

Exploring the ‘Civic Commercial Home’ of Edinburgh as a Welcome Tourist Destination

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and that no material contained within has been used in any other submission for an academic award. All sources have been properly acknowledged, as and when they occur in the body of this thesis.

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Abstract

This study uses 'hospitality' in a sociological way, to examine the creation of Edinburgh's 'welcome tourist destination'. In viewing Edinburgh as a 'host', trying to attract 'guests', I consider the conflicting civic and commercial issues which emerged when trying to renovate the urban home. Edinburgh had 'ideal guests' in mind, which had an influence on the type of maintenance that was approved, what was denied and what was emphasised as important. I discuss Edinburgh's anxiety of official representation by evoking the metaphor of the tyrannical host, which eventually gives way to a co-constructed tourist gaze.

I use archival sources, stream of consciousness observations, autoethnography and photographs, to establish an exploratory concept, "the civic commercial home", which allowed me to explore these tensions in depth from a historical perspective and from an evocative perspective.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	8
EDINBURGH	10
RESEARCH GAPS DRIVING THE STUDY	12
ARCHITECTURE OF THE THESIS	17
LITERATURE REVIEW	19
HOSPITALITY AS AN ACADEMIC SUBJECT.....	21
THREE THEORETICAL DICHOTOMIES	28
<i>Marked/Unmarked</i>	29
<i>Public/Private</i>	36
<i>Host/Guest</i>	45
MAKING THE CIVIC-COMMERCIAL HOME.....	52
<i>The ‘Commercial Home’</i>	53
<i>Expanding the Commercial Home</i>	57
<i>Dirt, Order and Cleanliness</i>	59
<i>Remembering, Embodiment, Affect</i>	61
STREET FURNITURE.....	67
DESTINATION MANAGEMENT	80
HOSPITALITY AND THE CITY: REGENERATION	88
SUMMARY OF PROPOSED CONTRIBUTION	90
METHODOLOGY.....	94
INTRODUCTION	95
RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY AND ASSUMPTIONS.....	99
<i>Qualitative Research</i>	99
<i>Discussion of Style</i>	101
<i>Research Ontology</i>	103
<i>Epistemological Approach</i>	106
<i>Bricolage</i>	111
EDINBURGH AS A ‘CASE STUDY’.....	112
THE ARCHIVES.....	114
<i>Primary and Secondary Sources</i>	118
HOW I DEVELOPED MY OBSERVATIONAL APPROACH	120
<i>Psychogeography: The Derive</i>	123
<i>Sociological Impressionism</i>	125
<i>Autoethnography Influence</i>	129
<i>Serendipity</i>	131
<i>Analysis of Data</i>	133
<i>Ethical Issues</i>	137
<i>Politics of Identity</i>	139
<i>Research Labelling</i>	141
<i>Summary of Research Assumptions</i>	145
ARCHIVE	147
INTRODUCTION	148

<i>THEME ONE: ISSUES WITH OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION</i>	151
<i>Feeling at Home</i>	152
<i>Important Guests</i>	156
<i>Conservative Surgery</i>	160
<i>Remaking of Edinburgh Castle</i>	164
<i>Monuments as Urban Performances</i>	165
<i>Official Guide Debates</i>	167
<i>Carnivals and Precedence</i>	176
<i>Garden Allotments and Public Gardens</i>	179
<i>THEME TWO: PROBLEMS TO BE DEALT WITH IN THE CIVIC SPACE</i>	183
<i>Improper Amenity</i>	183
<i>Amenity Provision</i>	186
<i>Nuisances</i>	190
CHAPTER SUMMARY	194
OBSERVATIONS	196
INTRODUCTION	197
<i>SPEAKERS IN THE OBSERVATIONAL DATA</i>	198
THEME ONE: NARRATIVES OF EDINBURGH AS A HOSPITALITY PRODUCT	200
<i>Contrasting and Competing Stories</i>	201
<i>Internationalism</i>	206
<i>Commercial Hallways</i>	208
<i>Hospitality as Resistance</i>	209
<i>Control and Regulation</i>	211
<i>Diseneyfication and Civic Toys</i>	220
THEME TWO: CIVIC MAINTENANCE	223
<i>Graffiti and Defacement</i>	224
<i>(Lack of) Amenity</i>	226
<i>Daily (un)Maintenance</i>	230
THEME THREE: HOSPITALITY TO THE PAST	233
<i>Makeshift Memorial</i>	233
<i>Bench Plaques</i>	235
THEME FOUR: POLITICS OF IDENTITY	238
<i>Everyday Man</i>	239
<i>Diversity and Inclusion</i>	241
DISCUSSION	244
CONCLUSION	262
THESIS SUMMARY	263
THEORETICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO KNOWLEDGE	267
RESEARCH LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH	270
REFERENCES	275
APPENDIX ONE: ETHICAL APPROVAL ACCEPTANCE	297
APPENDIX TWO: NOTES TAKEN ON CRITICAL REALISM.....	298
APPENDIX THREE: CRITICAL THEORY ENGAGEMENT	307
APPENDIX FOUR: PARTIAL TRANSCRIPTION EXAMPLE	309

List of Tables

TABLE 1: RELEVANT WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT HOSPITALITY	26
TABLE 2: AUTHORS AND THEIR CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO SPACE AND ITS APPLICATION IN THE CITY.....	28
TABLE 3: GUIDED RESEARCH AIMS THAT EMERGED FROM APPLYING INSIGHTS FROM THE MARKED/UNMARKED DICHOTOMY	36
TABLE 4: DESCRIBING THE AGORA AND FORTRESS DUALISM AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO BREKHUS' MARKED/UNMARKED	40
TABLE 5: GUIDING RESEARCH AIM WHICH EMERGED WHEN APPLYING INSIGHTS FROM THE PUBLIC/PRIVATE DICHOTOMY	45
TABLE 6: GUIDING RESEARCH AIMS WHICH EMERGED WHEN APPLYING THE INSIGHTS FROM THE HOST/GUEST DICHOTOMY	51
TABLE 7: A SKETCH OF CORRESPONDING 'PRIVATE' ELEMENTS OF THE PRIVATE HOME ALONGSIDE A POTENTIAL CIVIC VARIANT	58
TABLE 8: DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS OF STREET FURNITURE	70
TABLE 9: THE SOCIAL FUNCTIONALITY OF BENCH PROVISION IN PUBLIC SPACE	76
TABLE 10: GUIDING RESEARCH AIMS OF THE STUDY AND THEIR CORRESPONDING INFLUENCE AND AREA OF HOSPITALITY EXPLORED.....	92
TABLE 11: SUMMARY OF KEY LITERATURE REVIEW SOURCES.....	93
TABLE 12: DESCRIBING VARIOUS METRICS FOR EVALUATING QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	100
TABLE 13: SEVEN KEY CONCLUSIONS TO TAKE FROM RESEARCH ASSUMPTIONS WITH ACCOMPANYING SOURCE MATERIAL	145
TABLE 14: SUMMARY OF PHILOSOPHICAL POSITIONS AND KEY INFLUENCES	145
TABLE 15: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE ARCHIVAL THEMES GENERATED, HOSPITALITY NARRATIVES AND GUIDED RESEARCH AIMS OUTLINED IN LITERATURE REVIEW.....	149
TABLE 16: SOURCES OF DATA USED IN OBSERVATIONAL CHAPTER.....	198
TABLE 18: SPEAKERS WITHIN THE OBSERVATIONAL CONTENT	198
TABLE 19: OBSERVATIONAL SUB-THEMES WITH CORRESPONDING DEFINITION, SISTER THEME FROM ARCHIVES AND RESEARCH AIM BEING ADDRESSED.....	199
TABLE 20: NARRATIVES OF EDINBURGH AS A HOSPITALITY PRODUCT SUB-THEME.....	200
TABLE 21: CIVIC MAINTENANCE SUBTHEMES.....	223
TABLE 22 POLITICS OF IDENTITY SUBTHEMES.....	238
TABLE 23: HOW 'CIVIC', 'COMMERCIAL' AND 'HOME' EQUATE TO EDINBURGH'S WELCOME TOURIST DESTINATION	263

List of Figures and Photographs

FIGURE 1: LASHLEY'S THREE DOMAIN MODEL OF HOSPITALITY (2000)	24
FIGURE 2: GUIDING RESEARCH AIMS RELATING TO THE CENTRAL CONCEPT: THE CIVIC-COMMERCIAL HOME.....	92
FIGURE 3: AYN RAND'S WAY OF UNDERSTANDING PHILOSOPHICAL BUILDING BLOCKS.....	103
FIGURE 4: CHEME POSTER (2015), INFLUENCED BY THE CONCENTRIC RINGS MODEL FROM THE CHICAGO SCHOOL.....	122
FIGURE 5: EXAMPLE OF NODES BEING GENERATED FROM CODED SEGMENTS IN MAXQDA12.....	137
FIGURE 6 ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN BY HSBC, SELLING A STORY OF EDINBURGH.....	202
FIGURE 7: POST IT NOTE ADVERTISING.....	203
FIGURE 8 A POP-UP BAR/HOSPITALITY CAFÉ IN EDINBURGH DURING THE EDINBURGH FESTIVAL 2018. EVOKING THE FEEL OF A BACK-GARDEN PARTY	204
FIGURE 9 GUIDEBOOKS LEFT ON A BENCH IN EDINBURGH, NOVEMBER 2018	205
FIGURE 10 SIGN OUTLINING THE SMART WAY TO ENJOY PRINCES STREET GARDENS, JUXTAPOSED WITH CENSORIOUS WARNINGS TO DOG OWNERS.....	212
FIGURE 11 GAMIFICATION: WHICH RYAN?	213
FIGURE 12: ROPE PROHIBITING THE USE OF THE GARDENS, DURING CONSTRUCTION	214
FIGURE 13 ANTI SKATEBOARDING EXAMPLE 1	215
FIGURE 14 ANTI SKATEBOARDING EXAMPLE 2	215
FIGURE 15 ICONIC RED PHONE BOXES.....	218
FIGURE 16 CONVERTED POLICE BOX.....	219
FIGURE 17: PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING THE THEME PARK LIKE ATMOSPHERE	220
FIGURE 18 INCONGRUITY BETWEEN THE OLD EDINBURGH AND THE NEW CARNIVALESQUE, BEING PACKED AWAY FOR ANOTHER YEAR, EDINBURGH, SEPTEMBER 2018	221
FIGURE 19 GIRAFFES BY THE OMNI.....	222
FIGURE 20 CIVIC TOY, BEING USED FOR PLAY	222
FIGURE 21 DAVID HUME WITH CONE ON HEAD	224
FIGURE 22 BACK CLOSE WITH TRASH EVERYWHERE	231
FIGURE 23 FLY-TIPPING IN THE BACKROOM	232
FIGURE 24: RUBBISH IN THE NON-BIN	232
FIGURE 25 MAKESHIFT MEMORIAL TO JO COX MP.....	233
FIGURE 26:POST-BOX PAINTED GOLD FOR SIR CHRIS HOY	234
FIGURE 27 TRIBUTES TO THE FALLEN	235
FIGURE 28 MY GRANDAD AND GRAN ON THEIR WEDDING DAY	236
FIGURE 29 BENCH MEMORIAL	237
FIGURE 30 AT SKINNER'S CLOSE	238
FIGURE 31 THE EVERYDAY MAN STATUE	239

1.0:

Introduction

The sociologist C. Wright Mills memorably wanted his readers to “*feel as if suddenly awakened in a house, with which they had only supposed themselves to be familiar*” (Mills 1959:8). Familiarity can be something which we take for granted and often a small detail, or something that is awry can stop us in our tracks when focused upon properly. This particular PhD seeks to show how these seemingly mundane details, in the context of a hospitable urban tourist destination are important factors, which are often ignored in the wider tourism and hospitality literature (Bell 2007a, Bell 2007b, Lynch 2017). However, when confronted with them, it changes the overall picture of what it means to have a welcoming destination. What if we removed all our public benches? What would happen to our social spaces?

We all want to feel welcomed, it is an essential part of the hospitable encounter. How ‘welcome’ is felt and understood in an urban context, has a bearing on the overall perception of the destination. As I describe in my literature review, there are a number of factors to consider when starting to evaluate what ‘welcome’ means in this context. For example, what influence does control, order and surveillance have in the maintenance of this particular ‘welcome’? Are there competing commercial interests which conflict with civic concerns? How does urban street furniture such as benches, street lamps, fountains, memorials and statues make urban spaces more ‘livable’ for tourists and residents alike, making them more ‘welcome’? Making them feel at home?

This study aims to describe the construction of a hospitality concept, ‘*the civic commercial home*’ using the city of Edinburgh in Scotland as a case study. The research uses a bricolage method (Denzin and Lincoln 2017) to explore various aspects of ‘mundane’ moments of hospitality on the street (Bell 2007b). The study uses archival data (both primary and secondary sources), stream of consciousness observations, photographs and autoethnographic reflections to establish the concept.

Edinburgh

As mentioned, this PhD takes place in Edinburgh, Scotland.

Edinburgh for me has a physical and imaginary location. Edinburgh is a place to live and it's an idea. It exists geographically within Scotland's central belt, with its boundaries stretching occasionally into the rural Midlothian hinterlands. It also exists as a memory canvas, a space where I have spent the majority of my life.

Critical hospitality research has started to examine the tension that exists between a 'host' and a 'guest' and indeed where these boundaries begin to blur. A theme that is explored more widely within this PhD is the designation of the city of Edinburgh as an abstract 'host' to imagined guests. The ways in which Edinburgh designed their approach to hosting more generally and how it impacted wider urban space is something I explore historically in my archival chapter. Edinburgh is very much a host in that dynamic, playing a particular part in designing a particular identity that tourists could embrace. A focal point is where did Edinburgh's social space come from? What can be learned from printed declarations in minute books from yesteryear outlining decisions from committee members that eventually decided Edinburgh's commons and how it was advertised more broadly as a destination in official tour guides? The blurring of host and guest becomes more apparent in my observational chapter where I am a proxy host for my partner, showing her Edinburgh like a tour guide. I am also hosting my own experiences of Edinburgh in my stream of consciousness observations, discussing Edinburgh as it presented itself to me.

Edinburgh is often described in tourist paraphernalia as being a city that has many faces. We see a historical construction centered on medieval militarism that is embodied in the symbol of the castle and its corresponding museum. There is a big extinct volcano to have a picnic on and there are meadows to walk your dog in. Edinburgh is painted in this way by authors like Bartie and Mackaness (2014: 203):

“A visually interesting city built upon a varied topography, occupied by many grand buildings and monuments. It is divided into an Old Town and a New Town, separated by a large public park (Princes Street Gardens) in a shallow valley and the city's main railway station. The openness of the park provides vistas of the old and new towns. Alongside is a large castle built upon a plug of an extinct volcano, which demands visual attention due to its dominance on the skyline “

Edinburgh is also a city which has been recognised internationally as an exemplar of city planning, with the Old and New Towns being designated a UNESCO world heritage site. Edinburgh as a town planning laboratory where Patrick Geddes made his name as a social reformer, making civic improvements via architectural design. Edinburgh also stands for the international destination of note. It is one of the UK's most visited destinations, a city which attracts tourists from all over the world in their millions. In my literature review, I describe this particular understanding of Edinburgh in accordance with the *'tourist gaze'* (Urry and Larsen 2011) and applying what Brekhus (1998) referred to as a *'marked'* understanding of social life. Edinburgh's many faces and contradictions lends itself to being a city where these themes can demonstrate the usefulness of critical hospitality research.

The relationship between all these different faces of *'Edinburgh'* is something that I explore more deeply in this PhD, in accordance with the wider research aims. Edinburgh's empirical centrality in this PhD was also chosen for two additional reasons. The first was curiosity driven research, where understanding and appreciating Edinburgh's place as a welcome destination allows us to see the whole city, the wallpaper we take for granted all around us. The second was external public sector endorsement of this particular PhD proposal. As Councilor Andrew Burns, the leader of the Edinburgh City Council, described in his letter endorsing the project,

“Edinburgh has a reputation as one of the world's most hospitable cities, as well as being one of the finest places to live in Britain. Its economy is largely based on being a great tourist destination, and the more we understand about how our visitors relate to this beautiful city, the better. Research of this kind would do much to further our understanding of the apparently simple processes of hospitality that take place within the city streets, and would be of great and lasting value to city planners - both in

Edinburgh and elsewhere - as well as benefiting those responsible for the city environment, and the tourist experience. The proposal is especially timely and relevant, as we have just begun our new "This Is Edinburgh" campaign, a two-year drive to promote Edinburgh as a leisure destination to both visitors, and residents. "

Research gaps driving the study

In this section, I will introduce research gaps which influenced the study. I discuss these in more detail within my literature review, but a contextual basis here is useful for positioning the key themes and ideas I will address in the PhD more fully.

Applying hospitality as a social lens within the urban context more fully

Hospitality is still a fairly new academic subject area. Broadly speaking, the field is currently dominated by a quantitative focus, within a managerial and business paradigm, which tends to produce research focused on organizational practice, service and design (Lynch et al 2011). The issue this has caused is one of theoretical weakness. Studies exploring 'hospitality' outside of this purview have appeared within the last 10 years, with critical hospitality scholarship being published in top ABS ranked journals such as *Tourism Management* and *Annals of Tourism Research*. Despite this, hospitality is still thought of as being about the holy trinity: food, drink and hotels. As a result, critical approaches to hospitality still tend to focus on organizational service, management or commerce. Philosophical and sociologically informed approaches to hospitality are still being developed and elaborated theoretically (Lynch et al 2011). Of particular relevance to this PhD, are brief studies examining and applying hospitality theory within public space. These tend to have a limited focus, such as the dualistic distinction between the fortress and the agora, which showed the hospitable tension between security (*the fortress*) and commerce (*agora*) in cities. (Chavez and van der Rest 2014). Deeper engagement with hospitality themes in the urban context was therefore a necessity and a driving force behind the PhD.

Hospitality research when applied to the city meant exploring interesting contradictions about the nature of hospitality raised by Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000), who remarked that hospitality is never truly conditional. There are always elements of control, order and surveillance at work. The sense of security and order might be part of the welcome, a necessity for safety. Finally, as mentioned earlier host/guest dynamics are of particular interest and understanding Edinburgh as an abstract 'host' providing for imagined 'guests' provides a particular framework for understanding subtle forms of hospitality provision such as urban street furniture, which created a particular idea which was then used as a guide to examine archival documents and record observations.

Mundane welcome: marked/unmarked

Studies often focus on extraordinary or exotic samples as described by the sociologist Wayne Brekhus (1998, 2000). A problem this causes is an epistemological one, which is that an unrealistic sense of social reality is created due to the prominence of studies focused on the spectacular. Although these elements are important, positioning our studies to ensure that we are not ignoring everyday life is essential. Tourism research often focuses on the 'marked' elements of the destination, it is the essence of the tourist gaze conceptualization (Urry and Larsen 2011). Within the academic literature, less attention has been paid to aspects of urban design such as urban street furniture provision and its contributions to a welcoming environment. Thus, a key gap highlighted was readdressing this by focusing on the "unmarked" elements of Edinburgh's tourist destination, which could be juxtaposed correspondingly with the 'marked'.

Extending the 'commercial home' concept

Jenny Molz (2008) and others have started to complicate what 'home' means within the extended tourism literature. Many tourists carry their 'home' with them around the world and expect destinations to conform to particular expectations and amenities. Despite the recent boom in 'authenticity' tourism, destinations still tend to manage expectations according to anticipated visitors (Zukin 2011). Viewing 'home' as an abstract idea which has commercial and civic consequences for a tourist destination is an influential confluence in this thesis. In my literature review, I discuss the concept of the 'commercial home', developed by my director of studies Paul Lynch (Lynch et al 2008; Sweeney and Lynch 2006; McIntosh, Lynch and Sweeney (2011).

Paul in his work has expressed interest in expanding this concept beyond the confines of rented accommodation and already started to explore this idea embryonically in a research paper with a former student of his, Alexander Grit (Grit and Lynch 2011). In the paper, they discuss an experimental project called Hotel Transavall, which took place in a so called 'problem neighborhood' in the Netherlands. Hotel corridors correspond to the streets outside, with hotel rooms being composed of abandoned homes and other existing facilities in the neighborhood. In expanding this concept beyond its previous confines, in this thesis I establish the concept of the 'civic commercial home' to explore the streets of Edinburgh.

Psychogeography

When starting to think more critically about the role of cities, I was immediately drawn to the work of the French psychogeography movement of the 1960s, a group that were heavily influenced by two key areas. The first area of influence was surrealism and *dada*, which encouraged playfulness and challenged prevailing perceptions within the art world. The second was the work of Marxist cultural scholars in the Frankfurt School of social theory, who explored the ways in which culture was supposedly debased, alienating and usurped by capitalism, noting that the focus of revolutionary action should shift from being purely about seizing state power and economics to what Horkheimer and Adorno (1948) called the '*culture industry*'. The most notable of these scholars who brought these issues together within the

psychogeography movement was Guy Debord, who established a number of theoretical tools for exploring cities.

Debord (1994) [1967] in much the same way Horkheimer and Adorno believed culture was alienating and debated, thought that cities were producing similar forms of alienation and individualisation, which propped up capitalism. Therefore, the emotional and behavioural impact urban space has on individual consciousness was viewed in conjunction with what Debord (1994) saw as the wider corrosive effects of capitalism. Psychogeography enters the fray then as a kind of emancipatory urban project, with the purpose being to collect research which aims to create better cities for the future. A sentiment that would be shared by academics, who focused on the role of authenticity in gentrification and urban destinations (Zukin 2011). The lasting importance this approach may have for destination management is notable, even if the political implications are eventually lost entirely in later incarnations.

As Will Self (Self and Steadman 2007: 11) put it

“Although we psychogeographers are all disciples of Guy Debord and those rollicking Situationists who tottered, soused, across the stage set of 1960s Paris, thereby hoping to tear down the scenery of the Society of the Spectacle with their devilish derive, there are still profound differences between us” (Self 2007: 11)

The profound differences that Self describes can be seen more strongly within my methodological chapter, where I devote a significant amount of time to the concept of the ‘derive’, a tool I use within this PhD. I also discuss the concept of “*detournement*” in my observational chapter, when describing the ways in which residents responded to the urban environment.

Debord’s writings, despite their revolutionary grandeur and power are dated in their positivistic approach to data collection. A reflection which is based on two factors. The first being that Debord did not see himself as a ‘researcher’ or ‘academic’ and viewed his work as about enticing reactionary discourse. The second was Debord was writing when positivistic

approaches to research was the normative approach to data collection and he was embryonically creating an approach, rather than prospectively writing a sequence of rules.

Psychogeography exists then as a set of powerful tools, which can be refined and used in conjunction with other methods. Their neglect is probably due to the surrealism and dada that inspired Debord's oblique style. He was someone who was fond of paradox, playfulness and his non-conventional contrarian identity meant that his writings have been buried in Marxist scholarship for generations. However, as I describe more fully when discussing the influence psychogeography had on my methodological approach, these ideas are starting to gain more traction and their use for exploring destinations, particularly within tourism and hospitality research is a significant gap that is only starting to be addressed by scholars now (Smith 2010). The *derive* for example is an approach which has not had adequate attention in the research literature, despite its potential for examining pertinent issues in urban studies.

The research aims

In my literature review, I outline the following four aims. I discuss how they emerged and analyse the influencing sources which helped bring them to life.

1)- What are the unmarked elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?
2)- What are the 'marked' elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?
3)- What influence does the private need for safety, order and surveillance have on urban hospitality?
4)- What are the different types of welcome (commercial and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh?

Architecture of the thesis

Chapter 2: Literature review

Describes hospitality as an academic subject in more depth, placing this particular PhD within the critical subfield of *'hospitality studies'*. I then examine three research dichotomies; firstly, as a framework I constructed, as a way to explore pertinent themes within the wider hospitality and tourism literature; these are the distinction and contestation between marked/unmarked, public/private and host/guest. Secondly, I explore literature examining the 'home' and its place in a globalised, cosmopolitan world of international tourism and commerce. Subsequently, I document literature within 'hospitality studies', which looks at 'commercial homes' and begin to develop the 'civic commercial home' concept using the insights developed from my analysis of the preceding literature.

The literature review then turns to examining themes, which when brought together helps develop the 'civic commercial home' concept further. I begin by examining the role dirt, cleanliness and order have in the private home and expand this thinking onto the street. I discuss what academic literature has been done on the role street furniture plays in the urban destination and its contributions more widely to the civic space. Finally, I discuss destination management literature more broadly and the work hospitality research has done more broadly as a commercial arm in civic regeneration projects in the city.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Outlines my methodological journey. I begin by outlining my ontological and epistemological perspectives as a constructivist and summarise philosophical implications on the research data I gathered. I outline my study as a 'bricolage' (Denzin and Lincoln 2017), as it aims to establish an exploratory concept using multiple data sources. I describe the approach I took in the archives, which involved analysing minute books from the Edinburgh City Archives. I discuss how I used additional resources, such as primary sources available online and newspaper archives and exemplar secondary material. I then describe how I developed my

observational approach, combining elements from sociological impressionism (Lynch 2005), psychogeography (Debord 1956, 1994) and autoethnography (Anderson 2006, Wall 2016). I also reflect on how I analysed my data using thematic analysis, alongside appropriate ethical issues, bias and research labelling.

