especially around built heritage in this urban context, it generated a narrative of hope, albeit at a later stage. Since such mood induction may well be considered to be a natural progression in the human response to a 'disaster' event, the example of 'nature tours' in Doubtful Sound is useful to illustrate tourism narrative and mood induction in an entirely different context. Initially, this 'natural wilderness' tourism context would appear to lend itself more readily to the production of joy and positivity. Instead, though, this destination was shown to also, potentially, generate a pessimistic mood, if the narrative of despoliation and loss was delivered.

Reflecting further on the tourism narrative illustrations from Doubtful Sound and post-earthquake Christchurch, then, what might the implications be of the different ways in which the two narrative strands, of loss and hope, are orientated temporally? A narrative of loss, and particularly when that loss is framed as being a possibility for the future, is likely to be what underpins the collective moods of fear and pessimism in what Swyngedouw (2010) considers an apocalyptic narrative. Not dissimilar to the accumulative affective narratives in apocalyptic, dystopian films, news media, factual books, and fiction, Tucker and Shelton (2014) present apocalyptic thought as being a significant discursive element in the production of the tourist subject, and particularly so in the context of various forms of "last chance tourism", including heritage tourism and nature tourism. These forms of tourism, Tucker and Shelton (2014) argue, are situated within a politics of 'saving' the past for the future, as in, for example, heritage tourism discourses in Christchurch. When a narrative of loss is dominant, whether the loss is framed as being in the past, present or future, it may result in an overwhelmingly melancholic mood, a pessimistic mood, or even despair. Indeed, linking with the Doubtful Sound case outlined above, the fields of environmental sociology and environmental education have been argued to be predominantly pessimistic in outlook (Lueck, 2007; Ojala, 2012; Sheppard, 2004). This is problematic because, as Sheppard (2004, p. 218) explains: "Under the sway of the pessimistic mood apathy and aloofness is apt to set in". In other words, a pessimistic mood may create a loss of faith and thereby render activism, or even just action, less likely.

Hope, conversely, is more often seen as "the fuel for agency" (Lueck, 2007, p. 256) in that it "structures the desire for change" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 171). Drahos (2004, p. 22) argues that hope "carries the individual forward to the time of the hoped-for outcomes" in that it "leads into a cycle of expectation, planning, and action". Increasingly, then, scholars interested in hope theory have considered the relationship between hope and agency, or action (Drahos, 2004; Freire, 1994; Ojala, 2012). Others, though, have cautioned that hope can lead to "a negation or deferral of life" (Ghassan Hage, in conversation with Mary Zournazi [Zournazi, 2002, p. 151]), in that it may promise happiness in some 'other' place or some 'other' time. Indeed, tourism's 'worldmaking' power (Hollinshead, 2009a, 2009b) perhaps lies largely in its propensity to do just that, with tourism frequently discussed as a 'deferral of life' at home. If tourism is merely a promise of happiness in an 'other' place or an 'other' time, then what might its role be in cultivating what Ahmed (2004) refers to as a particular orientation to the future in respect to the world as a whole?

As suggested earlier, paying attention to *narratives*, as they are produced and performed in tourism destinations, ensures that temporal dimensions are included alongside the spatial, or 'place-making', aspects of tourism worldmaking. The illustrations of tourism narratives in Christchurch and Doubtful Sound show that, in contrast to the sombre mood created by apocalyptic narratives, the performance of hopeful narratives could create a hopeful mood in visitors. So, whilst our research has not (yet) included a more longitudinal examination of tourists' 'moods' after their trip and when they are back at home, we can posit that a hopeful mood produced through tourism may prompt some sort of "opening up of the future, … an opening up of what is possible" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 171). It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that the particular affect or mood created through the tourism delivery of affective tourism narratives could, potentially, (re)set tourists' orientation to the future and hence their way of engaging with the world. Of relevance here is Lean's (2016) informative book which takes an in-depth and longitudinal look at personal transformation through travel, and also Freire's (1994) work on the 'pedagogy of hope'. If a hopeful mood can fuel agency and action, and a pessimistic mood may lead to apathy, then it is clearly important to think about affect and moods produced through tourism in respect to what they might *do* vis-à-vis our being in, and our engaging with, the world.

The matter of what affective tourism narratives, and 'hopeful' narratives in particular, might *do* relationally and socio-politically also links back to Shearing and Kempa's (2008) discussion of Robben Island Museum in South Africa. Being an example of the kind of "museums that are concerned with promoting sensibilities rather than with simply exhibiting valued objects" (Shearing & Kempa, 2008, p. 375), the museum, according to Shearing and Kempa (2008, p. 376), at times cuts a fine line "between a process of invitation and an 'emotions factory'". Importantly, though, the museum does not intend to arouse emotion in order merely to generate some sort of intense tourism experience in itself, but, rather, it sets out deliberately to cultivate a hope sensibility, seemingly in the understanding that hope is associated with promoting and effecting positive socio-political change. Celebrating the 'hopeful' culture of political resistance that developed during the time that Robben Island was a prison, the museum emphasises the prisoners' refusal "to respond to hatred with hatred" (Shearing & Kempa, 2008, p. 376). It was thereby intended to cultivate this way of being as a 'hope sensibility' for a New South Africa.