Chapter 4: Archive

Presents the findings from my archival data. I outline the following themes: which emerged from the analysis *“Issues with official representation”* and *“problems to be dealt with in the public space”*.

Chapter 5: Observations

Outlines my observational data findings. I discuss the following themes: *“Narratives of hospitality as a hospitality product”* *“civic maintenance”*, *“Hospitality to the past”* and *“politics of identity”*

Chapter 6: Discussion

Provides a synthesised discussion, of the implications of my findings and their relevance to the wider academic literature.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Summarises the thesis as a whole and outlines theoretical contributions to knowledge, alongside directions for future research projects.

2.0:

Literature Review

All cities are geological; you cannot take three steps without encountering ghosts bearing all the prestige of their legends. We move within a closed landscape whose landmarks constantly draw us toward the past. Certain shifting angles, certain receding perspectives, allow us to glimpse original conceptions of space, but this vision remains fragmentary. It must be sought in the magical locales of fairy tales and surrealist writings: castles, endless walls, little forgotten bars, mammoth caverns, casino mirrors.

(Chtcheglov 1953)

In this chapter, I will explore research literature that was influential in developing the '*civic commercial home*'. I discuss hospitality as a sociologically influenced area of investigation, which emerged as a qualitative and philosophical alternative to the quantitative studies exploring the dynamics of management and business, such as the analysis of hospitality within the domain of hotels and restaurants.

I then outline a conceptual framework that I used to help establish key and recurring '*hospitality narratives*' that were important for the civic commercial home concept. These were three dichotomies that were present in the extended academic literature. The first is the distinction between what can be termed 'marked' and 'unmarked' forms of analysis, which highlights how research findings within the social science literature in general has been lopsided due to an over reliance on 'exotic sampling'. The second dichotomy explored is the distinction between what constitutes 'public' and 'private', which has been complicated across a range of studies in the hospitality literature. In homestays for example, the distinction between public and private space is contested, as the owner is using their home in a commercial and thus public way. The third and final dichotomy is the distinction between a 'host' and 'guest', which has been deconstructed in the hospitality studies literature, most notably by David Bell (2011) who theoretically explored the dynamics of host/guest relations in public urban space.

The chapter then outlines 'the commercial home', as it has been developed in the hospitality studies literature. In doing so, I apply insights gained from those particular studies and begin sketching out a '*civic commercial home*' by discussing the relationship between the public and private (street vs home). These areas of discussion include bringing together literature on areas such as dirt, order, cleanliness, street furniture, artefacts and what Creswell (2008) has called '*hospitality to the past*'. Finally, I move on to discuss literature which has examined the ways in which we experience the city, particularly destination management literature, psychogeography and external forms of social activism. The chapter concludes by summarising the intended contribution to the academic literature.

Hospitality as an Academic Subject

“Hospitality operates on a knife edge”- (Lynch et al 2011)

The first paper I read that considered ‘*hospitality*’ from an academic standpoint, was the inaugural editorial essay printed in the journal *Hospitality & Society*. The paper, “*Theorising Hospitality*” (Lynch et al 2011) was co-authored by my director of studies, Professor Paul Lynch.

I had met my supervisory team earlier that day, back in the summer of 2014, where I discussed my general thoughts as a sociologist and as a young researcher, after agreeing to meet on a whim. I had received a curious email. I was an undergraduate finishing up my studies and did not have a clearly defined plan on what was next. I received a message from the programme leader of my degree, which included a project proposal. She had recommended me as a potential student for a PhD programme studying urban street furniture, using hospitality and archival analysis with two academics in the Business School. After reviewing the abstract and thinking about the project, there I was waiting for Paul to arrive in the Cyber Café at Edinburgh Napier University.

Paul brought along his paper “*Theorising Hospitality*” and discussed the thought he had. It was something he was sketching out, trying to bring together. It was the first time I had visited the Business School and it was clear that many of the students studying there would have viewed ‘hospitality’ in line with traditional organisational practice: hotels, food and service, like I did. Paul was thinking and expressing the idea in a philosophical way. I realised that I had never really thought of ‘hospitality’ in that way. It was clear that ‘hospitality’ in the critical and philosophical sense was a brand new, esoteric and potentially powerful academic space.

“Theorising Hospitality” was a paper of questions and was the best starting point to consider where this potential study was going to be placed and what it was going to try and achieve.

Paul and his co-authors remarked:

“What does hospitality mean? What should it mean? How do we study it? How should it be practised? How can we unlock its critical and theoretical potential?”
(Lynch et al 2011: 5)

These questions were the right starting point for me as a critical researcher, but also the best place to start this chapter. These questions were ones that I reflected upon consistently over a six-year period. Out of these questions, it was clear that academics when they have thought about hospitality, they have lacked a genuine interdisciplinary approach. Part of the reason for this seems to be that scholars conceptualise *‘hospitality’* differently and this divergence means that the term is applied in a variety of ways, generating knowledge across different domains, but domains that rarely intersect. The word *‘domain’* is particularly apt here.

Hospitality conceptually used to be understood in three distinct ways. These were the cultural, domestic and commercial domains (*see figure 1*) (Lashley 2000). The cultural domain in this model, viewed elements within the external social setting such as belief systems (e.g. theological texts) and how these impacted on the places where hospitality takes place. Therefore, a social study could examine the theological significance hospitality has on the commercial provision of food, drink and accommodation (Lashley 2015).

The domestic domain within Lashley’s (2000) model refers to the home and its use as a commercial vehicle for hospitality and issues of host and guest obligations which emerge from this. Finally, the commercial sector looks at hospitality within an economic frame, which is concerned with the exchange of money and profit making in providing food, drink and accommodation services. It is clear though that all three of these domains of investigation view hospitality within the domain of exchange and reciprocity. Hospitality is viewed within a clear and practical application. The model despite offering different ways of thinking about

hospitality, still seemed fairly rigid in that these areas constituted their own 'domain' of knowledge, which presupposed a set of assumptions about host/guest dynamics.

The dominance of a commercial provision permeates many of the sociological studies of hospitality. For example, in Morrison and O'Gorman's (2006) work, they define hospitality as being centred around a host's amicable welcome and entertainment of guests or strangers from divergent social positions and cultures within the host's own space to eat or stay temporarily. The degree to which a host is 'welcoming' varies depending on established social mores and values. Authentic forms of hospitality start to appear in the literature, as we see in this example. Guests from diverging cultural backgrounds, due to their starting point of difference, is heralded as a 'pure' form of hospitality, a form that ought to be idealised¹. The biblical stories where the provision of hospitality is part of a wider parable about the correct way to live, are infused with the stranger arriving and being attended to.

Academically, the research literature within the hospitality field has focused on documenting commercial forms of hospitality often in the private or domestic space which has led to these 'authentic' types emerging. The primary reason for this is the clarity of the hospitality being outlined, whereby a service is being provided by a host to a clearly defined guest (Lashley et al 2007). Other forms of hospitality have not been focused on as readily, as the relationship between host and guest is not as clearly defined (Lynch et al 2007). This sense of an authentic hospitality is challenged by theorists who move beyond these parameters of investigation and look at the ways in which hospitality functions in everyday life. I discuss this issue in more detail later in the section 'marked vs unmarked'.

¹ The work of Kuhn (1970) and other social scientists such as Foucault is useful here to briefly discuss. Foucault, discussed how discourses have specific '*regimes of truth*' which socially constructs prestige through power and disciplinary methods. Part of this being how academics tend to band together in tribes with their work and methodologies being promoted and cited by members of the academic clique. It is clear within the hospitality domain, that quantitative schools of thought dominated as a result of the practitioner-based approach to the field, which was heavily focused on business-oriented applications and insight, instead of qualitative studies which have a more sociological basis.

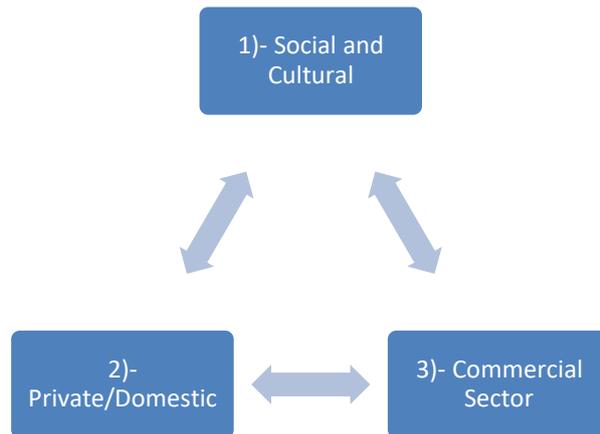


Figure 1: Lashley's three domain model of hospitality (2000)

Another way of conceptualizing hospitality is to use it as a metaphor. Hospitality can be articulated as being a kind of social glue, a means for expressing everyday social interaction. As a metaphor, the term takes on interdisciplinary potential, something Paul's (Lynch et al 2011) article outlined:

"The metaphor of hospitality is at the heart of analyses by cultural theorists, geographers, philosophers, sociologists, theologians, linguists and other foreign-language scholars all of whom have made significant contributions to advancing the understanding of hospitality" (Lynch et al 2011: 13)

The use of metaphor is a particularly useful tool when thinking about hospitality. Another example of this device in action, is a phrase that appears in *Theorising Hospitality* (Lynch et al 2011). The phrase had significant influence on my thought process.

"Hospitality operates on a knife edge."

I thought a lot about that knife edge. When considering the urban space, there are a lot of questions which emerge: Who is the host's imagined guest? At what point is a guest overstaying their welcome? What are the rules of hospitality? Who polices hospitality? These questions permeate this work, in exploring the dynamics between welcome and unwelcome, a thin line. A line that is sometimes difficult to discern.

One of the areas that Paul and his co-authors considered important for future research was the notion of ‘*cartographies and spatialities of hospitality*’ (Lynch et al 2011: 15) described as

“Critical geographical approaches to hospitality recognize that hospitality does not just take place in space, but rather produces certain spaces as more or less welcoming, more or less hospitable. In particular, studies of urban and civic hospitality, regional hospitality, the imagined (in)hospitableness of nature, or humankind’s (in)hospitableness towards nature and the environment, bring an important spatiotemporal perspective to the way people relate to and in places

Going back to Lashley’s (2000) domains of hospitality knowledge, this study uses insights from all three areas. It is intuitively a sociological project, in exploring every day and subtle forms of hospitality on the street. However, as I outline in this chapter, it also takes considerable influence from studies which fit broadly within the private/domestic domain and studies which explore commercial aspects of hospitality management. It will look at the ways in which hospitality can be socially mundane but have lasting effects on the tourist and resident experience of feeling welcome (the hospitable tourist destination). The contribution this study provides as a form of knowledge to the hospitality field, is a genuine interdisciplinary approach, where hospitality is explored as a metaphorical device on the street.

TABLE 1: RELEVANT WAYS OF THINKING ABOUT HOSPITALITY

Frame	Definition	Key themes
'Hospitality as social control'	Hospitality as a means of controlling/limiting the behaviour of a stranger	Power, Regulation, Censure, Difference,
'Hospitality as social and economic exchange'	Hospitality as the social and economic activities associated with accommodation, food, drink and other social forms of exchange	Reciprocity, Sharing, Welcoming, Gift giving, Openness, Shelter, Protection
'Hospitality as metaphor'	Hospitality as a way of thinking about wider social and cultural concerns such as inclusion/exclusion, everyday life and the relationship between individual and wider social concerns	Everyday life, fluidity of the host/guest relationship,

(Adopted from Lynch et al 2011)

Deconstructing hospitality earlier, was useful in situating and counterpoising different ways that hospitality is understood in the academic literature. Likewise, it is useful to consider how the issue of cities and space more generally has been contested. Williams (1976) in his seminal text *'keywords'*, aimed to provide a clear and comprehensive dictionary, to counteract recurring issues of jargon in the social sciences. One of the words that Williams (1976) describes is *'city'*. In a genealogical analysis, he showed how the word evolved over time. The modern usage of the word, meaning a distinctive order of settlement that constituted an entirely different way of living from rural and pastoral farm life, did not fully emerge in the lexicon until the 19th century. The term was previously used to distinguish urban areas from the country back in the 16th century, but was often used synonymously and interchangeably

with the primary capital city, such as London. Further, the term was used to specify financial and commercial activity from the 18th century onwards. Words and rhetoric evolve over time, which means contemporary researchers need to be weary of misattributing meaning via primary data analysis. Something, I tried to be aware of as I developed this thesis.

One of the ways, we can trace this evolving sense of rhetoric, is with the idea of space. Before what is described as the '*spatial turn*' in the academic literature, space was thought of as background onto which action occurs. Something fairly unremarkable. Foucault (1980) described the previous paradigm of academic thought on the subject, as assuming that space was 'dead', 'fixed', 'undialectical' and 'immobile'. Examining scholarly literature in the philosophy of space, sociology and politics, we see that space is theorised in a variety of ways, which is relevant to the scope of this project. Foucault coming from a disciplinarian perspective views space as signifying certain ethical codes or expected rules of conduct and is bound up with issues of power, surveillance and security. Power is not necessarily from economic interests, but can be from a variety of sources that compete (Plodger 2008).

Harvey (1989) from a Marxist perspective looks at space as being the result of capitalist enterprise and privatisation, where space is a contestation of political unrest and resistance. As Lagopoulos (1993) describes Harvey's position, he posits that "*[p]rogress and the accumulation of capital demand the annihilation of space through time*" (Lagopoulos 1993: 262). Harvey and other Marxist scholars such as Soja (1991) looked at space as a 'socio-spatial dialectic', meaning that "socially produced spatiality of society also conditions and shapes society (Lagopoulos 1993: 261). In situating these theories, it is appropriate to state that public space can feasibly be seen as a combination of these sentiments. It is true that public space in modern international cities is ultimately constrained and controlled as a result of capitalist enterprise and privatisation. It is also true, that space can presuppose certain ethical codes and expected rules of conduct through surveillance and control². However, they all presuppose a 'marked' understanding of space, a critique I develop later in this literature review, when I consider Bell's (2011) spaces of hospitality, as an alternative approach.

² I considered alternative views, such as postmodern perspectives influenced by theorists such as Deleuze and Lefebvre, but found a lack of anchorage in their approach. Beyond the assertion that space is an 'assemblage' of many interrelated factors, it was hard to discern a clear application.

Table 2: Authors and their conceptual approach to space and its application in the city

Author	Prevailing Concept	Understanding of City Space
Foucault	Disciplinarian	Space is normative, signifying certain ethical codes or expected rules of conduct.
Harvey (1989), Soja (1991)	Marxism	Space is the consequence of capitalist enterprise and privatisation

Three theoretical dichotomies

The aim of this section is to focus in on three distinct theoretical dichotomies, which were important for not only the intellectual development of the project, but constituted key areas of philosophical discussion and debate in the wider academic literature. These three dichotomous concepts have a significant presence in the tourism and hospitality literature. The concepts are often used as broad frameworks for understanding the nuance of complicated distinctions. When we consider them, it is always worthwhile to be mindful of the fact that as frameworks, they are not meant to be exhaustive and account for everything. These concepts usually act as guides and as a way to understand the lay of the land so to speak.

The current study used these three organizing dichotomies to understand the contextual layout of the urban environment. These involve issues of what is public and what is private objects and space. Who is a host and who is a guest? And finally, what is focused on in hospitality and tourism research when considering the city and, what is less recognized, what are the more mundane elements? The three dichotomies explored therefore are the marked/unmarked, public/private, and the host/guest.

Hospitality is also about crossing boundaries, passing thresholds, as Still (2010:10) points out. It crosses boundaries between “*self and other, private and public, outside and inside, collective, personal and political, economic and rational, generous and economic.*” Using hospitality as a framework allows us to look at these dichotomous frameworks and analyse them with the intention of crisscrossing and blurring meanings from both sides of the conceptual framework(s). Using that framework of hospitality as a lens for exploring and challenging conceptual boundaries, the present study moves beyond looking at hospitality as purely a commercial endeavour

Marked/Unmarked

‘Space is a doubt: I have constantly to mark it, to designate it. It’s never mine, never given to me, I have to conquer it’. (Perec 1997:91, Species of Spaces and Other Pieces)

The distinction between marked and unmarked is a dichotomy which features implicitly in the tourism and hospitality literature. It has had significant impact on key theoretical conceptions such as the ‘*tourist gaze*’ (Urry and Larsen 2011), destination marketing and management (Pike and Page 2014) and on ‘*mundane moments*’ of hospitality (Bell 2007). It has also had a significant implicit influence in the sociology of everyday life, where the notion of the mundane has an epistemological dimension (Fishman 2013). Recent contributions in the hospitality literature, include the idea of ‘*mundane welcome*’ (Lynch 2017).

As a result, this section will explore the theoretical idea of the *marked vs the unmarked* but also explore the ways in which the theoretical idea permeates other forms of tourism and hospitality research such as the *tourist gaze*, *mundane moments of hospitality* and *mundane welcome*. The distinction between marked and unmarked therefore is a critical frame for interpreting the everyday experiences of the tourist and the hospitable experiences encountered. The theoretical premise of the marked and the unmarked is outlined explicitly in the work of Brekhus (1998) who notes that within the social sciences, exotic social phenomena tend to attract a disproportionate amount of time and energy from scholars, which consequently creates an unrealistic sense of social reality.

This asymmetry between what Brekhus (1998) refers to as the 'extraordinary' and the 'mundane' has analytic consequences in that our perceptions as researchers are distorted. Investigations into social life often begin at the point of visibility by focusing in on the exotic, rather than searching out representations of the ordinary. The epistemological point here was expressed by Brekhus (1998) in a dichotomy exploring the notion of the '*marked*' and the '*unmarked*'. The unmarked is composed of elements in everyday life that are described as being uninteresting or generic and therefore receive little to no attention in the literature due to their perceived normality. The marked is the converse of this. Language plays a role in this process, so by labelling or naming something we construct and stabilize a category of meaning. We rarely have language that names the default or standard position but instead use language which is based on polar opposites. This means that our everyday experience as city dwellers, as travellers, as citizens, have been neglected, particularly the ways in which we engage with street furniture or how moments of hospitality are expressed through objects in the city.

This unmarked urban environment means that elements of hospitality that are mundane are neglected in order to focus on the visible commercial hospitality sector. We can therefore speak of a '*mundane hospitality*' which is less visible but which is clearly designed and implemented into the functioning of all cities. We are invited to sit and relax on the street using public benches; we have public restrooms; parks and plazas. The extent to which this hospitality is offered abstractedly by the city is socially constructed depending on the time period, the cultural context which the city is located, the structural design of the space that is being used and the civic and legal legislation that is in place. Hospitality then is infused with social considerations, when used to view the everyday heart of the city which means that the dichotomy of the marked and unmarked is also socially situated when applied. The marked/unmarked dichotomy when applied to the social space, such as the urban environment, means we can speak of "socially unmarked vs socially marked places".

The heuristic properties of what constitutes '*socially marked*' include the following characteristics: firstly 1) - the 'marked' is spoken of, whilst the 'unmarked' is unarticulated. 2) - the marking overemphasizes and exalts the importance or novelty of the marked. 3) - which creates unequal attention to the marked when compared to its actual occurrence or size,

which has the consequence of marginalizing the unmarked. 4) - Distinctions in the 'marked' are less recognized due to an assumption of uniformity, or wholeness which does not translate to areas which are unmarked, due to their lack of exposure, or understanding (Brekhus 1998:36). Markedness is relational which means it exists in a relationship.

Places when travelling are consumed and services are used with the intention of generating pleasurable experiences, with the space or hospitality offered being different from the ordinary experience of the tourist (Urry and Larsen 2011). Tourists *gaze* at the environment with curiosity, taking in everything they encounter. Urry and Larsen (2011:2) argue that this gaze is "*organized and systematized*" and with this ordered and controlled sense of experience, there is a sense that looking at and feeling spaces is a learned behaviour. 'The pure, innocent eye' is a myth because gazing involves what Urry and Larsen (2011:2) refer to as 'discursive determinations'. There are various ways of seeing, we are constantly re-evaluating the relationship between what we are seeing and how this relates to ourselves. Consuming places is always done with reference to social identifiers such as class, gender, 'race', age and education; which, therefore, means that there are different expectations for each of these different gazes. Furthermore, the gaze is historically constituted and is defined in relation to its opposite. For Urry and Larsen, the *gaze* is to be contrasted with non-tourist experience. From this observation, it is stated that the *gaze* "presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the tourist experience" (Urry and Larsen 2011:3). The tourist gaze constitutes marked spaces and places which are designated as possible sites of consumption and consequently hospitality.

This dichotomy of marked and unmarked highlights a significant epistemological gap which presents itself in a variety of different ways. The first is that studies tend to analyse samples that exceed a presentational threshold of difference, so the most '*extremetypes*' are observed (Brekhus 1998:41). There are three different types of '*interestingness*' when it comes to social scientific research. The first is statistically unusual or extraordinary studies looking in on (voyeuristically) colourful samples. This is usually reflected in deviant groups or spaces or distinct cultural groupings. This type of research is '*factually interesting*' due to its focus on the extraordinary with 'deviant' samples (Brekhus 2000: 95). The second type of '*interestingness*' is pieces of research that engage politically or morally. An example is the

focus on urban poverty, or stratification. These studies are 'interesting' because they focus on issues of justice and power, with time spent advancing the cause of the '*underdog*' (Becker 1967). Becker's famous piece of sociological commentary advanced a specific narrative, that the involvement of researchers in emancipatory research or not, presupposed 'choosing a side'. Research which was not categorised as being within the critical theory space, was thus viewed with suspicion.

The third area that Brekhus (1998) examines are the analytically interesting studies which produce counterintuitive analysis, in seeing beneath the surface level, or documenting the 'seen but unseen'. Brekhus (2000:95) notes that the key difference in these 'types' of *interestingness* is that the analytic paradigm is based on providing 'theoretical utility' rather than serving a political, moral or factual novelty. The over focus on the factual and moral paradigm within social science has led to a bias in research. The *truncation bias* which was traditionally a sampling error in quantitative research paradigms is now a common sampling error within qualitative approaches. The bias refers to when the desired range of a sample is inevitably skewed and excluded due to a lack of visibility to the researcher. The researcher occupies a certain '*threshold of visibility*' which limits the research to what can be seen but typically due to the reliance on exotic sampling and a reliance on the unusual, researchers have sampled using the polar extremes of social life (*ibid*).

What is needed then is a theorization of the '*in-between*' moments. These are moments that everyone experiences but are rarely focused on. Being able to do this means having an '*analytic nomadic sensibility*' (Brekhus 2000). It means having the ability as a researcher to shift vantage points to incorporate '*marked*' and '*unmarked*' elements into an analysis with the intention of unearthing what lurks underneath everyday existence. This approach would entail moving from a fixed interpretation or research focus into looking at '*multiple discrete vantage points*' (Brekhus 1998:47). Brekhus (1998:43) refers to this as a process of '*reverse marking*' which is a strategy for "*foregrounding the unmarked as though it were unusual and ignoring the marked as though it were mundane*". The idea behind *reverse marking*, therefore, is to create an equalization of social phenomenon, to articulate everything with equal weight.

Unfortunately, research has not focused on bridging the gap between the marked and the unmarked, particularly in the context of tourism research. Brekhus (1998:46) notes that the academic subfield of sociology, which focuses on space, has a long tradition of focusing in on the most salient and morally relevant spaces of everyday life and has thus neglected the converse, as evidenced by the examples earlier in this review. This practice is also the case in a tourism context as studies tend to focus disproportionately on different stages of the tourist process and tend to neglect the structural design of the urban environment and mundane hospitality which helps facilitate these forms of tourism, Part of the reason the '*unmarked*' is not focused on, or seen as a valid area of investigation is because the ordinary is often associated with low status in a hierarchical society and as such what is seen as the everyday is ascribed with values (Highmore 2001). The ordinary is thus seen as habitual but this habitual understanding is part of its success. Ordinarity is a process where things have historically passed from being unusual to being usual. The design of the city where objects are presumed to be part of the normal and everyday urban blueprint is a clear example of this move from unusual to the usual. This change therefore provides a framework for beginning to understand how the city is to be regarded as a *global abode* (Molz 2008) where the ordinarity of the home environment is passed into the urban context. The description of this concept of the 'home' in the work of Jennie Germann Molz, is described in more detail later.

Another reason that everyday life and common place non-glamorous areas of the urban landscape are understudied is because it is a type of '*negative space*' (Brekhus 1998:44). Negative space is the in-between, the areas that are unarticulated, unwritten and unprompted. Hospitality research in contrast, has tended to occupy the status of the '*unmarked*' and this is particularly the case outside the commercial sector. Research situating hospitality as a means for understanding society (such as Lashley et al (2007)'s *social lens agenda*) or looking at '*moments of hospitality*' in everyday life (Bell 2007b) has looked at novel and interesting ways of philosophically addressing the idea of hospitality in new contexts. Tourism conversely has been theorized using a social lens perspective in which tourist activity acts as metaphors for everyday living, for understanding rites of passage and for understanding how individuals think about themselves socially and culturally. Tourism in this sense is in the domain of the '*marked*'. For example, Bennett (2005) begins his analysis of

tourism and everyday life by focusing in on the changing nature of tourism more broadly as a social signifier and symbolization of lifestyle. Tourism became less about the globetrotting of a wealthy minority but over-time in the later part of the 20th century became more assessable and more widely felt and experienced by ordinary people as technologies made travel cheaper, faster and easier (Urry 1995). In experiencing destinations people supposedly make statements about themselves in a similar way to how they make statements about themselves through their consumption.

Spaces of the city are opened up, labelled and analysed as being sites of interest (Urry and Larsen 2011). The tourist is guided through a process of selecting specific 'attractions' and encouraged to follow an itinerary of marked tourist spots. This creates an 'epistemological ghettoization' (Brekhus 2000) of geographic knowledge since only specific areas are consumed, which leads to a marginalization of how the city's design, structure and objects help facilitate this. Focusing epistemologically this way means that we bring the background into focus. We are used to seeing the foreground. The consequence of this is that we lose the ability to analytically compare and contrast because our focus is entirely on the foreground and on the marked areas of social life. The background in this case is the elements of hospitality that are rarely acknowledged as being significant such as the interactions individuals have with street furniture, how the city is designed to be hospitable and how these interactions coexist with the commercial sector which provides forms of private hospitality such as the food and drinks sector.

Critically the analytic use of 'unmarked' and 'marked' categories does not imply a research dualism. Research can study 'marked' identities or spaces for example but look at the ways in which individuals or spaces employ and display their unmarked features (Brekhus 1998). An approach like this would mean spatially looking at the elements of everyday life that are under-analysed, or underappreciated due to their perceived normality.

A theoretical discussion on how the mundane, the normal and the everyday has been understood and analysed is an important starting point in '*reverse marking*'. For Benjamin (2002) the everyday is important for understanding historical events. Analysing everyday life means being able to bridge the gap between '*the heart of human thought*' and *the heart of*

human action (Fishamn 2013). Whilst there has been recognition in tourism studies of different '*selves*', these different compositions are still focused entirely on marked categories. Theorists such as Agnes Heller have stated that everyday life cannot be considered in isolation or abstracted from wider social relations or institutions. It is the task of the social theorist to place the everyday into a broader socio-historical perspective (Gardiner 2001:130). This is similar to Bauman's (1987) insistence that the researcher be an interpreter of everyday life as opposed to a legislator. The unmarked element here is on outlining and explaining the everyday experiences of the city and the hospitable factors involved. The focus on placing the everyday into an appropriate context that considers multiple different vantage points of history and society is particularly needed when looking at the structural design of the city itself. The idea of everyday life is relational and as such there is a need to draw out its grammar and its patterns of association (Highmore 2001:6).

Bell (2007) draws upon the idea that the city itself is a '*space of hospitality*' in looking at the interrelationship between commercial hospitality and urban regeneration projects. This space is the unmarked area of research because there has been a general neglect of the ways in which everyday hospitality functions in the urban environment. Bell (2007) begins to address this disparity by using the term '*mundane hospitality*' within the context of the '*hospitable city*' to highlight the ways in which hospitality is used as a way to create 'commercial spaces' in the regeneration of post-industrial cities similar to other work addressing the hospitable city. This linkage between the mundane, the city and commercial enterprise although loosely sketched is critical because it creates a framework for analysing unmarked elements that figure into the private and public dimensions of the street. It also however anticipates the idea of focusing in on unmarked moments of hospitality as Bell lays out a framework for how these mundane moments are a key but understudied link to the regeneration of city spaces through the commercial hospitality sector, which has elements of spatial and historical factors due to the changing nature of the city in a post-industrial society. The city has changed supposedly from a point of clearly demarcated boundaries of private/public, work/leisure as theorists have noted that a service-based economy in a digitalized world means a blurring of these former distinctions (Urry 2009).

A guiding research aim which emerges from this particular dichotomy when considering the ‘civic commercial home’, is what are the ‘unmarked’ elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh? Which would explore, what are the mundane moments of hospitality, that create a welcoming atmosphere and a space of hospitality (Bell 2007b). But also, conversely, in order to understand and appreciate the unmarked, we also need an exploration of how the ‘marked’ urban story came to be. As a result, the following guiding aims emerged with regards to the dichotomy.

Table 3: Guided research aims that emerged from applying insights from the marked/unmarked dichotomy

<u>Feature</u>	<u>Research Concern</u>
Unmarked	What are the mundane (unmarked) moments of hospitality that create a welcoming atmosphere and sense of hospitality in Edinburgh?
Marked	What are the ‘marked’ elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?

Public/Private

“Hospitality is by definition a structure that regulates relations between inside and outside, and, in that sense, between private and public. Someone or ones, categorised as ‘outside’, as not necessarily, by right or legal contract, part of the ‘inside’, is temporarily brought within.” (Still 2010: 11)

The public/private dichotomy is a useful organizing tool for conceptualizing arbitrary divisions that exist between public space and the private dwelling. These divisions are recognized as being general statements that help in theorizing. Therefore, the division is useful for exploring ideal types. In Max Weber’s work, ‘ideal types’ refer to:

“Configurations of generally intended subjective meaning to which (2) modes of recurrent social action are oriented, in the context of (3) communal or associative social relationships” (Rosenberg 2015:3).

The dichotomy is useful for outlining the difficulties in what is termed ‘public objects’ and their corresponding ‘private objects’. The public and private are terms which are an *“inextricable part of the language we use as social and political actors”* (Thompson 2011:51). This section will briefly examine key texts in the sociological canon as well as texts in the hospitality and tourism literature which use this organizing tool as a way to understand the transformation of public space.

Within the hospitality literature, there has been a focus on looking at the different types of hospitality which take place within cities. Terms such as *domesticity* are used as ways to indicate separation between the inside and outside world. Interior and exterior spaces are classified differently. The home is seen as the space where private life takes place. The door and the fence around the garden are common dividers marking the boundaries between interior and exterior.

As Goffman (1963) demonstrated, there are social settings where people are restricted entering for a variety of reasons. Appropriate behaviour in public is determined by rules and regulations. Many of these rules are ways of creating and maintaining boundaries between what is public and what is private. Trespassing laws for example prohibit unauthorized access typically from private dwellings. Sometimes the demarcation between public and private is breached by residents. Blomley (2005) for example outlined the *‘boundary crossing’* that occurs when the gardening activities of private residents extends onto public boulevards outside their homes. More important to the context of this study though are the laws which prevent and constrict free movement in public space. Goffman (1963) remarks for example that public parks in London were off limits to certain ‘categories’ of person. Boundaries between public and private are not as simple as isolating one or the other for this reason.

Exploring this divide has required a new framework and within the scholarly literature, there has been attempts at doing this. Chávez and van der Rest (2014) for example described the public and private dimension of cities, as being a divide between what they described as the “*agora*” and the “*fortress*”. *Agora* when translated literally means the ‘*market place*’ and is represented by the city centre. The foci on which all activity is centred; the *agora* is the *presentation space*, which is partially designed with a tourist in mind, as it’s the primary *gaze* for visitors. In the destination management literature, this is a primary concern as it relates to the marketability of the city more broadly. The *agora* as conceptualised by Chávez and van der Rest (2014) also relates to ‘social exchange’, incorporating private commercial hospitality and cultural artefacts.

The *agora* then is also about the ‘sacredness of place’ (Chávez and van der Rest 2014:34) and thus recognizes the importance of objects in creating the hospitality which is the life blood, the wallpaper of the city. The *agora* could also be conceived of as the living room of a commercial home, the welcoming space for visitors.

The *fortress* by contrast is focused on the need for security. The *fortress* is not concerned with an absolute openness with the stranger, but is concerned with ways of limiting or preventing access to the unknown. Protecting the public from the stranger is seen in historical residues through cities due to the fortification of spaces using defensive walls to protect and prevent entry. This distancing and protection against the Other are now found within the city itself and is structurally present in the city through hostile forms of architecture and ways of policing the streets. Shea (2014) usefully describes the ways in which objects are ‘policing’ social boundaries. Anti-homeless spikes outside of Euston Station in London are used to actively discourage and prevent people from using walls as spaces to rest. Camden City Council introduced what is now known colloquially as the ‘Camden Bench’, which is sloped and deliberately uncomfortable, in an attempt to discourage rough sleeping and prevent skateboarders from using it. These forms of architecture are objects of *bastille*; they act as a *fortress* to prevent social undesirables. The transformation of the street bench from being an object that facilitated openness to the stranger into an object that discourages and prohibits the stranger is a move from the *agora* to the *fortress*.

Thrift (2005) in his discussion of the *'misanthropic city'* implicitly makes the connection between the agora and the fortress.

"we need to think more carefully about whether we really have it in us to just be unalloyedly nice to others at all times in every single place: most situations can and do bring forth both nice and nasty" (Thrift 2005: 140)

The dichotomy that Chávez and van der Rest (2014) outlined describes two important aspects of hospitality, that is often missing from the literature. In prioritising and emphasising *'the fortress'* as being such a critical part of their analysis, they outline that a significant part of hospitality is about order, safety, control and surveillance. These are typically *'private'* concerns. Exactly as Derrida (2003, 2000) had described, when he outlined that *unconditional hospitality* is concerned with the idea of the Other.

Derrida (2003) remarked

"Pure or unconditioned hospitality does not consist in such an invitation ("I invite you, I welcome you into my home, on the condition that you adapt to the laws and norms of my territory, according to my language, tradition, memory, and so on"). Pure and unconditional hospitality, hospitality itself, opens or is in advance open to someone who is neither expected nor invited, to whomever arrives as an absolutely foreign visitor, as a new arrival, nonidentifiable and unforeseeable, in short, wholly other", (Derrida 2003:17)

A sentiment that he previously built into his clever neologism, *'Hostipitality'* (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000).³ The agora and the fortress represent a dialectical relationship in hospitality research that can be traced throughout the development of the city historically. One fundamental reason for the emergence of cities in the first place was the need for

³ This dimension is also something to consider when evaluating the upsurge in the city planning literature of *'smart cities'*, which pertain to be about efficiency and making the lives of ordinary people easier. A Foucaultian anxiety is the right approach here, since it would also conversely mean more surveillance, more control and more order.

security due to nomadic societies which jeopardized expanding agricultural societies (Chávez and van der Rest 2014:34). The evolution of the city, as a way of living emerged through a variety of factors, one of which was to satisfy the demands of collectivised primitive prayer and worship, a theological security blanket which continued long throughout the history of urban development (Smith 2007)

Table 4: Describing the Agora and Fortress dualism and its relationship to Brekhus' marked/unmarked

Concept	Type	Hospitality Themes	Relationship to Brekhus (1998)
Agora	Public	Service, Exchange, Market,	Marked
Fortress	Private	Security, Order, Control, Surveillance, Safety,	Unmarked

Hospitality as 'control' is a theme which not been explored adequately in the literature, but theoretically it can be seen in the work of Foucault and various geographical applications of his work. These applications are useful to examine, particularly as a distinction between public and private narratives. Foucault's perspective regarded urban planning and architecture as:

"forming an apparatus of normalisation through the production of a disciplinarian space, using both diagrams and the gaze as a means in a powerful spatial ordering of everyday lives" (Ploger 2008:51)

Ploger (2008) describes urban planning as being a combination of what is *said* (texts, plans, communications) and *unsaid* (strategies, intentions with regard to effect and affect, prejudices etc.). As a result, urban planning discourses⁴ emerge which focuses on three key areas, which are the institutional, architectural and lived. These discourses of course showcase private and public notions of civic maintenance. These three dimensions bring

⁴ To use Foucault's terminology here

together aspects of what Ploger (2008) describes as normalising forces. The city was a laboratory for these emerging narratives of control.

These emerging narratives of control can be traced through the urban planning archive. The archive documents institutional explanations for various amendments to the public space, but also the unsaid can also be determined from what is missing. Ploger (2008) describes how Foucault in his work, thought about the archive as documenting institutionally a series of rules about city space. European cities were established using similar ways of thinking, referred to as the great hygiene projects from the 1820s onwards (Ploger 2008). The social power of space was something that was recognised and the city emerged as a laboratory for a disciplinarian society (Ploger 2008). Disciplinarian society here referring to the ways in which everyday life, particularly those within the public space were more closely monitored and controlled as a result of various factors. Elias (1969) [1939] described this as part of the '*civilising process*'. Moving back to the Chávez and van der Rest's (2014) dichotomy, the dynamics of hospitality explored are fairly limiting in its application beyond order, security and surveillance. Despite this, it offers a useful entry point for beginning to trace public and private narratives that are enacted throughout objects in the public space.

City as governance

Another metaphorical construction developed by Chávez and van der Rest (2014) which has elements of the public and private dichotomy at its heart, is in viewing a city as being structured like a government. Looking at the urban environment as being composed of various interlinking branches, all coming together to form what we understand abstractedly to encompass what we term the city, helps us to hone in on the mundane processes that might be neglected. It also allows a conceptualization of the city that recognizes the interplay between theoretical forms of hospitality on an individual basis and implications for generic all-encompassing urban policy. The government metaphor allows a sectioning out of many different host-guest relationships that are performing many different roles and under many different conditions, but ultimately tie together to form a singular idea, which is the city itself. The city is not purely infrastructural but also as imagined where memories of space haunt

everyday life and this idea fuses with Park's (1925) classic sentiment that cities are '*states of mind*'.

City walls

Marcuse (2002) describes how cities typically have five different types of 'wall'. I will refer to these walls throughout the rest of this passage as 'wall types'. They are fantastic examples of the tenuousness of the public and private dichotomy throughout the city. These wall types can be seen as examples of the fortress at work within the city, each of them having different spatial, symbolic and social effects on the environment. These wall types exhibit both metaphorical and physical qualities and I will outline each context. Focusing in on wall types, outlines taken for granted divisions that exist in our cities. Often, we focus in on the areas of presentation or the agora, but these barriers which instil a conditional hospitality in the urban context, often go unexamined. An example of a wall type which covers all three of these categories is the first of Marcuse's "walls", what he refers to as "prison walls". These walls define the ghettos and places of confinement in the inner city. Often these walls are built for control and concealment. Within areas of extreme social deprivation and poverty, informal walls emerge. Marcuse (2002) describes the act of gangs, who 'tag' public property with graffiti in order to establish definitive spatial barriers between the various gangs in the area. In this example, it is clear that there is both formal and informal barriers that take place in the city. Paradoxically, the tagging of public property is a way of making gang members feel safe, to know that they are on their own turf. An informal, symbolic form of illegal, public hospitality.

The second wall type in Marcuse's analysis is what he terms '*barricades*'. These are walls which instil a sense of cohesion, protection and solidarity. These walls refer to the ways in which people section themselves off from the public, erecting barriers to protect themselves. People see a sense of security behind garden fences, security lights and alarm systems. These barriers often create a clear division between private quarters and public quarters. This is my space and this is everyone else's. Marcuse (2002) notes that this is often found in areas of the city with high concentrations of immigrants, or ethnic minorities. People feel uneasy about the stranger and so establishing barriers is a way of protecting their own sense of self identity.

The third wall type is what Marcuse refers to as, “stockades”. These are walls of aggression, typically built by the military. The fourth wall type is what Marcuse refers to as “stucco walls”. These shelter the more exclusive residential areas, creating spaces which are considered safe as they are separated from the rest of the city. Examples include gated or sheltered communities and these ‘walls’ are walls of social status and control. They are specifically designed to protect those living behind the walls, from undesired infiltration. They offer symbolic protection, for the inequalities of everyday life are minimized, for everyone is of the same social status and standing as everyone else. The walls create a wealthy commune within the city itself.

The last of Marcuse’s wall types is what he refers to as “the ramparts”, which are the fortifications surrounding citadels. Arguably these walls are the most noticeable and most transparent. They refer to architectural forms which have gentrified the city, such as the corporate office tower which has come to dominate downtown business districts of the city as finance insurance and real estate interests have become prominent. These buildings often encroach into public space, proclaiming their control over the landscape physically, symbolically and socially.

These wall types, can be related more specifically to how Edinburgh is a divided city. The ‘fortress’ can also be an effective metaphor when examining how the city is divided into specific zones or residential quarters. Although they are fragmented across the city, they can meaningfully be construed as being distinct structural entities, or ‘types’. The divisions show that when we discuss a ‘city’, it is meaningless without situating the focus. Edinburgh is a city that has distinctive subareas which are socially segregated, through the action of inclusion/exclusion by powerful groups. There are five different types of space in a gentrified city like Edinburgh, which shows further barriers albeit symbolically. Marcuse (2002) notes that the city of New York for example can be divided up into five key concentrations. The dominating city of luxury housing enclaves, the gentrified city of the business and professional yuppies; the suburban city of single-family housing; the tenement city of renting and the abandoned city left for the poor and homeless.

The dominating city relates to the luxurious, expensive, upper-middle class property, often reflecting dominant social/political hierarchies. Suburban city, relates to single family housing sometimes near the centre of the city, but often outside the main locus of city activity. The abandoned city is the left over, isolated spaces for the socially destitute and excluded, as such social housing will typically be situated in these areas of the city.

A key seminal work examining the transformation of the public sphere is from the insights developed by Habermas (1989). Within capitalist societies, production and reproduction broke away from the traditional confines of the family and the household (Thompson 2011:53). Capitalism brought forth simultaneous trade in information as well as trade in goods and supplies. The transformation of the public and private happened as a result of the changing nature of society more broadly. The wider social changes in society therefore paved the way for the dissolution of traditional public and private boundaries. Furniture from the home makes its way onto the street to create a hospitable 'bourgeois public sphere'. These observations fit with the language we use to describe street furniture. The street is a public place and yet furniture is associated with the private home. Thus, lamps, drinking fountains, benches, public conveniences, phone boxes and litter bins are all inclusive ways of bringing light, order, cleanliness, safety and comfort into the public sphere. These elements are the very essence of 'welcome' and were lifted directly from the private sphere.

Another key theoretical article looking at the public and private transformation of the city is from Sheller and Urry (2003). They recognize that whilst the key problem of the 20th century concerned the protection of the 'private' from an ever-expansive state and from market forces, this has changed in the 21st century. In the 21st century, the converse is true with the public being at risk and being erased by processes that were previously understood as private. Hospitality can be used as a lens to understand the ways in which the 'public' is eroding. Sheller and Urry (2003) point out the difficulties with the jargon itself. The term 'public' itself includes ideas of public space, public sphere, public institutions, public interest, public culture, public sector, public roads, and the general public. These different conceptions of public do not have their corresponding 'private' properly theorized and part of the reason for this could be the lack of synthesis from one space to another (e.g. commercial home sector to the street).

Reflecting on the literature within this dichotomy, it made sense to think of the ways in which private needs for order, safety and surveillance, as represented by the fortress has influenced the public space of Edinburgh. As a result, I also considered the following research aim as a guide, “What influence does the ‘private’ need for safety, order and surveillance had on urban hospitality in Edinburgh

Table 5: Guiding research aim which emerged when applying insights from the public/private dichotomy

Research Concern	Derived from
What influence does the ‘private’ need for safety, order and surveillance have on urban hospitality in Edinburgh?	Chávez and van der Rest (2014); Derrida and Dufourmantelle (2000), Derrida (2003) Marcuse (2002);

Host/Guest

“[H]ow do flickering moments of ‘hostgusting’ contribute to the ongoing work of living together, to building and maintaining society?” (Bell 2011: 138)

This question posed by David Bell demonstrates the fluidity of the host/guest dichotomy in the academic literature. Bell (2011) when thinking about hospitality in the context of urban space, views the distinction as being ‘unstable’ and ‘unsettled’. He argues that instead of them being clearly demarcated, they instead play a relational dynamic as Bell (2011: 138) notes:

“[Talking] about hostguests keeps in mind that relationality, that flickering, and the ways in which the roles of the host and guest interact and get played out in the business and busyness of everyday life.”

As a philosophical conceptualisation, ‘hostgusting’ influenced my thought process, in thinking beyond a binary; allowing me to think of various ways unmarked moments of hospitality on the street might blur this distinction. The host/guest divide is an important

discussion (and experience⁵) in the hospitality literature. It is complicated when considered outside the managerial domain.

When considering hosts and guests in the context of abstract applications of 'hospitality' to the urban space, the city can be understood as a surrogate host, providing for surrogate guests. Bell's (2011) neologism shows that the interrelationship of both is important to consider. As a result, in this section I am going to examine this framework, outlining seminal and important pieces of work in the area. The focus on guest and host dynamics has been a significant area of research in tourism studies (Sharpley 2014, Turk et al 2014).

Looking at hospitality with a specific concern for public forms of hospitality in this way broadens recent concerns in the hospitality literature which has looked specifically at the urban context as a site for hospitable interactions. Octavio and Camargo (2015) for example note that when leaving the home, the host becomes a guest in the spaces in which that person moves in. They describe this process as 'fundamentally rehearsed hospitality' (Octavio and Camargo 2015:19). Such a process implies that these forms of hospitality are manufactured into the design of the city itself by hosts. Being a guest in the fundamentally rehearsed hospitality of the city also presupposes that objects will be provided with the intent of being hospitable to the many guests that use the space. These forms of hospitality are more abstract because according to Octavio and Camargo (2015) anonymity and urbanity go together, and as such we become accustomed to certain formalities. It is taken for granted further due to the ways in which inhospitality is a major factor of urban life. We are encouraged to ignore the stranger and to avoid contact with others, which means the application of hospitality to urban life is a somewhat novel application (Octavio and Camargo 2015). Within social sciences, there has been a focus on individualism and globalization as key theoretical frames for understanding social reality. Hospitality conversely is taking a different route and has been more concerned with the notion of proximity, the encounter and experience (Octavio and Camargo 2015).

⁵ Articles have described their experiences of being a 'guest' for example within a homestay (Lynch 2005).

When looking at the destination literature, the impact that is felt by the host community in developing tourism has been a pertinent theme of analysis (Wall and Mathieson 2006). The host community makes compromises between so called 'negative social and environmental factors' and tourism development, trying to find the right balance between both (Telfer and Sharpley 2008). As such, appeasement of the host community is necessary for a successful development of tourism and its longevity. Literature has therefore focused on the idea that tourism planning ought to be directly influenced by the attitudes of the host population (Ap 1992).

A review article by Sharpley (2014) analysed the research that was previously conducted looking at host perceptions of tourism and noted from the outset that significant gaps exist in the literature. Most of the previous work in the area has relied on quantitative research methodologies, using narrow case study bases, looking at perceptions instead of responses and the majority of the papers surveyed also excluded the tourist from the research. Another significant failure of the literature has been the failure to incorporate host/guest relations as a conceptual framework to understand host communities' perceptions and reactions to tourism development. Sharpley (2014) states that this has happened because of a blurring in the literature between the term's tourism and tourist. Studies previously examining host communities have looked specifically at tourism development, rather than perceptions of tourists in-of-themselves. Significantly for the focus of this project, the literature has also not focused on more mundane forms of design which have a direct impact on the perception tourists have of the host destination. A theme that Sharpley (2014) notes is the commercial basis of the encounters between host and guest. The review for example (Sharpley 2014:39) suggests that using the terms 'host' and 'guest' may be incorrect and that customer and service provider are better alternatives.

The use of transactional and consumer-based language here shows the limitations that still exist in the literature. By synonymising 'guest' with 'customer', Sharpley (2014) assumes the guest's relationship to the host will be primarily one of monetary exchange, with the host being a provider of a service. The role of the tourist is blurred with the role of consumer, a mindset which has been influential in the destination management literature, which I explore later in his chapter. The reason Sharpley (2014) provides for dispensing with the 'host' and

'guest' distinction is that tourists are more likely to be influenced by commercial reasons. However, the commercial instinct of the tourist can be driven by authenticity. The work of Zukin (2011) has been important for exploring the ways in which the desire for authenticity, has led to crude and sophisticated legacy and heritage forms of marketing, where stories and narratives are created in order to sell a history to tourists.

Sharpley's attempt to rewrite the host/guest dynamic also shows how tourism research has attempted to dominate the literature in this area, by exploring 'guests' primarily through the lens of those travelling to a location. A positivistic approach to the dichotomy, which dispenses with the philosophically important implications of both 'guest' and 'host'. A possible reason for this limited approach is that the author does not consider the city or destination itself as an abstracted host in which the tourist is a guest, but is concerned with specific providers of service. This insight is a fairly new application of the dichotomy, established only by a few scholars in the field as discussed earlier in the work of Chávez and van der Rest (2014) and Bell (2008).

Previous studies have also previously looked at motivations of service providers engaged in the commercial sector, but critically have ignored organizations and institutions such as the council which use public money to provide and maintain hospitable spaces for tourists and citizens, hosts and guests. Moving beyond the limited confines of these terms means that we can understand the 'tourist experience' of a tourist destination more cohesively, with specific focus paid to the design of the destination itself and how the design impacts its quality as a host. In line with the 'tyranny of the guest', destinations may result in crude heritage and leisure marketing in order to sell the 'authenticity' of the space. Something which might be unrecognisable to those living there.