As Anderson argues in relation to mood, and particularly what he calls 'collective mood': "Not only is it shared between people who may never have met, but it also provides something akin to the common ground for the taking place of public life, including modes of political speech, organisation and action" (Anderson, 2014, p. 108). Anderson further argues that, although collective affects or moods are "(p)erhaps more fragile and transient than other more obviously material conditions of life, collective affects nevertheless become part of the background of life and living" (Anderson, 2014, p. 106), and, as such, become part of the necessary conditions for other processes, events and relations. In Ahmed's (2014) words: "The world as a whole can then become implicated in how one is involved in a particular object or situation" (p. 14). Picking up on Anderson's and Ahmed's points, it is interesting to wonder how much tourists' experiences of the 'sound of silence' and 'post-disaster Christchurch' might slip into the 'background of life and living' of those who experienced it, and then become the condition for other processes, events and relations. It is this *ongoing* effect that mood might have on our being in the world, and on our capacity for acting in the world, that renders paying attention to the 'mood-making' of tourism narratives potentially so significant.

Conclusion

Earlier in this article, note was made of d'Hauteserre's suggested reasons for the role of affect remaining under-recognized in tourism. The reasons given were that "affect is beyond the senses that can be signified", and also that "it is not consciously directed by actors upon others" (2015, p. 82). Simultaneously, however, d'Hauteserre argues that tourists and tourism suppliers "are conjointly engaged as active participants in the choreography of the tourist experience and the affect it might diffuse" (D'Hauteserre, 2015, p. 82). Indeed, the above outlining of how, in two illustrative destinations, tourism narratives produce varied affect, including sombre mood and a sense of loss or, alternatively, an uplifting sense of hope, demonstrates not only that some signification of affect is possible, but also, and perhaps most importantly, that affect *can*, to some degree, be 'consciously directed by actors upon others'. Whilst, when compared with the conscious and deliberate affect production in the Robben Island Museum, the cultivation of particular affect appears to have been conducted less 'consciously' in Christchurch and Doubtful Sound, the illustrations from these two destinations show that tourism narratives themselves are selectable, in the sense that they can be actively privileged and highlighted over other possible narratives. Therefore, the *affect* they produce could too be deliberately and purposefully selected and directed.

Moreover, the examples of Christchurch and Doubtful Sound demonstrate that whilst narratives of loss and hope offer a repertoire of possible touristic performances, however consciously or unconsciously enacted, they also provide a figurative analytical frame for examining possible affect-generated action. These narratives provide a temporal context for smaller-scale stories and link them firmly to the production of affect and mood. It thus becomes clear that the combination of narrative and affect is highly significant in relation to the notion of 'worldmaking' in tourism. In other words, the small stories which are delivered and performed through interpretation and guides' commentaries, for example, form larger narratives which not only selectively privilege certain representations of people/places/pasts/futures, but also can have the broader effect of infusing an ongoing *affect* into our relationship with the world around us; literally bringing the world into affective being. Hence, during our deliberations of the ways in which tourism plays its declarative worldmaking role in 'narrative-issuing' (Hollinshead, 2009b: 140), in order to fully understand the *effects* of the various worldmaking processes in tourism, we need to study their *affect*, because the affect itself is a highly significant, perhaps potent, aspect of the worldmaking power of tourism.

What remains unclear, though, are the ways and extent to which the affect generated through tourism experiences may have a lasting effect in relation to the being in the world, and ways of engaging with the world, of those 'affected'. So whilst the following questions will remain unanswered, for now at least, it is interesting to wonder: How might 'mood', generated during a trip to Doubtful

Sound, or Christchurch, linger, and make the world thereafter 'appear a little more this way or that'?; When a narrative of loss is dominant in the tourism experience, in what way do sentiments of pessimism and melancholy linger?; Likewise, when a narrative of hope is favoured, what ongoing mood does it produce and what does that mood enable? As Anderson (2006, p. 734) asks: "What can a body do when it becomes hopeful? What capacities, and capabilities, are enabled?" Indeed, what is becoming increasingly recognised is that affect and mood matter because, it is widely understood, they are "what move us" (Ahmed, 2004, p. 171). More particularly, and as mentioned earlier, there is growing understanding "that hope matters" (Anderson, 2006, p. 734), and that, therefore, as Ojala (2012) states, finding ways to instil or mobilize hope should be seen as vital. Can tourism, then, become one of the avenues for instilling hope? Certainly, the illustrations of tourism narratives outlined above would suggest so. Indeed, to refer again to Anderson's (2006) work, to be political *affectively*, we need to develop techniques to cultivate the anticipation of "something better", "without reproducing the lifeless rhetoric of doom that marks too much critical engagement with the world" (p. 749), such as in the tourist as apocalyptic subject. Anderson continues that the way to do this is "by dimly outlining the contours of something better and therefore enacting potentialities and possibilities" (p. 279).

Along with attending more pointedly to matters of affect generally in tourism, then, a potential way in which to take the links between tourism, affect and, particularly, a 'hopeful' mood forward, is to look at where and how tourism might become one of the narrative techniques for outlining the contours of something better and thereby influencing our capacity to hope. In other words, attention might be paid to where tourism narratives may instil hope, and conversely, where they may be, albeit unwittingly or unconsciously, generating melancholy, which then may lead to pessimism and apathy. Future research needs also to consider the ongoing effects of affect generated through tourism. That research might explore the matter of where and how that affect leads to action, or conversely, apathy and in-action? As well as the need to increase the attention paid to affect, a narrative methodology has been shown in the above discussion to be useful, perhaps even essential, in order to be able to 'read' how certain 'pasts', 'presents' and 'futures' are selectively privileged in tourism's worldmaking processes of representing peoples and places. Indeed, when tourism narratives do speak to 'futures', as in the ways we have outlined here, then it becomes clear that, in Ahmed's (2014) words, "the world as a whole can then become implicated" (p. 14). In this sense, further research into the links between tourism narratives, affect and mood-making would appear, especially in these times, to be thoroughly worthwhile.

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