A surprising observation that Sharpley's (2014) literature review explored, was the lack of conceptual frameworks being used to gather data. Of the 68 articles reviewed, only 17 of them had a clearly articulated theoretical framework. Out of these frameworks the following theories were used: symbolic interactionism, social exchange theory, emotional solidarity, cohort analysis, social representations theory, cultural benefit and quality of life (Sharpley 2014: 40-41). The lack of theoretical engagement in the tourism studies field when looking at

the host/guest dynamics is notable and this is probably as a result of an overt focus on quantitative analysis⁶. As a result, another significant gap within the academic literature is a lack of theoretical frameworks being used to explain datasets and specifically theory which has been developed within the hospitality studies field, which is fairly new and still not being applied judiciously beyond the confines of the hospitality field.

Sherlock (2001) suggests that although the binary distinction between host and guest is blurring, people continue to use the terms to make sense of their own experience. Role attribution is intuitive to the traveller and taking on the role of the guest creates certain expectations for the tourist. They will have ways of interpreting what are acceptable ways of being a guest and what should be the proper way of experiencing, the right sights and the right scenes to document. Sherlock (2001) in her community study data collected in Australia also noticed how hosts and guests were attracted to the communities studied by the same elements. It was about “Iconic notions of community, environment and lifestyle” (Sherlock 2001:271). Overlaps between the role of a migrant, a host and guest were a taken for granted assumption in the sample, which as a finding is something of a novelty in tourism studies. Of course, the reason for this is that tourism has typically focused on one role over another, instead of considering both sides of the dichotomy in conceptualizing experience in the urban destination. The multiple understandings of place that Sherlock (2001) found in her sample, undermines the coherent and stabilized sense of a tourist destination.

Still (2010) notes how the terms ‘*stranger*’ and ‘*foreigner*’ are closely related terms to the more general ‘hospitality’. The stranger has a significant impact on how we view guests, the traveller is a temporary stranger when visiting a destination, they are within a peripheral space where they are within a host territory that is not their own. Friese (2004) notes that there is an overt tendency to marginalize guests to the role of the stranger. As Grit and Lynch (2011:209) put it, “According to her the stranger embodies the encounter with the unknown, dubious, incomprehensible and uncanny.” These factors that are associated with guests is what ultimately makes up tourism itself, since at the heart of tourism is the notion of the

⁶ Another point worth making here is that social interactionism and social exchange theory are often used in a particularized and heavily redacted form. Social interactionism has typically taken the form of amended versions of Mead’s theories on social life, being twisted and amended to fit a particular dataset.

encounter (Crouch et al 2001) and this encounter is the experience of other people, other cultures, other sights and environments. Part of this encounter is a 'bodily displacement' which occurs when the tourist immerses themselves into unfamiliar terrain away from the 'safety bubble' of the hotel room into 'doing something' in the place they are visiting (Gibson 2010). Accordingly, Crouch (2000) has noted that the tourist plays a number of interrelated roles. They are psycho-geographers, they are detectives, and they are collectors, consumers and translators (Gibson 2010). In visiting and immersing themselves into an urban environment, the tourist becomes a temporary stranger (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983). They bring with them a set of socially constructed understandings about the nature of their own place which is loosely translated into new spaces. These understandings help travellers negotiate unfamiliar environments, they act as '*environmental bubbles*' (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983). These pre-existing elements are important because it affects the locations, spaces and places that the tourist will visit.

Robinson (2001) also points out that tourists rarely seek a total immersion within their travel destinations but instead seek a glimpse, a site of cultural difference. This gaze is important for understanding the role of the tourist but it is also important for understanding the role of the hospitable city. The stranger as a concept has rarely been applied sociologically to the field of tourism because 'leisure' has been disproportionately viewed as unimportant in relation to work. It is therefore important to look at the conceptualization of the stranger as it's an identifier that the tourist experiences. The key issue for the tourist is in managing unfamiliar terrain and in micromanaging their strangeness.

The key seminal text for discussing the stranger is the work of Simmel (1950). His work has various applications when considering the tourist guest experience in the urban environment. It has significant overlap with later studies that consider hospitality as being about the dissolution of boundaries between the host and guest (Friese 2004) and about creating the closest form of unconditional hospitality possible on our streets (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000). Simmel begins his exploration of the stranger by bringing together what were two seemingly disparate assertions. He states that the stranger is an amalgamation of the wanderer who is unfixed and free to roam (which is commonly associated with conceptions

of freedom) on the one hand and the idea of being fixed at a certain point on the other. The stranger is thus not merely constituted by *'spatial relations'* such as the ability to traverse the landscape without boundaries or prohibitive borders but also is fixed by *'symbolic relations'*. The difference is that the stranger is a potential wanderer, the figure who *"[...] comes today and stays tomorrow"*. The stranger exists in a 'symbolic realm' of arriving and departing (Koefoed and Simonsen 2011). The figure is fixed because it is defined by characteristics which do not stem from the group of habitation. The figure is thus (temporarily or permanently) defined by the spatial boundaries of the group but simultaneously the role taken by the stranger is one of fixity, the sole identifier is that he does not belong. The beauty of Simmel's work here is in unifying the wanderer and the stranger together conceptually, which has implications for managing the tourist experience. The tourist arriving takes on the stranger role, the hospitality of the city is defined by conditional boundaries. The role of hospitality is in opening them enough that the tourist feels at home in the city.

Tourism is thus an experience that is not explicitly reserved for the traveller, for even those not travelling are encountering and engaging with a world of strangers on their doorstep as a precondition of the modern urban environment. Citizens who are the insiders recognize the tourist is not part of their group and as such the city is spatially transformed so as to allow order. This order is maintained by having tourist spots, sites and areas structurally personalizing the city itself to allow insiders the space to go about their everyday lives. (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983).

As a result of the literature in this dichotomy, I added the following guiding research aim, *"What are the different types of welcome (commercial and civic) that are experienced throughout the city of Edinburgh"*.

Table 6: Guiding research aims which emerged when applying the insights from the host/guest dichotomy

Research Concern	Derived from
What are the different types of welcome (commercial and civic) that are experienced throughout the city of Edinburgh?	Bell (2011)

Making the Civic-Commercial Home

The intention of this section is to outline literature that was influential in establishing the '*civic commercial home*' concept. I will do this by drawing on a variety of different areas of investigation. I will first examine the home, looking at environmental psychological papers which describe different regions of the home and what their significance is. I will then go on to look at 'the commercial home' concept which was initially developed by Lynch (2005) and the 'homestay' as private domestic enterprises in hospitality. These studies demonstrate different types of 'home' which act as a foundation for the proceeding work sketching out the '*civic commercial home*'. I plan on outlining the key theoretical work in this domain with the intent of applying it to a different aspect of hospitality, which is the urban experience. The application will apply private forms of hospitality onto public space and examine the host perspective when considering the urban context.

I will pay attention to host and guest experience; artefacts within the commercial and private home and issues around social control/exclusion which are pertinent issues when considering the construction of the civic home more broadly. Focusing on the commercialization of the private family home allows a clarification of how domestic spaces are presented to visitors. Equally insights may emerge when focusing on the way public spaces are prepared and presented to tourists. Street furniture is the wallpaper of the city and so despite being overlooked, it is a key aspect of the hospitable tourist experience. The examination of the seemingly banal everyday décor with corresponding objects in communal spaces in the commercial and private home will also show the wider cultural factors involved in what gets displayed. These cultural factors therefore are also relevant when looking at the presentation of objects in public space.

The concept of 'home' is arguably the bedrock on which other ideas of hospitality are fashioned (Russo 2012). Hospitality is traditionally viewed as openness to the Other. We invite others in to our home and offer generosity and welcome them warmly. The home is not a neutral territory, taken as a whole it can be divided into numerous sub territories that

have differing social characteristics and purposes. “*Our house is the corner of our world*” remarked Bachelard (1994: 4), it has a presentation space which is our front of house, but also a back region which is rarely entered, out of bounds for the normal guest and even for certain members of the household. Goffman (1959) famously used dramaturgical metaphors to describe his theory of identity. He usefully used the metaphor of front and back regions of the home to outline his performative theory. The home has a hidden face and a visible one, a private and a public domain. Back regions of the home would be spaces where performances are being prepared such as the bathroom and bedroom. Also, important here are attics and cellars. The living room and the dining room are spaces where we entertain, where performances will commence. They are also rooms of social acceptability, where items will reflect a certain character. Although Goffman’s work was metaphorically meant to outline his ideas of how we perform a different set of identities for different occasions, taken literally, different rooms of the house do exhibit different organising logic.

The ‘Commercial Home’

Given the ways in which the home and the notion of opening up to the other is fundamental to the hospitality discourse, it makes perfect sense that the commercial home would be such an important and well traversed terrain of inquiry. As such, hospitality has previously focused on readily accessible, objective issues that have commercial objectives (Sweeney and Lynch 2006) and so the study of the commercial guest home moved hospitality studies into a domain where focus was paid to issues ‘below the surface’. The change in focus was also a shift in the hospitality field to examining novel and niche forms of hospitality, as most of the research literature before this period focused heavily on mainstream accommodation such as bed and breakfasts and the provision of food and drink. The change in focus meant that constructions of self-identity and issues around host motivation were analysed in accordance with a more sociological lens (Lynch et al 2007).

Studies examining the commercial home look at the various motivational factors involved in maintaining niche forms of hospitality such as small guesthouses, often in remote locations outside the typical tourist route (Mcintosh et al 2011) The ‘commercial home’ refers to ‘paid for accommodation’ that is provided in a property which also operates as a private home

(Lynch et al 2008). Commercial homes operate on a continuum between private homes and businesses, and there are different degrees to how 'private' or 'public' they are, depending on the disposition of the host (Mcintosh et al 2011). The experience offered is different to a standard bed and breakfast as space within the home is typically shared with the host (and in some cases their family) and the guest. The traditional guest/host dynamic is challenged because the guest/host roles are no longer as clearly demarcated. The host and guest share what are typically private family spaces and interaction is expected on a more informal basis. A key area of investigation is the tenuousness and difficulties that emerge due to the blurring of business and family life.

Lynch et al (2008) broadly theorized the construction of the commercial home product by noting that setting artefacts, social control, space, discourse, sequences and politics of identity are all factors that are involved in the provision of the product (the home). These factors are all issues which can be applied and analysed in the urban hospitality context. Therefore, a pre-existing framework exists which could be used to understand the creation of the hospitable tourist destination through the provision of hospitable objects. Lynch et al (2008) recognizes the co-created construction of the home 'product' by both the guest and the host. Further the emotional significance of the setting itself and the role it has as a 'performative player' is factored into the home (Lynch et al 2008:125). The power the emotional significance has in more mundane forms of hospitality in the urban context is amplified due to the immersion of the guest in the wider public space. In recognizing the parallels that could be drawn, Lynch et al (2008) refers to shared spaces in the commercial home as 'public space'. The division between the public and the private is therefore contested and according to the authors it is more accurate to say that there is a constant contestation of what is public and private in the commercial home, in line with Sheller and Urry's (2003) work who noted multiple '*publics*' and multiple '*privates*'.

In an earlier contribution Sweeney and Lynch (2006) conducted twenty-eight interviews and observations with hosts of commercial guest homes in Scotland. Two visits were made to each home. On the first occasion, photographs were taken of selected artefacts and décor, during a tour the host gave the researchers of their guest home, alongside written observations. On the follow up visit, interviews were done using the photographs as visual prompts in the

interview process. Five key themes were isolated and of particular interest to the purposes of this project is the theme of artefacts and of the relationship to guest behaviour. Emotions were reflected through artefacts alongside stories that were associated with its history, of where the object came from and their memories of it. When it came to guest behaviour, it was noted that a majority of the commercial home hosts tried to build relationships with their guests. Significantly there was issues of control, power and the demarcation of space which meant that hospitality was conditional based on both the needs of the host and the guest (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000).

A theme explored in later discussions of the commercial home, that has a direct relationship to the management of urban space, was the *'tyrannical host'* (Mcintosh et al 2011). As described by Mcintosh, Lynch and Sweeney (2011: 514)

"Here, the tyranny identified may be seen in relation to, for example, hosts' rebuttal of normative expectations of commercial hospitality conventions that hospitality establishments should receive guests unless full. Through analysis of the interview data, it was revealed that while hosts appeared motivated by a social need to support their chosen lifestyle, hosts commonly exhibited a take-it-or-leave-it approach to hosting. In other words, there was a strong sense that visitors were guests within the family home, and thus, family life would go on as normal, depending on the express wishes of the host."

The tyrannical host provides a clear example of 'hospitality as social control' in showing dominant and authoritative hosts, who aim to protect the integrity of their private family quarters by only allowing guests on their own terms. A fortress, where only those permitted can enter. Hosts within this particular study preferred guests who exhibited the same qualities as themselves (Mcintosh et al 2011). The finding here has significance when applied to the urban context, to examine the rigorous control that public space has experienced as a result of tightly controlled regulation and planning.

Grit and Lynch (2011) discuss the case study example of Hotel Transvaal, which is a novel type of 'hotel' in the Netherlands that covers an entire neighbourhood. It is not fixed to a specific

dwelling, but rather encompasses an entire area. It uses hospitality to, “*draw attention to massive state interventions in a so-called problem neighbourhood*” (Grit and Lynch 2011:208) The fusing together of private hospitality principles and a city, indicates a novel type of commercial private enterprise using hospitality as a way to regenerate urban spaces. It is also a fantastic example of how ideas that have developed in the private sphere can be applied to the public sphere. A notable portion of the article is discussing spaces of hospitality, which as a contribution recognizes the subtlety that mundane moments of hospitality seeks to register. Grit and Lynch (2011) state that spaces of hospitality are created when the Other is invited to participate, exactly the converse of the tyrannical host. Therefore, the urban setting can be comprised of multiple ‘spaces of hospitality’ which come together as a kind of glue, which ultimately creates the hospitable destination. While not explicitly defined in the article, there is a suggestion that these spaces of hospitality can lead to new ‘becomings’. Becomings in this sense refers to a different host/guest dynamic that was previously not present. The guest feels welcomed and the host in facilitating this welcome, no longer has the same boundaries in place as previously. When considering the discussion earlier on the philosophy of space, this is a new approach to counterpoise against the power-based approaches described. Taken in a more abstract sense, creating spaces of hospitality, as an extension of the types of welcome found in the hotel, will create new types of tourist engagement and appreciation of the spaces in which they wander and immerse themselves within as travellers.

As Prohansky et al (1976) noted we express ourselves through our furniture and this is particularly pertinent in the commercial home literature. Attention has been paid to personal artefacts that create a more individualized and eccentric home décor. Lynch et al (2008) for example notes the importance of ‘setting artefacts’ in the commercial home as symbolizing identity and place. Typically, the host(s) of a commercial home will decorate their space in a more individualized manner with the intent sometimes of reflecting the personality of the host. These objects represent ‘*communicative codes*’ and have a performative role in representing the identity of the host but they can also illustrate the local and national culture around where the commercial home is situated. Lynch et al (2008) thus recognize the importance these objects have in relation to the wider connected space of people, places and organizations. The provision of objects may be in line with anticipated cultural meanings that guests have of the space in which they are staying. As such, official tourist boards can have

significant influence in shaping the types of objects that are seen in the private commercial home. Objects can also be a way of the host telling their own 'travel stories', of experiences elsewhere and a way of encouraging engagement with their own past. Equally objects can represent a deviation from the standardized 'homely décor' of more mainstream bed and breakfasts and act as alternative story-telling devices, to convey different local/national histories. Lynch et al (2008) also note that artefacts can be understood as signs, which stimulate visually pleasing cognitive responses.

As Lynch et al (2009) describe, the 'commercial home' concept is one that has the potential to be 'extended'. As such, the commercial home concept might be a factor in the ways in which city planners and organizational representatives determine the provision of street furniture, particularly when considering statues and monuments, in order to evoke an authentic sense of collective identity or to exalt significant figures.

Expanding the Commercial Home

When considering when we use the phrase to '*make a home*', we are presupposing a number of activities, where household chores, decoration and maintenance are a given. To 'make a home', we make sure it is tidy, clean, comfortable and is decorated according to our wants. Sweeping the floor, dusting knick-knacks and wiping down surfaces are mundane everyday activities in the maintenance of the house. On top of this, our homes are full of products that will be arranged in specific ways, such as the television in the centre of the living room. Certain artefacts might be on display; things of sentimental value such as photographs of family and friends. Objects will be arranged in specific ways to accommodate everyday usage. As Russo (2012) says, these routines carry great symbolic value as taken together, they offer a sense of stability and warmth. The home as a space of order, also has areas where objects are discarded and hidden away. Serfaty (1984) noted that hidden spaces of the home are never wholly disconnected from the lived-in spaces of the home. It provides a space for the experience of secrecy.

Considering all these aspects, we can speak of a '*civic home*', where a similar logic applies but on a grander scale. We can imagine the various regular tasks that when taken together would constitute 'making a civic commercial home'. Likewise, we can imagine that the private home

has certain objects and furnishings that the civic home also has. We can envision how these objects when combined with the organising logic of what it means to ‘make a home’, are important for how we come to feel at home in the city. See table below for the ways in which we can imagine the private home and its corresponding civic equivalent.

Table 7: A sketch of corresponding ‘private’ elements of the private home alongside a potential civic variant

‘Private Home’	‘Civic Home’
Waste Basket	Litter Bin
Ornaments	Statues
Chairs/Couches	Benches
Lamps	Street Lights
Landline/Wi-Fi Hub	Phone Boxes
Hallways	Walkways
Sinks	Drains
Babygates	Bollards
Taps	Drinking Fountain
Toilets	Public Restrooms
Garden	Public Parks
Toys	Play Parks
Fridge	Vending Machines
Desk Plants	Planters
Kitchen Table	Picnic Table
Peephole	CCTV
Rugs	Tree Protectors
Clock	Pillar Clocks/ Bell towers

Letterbox	Post Boxes
Driveways	Parking lots
Fire Extinguishers	Fire hydrants
Porch	Canopy
Posters	Graffiti
Fences	Stonewall barriers
Time out	Village lockups
Ariel	Telecommunication poles
Children's Birthday Parties	Street Festivals

Dirt, Order and Cleanliness

This section will consider the notion of cleanliness and waste within the home and ergo in public space. I will sketch this idea out briefly, in order to further develop the civic commercial home concept. Debris in the public space has been conceptualised according to systems of status, of power and of order (Abblit et al 2019). As Mary Douglas describes, our modern understanding of dirt avoidance is predicated on two distinct societal departures that occurred in the 19th century. The first is understanding dirt management as being concerned with aesthetics and hygiene rather than religious purity. The other was advancements made in medical knowledge concerning pathogenic organisms, which came to dominate our view of cleanliness. Douglas goes further by stating that dirt is never a unique, or isolated event. Dirt is a by-product of systematic ordering and classification of matter.

Despite these new interpretations of dirt, we collectively understand dirt in a more complicated way, expressed in what Douglas describes as an *"omnibus compendium"* (Douglas 1966:37) To illustrate this point Douglas uses the way we order or intuitively understand objects in the home.

"Shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining-table; food is not dirty in itself, but it is dirty to leave cooking utensils in the bedroom, or

food bespattered on clothing; similarly, bathroom equipment in the drawing room; clothing lying on chairs; out-door things in-doors; upstairs things downstairs; under-clothing appearing where over-clothing should be, and so on.” (Douglas 1966:37)

The beauty in this passage is that Douglas shows how ordered our homes are and how hygiene permeates and complements this sectioning of rooms, objects and their appropriate use. Shoes in this example show how there is a moralistic component to ordering. Shoes are considered dirty on a kitchen table, regardless of how clean they are.

Douglas’s examples of ordering in the home is reproduced here to be taken literally as well as an illustration of how Douglas understood classification more generally. As a thinker, she viewed classification as being the result of networks of social groups rather than as a result of individuals. The individual is thinking with societal codes embedded, preprogramed. In other words, there is a social and cultural norm that we collectively consume about how to appropriately order the home and what objects go where. To quote Douglas directly:

“Culture, in the sense of the public, standardized values of a community, mediates the experience of individuals. It provides in advance some basic categories, a positive pattern in which ideas and values are tidily ordered.” (Douglas 1966:40)

Douglas (1966) expressed her view on dirt succinctly with her aphorism ‘*when there is dirt there is system*’.

Notions of cleanliness and waste have been explored in the hospitality literature, for example photo-elicitation research examining how orderly and clean guests leave their hotel rooms (Schneider and Turner 2017). Other research in the area is notable for the way in which the researchers examined the maintenance and ordering of civic space. Abblit and Smith (2019:873) in a piece of observational research, followed a street cleaner as he did his normal shift in Gibraltar. They focused on how the worker determined what objects were ‘waste’ and what objects were not. They described the role of the cleaner as follows:

“Stephen’s [the participant] responsibility, in terms of his official work remit, is for the maintenance of the orderly appearance of the public realm, through the removal of

objects viewable as 'obstructions' or 'out of place'. Disposables. How such objects are viewable as such, remains to be seen"

What they found was that specific objects, despite not being publicly sanctioned private objects, such as small personal religious statues were not removed, even when they were a hinderance to movement in narrow alleyways or spaces. Stephen, the street cleaner in the study, would simply 'work around' the objects. The research shows objects within the public space might have public resonance and bestow a public form of hospitality, but ultimately be a private object.

Remembering, Embodiment, Affect

'[T]hanks to the house, a great many of our memories are housed, and if the house is a bit elaborate, if it has a cellar and a garret, nooks and corridors, our memories have refuges that are all the more clearly delineated.' - Bachelard [1958] 1994: 13

Developing the themes explored earlier regarding provision of private artefacts in the commercial home and work looking at host behaviour, it could also be noted that street furniture provision also has similar identifiers. Street ornaments and objects are also examples of signs, which anticipate cultural meanings and understandings that guests have of the host city. Furniture may be a way to reinforce a particular image of the city developed by tourist boards such as the omnipresent red phone box, which although borderline obsolete has been retained. Objects like this are retained to maintain a sense of the past and to offer hospitableness to our evolution as a city. The civic home in a similar way to the home, is a host to our memories. We can feel at home by remembering the city streets of our past, where we felt at home but did not quite know why.

Marschall (2012: 2217) states that "destinations use tourists as an audience for their politics of preserving and (re)presenting collective memories and the projection of preferred images of their natural past". The experience one has of the city is determined by numerous interrelating factors. Objects on the street such as statues and monuments are often presented as a way to showcase localized collective memories, to tell stories and acts as an interactive experience with guest/host.

Memory and tourism intertwine most notably in heritage tourism, where historical sites and artefacts are archived, preserved and maintained as representative of a collective identity (Marschall 2012). This identity is then commodified and packaged to entice culturally minded tourists. Memory often inspires individual destination choices as people will often travel to sites with nostalgic intentions (referred to as 'Santa Claus' tourism: Pretes 1995), to relive pleasurable past experiences or to seek out places that have an association with their family past (Kuhn 2010). As a result, tourism as an academic discipline has witnessed a 'turn to memory' (Walker 2001), where articles have tried to trace and document trends in the societal interest in depicting and displaying collective memories, which has seen an increase in monuments, commemorative events and museums in the public sphere. This recent interest in 'memory studies' and its linkage to tourism has focused on specific sites of tourist activity but also on the ways in which 'memory objects', such as souvenirs function, in helping tourists relive their holidays. The tourist experiences the construction of the collective city past in monuments ceremonial displays, statues and museums, in the present. They experience a particular community narrative that has been constructed over time to represent a particular response and a particular image to the stranger. Kuhn (2010) discusses how we perform memory collectively in both public and private contexts through the sharing of stories and photography. This collective form of memory can also be performed using objects.

Tourists buy souvenirs and postcards which act as '*memory objects*' (Kuhn 2010) to the place they visited. These objects are conceptualized as 'containers of memory' (Marschall 2012). They serve as reminders and representations of the experience they had of the city, and acts as a symbolic representation of the destination. As such, these reminders typically involve in the case of souvenirs- pocket size versions of popular statues, castles and symbols that supposedly represents the destination or culture as a whole, such as the thistles and bagpipes in the case of Scotland. Photographs and 'found-objects' are also a way for the tourist to suture themselves personally with the collective cultural identity and history of the destination. Postcards, however, function as a form of the tourist gaze (Urry 2003) a photograph that is already taken of a popular tourist space is bought and consumed with the

intention of being a way of allowing loved ones back home to experience the sights and feel of the city. The postcard in this sense acts as a way for tourists to send back 'highlights' to their relatives, thus sending back marked spaces.

Memory is often individualized but the term has usefully been used collectively as well. Memory is a process, an activity and a construct which has social, cultural and personal resonance (Kuhn 2010). Remembering is more than a personal act since it is institutionalized through culture and representations of collective community artefacts, objects, murals and tributes. These forms of 'cultural memory' involve places such as archives, where a specific representation or account is preserved. This brings forth a number of issues related to remembering since there are significant barriers to remembering and recalling the past in our culture which involve issues of family prestige and ethnic grouping. Working class histories, ethnic minority history and stories of migrant communities arriving are not as meticulously documented (Cresswell 2007).

Hospitality studies have started to recognize the possible intersection between hospitality and memory, with a particular application paid to the urban environment. Cresswell (2007) for example, asks two critical questions which reframes how we typically think of hospitality academically. The first asks whether it is possible to be hospitable to non-human objects? And in the second, he asks if it is also possible to be hospitable to the past? Hospitality as a discipline has focused on reacting to the movements of people in the transitory nature between the host and guest. The ways in which memories factor into the welcoming experience for the stranger and the tourist has not been adequately analysed and as such the ways in which non-human objects factor into this 'welcome' is also understudied. He considers this in relation to the idea of '*past mobilities*' which recognizes that spaces are often made hospitable and distinguished by the recognition of movement and memory. An important starting point for Cresswell (2007) is in delineating a theoretical conception of 'place' which allows him then to discuss the ways in which hospitality to the past and hospitality to non-human objects factors in. He conceptualizes 'place' as having three key factors described below.

Places are material with specific shape and substance which include buildings, roads and parks. They are also meaningful, so they evoke personal reactions which may have an imagined element such as expecting the city to be as it is depicted in popular books, movies or media more generally. Places are also practiced as spaces of action, so everyday life is acted out in many different spaces (Cresswell 2007). The material properties are the most clearly recognized aspects of place. Certain objects or buildings can be protected, whilst others are not. When these aspects of place are protected, a certain type of meaning can also be preserved. These meanings are much more amorphous because they can be collective, what Cresswell (2007) refers to as '*public symbols*', but also individual. They are individual because according to Cresswell (2007) these can be challenged, erased or reconstructed over time. Part of the problem is an obvious one, the meaning of places cannot be preserved in a 'pure form' like physical objects can and as such they only exist as fragments pulled from a larger continuous narrative. The 'practices' of place are also neglected because although they can leave their mark, they rarely do. Cresswell (2007) notes that actions need to be repeated time and time again for association to develop between the action and place, these actions are also regulated considerably by social forces such as practices of custom and legality. These practices control how space is used and tries to protect against transgressions of place.

All of these three areas which make up what we call places (materiality, meaning and practice) are determined by social relations and issues around power. The materials that exist in place for example are usually the result of city planners, architects, government, corporations and wealthy individual investors. What is preserved, maintained in the past and what is built in the future is therefore determined significantly by powerful interests. Meanings are similarly influenced by powerful interests and social relations. For example, meaning can be legislated and promoted as being the definitive narrative of a specific place that marginalizes other significant history. Cresswell notes that Stonehenge's meaning was constructed by English Heritage and the UK Government which eliminated different histories such as those constructed by travellers and hippies (Cresswell 1996 cited in Cresswell 2007). For Cresswell, only on the micro scale can individuals have the ability to "*fashion concrete places*".

There are wider issues surrounding the home as a concept, which has relevance when understanding the ways in which objects traditionally associated with the home came to populate the city scape. As Lynch (2005) has noted, the home is a temporal, cultural, emotional and personal construct. The home equally is now no longer understood as being an individualized private space, but has been theorized outside its traditional confines. The home is carried with the tourist and is a key determinant of how a tourist engages with and interprets the new destination encountered (Molz 2008). This form of analysis means that the home can be carried around with the tourist and it can affect the ways in which the tourist-as-stranger engages with the new destination. The problematization of the home means that abstractedly we can frame the home as being outside the private and now immersed in public space. The insights and themes developed from observing the relationship hosts have with the commercial home when taking into consideration guest obligations, therefore, can have valuable application when applied to the urban context.

How we understand the home has changed also as a result of the changing nature of society more generally. People are on the move more regularly than before and distinctions between the private home and the public space of the city no longer is as distinct (Bauman 2013). This understanding is supposedly because the mobile nature of our everyday life has removed the 'emotional groundedness' that is traditionally associated with the home. Molz (2008) for example states that the intersection between the home and mobility means that ideas of belonging such as feeling attached is negotiated through the binding of people, technologies, cultures, images and objects. These elements can perform together in different ways and as such the affective dimensions of the cosmopolitan sensibility is rendered. Molz (2008) points out that cosmopolitan theory has typically portrayed a detached mobile subject because the home, as a concept in travel research, has been marginalized and largely absent. The home has not been significant because it is usually the point of departure, the left behind and was thus not seen as a relevant discussion. This is no longer the case because the home itself is understood more as something that is carried within us and something that can be attained away from a particularized dwelling or site. Home as a concept is still "relegated to the margins" because 'home' is assumed from travellers and hospitality in this context is unmarked.

Molz (2008) therefore introduces the metaphor of the *global abode* to describe the ways in which the traveller is able to feel at home in their mobility. It also refers to the ways in which cities are sites of cosmopolitan travel, in being welcoming and congenial to the traveller's desire to feel at home. The meaning of abode is very appropriate because it has a dual meaning. Molz (2008:327) points out that abode means a sojourn, which she describes as a "temporary stay" but critically a sojourn is also a guest and the temporary nature of it implies constant movement. The movement infers a sense of interaction and immersion but the term itself has an etymology which means to rest.

Temporary immersion is of course oxymoronic particularly when considering the second meaning of 'abode' which is a home, the abode is a place where someone stays. In this sense Molz (2008) is combining two notions, the home which is typically cast as a fixed and stationary entity and the notion of movement in the sojourn. When applied, the concept has significant weight in understanding the design of the city to allow visitors to feel welcome regardless of their origin and part of that design is in the objects that facilitate and demarcate the tourist on their journey through the city. Clifford (1997) for example uses the metaphor of '*dwelling-in-travelling*' which suggests that the home is mobile and recreated through a sense of embodiment and emotional attachment to their new destinations on the one hand, but also in the everyday routines that are carried with the traveller, such as Molz's (2008) discussion of a woman who travels around the world with her own coffee machine. This attachment in making a visitor feel at home is also prevalent in everyday street signage which incorporates bilingual instructions. Signage may also refer back to imagined and ancestral forms of belonging such as the use of Gaelic on road and railway signs throughout Scotland. Belonging therefore could be affectually constructed by the tourist destination.

Belonging and feeling at home in a city has many different dimensions. Hannam (et al 2006) notes for example that the home is implicated in a network in which guests, hosts, objects, machines and buildings are brought together. The travellers' efforts to feel at home whilst mobile are also structured by the standard attributes of a home that were outlined by Castles and Davidson (2000) who suggested that familiarity, security, community, continuity and control were significant factors. Molz (2008:329) suggests that these elements have been mobilized and are therefore expressed through "*embodied practices, rituals and material*

objects whilst on the road". The 'home', therefore, has become a type of mobility capital (Bell 2007a) in that it can be found anywhere and everywhere but access to that capital is not universal, it has its limitations based on who is and who is not classified as a stranger.

The home is also expressed in embodied gestures and in the routinized everyday practices that make up a day such as social rituals and habits. Berger (1984) states that the traveller brings elements of their home with them when going on travels. It is not as simple as saying that the home is left behind. Molz (2008:333) points out that as travellers we might become aware of the ways in which home as a concept remains inside us through our everyday gestures, postures and routines. Travellers are often exposed to exotic things like strange foods, languages and even unfamiliar street designs and furniture but in coming face to face with this strangeness they become aware of their own rituals and lifestyles which make them feel at home.

Street Furniture

It is important to look at what exactly street furniture is and the ways in which it is taken for granted in the city. In this section, I will discuss academic research which examines the role of urban street furniture and its contributions to the wider urban space. I spend time discussing the role public lighting plays in the urban destination ("lighting typologies"). Finally, I will also discuss the role urban street furniture such as public benches have in wider civic causes, highlighting the example of the 'bench project' which shows the importance these objects have in maintaining livable cities, that feel like home.

In looking at the tourist who finds cities as spaces of embodiment and immersion, the design of the city, and in particular the provision of objects on the street, is an often under examined topic. Isolating the key features and themes of street furniture shows similarities to the themes developed in the commercial home literature. When we look at objects and ornamentation, we find motivations for providing it that conform to specific types of hospitality. Looking at the objects which make up the city means examining the ways in which the city has accommodated and has provided artefacts and basic fundamental infrastructure

that helps accommodate the tourist in a similar way that the commercial home host helps to accommodate his or her guest with artefacts.

Glickman (1983) noted that streets are the '*living room*' of the city, which is the bedrock of social and civic activity. Living room as a term implies a shared space for everyone similar to the agora mentioned earlier. A living room is where the majority of time is spent within the home and as such its connotations are appropriate for examining guest and host relationships. The living room is where guests are typically invited first when entering a private home. It is there that they are to rest and where they are invited to make themselves 'at home'. Cities and towns are depicted and recalled by their external spaces which is a term loosely used to refer to public areas, in contrast to interior spaces which are denoted here as private. It is through the living room of the city that hospitality is offered and this is facilitated by different categorizations of street furniture.

Glickman (1983) refers to five different 'functional groupings' of furniture that are found on the street. These groupings are meant to be analysed with the recognition that they are based on an 'ideal type' analysis. The intention of an ideal type analysis means that there is recognition of overlap and ambiguity in these categories but that they are used as starting points for analysis, in much the same way as other dualistic categories have formed and been used in the social sciences. The first 'type' of furniture Glickman describes is framed as '*pleasure and pride*', which includes monuments, bandstands, ornamental fountains, statues and planters. This category is described as nearing obsolescence (Glickman 1983:125). These items are described as lacking practical functionality and are thus ornamental with the premise of engagement, enjoyment and pleasure to the city as a whole. The problem in viewing these objects in merely instrumental terms is that we lose the intended functionality of the object in question, which is that they evoke memories, historical stories, noble figures and events that have shaped the host destination. The city in this instance is viewed as a whole and thus as an abstraction, since objects are created to provide sensory forms of hospitality to an imagined mass of people. Monuments act in a similar way as to the theme of the tyrannical host in MacInosh et al (2011), where the host of a commercial home decorates rooms with items which are displaying the personal interests of the host. Monuments can thus be political and have elements of marginalization to specific types of

'history' which do not conform to idealized urban hospitality and the tourism industry, such as migrant history and working-class history.

The second of Glickman's (1983) ideal type typology includes furnishings which generate "comfort and convenience" which includes benches, litter bins, public lavatories, drinking fountains and footpath lighting. These items are described by Glickman (1983) as being practical objects which are often donated to the city by individuals or through philanthropic organizations; this, however, according to Glickman (1983:127) is now increasingly the purpose of private commerce for the purposes of advertising. Public benches are a pertinent example of this, where the hosts name is inscribed and presented to the guest. These are often placed in tribute to loved ones by family members as a way to permanently ingrain their name into everyday street furnishings. The meaning of a public bench might also evoke memories and history, resulting in what Pink (2009) calls '*emplacement*', since place no longer is merely a site for collective everyday living, but is a personal canvas which is a blurring of Glickman's (1983) categorizations in that comfort is infused with pleasure and pride.

The third type of furniture in Glickman's (1983) typology is "communication" which refers to objects which allow users to attain information or use objects as a means of connecting with others. Examples of this type include phone boxes, post boxes, clocks and advertising. The fourth type is "intermediate" types of objects which act as links, passageways or holding areas. Examples include bus shelters, bollards, barriers and railings, crossings and underpasses. These objects are used in conjunction with vehicles and thus traffic regulation. Bollards are "a universal metaphor for street furnishing" (Glickman 1983:127) due to their abundance. They are often superfluous and no longer have the same use value that was originally intended. As objects they were originally meant to protect the public from runaway vehicles. The suggestion is that they no longer are functional in this way with Glickman (1983:127) stating that the bollard has no clear functionality at all. The fifth type of street furniture is denoted as comprising objects which relate specifically to traffic. These include parking meters, street lighting, navigation signs; mandatory signs and keep left bollards (Glickman 1983:127). Out of these mentioned, Glickman suggests that this is the most regulated and controlled of the furniture as it is subjected to the most legislation. It has no voluntary aspects and is thus entirely controlled (Glickman 1983:128).

Table 8: Different functions of street furniture

A: Pleasure and Pride
B: Comfort and Convenience
C: Communication
D: Intermediate
E: Traffic

(adopted from Glickman 1983:125)

Literature looking specifically at the history of street furniture provision has been fairly thin. There has also been a lack of literature which specifically uses theoretical ideas in conjunction with historical analysis when considering street furniture provision. The literature available mostly delves into issues concerning city planning or issues pertaining to the local response to the introduction of various forms of furniture. An example of this analysis is within Brunton's (2005) work. In the article, it is stated that historically the provision of street furniture was the task of civic authorities such as the local police commissioners which became part of the formation of local town councils. From 1820, they were tasked with providing the street with provisions and services such as lighting, cleaning, draining and security. Part of the security in question was in the regulation of immoral activities such as the euphemistic sounding term 'street selling' but also in public nudity and in uncleanness (Brunton 2005). The provision of furniture was a way for the public space to intrinsically develop and sustain a growing enthusiasm for an urban 'civilizing process' (Ellis 1991) and was thus bounded by a sense of civilizing control.

Other forms of literature are area specific. For example, Song and Siu (2010) look at the example of Hong Kong and pay particular attention to issues of control when considering the motivations for providing street furniture. An example of this sense of control is elucidated in the significant role that street furniture played in the moral and psychological life of urban citizenry through the pre-industrial, industrial and post-industrial phases (Song and Siu 2010). Before the technological advance in street lighting, night-time in pre-industrial times had a

distinct curfew placed on it which led to negative connotations. The night-time menace is attributed to inadequate street lighting and the lack of protection placed on lanterns and candles against the wind and rain. The etymology of curfew means 'cover-fire' which is due to restrictions that were played on bonfires which was supposedly imposed to prevent conspiracies "under the shelter of darkness" (Song and Siu 2010:268). The night-time had the potential for unease and was conflated with conspiracy which had a significant impact on laws. For example, up until the end of the middle ages, walking with more than three people at night was seen as infringing upon the law.

Municipal authorities imposed severe and rigorous infringements on anyone who broke curfew. Only select groups of people were able to wander through the night and these were people of high standing or were people where their job permitted access to the night. Examples included doctors, priests, midwives but also garbage collectors. The night was gendered because even women of significant reputation and moral standing within the community were not permitted to wander through the street at night Song and Siu (2010:268).

Some of the earliest forms of street furniture were used specifically in relation to this night curfew. Verdon (2002 as cited in Song and Siu 2010) stated that after the 'curfew bell' had rung through the streets, people had to remain in their houses and breaching this meant severe punishment. To prevent wanderers at night, barriers were placed to prevent people and riders. An example of this was when the French had farriers form chains which were specifically designed to inhibit the activities of people wandering at night. Current narratives about 'hostile architecture' rely on an understanding of hospitality and street furniture which is fairly recent, as street furniture was originally designed with the intended purpose of controlling and dictating pedestrian access. Surveillance and control are not brand-new concerns but was the initial concern of street furniture provision. For example, lighting was seen as a private issue, so citizens were expected to carry their own form of lighting such as a lantern and failing to do so meant being fined heavily. In Paris, it is noted that in the 14th century, an individual was to be fined roughly the same as sixty eighteen-ounce loaves of bread, which was called a 'ten sous penalty' (Song and Siu 2010:268). The aim of this private lighting however was not to light up the surrounding areas of the street or for issues of safety,

it was to help enforce the technicalities of the curfew which meant isolating individuals and checking their rank or credentials (ibid).

These reflections which show a sense of control in banal object provision, shows how with the changing nature of society, objects typically classified as hospitable could be used to prohibit, censure, control. Sociologically these insights link well with Foucault's (1975) notion of the 'disciplinary society'. He notes that the prison emerged because other forms of discipline were no longer effective at controlling the population. This form of control emerged in conjunction with other organizations and institutions such as the school, hospitals and military barracks. The main strength of his analysis relevant for this review is in the ways in which discipline and control can be amorphous. Power was no longer concentrated in the same way. Control was therefore significant in urban regeneration projects and in the ways in which the police took over the provision of furniture in the city. It is interesting therefore to look at how street furniture is often analysed as providing a specific hospitality, that of the agora. It is rarely analysed from the perspective of the fortress (Chavez and van der Rest 2014).

Lighting Typologies

"They also saw it [light] used in dramatic new ways: to delineate the outlines of buildings and pathways, to illuminate fountains and water jets, and to probe the depths of the night sky. "(McGuire 2005: 135)

"The street lamps, the dazzling lights of advertisements, the glow of shop windows and windows of never-closing stores, the lights illuminating huge posters, lights from the open doors of cinemas and theatres, the speeding lights of automobiles and trolley cars, the lights of the subway trains glittering under one's feet through the glass pavements, the lights of inscriptions in the sky. Brightness, brightness, brightness "The poet Vladimir Mayakovsky discussing his visit to New York in 1925.

When considering the use of lighting, as detailed by Song and Siu (2010), there were other aspects, that are important to briefly outline. Public lighting contributed to a different understanding of space. Lighting was initially confined to exclusive spaces which were isolated such as the mansions of the super wealthy. Interestingly, department stores also had access to light as a way of enticing shoppers and so light was associated by proxy with consumption. Eventually, lighting was used on the street and there were schemes set up to light up major tourist routes, before extending into large numbers of private homes. Lighting was the domain of the super wealthy before becoming democratized into the standard everyday private home of millions.

As McGuire (2005: 135) points out

"The spatial experience of the illuminated city profoundly challenged customary understandings of place, boundary, dimension, and locatedness."
(136).

McGuire (2005) notes that lighting exceeded a purely functional role, it was not simply inaugurated for use value. Lighting had other elements that were integral to their dissemination and popularity. Lighting in the public space meant the ability to control, it was a way to enforce a particular view of the city, in making architecture disappear in the night sky. The use of lighting to control the imagery and thus tourist narrative of the city is typified in the following example:

"Lights enable modern skyscrapers, clad with glass curtain walls, to assume dazzling, indefinite forms and then, finally, to disappear, as if their monumental forms are no more than a conjuror's trick" (McGuire 2005:134)

Lighting therefore was used as a symbolic type of weapon, it deleted unattractive areas, it erased them by plunging them into impenetrable darkness (McGuire 2005). Weapon stands out as a descriptive, incongruous word choice here. As lighting normally connotes with civility, openness and safety. Lighting in a time where it was heavily controlled and not entirely democratized, allowed for a type of subtle control through the process of omission.

Lighting in the public space was also used as a way to highlight or isolate particular features of the city as McGuire (2005). Lighting was used to highlight water fountains and other beautified objects that were placed in the public space.

Lighting was also used as a sophisticated form of advertising, which meant all around the city centre business owners projected bright lights onto their buildings as a way to attract potential customers. Soon businesses learned to organize *“block street lighting, often via deals with electricity supply companies, as a way of attracting shoppers to their precincts at night.”* (McGuire 2005: 177). Lighting meant that businesses in order to compete had to have their buildings brightly lit, due to competition from others who had already begun this process. It became a type of defensive action, as McGuire (2005: 177) explains: “Electricity suppliers were happy to offer cheap power to increase the intensity of street lighting, recognizing its potential as a load builder, because a brightly lit street required corresponding increases in lighting of shop windows and signage. Adjoining areas were often forced to sign up too, as a defensive action.

“Electrical lighting provided the means through which the complexity of the modern city could be edited down to a few essential sites illuminated by floodlights, or grasped from above as a simplified pattern interspersed with unimportant blanks. The possibilities for wholesale architectural substitution via lighting effects resembled the selective appropriation of the cityscape that photography had been promoting at least since its industrialization in the 1880s” (McGuire 2005: 134)

The Bench Project: Local Activism

“Benches are interesting places. When we sit on a bench we make ourselves ‘at home’. We might be waiting for a bus, taking a breather, changing a baby’s nappy, catching up with a friend or sneaking a quick nap. Benches are a public benefit. A free place we can sit for as long as we like, without even having to pay for a coffee.”

(From the Young Foundation’s Website)

David Harvey (Harvey 2003, Harvey 2010) in his work has demonstrated that in order to understand what is truly happening in cities, we need to connect them to wider social movements. Activist causes in Edinburgh such as the Coburn Society and wider social movements in the UK such as the Bench Project and Invisible Cities are good indicators of where civic tension and struggle exists regarding the provision of objects in the public space and urban hospitality more broadly. Examining these different pressure groups shows that these issues of hospitality are of relevance in grassroots politics and everyday life.

Harvey's approach as described earlier is indebted to Marxist philosophy and its applications are useful in understanding inhospitable ways the city is being transformed. Property capital and capital in general has expelled people from valuable locations throughout the city through the process of gentrification and private property construction. Harvey's critical insight when looking at urban development is by focusing on Marx's contradictions of capital and how this presupposes particular forms of development.

Marx writing in a pre-globalisation era, noted that our society is committed to endless growth. Capital must increase its value and reach as the logic of capital long term is profit. Harvey notes that this mindset of growth has led to a destruction of what Hart and Negri in their work refer to as the commons. We see a decline in public spaces, as they are not immediately profitable, or places where consumption happens. As a result, cities have started to see a decline in public objects such as street furniture and wider activist movements have started to try and outline the importance of these objects.

As a result, moving outside the scholarly literature there are highly relevant activist projects that shed light on the importance of mundane and consequently unmarked, areas of urban hospitality. One in particular focuses on the lack of adequate public bench provision and how cities across the UK are not making their spaces welcoming and inclusive as a result. In this section, I will reflect on articles that are available, including a key manifesto style report which was commissioned by *the bench project*. A UK based, grassroots, pressure group with the expressed aim of allowing our public spaces to be welcoming for everyone. These examples allow for a reflection on the practical applications of a number of key ideas underpinning the concepts already discussed in this review more broadly, for example the idea of facilitating welcome through the provision of everyday objects.

Bynon and Rishbeth (2015) In an ethnographic report titled, “Benches for Everyone: solitude in public, sociability for free” articulated six key points, based on research which was conducted across three different research sites in London (see table below).

Table 9: The social functionality of bench provision in public space

1)- Benches are valued as public, egalitarian and free.
2)- Benches function as a social resource - they are flexible and affordable places to spend time at no cost. This is appreciated by many, and especially vital for people who are largely marginalised from other collective environments such as work, cafés, educational or leisure facilities. They are contrasted positively with crowded, lonely or boring home situations. Bench-space allows people to loosely belong within the flow of city life, to see and be seen.
3)- Design of benches and of sittable public space is important. Comfort and accessibility are basic requirements. Clustering of benches and co-location with a range of facilities provides interest and gives legitimacy to hanging out. The ability to gather in larger groups is valued by many. Sitting on benches supports healthy everyday routines by enabling people to spend longer outside.

4)- People need to feel safe. Frequently used, visible spaces with a choice of where to sit can support this. These opportunities to rest can be restorative for mental health and support local walking when personal mobility is limited. A mix of short and long stay bench users supports informal safety in numbers. Quality of materials, attractive planting, and cleanliness of public space seems to increase individual tolerance for the proximity of strangers and diverse ways of enjoying public space.

5)- Sitting on benches supports healthy everyday routines by enabling people to spend longer outside. People need to feel safe. Frequently used, visible spaces with a choice of where to sit can support this. These opportunities to rest can be restorative for mental health and support local walking when personal mobility is limited.

6)- Bench space allows people to loosely belong within the flow of city life; to be seen and be seen.

These six points reflect the ways in which street furniture is understood as potentially encouraging civic forms of hospitality. The bench as an object of hospitality within this activist report is associated with egalitarianism and democracy. The availability of public benches is important for *"building community and supporting wellbeing"*. A key discussion point is that people forget their troubles watching the world go past, in the public space. They are no longer stuck in their private dwelling, with their private troubles. A certain type of person typically makes use of public benches more often than others. As Bynon points out, *"we found that, while all social groups use benches, the heaviest users are people with mental health problems, carers, older people, and those who are unemployed"*. When it is viewed with this in mind, the provision of public seating ceases to be an issue that is specifically about abstract hospitality matters and about beautifying the urban space. What is at stake is the issue of inclusion and inclusion is facilitated through mundane objects. Cafes are too pricey, for these groups and the home can be cluttered and small, so the public space provides an alternative space to meet with others, at no cost.

The first point within the report states that the bench is viewed as egalitarian, public and free. The central underlying idea here is that the bench is democratic and is not restrictive, it is open to all, regardless of their social signifiers. There are no demands that need to be met in order for you as a guest to sit; no price tag and no dress code. There theoretically no time

constraints limiting the guest sitting and so time spent on the bench is entirely determined by the individual. The bench as an egalitarian object, is also conversely associated unfavourably with antisocial behaviour. As a result, it might be more apt to suggest it is a utilitarian object. These concerns, although sometimes founded on specific and substantiated concerns, they have led to a disproportionate response with benches occasionally being removed entirely from the public space, thus limiting everyone's ability to sit and enjoy the public space. It is no coincidence that removing public benches invariably helps with private commerce, such as coffee shops, as the spot for socialising has within the collective imagination changed to the private sphere. The removal of these object's has created an inhospitable social context.

The second point described in the report, is that benches allow people to belong in the ebb and flow of city life. They are taking part by being stationary, which links directly to the slow tourism movement in the academic literature. Solitude and conversation are thus acceptable traits. The report in making these points are doing so on the underlying idea that such statements might not fit with the core philosophy that exists in urban materialism, being part of the city is to be a consumer. Meeting with friends, requires purchasing in order to become valid.

The bench, as stated in the third point, promotes healthy living as it allows people to sit outside for longer than they normally would. It is thus conducive to wellbeing and mental health, it helps people feel like they belong to their communities, as they are not restricted in their movements. They know that if they get tired, they can sit. In witnessing difference, in a multicultural society, people develop an awareness of a broader range of activities and behaviours. Participants in the study noted that sitting on the bench, meant they could see a range of human life. The report argues that this allows for greater tolerance, dignity and respect.

Coman, in field work for the Bench Project, asked residents the following questions about benches in their public space.

Do you have a story about a bench?

When was the last time you sat on a bench and where was it?

What's the most interesting view you've seen from a bench?

One of the more interesting answers that Coman received was how the bench is used as a landmark, a place to meet close relatives, a geographical point that is shared by family members. Everyone in the family knows where “the bench” is and as such, it is a non-consumeristic way of being part of the city. The bench is used as a space for reflection, where memories can be played out and where the present is connected with the past. One of the respondents Coman discusses is a man who goes and sits on a bench, that sits inside a park that he remembers growing up. He remembers sitting there with his girlfriend 50 years before and so, it is a time for a life's journey to be considered and reflected on. One respondent noted that the bench was a place of work, it helped induce a state of creativity. Another respondent noted that it can be used as a meditative space, a place to sit and reflect, when the world is going by fast. It can be a way of discovering your community, seeing ‘views’ that might otherwise have been neglected. The bench can be a spot of serendipity, a space for meeting new people and a space for striking up small talk. Benches also function as a social resource, they can often be used as appendices to business that provide hospitality such as eating and drinking.

Another form of civic activism of interest to this study is the *Invisible Cities* project. The group is a multi-city social enterprise which works in collaboration with people who have experienced homelessness, to act as tour guides. Each guide blends their own personal story with the normal traditional walking tour experience of visiting and commenting on important landmarks. The project has implications for the standard host/guest dynamic and of the wider discussion of home. The guide is technically showing where they once lived, it was their home. The streets are then open up, not as a space where benign tourism occurs, but where people experienced hardship.

The Cockburn Association is a membership society founded in 1875 to protect and enhance the beauty of Edinburgh. Work exploring their activities and the interrelationship they had with the council as a pressure group is another PhD thesis. Their efforts to protect the aesthetic qualities of Edinburgh and thus Edinburgh's place as a World Heritage Site, are often juxtaposed by the commercialising motivations of the Edinburgh City Council. A tension which I will describe in more detail historically in my archival chapter, but also outline a contemporaneous view in my observational chapter.

Destination Management

*"The world is drawn from memory. There are missing countries, altered borders"-
(Edouard Leve 2010, Works)*

This section will evaluate literature in tourism studies which explicitly focuses on destination management and on the individual experiences of the tourist. A focus on the notion of the wanderer as an example of *guest* experience of a city will start to connect theoretical premises that have been developed in the literature elsewhere and place them within the destination literature. A key approach here is the work of the sociologist Georg Simmel and his discussion of the flaneur. Following on from this, I outline the field of Psychogeography, a strand of urban analysis, influenced by Marxist approaches to culture, which was developed in France in the 1950s. These theoretical approaches were influential when I was thinking about the correct way to approach this particular study and which methodological tools and philosophy to use. The discussion will then look at the ways in which 'hospitality' has been used as a tool for exploring urban regeneration.

Destination management literature tends to be within the domain of tourism studies, but of particular interest is a subset of critical engagement with place, which is often articulated by tourism scholars. Tourism is a leisure activity which is defined in contrast to regulated and organized work (Urry and Larsen 2011). Tourism is a place-based phenomenon with a particular focus on different scales of lived experience, as 'place-identity' is used by

businesses to attract tourists and increase market share (Wang and Chen 2015). Tourism can be considered the catch all term which encompasses all of the relationships which result from travel by outsiders (Dann and Parrinello 2009). A definition which recognizes the different activities that tourists take part in is from Ross (1994) who states that tourists take on different roles and activities from the normal host population. The different roles that tourists take from the resident population is a significant issue in tourist studies and will be expanded upon in the literature.

Research looking specifically at the elements of the tourist's individual experience developed from the early work of Boorstin (1964) who examined the ways in which authentic experiences were created in a time when mass market tourism was becoming more common. The work focused on two key factors, the first being how industry tried to contrive events that were authentic experiences and secondly how the tourist individually responded to these attempts. Cohen (1979) built on these observations but noted that since societies change over time, calls for authentic experiences they are ultimately fleeting based on the cultural dynamics that exist in the society at that time. Since these early interventions, there has been a wealth of literature looking at the tourist experience with a focus particularly on what makes specific experiences special, memorable and novel. Hospitality research has also started to examine what and how are memorable experiences created (Pizam 2010). Destination management has also recognized that being able to deliver memorable tourist experiences is the fundamental building block in retaining viable competition and in having a sustainable business model (Ritchie and Crouch 2003).

Given its importance, a clear definition is required. Tung and Richie (2011: 1369) state that there is no agreed upon definition to what a tourist experience *is*, but offer the following, it is

“an individual’s subjective evaluation and undergoing (i.e., affective, cognitive, and behavioural) of events related to his/her tourist activities which begins before (i.e., planning and preparation), during (i.e., at the destination), and after the trip (i.e., recollection).”

The tourist experience has many different facets which has been examined in the literature. There has been work looking at emotional, mindful and spiritual impact that tourist's experience (Cohen and Cohen 2012). Work has been done looking at authentic tourist experiences (Yeoman 2007) and further, there has been work looking at the idea of serendipity and chance and its role in the overall experience (Cary 2004).

As destinations are arguably entirely different entities when compared to private commercial businesses, it is worth looking at the literature which has examined specific elements of the tourist experience particularly in the city. Tourist interaction with a destination and its surroundings, alongside the embodiment of what they see and sense has for many authors, a key effect on their overall satisfaction with their travelling (Kirillova et al 2014). As a result of this, work has started to focus on exactly what makes tourist destinations not only memorable but aesthetically pleasing. The destination's aesthetic features such as pleasant scenery are key factors in tourists rating their destination highly (Alegre and Garrau 2010). An evident problem with this is the abstract notion we have when expressing what exactly aesthetically pleasing scenery is. The complication has been reflected in the academic work trying to measure it. Kirillova et al (2014) note that studies have tended to look at single variables when assessing satisfaction with a destination. The example given is the utterance, 'this place is beautiful'.

There are various factors which have been empirically tested in the literature when evaluating destinations as being hospitable to tourists. The first is regular maintenance and upkeep of the streets and spaces. The second is an interplay between order and complexity and the third is having vegetation, having trees around the city and having parks. The final factor outlined is having novelty but also having a sense of typicality. When looking at these factors, the tourist seems to want novel experiences, but they also want an anchor. Tourists seem to want a recognizable and homely feel which operates as a backdrop to more complex, more exotic experiences in seeing a new city for the first time (Hekkert et al 2003 as cited in Kirillova et al 2014).

Kirillova et al (2014) also note, in line with the literature explored earlier on the home, that tourists use their home as a reference point in determining if a destination is aesthetically pleasing or not. It seems that a key point missed in the literature is that when the tourist aesthetically assesses the destination, they are commenting on how homely it feels, how comfortable they are as well as how externally beautiful it is.

With these points stated, the methodological structure used by Kirillova et al (2014) was in-depth personal interviews. The methodology was selected to gain a deep understanding of what factors made cities beautiful to tourists. Kirillova (et al 2014) used interviews as a way to understand the appreciation of marked elements of the urban environment and so similarly interviews could be used to examine the unmarked elements, the hospitable backdrop to the exotic experiences; the homely environment.⁷ The sampling method used was theoretical sampling which is a process whereby the researcher collects data, analyses it and determines what data to collect next. The sampling procedure here also seems appropriate to adopt when using an exploratory framework. The intention according to the authors was to contribute to 'emerging theory' as opposed to creating generalizable frameworks, which again is the purpose of this study (Kirillova et al 2014). Thematic analysis was conducted and the themes created were: time, balance, diversity, condition, novelty, sound, shape, uniqueness. These were pertinent themes that the authors found tourists rated highly in their interviews as being indicative of an aesthetically pleasing tourist destination. These themes may vary considerably when looking at a host perspective on evaluating the dimensions of the hospitable city.

Other literature in the field has looked at destinations and the experiences within them more in line with business management, which is helpful when thinking about potential theoretical applications (private hospitality to the city for example). These pieces of literature recognize that tourist destinations are complex networks that have loads of interrelating factors such as different products, services and experiences. They are largely commercial entities, even when considering the ostensibly non-commercial spaces such as vegetation and greenery for they too are micro-managed by commercial interests. Tourist destinations are successful

⁷ The use of 'marked' and 'unmarked' here are my own application/usage, rather than present in the discussed author's work.

when there is a successful coordination between individual companies, products, services and individual actors (Haughland et al 2011: 269). Lugosi and Walls (2013) state that destination experiences are made up of purchased tangible goods such as accommodation or food and drink. As a result, Lugosi and Walls (2013) note that tourist destinations have challenges which are similar to other service organizations, only on a larger more abstract scale. For example, there has been a growth in competition from other tourist destinations as well as facing significant challenges such as competing in a market increasingly dominated by branding, the growth of technology and increased competition from other leisure activities. These challenges operate in a wider nexus where social, political and environmental factors all impact significantly. The increased competition and changing market environment have meant that academic literature has focused more on individual tourist destinations and the ways in which memorable experiences are created for guests.

Work has also looked at the idea of '*tourist products*' (Smith 1994). Smith interestingly conceptualizes hospitality as a primary tourist product, meaning it has a significant pull factor in attracting tourists to a destination. These products are classified as experiences and so includes intangible as well as tangible elements. As Benur and Bramwell (2015) write there is a significant gap in the literature here. In their words:

“consideration needs to be given to both more tangible and intangible aspects of primary tourism products in destinations, together with interconnections between them” (Benur and Bramwell 2015: 214).

Literature has looked at destinations as resembling a unit, so like a product and as a result there has been academic research looking at the various different elements that make up that unit. These approaches have been fairly mixed in their effectiveness, due mainly to outdated approaches being taken. As a result, various management-oriented models have been devised trying to effectively predict challenges that can occur in destination management. An example of this is work looking at strategic destination planning (Formica and Kothari 2008). Formica and Kothari (2008) formulated a model based on expert responses to future scenarios. Their data was collected using a method called nominal group technique which is similar to brainstorming with a focus group but has all members contributing. All passive and

active members participate as it is limited to one response per person and the larger group is divided into smaller groups who collect individual answers. The objective of the groups, which the researchers (Formica and Kothari 2008) referred to as 'think tank sessions', was to "identify the major forces driving change in today's tourism environment and to determine their potential impact on the industry" (Formica and Kothari 2008).

These approaches are underlined by a theoretical approach called '*systems theory*' which was dominant in organizational studies in the 1960s and 1970s until it was replaced by other models and analysis. It was eventually rekindled and tweaked in other models that had similar objectives such as actor network theory (Duim et al 2012). Despite the antiquated structure, the underlying principle is useful. The principle of a systems analysis is that organizations are

"systems of interacting components that include human beings and processes. It is proposed that objects or elements in a system interact with each other in order to achieve a specific goal" (Formica and Kothari 2008: 356).

When applied to a destination, this particular way of thinking about the various different elements of hospitality that operate in the city, means that we can think of them as interlinking to create the hospitable tourist destination. What is needed is a micro-level analysis of what makes up the system, what makes up the model. A problem that I have noticed in tourism research is that models of this sort are not explored with the sort of urgency as papers which explore larger, more expansive models of destination modelling.

Haugland et al (2011) note for example that there is a lack of theoretical models when considering destinations and much of the preceding literature has been fragmentary. Literature needs to be more multi-layered and attempt theoretical integration. Haugland et al (2011) also registers that this lack of integration means that when dealing with destinations, we face a challenge when deciding how destinations should be developed or changed. The authors to face this problem developed a theoretical model which looked at three specific factors that are common challenges when looking at destinations. These three elements are: destination capabilities, coordination at the destination level and inter-destination bridge

ties. All of these areas overlap but they each have their own impact on the destination more generally.

As Uriley (2005) discusses, there has been a shift recently in how we evaluate the tourist experience. These developments have been due to applications of various theoretical positions that have been developed within sociology and applied to tourism studies. Examples of these include applications of symbolic interactionism (Wickens 2002), narrative theory (Elsrud 2004) and postmodernism (Hollinshead 2002). All of these perspectives focus on the individual as having a co-constructed role in interpreting destinations. As a result, there has been a shift to looking at tourist experience through the lens of everyday life alongside viewing the tourist role more individually and subjective with many different experiences possible within the same destination. Conceptually, therefore, we are viewing the tourist experience as more relative and more complementary (Uriley 2005:200). Another area is in recognizing that meaning is co-created by those who display and present objects and those who experience them.

Literature which is relevant to this co-constructed idea of the tourist engaging with the city through wandering will be explored now. The tourist can take on a role by immersing in the local culture temporarily, perusing and exploring the urban space around themselves. The tourist experiences destinations seeking out novelty and difference and so understanding and connecting the literature here means understanding possible motivations for providing specific forms of furnishings in line with the hospitable city.

As post-industrial cities have changed significantly from spaces of production to spaces of consumption, so too has the experience of strolling through the urban environment. Thus, the everyday experience of a city is something that research literature has looked at. Wandering around and immersing yourself in various gentrified 'cappuccino communities' (Laurier and Philo 2005), seeing various styles, tastes and identities performed through different classes, genders and ethnicities is a qualitatively different type of immersion for the tourist now than it was before in modernity. Wandering around the city has been a pertinent theme in sociological analysis for decades (Tester 1994) and is embodied in various metaphors such as the flaneur.

The flaneur originated in the work of Charles Baudelaire (1972) who in "*The Painter of Modern Life*" detailed an aesthetic project to make the everyday poetic and thus romanticize the normal ebb and flow of city life as experienced through man. The character was depicted as being immersed in a crowd, as someone who feels at home in the teeming masses (Baudelaire 1972:399). The need for the flaneur to feel at home within the city is critical as the city ultimately needs to conform to the needs of the flaneur. The city must become '*home-like*' for accessibility. The flaneur is not possible as a character without a sense that the city be welcoming to the idea. Implicit is a hospitality which is reliant on the city to fulfil and so already the transformation of the city into an extended home is assumed from Baudelaire's call. The anonymity that is felt from the flaneur is paradoxical in that Baudelaire (1972:23) states that the individual who isolates himself from the masses will miss out on '*feverish delights*' that being part of a crowd affords but he is ultimately still alone, as he is expected to delight in his own anonymity. What is evident then is another synthesis of home-life and city-life, the private is brought out of the home and spread onto the street. Being alone and being together thus come together as contradictory statements. Baudelaire (1972: 400) imagines that the wanderer should be able to feel at home anywhere, to be the centre of the world but remain unseen.

Tourists according to Storán (2011) now experience cities in a similar fashion to how the flaneur did in the past. Tourists instead of merely mimicking and embodying the role of the wanderer, mould their experiences and expectations of a city around it. An example of this would be expectations of a holiday that have been predetermined before a visit leading to a highly structured sense of interpreting the city. Rather than simply replacing the flaneur, the modern tourist is said to have taken idealized characteristics of the wanderer instead of replacing it totally. The flaneur is also seen in theoretical evaluations of what Poon (1993) called '*new tourism*' which has evolved into socially conscious, environmentally aware, destination-oriented types of tourism found in works looking at the '*slow tourist*'. The cultural aspects of the destination are as important as the journey and the holiday experience, they all come together.

Hospitality and The City: Regeneration

Work looking at cities and hospitality has tended to focus in on the ways in which commercial hospitality has been able to co-opt public space, usually in regeneration projects as a way to increase cultural capital for the residents that live there. What emerges is a co-constructed form of hospitality between the commercial private sector and with the public. The co-constructed theme is important when discussing the nature of experiencing the city and interacting with monuments and objects. The provision of objects and the ways in which objects are positioned and placed in the environment has as much to do with private interests as it does with public interests. 'Spaces of hospitality' are therefore created through a symbiosis of private interests and public interest. The public interest is in having spaces which are aestheticized and designed for the middle classes to consume and the private interest is in gentrifying parts of the city for profit (Zukin 2011). This work has been thin and is regarded as a starting point in fully addressing the ways in which hospitality functions within the city itself.

A good point to start on is that there will be different expectations regarding the hospitable destination depending on whose perspective is being analysed. Chávez and van der Rest (2014:32) offer a useful starting point for analysing how hospitality functions within the urban context, that highlights these differences of perspective by having the reader imagine a fictitious meeting where an alderman and mayor are inside a room with local entrepreneurs, tourists, citizens and immigrants. In bringing these people together, Chávez and van der Rest (2014:32) suggest that each individual will have a different conception of what the main challenges are to the hospitable city. They also would have their own unique understanding of what hospitality means to them personally. Individual concerns would be raised regarding general safety, about investment opportunities for small businesses, about everyday life and about friendliness to visitors. It is also noted that the discussion would not rest entirely on these local concerns but examine the city as an abstract personification in looking at how the city acts as a host to a variety of different guests. This construction would be expressed through various different vantage points with the immigrant being the stranger who experiences the city as someone who is not explicitly welcome counterpoised with the

hospitality entrepreneur who is hosting but hosting a very particular type of 'guest'. The terms 'hospitality' and 'city' should therefore not be understood or interpreted as plural. There are hundreds of different cities with their different mores, values and customs all around the world which in-of-itself suggests that there are many different types of hospitalities. (Chávez & van der Rest 2014:32).

Lugosi et al (2010) note that urban decay can be beneficial for private 'hospitality operators' who can exploit conflicts and gaps within regeneration projects. It is argued that in doing so, hospitality operators have become part of the regeneration process itself by providing private services. Hospitality in this sense is understood as being part of the gentrification of the city as it increases the social and cultural capital of the space, leading to a space of consumption for the middle classes. Public space is thus co-opted, commoditized and controlled rigorously. Zukin (2011) notes that urban identities and lifestyle now relates to a specific trailing of cultural capital which promotes consumption in highly visible 'consumption spaces' such as restaurants and pubs. Being seen in the right areas of the town and consuming the right style and taste offered by private commercial hospitality, is a way in which cities have been able to regenerate and reinvest. Bell (2006) for example talks about the example of Manchester, which became home to new food and drink spaces which attracted new forms of cultural capital and distinctiveness. Bell notes that cities are now maps of distinction and that the contemporary city is composed of "culinary tastes, divided into taste zones, with taste-markers driving the system of distinction" (Cuthill 2007:84). Places are therefore evaluated and ranked based on the perceived tastes that can be experienced and sampled in that specific area. Cuthill (2007) refers to this as *performances of hospitalities* which promote various social outcomes, such as eating and drinking venues.

Cuthill (2007) notes how cities, towns and villages are being redrawn and repackaged due to consumption. The consumption in question is due to the influence of the private hospitality sector. The reframing happens because of carefully designed and marketed images of place which creates a demand for tourist travel. Post-industrial cities have recognizable elements of '*spatial blurring*' due to the changing nature of work, which means that traditional organizational boundaries are no longer as stable as they once were (Fleming and Spicer 2004). This breakdown of traditional boundaries within the city is also significant in the

divisions between private and public space. The hospitable city being a 'map of distinction' has three distinct spaces that operate as key backdrops to hospitable relationships, these are: the café, the street and the square (Tonkiss 2005). Tonkiss (2005) noted that these spaces are conducive to and encourage a collective sense of belonging, social exchange and informal encounters. Tonkiss (2005) however did not look at how these locations are structurally designed with a particular hospitality provided through the use of street furniture, or how the street functions in each example and to what extent do these mundane moments of everyday hospitality make these factors possible.

Summary of proposed contribution

As discussed earlier, I outlined a set of research aims (see table below), which when brought together form an exploratory basis for an original concept: the civic commercial home. The framework that I established to create the concept is also a novel contribution to the literature in organising studies and theory into specific dichotomies that interrelate with hospitality narratives. The study adds to the field of hospitality studies, which is a fairly new and burgeoning area of hospitality as an academic discipline, which looks at the area in a sociological/philosophical way.

In using a bricolage methodology (archival analysis, stream of consciousness observational research, photographs, and autoethnography), I explore the concept from various methodological angles and perspectives, which provides a basis for further analysis in the future. In using tools from psychogeography such as the derive, I am using a form of sociological epistemology which has been neglected in the field of urban studies and sociology more broadly. I outline all of this in depth, in my methodology chapter.

The literature review has outlined a lot of theoretically rich hospitality scholarship within the private commercial sector. Much of this work has been influential and many of the concerns and findings developed there can be applied to the urban context. For example, the significant work exploring the commercial home, when applied to the street, has clear allusions which

help to understand the tension between private commercial interests (namely what Edinburgh is as a destination) vs the liveability of the city for people who live here.

Grit and Lynch (2011) began this process by looking at Hotel Transvaal, which is an unconventional hotel in that it encompasses an entire neighbourhood. The hospitality principles are used for regeneration purposes, to fix a 'problem neighbourhood'. The reflections made in the commercial home sector were linked to ideas developed in tourism studies about changing urban spaces. The city is now an extended home for travellers, it is a global abode (Molz 2008) and as such there is significant insight to be had with regards to how these hospitality principles function alongside destination management. Issues of control, metaphor and social/economic exchange are at the heart of this new globalised abode. The destination management literature has attempted to predict and implement various factors which influence positive tourist satisfaction. An element which would add significantly to this would be examining the more mundane elements of hospitality that act as backdrops to the more exotic and novel experiences tourists yearn for on their travels.

I have shown that these issues have a practical applicability beyond theoretical confines, as they concern the everyday lives of people in the urban environment. These issues are explored by pressure groups and activist causes, attempting to maintain clearly defined and maintained public spaces for everyone against an ongoing concern with privatisation and commercialisation of the city of Edinburgh more generally.

Table 10: Guiding research aims of the study and their corresponding influence and area of hospitality explored

General research aim	Influenced by	Area of 'hospitality' explored
1)- What are the unmarked elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?	Marked/unmarked dichotomy	Hospitality as metaphor
2)- What are the 'marked' elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?	Marked/unmarked dichotomy	Hospitality as metaphor
3)- What influence does the private need for safety, order and surveillance have on urban hospitality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public/Private dichotomy Agora/Fortress distinction 	Hospitality as social control
4)- What are the different types of welcome (commercial and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Host/Guest dichotomy The Commercial Home concept 	Hospitality as economic and social exchange

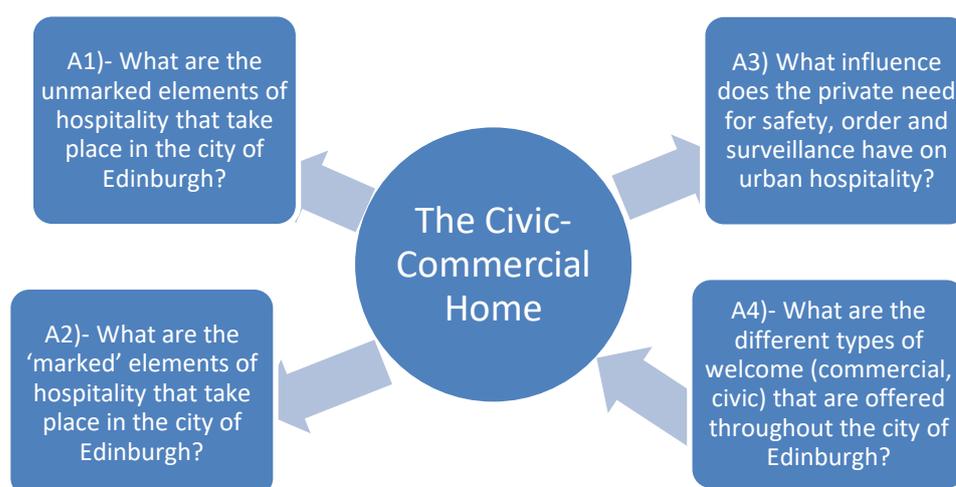


Figure 2: Guiding research aims relating to the central concept: the civic-commercial home

Table 11: Summary of key literature review sources

Source	Key ideas	Strengths	Weaknesses	My Application
Bell (2007)	Hospitable city, bringing together philosophy of hospitality with hospitality studies, focusing in on mundane moments of hospitality, the ways in which hospitality is mobilized and used as a form of urban regeneration.	Provides a philosophical justification for studying the everyday moments of hospitality that take place in the city.	As a Literature review, it offers a call to action, rather than clear steps for methodological soundness.	Advancing Bell's idea onto the street itself and looking at the everyday objects as facilitating a form of hospitality. Bringing together hospitality as a philosophy and as a study, focuses in on mundane, 'everyday moments' of hospitality.
Berkhus (1998)	Sociology has focused too heavily on what is exotic which has disoriented our understanding of reality, we need to document everyday life as it exists in order to epistemologically realign the discipline. He notes we need to study the unmarked as well as the marked.	Provides an epistemological argument for studying everyday life. Calls attention to social research that aims to be fantastical as being unrealistic of reality	His arguments are abstract and not applied. Outdated research and so needs revision.	Advancing Bell's idea onto the street itself and looking at the everyday objects as facilitating a form of hospitality. Bringing together hospitality as a philosophy and as a study, focuses in on mundane, everyday moments of hospitality.
Lashley et al (2000)	Hospitality should be seen as a social lens, to understand the workings of society using that focus.	Provides a frame for analysing hospitality in a new way, provides examples of application	Discussion is limited by the scope.	Looking at hospitality as a social lens by focusing in on the everyday use of urban street furniture. Using the objects as a focus allows us to understand how hospitable the city is in a more abstract sense to the citizenry. How welcome do people feel to be part of the city.
Molz (2008)	The home is now no longer a static dwelling in a globalized world, for we now carry home around within us, but often we are made to feel at home everywhere we go	Looks at how city planners are being influenced by globalization and that cities are focused heavily on facilitating a welcome	Very abstract arguments and not explicitly applied. A different geographical context.	The notion of 'home' as being an abstract concept, that can be applied. Looking at how the city of Edinburgh has made the city homelier and more welcoming by focusing in on how private objects from the home, began to make their way onto the street as a way of beautifying, welcoming and cleansing the city.
Cresswell (2007)	Hospitality studies have started to recognize the possible intersection between hospitality and memory, with a particular application paid to the urban environment. Hospitality as a discipline has focused on reacting to the movements of people in the transitory nature between the host and guest. The ways in which memories factor into the welcoming experience for the stranger and the tourist has not been adequately analysed	Offers new approaches to understanding hospitality and removes us from the typical understanding of hospitality.	Is abstract and needs an exploratory study which examines these ideas in greater depth.	Looking at how Edinburgh in providing street ornaments, statues and benches with memorial plaques is facilitating a hospitality to the past. The hospitality to the past in this instance is part of the everyday life of the city. A new form of hospitality thus is engaged with a new application.
Lynch 2005	The Commercial home concept as a way of understanding commercially run guest homes, where the owner lives in the property alongside their guests.	Helps to understand a range of hospitality related themes which emerge, when the host shares space with a guest.	Applied within a narrow domain currently	Expanding this concept and looking at the 'civic commercial home' as a way of looking at urban forms of hospitality on the street

3.0:

Methodology

Man [sic] is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun and I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, constructing social expressions on their surface enigmatical

(Geertz 1973: 5)

Introduction

This chapter describes my methodological journey, combining a blend of personal reflexivity, and academic literature. I attempt to describe the process which led to the methodological choices that I took in beginning to make sense of the civic commercial home as a theoretical concept that can be explored meaningfully.

The methodological strategy was developed after engaging with the available literature available on the subject. I discuss two different stages of research that were undertaken for this study; archival analysis, and observational research. The research took place in Edinburgh, Scotland which was selected as a case study for analysis throughout the study. Determining where the research field started and ended is discussed at length. I outline the criteria that was developed in evaluating the materials I read and analysed at the Edinburgh City Archives. I then outline the observational process which led to the data collected in the observations chapter. I consider my study as a methodological example of what Denzin and Lincoln (2017) have called a '*bricolage*'. I outline what that means and how it brings together disparate forms of data in the pursuit of an exploratory concept. Mostly importantly, this chapter describes how I did the research and what my guiding assumptions were, by examining my ontological and epistemological assumptions, which led to the choice of qualitative research.

At the end of my data collection period, I had collected archival notes, observations, photographs and had a reflexive academic diary (*see table below*). The archival data was collected first and processed separately from the rest of the material. I then collected and processed the observations, photographs and blended reflexive diary extracts together for the second phase. Later in this chapter, I describe in detail the methodological design which a description of how the data was processed and ordered in more detail.

Individual Data Source	Quantity and further information	Research Phase
Archival notes	A full A4 notebook of handwritten quotes and personal commentary, which were then selectively transferred into a Word document for analysis	1
Observations	Six audio recordings on a Dictaphone (3-6 hours of recorded observational material) which were then transcribed using ExpressScribe. I then transferred the contents over to the qualitative software MAXQDA12 for preliminary analysis/coding. After this initial phase, I moved everything back to manual coding in a Microsoft Word document.	2
Photographs	182 photographs taken spontaneously on my iPhone of street furniture and other objects of relevance and interest to the PhD during observational data collection. These were transferred initially into MAXQDA12 for coding, before moving them to a Microsoft Word document for manual coding.	2
Academic Diary/ Progress Review Reflections	A handwritten diary which was selectively transferred into a Microsoft Word document for analysis. I also had 12 progress review reports, which included personal reflections on how the research was developing and the various challenges faced, which was produced generally on a six-month basis.	1-2

Methodology chapters are often constructed to give a sense of linear consistency, as though the research that was conducted followed a clearly defined sequence moving from point A to B. Although this may be the plan, this rarely seems to be the outcome. It was not the case with my PhD as I will describe. However, this reality is rarely described, a reflection that Abbot (2004) observed when looking generally at the structure of research papers and the way methodology is taught, which tends to depict the researcher as someone who follows the following sequence: a general research question exists, which is then narrowed down into a more focused question, which will in turn dictate the type of data and methodological strategy that is required. The metaphorical allusion is often presented as a funnel. The analysis that emerges from the data will thus be chosen as it fits the specific question being posed.

As Abbot (2004:83) notes research is never truly as straightforward as the funnel analogy. Most research starts out as a general interest in an area

“tied up with hazy notions about some possible data, a preference for this or that kind of method, and as often as not a preference for certain kind of results. Most research projects advance on all of these fronts at once, the data getting better as the question gets more focused, the methods more firmly decided, and the results more precise” (Abbot 2004:83).

I agree with this perspective. Often all these concerns are tackled at once and in a circuitous way. The process of designing and conducting an intricate research project is never linear. Despite this, in the interests of clarity, it is necessary to attempt to describe this chapter in a linear fashion.

An important starting point for any methodological chapter is outlining the assumptions that you carry as a researcher. These assumptions are important to discuss as they underpin the justification of the methodological approach taken but also the style in which the PhD is written. The parameters of analysis are important as well, so clearly stating the ways in which documents were found that act as building blocks to the research, is outlined. Other assumptions, which are less clearly delineated by researchers are the epistemological and

ontological starting points. Often, many debates that take place within social scientific research are quibbles over philosophical differences of what knowledge is and what our reality is. Embracing a certain paradigm will also clearly highlight the limitations of the data gathered, since it will be evident from my philosophical positions on knowledge and reality what can be done with my findings.

I discuss the methodological assumptions that each of my chosen methods hold given this awareness. I also point out the position that I took as a researcher ontologically and epistemologically as a result of these research choices. The epistemological discussion focuses on knowledge creation and meaning, particularly theorizing using inductive analysis and the rejection of the subjective/objective dichotomy that has been established in social scientific research. How we theorize knowledge is important for establishing what data is appropriate for showing meaning. Common labels are often used in the academic community, which presuppose specific assumptions. I thought of myself as a sociologist, who happened to be using history, as a way to inform the present, as such as I discuss those labels in more detail.

My discussion of ontology focuses on my stance as a constructivist and I will discuss the ways in which my research accepts the presence of the researcher in the data. I discuss the ethical issues that arose in my research and the steps that I took to assure that my work retained ethical integrity. Having reflexivity is important as well, for understanding the politics of identity means that there is a transparency about various unconscious forms of privilege that results from my gender, race and class et al.

The investigative, exploratory approach that is taken in this work means that a qualitative methodological strategy was used, which is a form of inquiry

“aimed at understanding human behaviour by building complex, holistic pictures of the social and cultural settings in which such behaviour occurs. It does so by analysing words rather than numbers, and by reporting the detailed views of the people who have been studied” (Angrosino 2007:2).

Qualitative research is an umbrella term that often is used with regards to a wide range of differing epistemological positions and data collection strategies (Denzin and Lincoln 2017). I discuss common ways of evaluating qualitative research such as trustworthiness and accurately reflecting the meanings that observations may provide. I will discuss my attempts at ensuring these integral parts of qualitative research were adhered to within my work.

Research Philosophy and assumptions

Qualitative Research

Within the academic field of hospitality, the quantitative perspective is still the dominant research assumption. 'Realism' is the primary ontological approach and epistemology is determined by 'post-positivistic' forms of knowledge. The primary reason for this was due to how hospitality developed as an academic subject. Most research was devised in the managerial/business school lexicon with a specific focus on knowledge which could be applied industry wide. Quantitative analysis with its promises of objectivity and validity was used in an attempt to establish best practice. As a result, the relationship between hospitality as an academic discipline and practical application in the business world, is still very strong.

The old dualism of quantitative vs qualitative is a social scientific relic, which no longer exists. One thing that still remains though is positivistic ways of understanding or evaluating the merits of a qualitative project, which is conveyed through the language used. Often words like "validity", or "generalisability", or "objectivity" are used incongruously with evocative approaches (Hammersley 2013).

In previous drafts of this chapter, I was fairly defensive of my methodological approach. I used words like "justification", before writing a spirited defence, as though I was back in the classroom teaching undergraduates. It was something that took some time to shake off. There is a rich academic literature on evaluating evocative qualitative forms of methodology, which I used to establish my own internal framework of what constituted meaningful and appropriate data. A good source that helped in creating a framework for indicating value was Tracy (2010)'s eight tents of qualitative research (see table below). In following Tracy's (2010)

guidelines, I hope to demonstrate throughout this chapter, how my study corresponds to her eight areas of assessment and how I designed my methodological study around it.

Table 12: Describing various metrics for evaluating qualitative research

Criteria for quality (end goal)	Various means, practices and methods through which to achieve
Worthy goal	<p>The topic of the research is</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relevant • Timely • Significant • Interesting
Rich rigor	<p>The study uses sufficient, abundant, appropriate and complex</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Theoretical constructs • Data and time in the field • Sample (s) • Context(s) • Data collection and analysis procedures
Sincerity	<p>The study is characterised by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-reflexivity about subjective values, biases and inclusions of the researcher(s) • Transparency about the methods and challenges
Credibility	<p>The research is marked by</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thick description, concrete detail, explication of tacit (nontextual) knowledge and showing rather than telling • Triangulation or crystallization • Multivocality • Member reflections
Resonance	<p>The research influences, affects or moves particular readers or a variety of audiences through</p>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Aesthetic, evocative representation • Naturalistic generalisations • Transferable findings
Significant contribution	<p>The research provides a significant contribution</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptually/theoretically • Practically • Morally • Methodologically • Heuristically
Ethical	<p>The research considers</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Procedural ethics (such as human subjects) • Situational and culturally specific ethics • Relational ethics • Existing ethics (leaving the scene and sharing the research)
Meaningful Coherence	<p>The study</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Achieves what its purports to be about • Uses methods and procedures that fit its stated goals • Meaningfully interconnects literature, research questions/foci, findings and interpretations with each other

(Adopted from Tracy 2010: 840)

Discussion of Style

Over two decades ago, Charmaz and Mitchell (1996) described what they termed the '*myth of silent scholarship*'. In the article, they noted that scholars are expected to act like Victorian children: they should be seen and not heard. The silent scholarship problem is a relic of positivism which haunts social scientific research, even contemporary research projects, articles and monographs which embrace phenomenological epistemologies. Exclusively using the third person presentation style is an embodiment of that relic, in distancing the author and inferring a scientific paradigm.

The framing between 'subjective' and 'objective' social scientific discourse is as Charmaz and Mitchell (1996) suggest, a mythological one. Whilst the academic landscape is nowhere near as treacherous for qualitative travellers, there are still a few teething issues when considering the use of the self. Involving the researcher in the final analysis and discussion of the study is still viewed predominantly with the same positivistic framework mentioned previously. Using personal reflection has been viewed as potentially distracting from the study or diminishing the perceived 'objectivity' of the work. Using the self and ergo the first-person pronoun in research has been compared disparagingly to 'naval gazing' and to narcissism (Holt 2003).

Clandinin and Connelly (1994: 423) describes in a powerful way, why researchers still avoid using first person. The researcher who uses their own voice and speaks within their text, is partially naked to the reader, showing a transparency and vulnerability to the reader. It adds rather than takes away rigour because it "provides information about the contexts in which data are located" (Etherington 2004: 37). Another important factor in using a personal voice is that it adds another layer to addressing the key ethical and power relations which exist not only between the researcher and those taking part in the study (Etherington 2004), but unaware privileges and standpoints as a researcher. I will discuss this more in length in my section on bias.

My topic required personal reflexivity when devising and writing my observation chapter, as I was attempting to describe hospitality *as I saw it* through the city archives and on the street, whereby the theme of 'welcome' was a constant recurring notion. The feeling of 'welcome' is elusive, it requires a language which is expressly evocative, alongside an academic vernacular. Given all these points, I believe strongly in using the first-person pronoun. Writing using the first-person pronoun means that the reader is welcomed into the room and feels more engaged in what is being described. It feels more immediate and personal and there is a transparency in process.

As a result of all these factors, a reflexive diary was used in this project, as not only did it help to make sense of elaborate and complex maps of data, but it helped maintain a coherency and timeline to my work. I used many of these diary entries for my autoethnographic reflections, which I touch upon later in this chapter.

Research Ontology



Figure 3: Ayn Rand's way of understanding philosophical building blocks

The presentation issue described in the previous section hints at epistemological and ontological views that I hold as a researcher, which I think are important to discuss in detail. When I started to think about research philosophy, I was immediately captured by the simplicity of Ayn Rand's (1990) work in viewing ontology, epistemology, ethics and politics as separate stages that required a sequential thought process. It was illogical in her view to have an established ethical position without determining the metaphysical (ontological) and epistemological grounding that would justify that ethical perspective. Despite not agreeing with Ayn Rand on much, this was a useful way of thinking about and presenting the philosophical building blocks of my research.

Ontology is concerned with existence and what constitutes 'being' (Law 2004). Being' in this sense refers to two different things. It refers to what can be said to exist and secondly, it refers to what it means to exist. Philosophy which deals with ontology then seeks to evaluate

and determine at a basic level what exists in the world (Lawson et al 2007). The central question is what can be said to exist in the world. It is a subfield of metaphysics, which is the general philosophical study of *how the world is*. A separate investigation is whether these two aspects of 'being' share things in common. For researchers, having a clear ontological position is important because it shapes the research framework and strategy for collecting data. A key debate in the social sciences has been the dichotomous divide between 'realists' and 'anti-realists' (Nightingale & Cromby 2002).

Realists believe that an "external world exists independent of our representations" (Nightingale & Cromby 2002: 703). The realist position is typically associated with positivism, as the role of the researcher is in representing reality as it exists *out there*. I considered 'critical realism' as a potential epistemological position, and notes I took on that particular methodological approach can be seen in my appendix. Conversely, what Nightingale and Cromby (2002) refers to as the 'anti-realist' position believes that we cannot meaningfully describe a reality *out there* independent of the knower. I believe that the term is misleading and so will not use it beyond this point. The term anti-realism presupposes an irrationalism, for of course reality *exists*. The meaningful question is how it exists, and do we have an influence in shaping it. I believe the realist perspective constitutes a somewhat naïve view, as it neglects the ways in which methodologies actively construct the realities that they depict and represent (Law 2004). Methodological approaches presuppose a certain world view which helps frame the data that is collated and meaningfully interpreted. Law outlines the various ways in which the real world is sometimes misplaced and lost between the lines of the data collected, but this is a determination of the researcher on what counts as valuable. Methodological frames therefore are not neutral tools but help carry out research that is within the confines of the researcher's world view. This world view, I would argue is part of what constitutes a research ontology. My position is informed by writers such as Law (2004), but also social constructivist positions such as Burr (1995) and an impressionistic approach outlined by Lynch (2005). My world view is that there are "no grounds for necessarily postulating or investigating a reality independent of the knower" (Nightingale & Cromby 2002: 703).

Whilst there is an epistemological problem that persists in the social sciences as outlined with reference to Brekhus (1998) in the previous chapter, to repeat the takeaway line, the social sciences focus too heavily on exotic sampling and ignore what happens within everyday life. As a result, they have created an unrealistic sense of social reality, which therefore affects the researcher's personal research ontology. A very important point is made here because what is considered mundane is not even factored into the researcher's analysis, because for the researcher it does not exist as meaningful data. The point here is that the 'marked' and 'unmarked' argument showcases an ontological element. As Law (2004) argues, social science should be trying to make and know realities that are vague and indefinite because most of the world is enacted in that way. Ontologically then, I am coming from 1) a position where I recognize that methodological tools actively create the knowledge which is depicted and analysed in my findings, 2)- a position where I recognize that social theory needs to focus on the everyday, 3)- a position where I understand that reality is created and made meaningful by the interpreter of the data, which means I do not accept the thesis that there is a reality out there, irrespective of the knower. What is truthful for me as a researcher is framed by my world view.

Who am I as a researcher? Is perhaps one of the hardest questions of all, but answering it clearly was critical. In answering this question, it was important to lay stake to a paradigm. It is hard to lay stake to a paradigm, to simply choosing one is a misinterpretation of how paradigms operate, which is largely due to the perspective taken by Denzin and Lincon (2017). A paradigm is often unconscious (Kuhn 1970) and figures the entire field of discipline that a researcher would typically work within. Typically, this means understanding where you are historically, culturally and philosophically when starting a project. Denzin and Lincon (2017) describe research as going through '*moments*', which are distinct stages of thought that are widely accepted or taken to be the case. I believe that the idea of '*moments*' of qualitative research is misleading as it implies a linear progression of thought. Where historically, we have gradually rejected a specific way of viewing the world in favour of another. I believe what has happened is not that we have rejected specific methods, but merely developed and reworked others. Often what has happened is what Law (2004) refers to as methodological assemblage, which recognizes a blurring in specific research strategies.

Epistemological Approach

Epistemology involves what is knowable and therefore is concerned with how knowledge is generated and acquired. It is naturally linked to ontology, as it forms a second level for evaluation. Once an ontological position has been clearly stated, an epistemological position can be developed. An ontological position is necessary to establish before going on to determine theory of knowledge, because determining the nature of social reality is a prerequisite for determining what we can know about it. Building theory is also dependent on a specific understanding of what knowledge is and how it is produced. How knowledge is constructed is a pertinent and contentious issue amongst researchers. Often, researchers will not be aware of this as they do not consider these building blocks that determine who they are as researchers. Debates often occur as a result of key philosophical differences at these fundamental starting points. This is because researchers often begin at different philosophical understandings of what constitutes knowledge in the first place and how it is established. Researchers sometimes do not realize this. Meaning is therefore contested on the epistemological assumptions that researchers take. In this section, I will outline the epistemological position I took and compare and contrast it with broadly competing perspectives. I will describe the process involved in determining a coherent research philosophy. In doing so, I provide important context to my positioning as a critical researcher.

The Constructivist Frame

The epistemological perspective that fits with the confines and scope of the project was social constructionism and I will outline the reasons why this approach fits so well and the various assumptions and consequences that this had for my data. Burr (1995) described how what is meaningfully labelled as social constructionism can be quite broad as it is often used in a multidisciplinary context. Since this is the case, it routinely crosses academic disciplines and is widely used as an epistemological framework in sociology, critical psychology, literary theory and is seen in philosophical movements such as deconstructionism. Social constructionism, constructionism and constructivism are terms which seem to be used interchangeably in the tourist research literature (Pernecky 2012).

For the purposes of clarity, I will use the term “social constructivism” throughout this chapter. Hacking (1998 as cited in Pernecky 2012) stated that the use of social here is tautological because “most items claimed to be socially constructed could be constructed only socially” (Pernecky 2012: 1120). Such a view is naïve of how theory has often isolated the individual from the social context. Despite Mills (1959) landmark text on the sociological imagination where he brought ‘public issues’ and ‘private troubles’ together as distinctly social concerns, we still often think dichotomously with regards to the individual and society. These theories often go under the label “constructionism”. It is for this reason that the term social constructionism is more apt semantically.

There is confusion in the literature about the epistemological and ontological premises that social constructivism rests on. For example, Chambers (2007) states that reality is dismissed entirely and so therefore the idea relies on a relativistic conception of reality. It is important from the outset to dispel and clarify these misunderstandings. Social constructionism is outlined very succinctly by Denzin and Lincoln (2017:35) who describes it as such:

“The constructionist (and constructivist) position tells us that the socially situated researcher creates, through interaction, the realities that constitute the places where empirical materials are collected and analyzed.”

From this definition it is clear that relativism is not the intended goal of knowledge creation here. Rather, it is socially constituted knowledge which is constructed by the researcher, the researched and the frames of reference for the study. These frames of reference are defined by Burr (1995) who describes three key characteristics for what constitutes social constructionism:

1)- Social constructivism presupposes a critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge of the world. Burr (1995:2) explains that having this stance means challenging,

“The view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world. It is therefore in opposition to what are referred to as positivism and empiricism in traditional science”.

2)- Historical and cultural specificities. The way in which we understand the world, including the categories and concepts we use are historically and culturally specific. Where we live and when we lived has an impact on what we regard as normal, taken for granted frames of knowledge. (Burr 1995)

3)- Knowledge is structured by social processes. “The goings-on between people in the course of their everyday lives are seen as the practices during which our shared versions of knowledge are constructed.” (Burr 1995:3). What we regard as ‘truth’ therefore is not merely a reflection of the world as it exists out there but the social processes and interactions that are constantly being engaged.

Sociologists looking at how knowledge is created, often begin from the premise that knowledge is created and transmitted by culture and is inherited by different generations (Barnes 2015). Reality is therefore co-created meaningfully in research by the researcher, the participants and the social, cultural and historical frames which position the study. Mannheim (1936), a seminal thinker in the sociology of knowledge for example noted the following:

“Strictly speaking it is incorrect to say that the single individual thinks. Rather it is more correct to insist that he participates in thinking further what other men have thought before him. He finds himself in an inherited situation with patterns of thought which are appropriate to this situation and attempts to elaborate further the inherited modes of response or to substitute others for them in order to deal more adequately with the new challenges which have arisen out of the shifts and changes in his situation.”

The contrasting view is that knowledge is the product of isolated individuals, what is referred to as the ‘contemplative approach’. The contemplative approach suggests that individuals are passive and merely reflecting reality as they see it (Barnes 2015). I follow the approach taken by Mannheim and others that knowledge is socially constituted. With this said, social constructivism as an epistemological position adequately reflects this approach to knowledge construction.

In reference to Howard Becker's (1967) work, that I briefly described in the literature review, where he outlined the ideal construction of social research, which was to support the 'underdog', or have an emancipatory basis, I thought about the potential for this research to have natural links to critical theory in offering 'unmarked' descriptions of hospitality, which could ultimately lead to new ways of looking at the city, which offered support for marginalised people on the periphery of social life. I decided this particular angle was outside the parameters of this particular PhD topic, as it was important to use an exploratory angle first. However, I include notes I made on critical theory and their potential application in my appendix and see this as a potential building block, beyond the confines of this thesis.

A common epistemological stance that is often used instead of social constructivism in qualitative research that I considered is the interpretivist frame of analysis, which is so common that it is often used interchangeably with the term 'qualitative research' itself (Denzin and Lincoln 2017). It is stated for example that qualitative researchers are inherently concerned with interpreting the "meanings and actions of actors according to their subjective frame of reference" (Williams 2000: 210). However, the use of interpretivism is also highly amorphous as noted. Interpretivism is used so loosely that it fits within various methodologies that can be counterpoised to each other philosophically. Williams (2000) uses a broad definition of interpretivism and notes that it relates to the interpretation of a person's language, but also actions, through observations in their natural setting. Whilst this fits with my current research framework, it does not seem to fully convey the epistemological and ontological ideas underpinning the research in a comprehensive and distinct way as social constructionism does.

Thick Description and The Muddy Water of The Objective/Subjective Divide

As discussed earlier, the traditional divide between objectivity and subjectivity is a contentious debate in methodological practice. Given my adopted epistemological frame, meaning is established by individuals and groups, but this changes over time. The divide between subjective and objective is perilous, since it presupposes that one group of researchers have no bias whatsoever, whilst the other group is swimming in it. The truth is that both groups have subjectivity embedded in their research.

According to Angrosino (2007), before the rise of postmodernism, the assumption in observational research was that observations in-of-themselves had inherent meaning which were stable and consistent. Observational researchers who happened to be studying the same research field, would theoretically be expected to establish the same descriptions and if there was any divergence, one of the researchers had to be wrong. The idea was that social researchers were trying to establish descriptions of an objective reality which exists independently of the researcher. This basic assumption due to scepticism from postmodern scholars meant that the focus of the researcher changed as did the purpose of observations and their supposed objectivity. Postmodernism complicated the idea that the researcher was a neutral and distanced observer who had no privilege outside their conviction to representing reality in their data sets.

It is now generally accepted that the researcher's main task is interpretation and that subjectivity is an inherent and unavoidable part of social research. Geertz (1973) used the term '*thick description*' as a way to orient and focus the interpretative task. The researcher interprets the culture as a system of signs and symbols that the researcher is tasked with decoding. The idea of thick description is to conduct dense, detailed and contextual descriptions at the micro level. The descriptions go from general content to more symbolic, subliminal and social undertones of what is being observed. The thick description is therefore using observations at the micro level, to explore culturally larger social issues. A good way of illustrating thick description is to look at Geertz's anthropological study of Balinese cockfighting, which is widely regarded as a classic piece of research.

Geertz (1973 :202) began by providing a general but detailed description of what the rules of the cockfight were and the significance it has to Balinese life and culture. He moves from this to look at the symbolic meaning that the ritual has to Balinese men and notes that the cockfight brings together larger cultural themes that exist in some form in Balinese society: animal savagery, male narcissism, opponent gambling, status rivalry, mass excitement and blood sacrifice. These themes create a symbolic structure onto which we can understand the significance of the cockfight.

Geertz (1973:5) argues:

“Man [sic] is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun and I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, constructing social expressions on their surface enigmatical”

Thus, thick description was an appealing way of constructing themes and a technique of ensuring depth in the collection of data. I discuss this in more detail in my analysis section.

Bricolage

In creating my observational approach, I brought together elements from sociological impressionism, autoethnography and psychogeography. My archival analysis used historical primary and secondary sources to sociologically highlight themes of hospitality. This approach to data collection and analysis is described in the literature by Denzin and Lincoln (2017) as a bricolage.

Bricolage as a concept fit with the constructivist epistemology and the relativistic ontology described earlier. Methods are viewed actively rather than passively, meaning that we ‘construct’ our methodologies from the “tools at hand rather than passively receiving the correct universally applicable methodologies” (Denzin and Lincoln 2017: 432). It means steering away from pre-existing guidelines and checklists that were developed outside the parameters of the inquiry at hand (Denzin and Lincoln 2017: 432). In an exploratory study, where a concept is being theoretically constructed and where the intended contribution to the wider literature is within a fairly embryonic academic space (the fusion of insights from hospitality studies onto the street), this approach seemed the most fruitful.

As such developing, a methodology as a bricolage means that the researcher is a ‘methodological negotiator’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2017: 433). As Kincheole (2005: 323) notes:

“[B]ricoleurs move beyond the blinds of particular disciplines and peer through a conceptual window to a new world of research and knowledge production” Kincheloe (2005:323)

In this section, I will describe how my methodological strategy was devised from an eclectic range of sources, to create an original contribution to knowledge in approach as well as in the data collected.

Edinburgh as a ‘Case Study’

One of the first things I knew for certain, was that the city of Edinburgh, Scotland was to be a ‘case study’ as described in my introduction. It was the place I grew up and now it was going to be a research canvas onto which I was going to explore and develop the ‘*civic commercial home*’. My supervisory team and I initially thought about exploring Edinburgh’s street furniture (such as public benches), as a way of exploring hospitality. It was an interesting idea and something that allowed me to start thinking more broadly about my choice of Edinburgh as a particular case study-

Gerring (2007) states that researchers have many different things in mind when considering what a ‘case’ is. At the beginning of his chapter, “*What is a case study?*” he notes some of the ways researchers broadly understand what constitutes a case and in doing so highlights the fluidity of the term. Despite the amorphousness of the definition due in part to the various applications a case study has, the various contexts that Gerring (2007) presents all fit in some way or another with the project. In the various contexts he presents, the following might be appropriate for justifying the case study approach for the confines of this study.

“To refer to a work as a “case study” might mean: (a) that its method is qualitative, small-N, (b) that the research is holistic, thick (a more or less comprehensive examination of a phenomenon (c) that it utilizes a particular type of evidence (e.g., ethnographic, clinical, non-experimental, non-survey-based, participant-observation, process-tracing, historical, textual, or field research), (d) that its method of evidence gathering is naturalistic (a “real-life context”), (e) that the topic is diffuse (case and context are difficult to distinguish), (f) that it

employs triangulation (“multiple sources of evidence”), (g) that the research investigates the properties of a single observation, or (h) that the research investigates the properties of a single phenomenon, instance, or example” (Gerring 2007: 17)

A paper by Dumez (2015:44) highlights three key questions to ask when doing a case study approach. I reproduce them here because they are useful for highlighting the ways in which the case study approach was used and approached theoretically in this project. The first question is “*what is my case a case of?*” (ibid). A question like this first requires an answer to an antecedent question namely: *what is a case?*

Dumez (2015) points out two different ways that a ‘case’ can be understood. In citing two scholars on the subject who have published widely on case studies, Robert Yin and Clyde Herreid, Dumez (2015) highlights that a ‘case’ can be an in-depth study of a ‘relatively bounded phenomenon’, or it can be regarded as a story with a message. Herreid is of the opinion that the border is not as important as the ‘*narrative essence of the case*’ (Dumez 2015: 127). What is true of both of these perspectives, is that case studies often tell stories and often aim at describing a process. They aim at telling a story of what how and why, which means that the confines of the case border, might be hard to retain. However, a clear border is necessary and sometimes this could be in artificially circumscribing a particular period of investigation which relates specifically to the research question. With these parameters set answering Dumez’s (2015: 44) first question is easy. The case was *examining the civic commercial home of Edinburgh as a welcome tourist destination*. Due to the extreme specificity in the case, it was felt that the material would conform itself around these indices. Another issue of course is what is preserved and what is recorded as important history in the city archives. I am already working within a prescribed view of another person, who has determined what would be important to document and detail about the affairs of the city. This is a topic I address in more depth in the section on archival analysis.

The second question asked by Dumez (2015) is “*what is the stuff my case is made of?*”. The present case study of Edinburgh is made of three different types of research data, which will be elaborated on later in this chapter. The first is archival data, which is composed of official documents, reports, commissioner’s minutes, and photographs which specifically examine

the public/private dichotomy in Edinburgh and how private objects from the home started to be seen and be encouraged as 'public objects' on the street, to facilitate a type of public hospitality. The second type of data is naturalistic observational data which explicitly aims to examine urban street furniture and how it is currently being used within the public space. The third question is, "*what can my case do?*" (Dumez 2015). The question here is how applicable is the case study, what are the intended outcomes, what is the intended contribution to knowledge. The practical applications of the research are outlined in my discussion chapter.

Edinburgh as a '*festival city*' is not something I focused on within this PhD, but the consequences of Edinburgh *being* a festival city, is played out through the observational content in particular, where it is evident that the city is preparing for tourists, leading up to the festival in August. The residue of departing guests is still felt in the urban context, long after the festival, with posters, barriers and various constructions remaining long after everyone has gone home.

The Archives

The first stage of the research was to conduct an urban social history to explore the creation of the 'civic commercial home'. The Edinburgh City Archives based at the City Chambers was the physical archival building that I regularly attended. Conducting an urban social history of the diffusion of the public and the private was important for the context of the study, as it marked the beginning of an orientation towards hospitality in the urban environment. As such the study initially decided to focus on the ways in which objects from the private home started to populate and redesign what constituted shared public space. As I gradually gathered more data and material, this slowly changed and I document this change in my archival chapter. This section describes the archival approach taken and other important issues I considered when using the archives.

There has been a move towards sociologically informed neighbourhood studies that have historical angles (Katz 2010). There has been a 'turn to history' as a way to inform observation,

as Katz (2010:27) explains: “Participant observers from academia cannot know without doing historical research.” It has been recognized that developing a historical analysis is not counterproductive, or at odds with developing rich sociological theory. In many ways, they complement each other (Katz 2010).

When it came to collecting data in the archives, there are a number of things to point out regarding how the materials are stored, collected and sourced. There are strict search room regulations that have to be followed when inside the archives. These regulations are available to the public on the Edinburgh Council Website. The first form relates to general regulations for maintaining good conduct. Readers sign a registration form upon entering which ensures good practice is maintained within the archives and that the archives can survive in the condition it currently exists. Some of these prohibitive measures are obvious such as not eating or drinking, or the use of digital equipment which has the potential to damage the original sources such as the use of camcorders or handheld scanners.

There are specific procedures that need to be followed when in the search room and these restrictions are reproduced in full (see table for reproduction). Some archival content is restricted and not available without applying for appropriate clearance as stated here, *“Some of the records held in the repository will be subject to closure, and in some instances will require appropriate written authorisation. Staff will advise readers of such records, and the appropriate procedures to follow. Staff reserve the right to refuse access to archival materials in such instances”*. Given that my documents were public documents; this was not a problem when in the archives. Gatekeepers were not a problem when considering the archival approach. It was considered good practice to alert the archives before arriving, so various sources could be made available beforehand. The archival staff are very knowledgeable about the scope and contents of their collections and so were able to help direct me in the right direction.

There is a limitation on how much can be viewed at once. The regulation was as thus: *“Readers are required to fill out one production slip per item. Once completed, staff will retrieve the items requested. A maximum of three items may be consulted at any one time”*. This regulation meant that considerable thought and consideration was needed before

arriving at the archives. Considering this, before arriving at the archives on the first visit, I researched what collections exist before hand and noted them down before. My supervisor, Elaine Thomson made the first point of contact, to enquire what existed within in the archives and what might be appropriate collections to consult.

The archive collection that was most useful in the data collection period was minute book records collected by the Edinburgh police commissioners from the period 1805-1862. The scope within this archive was further narrowed and limited further to the following sources:

Minute books of the Cleaning Committee, 1819-1856

Minute Book of Committees- 1812-1817

Minute books of the Lighting Committee, 1820-1853

Minute Book of Committee on Smoke- 1845-1846

Minute books of the Paving Committee, 1832-1850

Minute books of the Drainage Committee, 1853-1856

Minute books of the Public Parks Committee, 1854-1856

After exhausting these records, I started to expand my search outside the police commissioner minute books and looked at a range of eclectic resources, that had the potential to fit with the confines of the study. One particularly useful resource was the civic amenities committee records, which were minute books exploring themes of beautification and public works. I examined those records up to 1949 and included information throughout my chapter from various periods. I also used resources from the '*watching committee*' from 1820-1848, which was a criminological resource, recording instances of policing within the public space, but also of public 'nuisances'.

I quoted directly from minute books into an A4 notepad and collated these segments into a Microsoft Word document. Initially, I sent these extracts as reports for my supervisory team to evaluate. As discussed, we were on an exploratory mission initially to see if the archives would be useful and so I often sent my findings to my supervisors at this early stage, with preliminary notes and ideas as to what they might mean in the larger context of what I was reading. I would send these reports regularly and then once feedback was given, I started to

collate and make themes from my findings. I went to the archives until I felt that sufficient time had been given and that the necessary minute books that were highlighted earlier were scanned to a sufficient extent that I could justify saturation. Additionally, I made use of resources that were available online, such as the digitised archive of the Scotsman newspaper. Additionally, I used the Internet Archive (<https://archive.org/>) to obtain a digital copy of the Official Guide to Edinburgh, published in 1920, and a copy of Robert Mudie's (1822), "*A Historical Account of His Majesty's visit to Scotland*", which were important documents for expanding the archival information in my chapter.

The minute books documented decisions that were agreed upon regarding a range of topics. They were often declarative statements, without much context and as a result, I needed to trace decisions longitudinally as much as possible and try to read between the lines. I had to use my own interpretative understanding of the documents, the preceding decisions that had been met and combine it with known social anxieties or issues during the time period. I was often looking for repetition or instances where there seemed to be a consistent refusal to implement specific requests from local businesses, or members of the public. Sometimes the minute books did provide more information, as to the basis for specific decisions. There were a variety of reasons that could be read into the text, and I tried to be as faithful as possible to the context and circumstance in which the information was being provided.

As a result, the archival approach taken was not a sequential and linear history of what happened throughout the time period of 1819-1949, but rather a Foucauldian inspired genealogy exploring hospitality themes throughout the period, which have a direct influence on the city of Edinburgh now. Often, I tried to outline the contradictions of hospitality with my archival material, in showing the disconnect between objects which are perceived to be 'hospitable' such as street lighting and the corresponding public reaction to their installation.

Foucault said that his genealogical approach was an attempt to investigate those elements which seemed to be 'without history' and consequently have entered into the common sense of everyday life. As Tamboukou (1999: 203) describes, regarding the genealogical approach to history:

"Instead of seeing history as a continuous development of an ideal schema, genealogy is oriented to discontinuities. Throughout the genealogical exploration there are frequent disruptions, uneven and haphazard processes of dispersion, that call into question the supposed linear evolution of history. In this context of reversal, our present is not theorised as the result of a meaningful development, but rather as an episode, a result of struggle and relations of force and domination. Genealogy is the history of such fights, their deep strategies, and the ways that interconnect them"

One of Foucault's more striking epistemological points, which he derived from Nietzsche has relevance here, which was that 'truth' cannot be separated from the procedures of its production. The archive and its corresponding records, that were deemed important enough to be preserved and stored, were in a sense helping to shape the story that was being told in the archival chapter.

"Archive" is a term that relates not only to a place, an institution and a collection of documents. Archival research then presupposes study which is within a specific building, that happens to be a specific institution containing documents. Archives are regarded as important places of knowledge, for they record *the past* and constitute *the past* at the same time. Duranti (1994) states for example that once a document has passed what he terms the 'archival threshold', it can enter into a depository of truth. The documents have inferred legitimacy as documents representing the past, as they are recorded, collected and stored by an institution which is regarded as symbolizing and representing what constitutes the past. I had an awareness that the material I collected was not enough in representing the story that was being told.

Primary and Secondary Sources

Analysing sources that are already available could be approached in a similar way to how researchers approach interviews with key informants. Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their foundational text on grounded theory devote an entire chapter to describe how researchers

could feasibly approach the archive, or secondary sources such as non-fiction. Much of what has been said about grounded theory and the notion of constant comparison and theory building inductively can be applied to the archive (see section on data analysis). The archive does not come pre-packaged and neatly organized into categories that the researcher would find helpful or appropriate. The archive can be disorganized and many of the documents are bound together in ways which might appear random to the researcher.

One of the key insights from Glaser and Strauss is to read outwith the thesis topic routinely as the meshing of anterior concerns often results in novel links and ideas being formed, that contribute to knowledge. In this research, both primary sources and secondary sources were consulted and used. Primary sources refer to manuscript sources or published material from the period under study. A manuscript source refers to any handwritten or typed record or communication that has not been printed elsewhere (Brundage 2013). Manuscript sources can be diary entries, private notes, private photographs and letters. Manuscript sources are typically viewed as sources which were originally intended for private or restricted use. Published sources can refer to materials that were from the outset intended for the public, such as newspaper articles, public records and autobiographies. Often these sources were designed to influence and shape public opinion.

Brundage (2013) suggests that when approaching source materials, the researcher should consider what the purpose of the document was and then after answering this question, proceed with scepticism and caution. Another factor is how representative the document is of the whole. A process like this can be backed up by other documents which replicate a similar message. The historical researcher is aware of the bias of vantage point and so collecting as many accounts as possible helps to create a cohesive understanding. Being aware of this, I approached a variety of sources that crossed many domains and as such secondary sources were important to the project. I spent a long time in the Edinburgh room in the Edinburgh City Library perusing published sources such as the eccentric "Beauties of Scotland", a tome from 1805 by Robert Forsyth, the results of which are blended into the archival data. Contemporary sources are also used, such as resources from the Cockburn association and Edinburgh world heritage.

The role of the archival researcher is to find meaning within the documents, to connect the dots, to map out a conceivable theory to explain, in my case, the civic commercial home. The researcher takes documents and inductively creates a picture. Books were consulted with the same level of mystery and intrigue as a critical interviewee. The main resources I used in this regard was the work of Morris (2007) and Laxton and Rodger (2013), who are regarded as exemplars in this area of research.

I also was heavily influenced by the work of a social history paper by Brunton (2005). The study looked at public conveniences and the various forms of opposition residents had to the planned hygienic improvements. Brunton (2005) in her study examined four large Scottish burghs and focused on the moralistic attitudes that arose in opposition to the provision of public toilets. The problem was that they were typically associated with the private home and there was resistance to what was experienced as unnecessary 'civilizing' reform. This analysis consulted "hundreds of brief entries in the police authority records, which reported decisions to build, change, maintain or remove conveniences" (Brunton 2005:188). Brunton's analysis was useful as a starting point for showing the sort of archival material that might be available. I was able to start by using similar sources and then gradually expanded outside that reach, into other areas.

How I developed my observational approach

Before describing the observational approach, I developed, it is worth describing the positivistic studies of urban observation which were influential in the development of sociology as a field, but also in areas such as human geography, urban studies and economics (Simpson and Kelly 2008). Part of the reason I think this is necessary, is that it had an early influence in how I started to think meaningfully about the observational approach the study would take and this influence is apparent in an early methodological iteration presented in a poster at the CHME conference in 2015 (see below). I will also discuss contemporary observational methods, that have a similar philosophical lineage, which I explored and ultimately decided against. As a result, it is important to discuss these approaches and how they have been used elsewhere and why I believed a different approach was necessary.

The Chicago School of Sociology in the 1920s⁸ through a variety of studies, attempted to scientifically capture the city of Chicago, referring to their urban space as a '*naturalistic laboratory*'. Observations were recorded in a highly structured way, which could be tested and compared, which resulted in ecological models of the city being designed such as the concentric growth model. The influence of ecology on the way data was presented was a recurring theme of their output. As Simpson and Kelly (2008: 218) remarked, they had models such as the:

“rings of growth, like the growth rings of trees; racial patterns of settlement like the patterns of plant ecology; immigration patterns of expansion along radial lines; and an organic machine politics”

The framework of those models, particularly the rings of growth model had an influence on early iterations of how I tried to understand Edinburgh. A poster I presented at the CHME conference in 2015, shows concepts I used from Chávez and van der Rest (2014) (*the agora and the fortress*) with accompanying pieces of street furniture and objects on the street (see below). In the poster, the embryonic idea for the civic commercial home is outlined, by way of 'private objects' and 'public space'⁹.

⁸ Scholars such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess and Roderick Duncan Mackenzie who did participant observation studies on gangs, slums and other elements of Chicago urban life.

⁹ I considered using semi-structured interviews as part of the PhD project, in order to interview key members of the council or other members of key organisations such as the Cockburn society. I decided that this simply was not within the confines of the project and outline this as a possible future research application of the civic commercial home concept, in my conclusion.

The Research

- A social history describing how elements from the private domestic sphere have colonised the public sphere.
- Examine/apply theories of hospitality (social lens theory) and notions of marked/unmarked spaces (Breidhas 1998, Lynch et al 2011).
- Draw theoretical/practical conclusions on the use and significance of street furniture in relation to the development of the hospitable city.

Methodology

- Qualitative research/analysis:
- To provide context: historical research-Edinburgh City Archives.
 - Semi- Structured interviews with city planners, relevant organizational representatives and engagers with street furniture
 - To describe the material culture of civic hospitality, understand the significance of location and milieu in creating urban hospitality: analyzing plaques or other commemorative notations and photographing street furniture.



Adopted from Chaves and Rest (2014)

References:

- 1)-Breidhas, W. (1998). A sociology of the unmarked: Redirection our focus. *Sociological Theory*, 16, 36-61.
- 2)-Grynath, P, Meltz, J G, Mounsb, A, Lopez, P, & Lambly, C. (2011). Theorizing hospitality: Hospitality & Society. doi:10.1386/hosp.1.1.3_2
- 3)- Chaves, F van den B and Rest, J-P van der (2014). "The hospitalities of cities: Between the agora and the fortress", *Hospitality and Society*, 4.1, pp21-53
- 4)- Miles, M B and Huberman, A (1994) *Qualitative data analysis: An Expanded Sourcebook*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage



Practical/Theoretical Contributions

- Provide insights into how visitors and host communities engage with material objects of mundane urban hospitality.
 - Enhance understanding of public hospitality in urban tourist destinations.
 - Advance comprehension of the relationship between public-civic and private-home hospitality.
- Contribute to theoretical developments regarding host/guest relationships within the hospitable city.
- Offer suggestions to city planners concerned with enhancing and understanding the tourist/visitor experience.

Figure 4: CHEME Poster (2015), influenced by the concentric rings model from the Chicago School

Geographers have now begun to reject these structural models of the city, instead assuming a 'centreless', or 'zoneless' understanding. The focus is more on sprawl and on the ways in which the city resists clear distinctions (Dear 2002). Mainly due to the rise of public-private spaces, gentrification and urban development projects.

There are debates surrounding the extent to which a researcher is a participant in their research, particularly in observational work. Other methods that are used within the social scientific literature include non-participant observation and participant observation. The main difference between these two approaches is as their names would suggest, the extent to which the researcher is involved as a participant in the data collection. Participant observation (PO) as a research method that originated in anthropology as a tool for documenting the behaviours and actions of the individuals or groups within the setting that the researchers were studying (Dahlke et al 2015).

Participant observation was proposed as an alternative framework to positivism and is thus characterized by a different philosophical structure (see sections epistemology and ontology). Bowen (2008:138) notes that the main features of participant observation tends to be

“purposive sampling, inductive analysis, a grounded theory approach, a case study reporting mode, the tentative application of findings and [a] special criteria of trustworthiness”

Angrosino (2007) discusses the various observational roles that can be adopted in naturalistic research. Research falls along a continuum depending on the performative role that the researcher takes in collecting data. A complete participant is when observations reflect the researcher’s status as an *‘insider’* to the setting under study. A complete participant does not have to be directly involved in the action to be regarded as such since they may already have considerable insight into the setting under study. Angrosino (2007) suggests that it may result in observations which do not properly probe the site in question as the researcher may take things for granted. The argument follows that due to existing ties with others in the setting, it can also be difficult to get an accurate picture of what is happening overall in the setting. With this said, the converse is also true in that having ethnographic understanding of a particular area contributes to an appreciation of local novelty and normalcy.

Psychogeography: The Derive

As discussed in my literature review, the field of Psychogeography had a powerful methodological influence in the study. One of the key methodological concepts from the Psychogeographical writings of Guy Debord (1956), was the *‘derive’*. It is an unplanned journey through a landscape, usually urban, in which participants drop their everyday relations and *“let themselves be drawn by the attractions of the terrain and the encounters they find there”*. You are encouraged to view the city for *‘what it is’* and the aim is to let yourself be drawn in by the attractions and encounters that you find. Debord’s approach was influenced by his anti-capitalism and his particular focus on the totalising effects of contemporary urban life, which he described within the *“Society of the Spectacle”* (1967). Printed in English in 1994. Walking through the city often implies a destination. The city is

usually an in-between area, a space designated by the beginning and end of a journey. Most notably these activist-scholars argued that the city is now a space for consumerism and the logic behind the city has transformed in order to accommodate the demands of capitalism.

Though solo *dérives* are possible, Debord (1994) indicated that the best setup consisted of several small groups, usually of two or three people who have reached the same level of awareness, who would then cross-check their impressions, making it possible to arrive at more objective conclusions. Inherent here though is an individualised experience, where observations are recorded and then cross checked later I was often accompanied on walks around Edinburgh, usually with my partner. This inclusion of other people was directly inspired by Debord's framework. The implications of this are discussed at length in my observational chapter and discussion.

The derive means picking up and attuning yourself as an observer to the in-between, to the often unnoticed. Sometimes experiencing the city in a different way from normal will lead to new interpretations, observations and experiences. Using the ideas of the *dérive*, means taking to the city (within a designated parameter) without preconditions and noting observations down. Cultural geographers have started to use these techniques in various ways. Focusing in on Union Street, in Aberdeen Scotland, Vergunst (2010) conducted various walking observations that have a lot in common with classical Psychogeography, in that the author explored and documented everyday life, with the intent of defamiliarising what is taken for granted, in re-situating the mundane and the ordinary.

The observations which are expressed in an autoethnographic way was done with an awareness of the streets' wider context, which is explored in a brief social history, for "walking practices are intertwined with the histories of planning and architecture" (Vergunst 2010: 378) A key observation was the intersection between class and geography. Aberdeen's Union street's design embodied appropriate taste, it showed elegance and improvement, typifying progressivism. The old uneven streets became something else, namely "vaults, tunnels and backstreets" (Vergunst 2010:380). Another important observation is that the designing or planning of a city and in particular its streets is not the same as predetermined use, as he notes,

"I suggest that walking can be approached through the purposefully mundane descriptions of embodied rhythms and gestures, but it can open out onto wider debates on urban form, social relations, and power that, in the end, play on both the familiar and the mysterious." (Vergunst 2010: 379).

There is a resistance to these established orders, a breach of the standardized and planned public hospitality. It is a very affectively attuned article in describing the sights and sounds of the street. The rhythm and pulse of everyday life is examined through the swoosh of the traffic, the looping siren of the emergency vehicle, the bustle of footsteps, the distant chatter, the charity workers and their sales pitches. It is for that reason that Vergunst (2010) describes the street as a place of rhythm and interaction. The observational idea is powerful, particularly as a framework for presenting an affective account of hospitable objects. An observation made by Vergunst (2010) is appropriate to situate the intent. He remarks that changes in the design of the street has meant a greater array of furnishings,

"including direction signs, rubbish bins, and, recently, large flower boxes (planters), and each walker has to track around and through these objects and the encompassing crowd" (2010: 381).

Sociological Impressionism

After determining that the city of Edinburgh, Scotland was going to be the research canvas and that I was going to explore hospitality on the street with a psycho-geographically inspired method, I started to read more widely. A methodologically important study I read within the hospitality field that made me think about the possibilities of external application was my supervisor's paper in the Annals of Tourism Research, "*Sociological Impressionism in a Hospitality Context*" (Lynch 2005).

In this paper, Paul described a form of autobiographical sociology, adopted from the work of Georg Simmel, which he developed during his PhD, as a way of exploring hospitality dynamics

within the homestay sector¹⁰.

It was an approach that *“included diaries as secondary data sources, notes from guest books, role playing, drawing, territorial mapping and furniture description”* (Lynch 2005: 529). Simmel in his articulation of ‘sociological impressionism’ was attempting to elucidate the uniqueness of subjective experience through stream of consciousness. The uniqueness of subjective experience was something I was particularly interested in obtaining.

Paul (Lynch 2005: 525) described his process as follows:

“For example, greeting on arrival and showing the guest a room, are each “sequences”. Impressions were recorded as soon after a sequence as practical. From jotting down “everything” initially, the notes quickly started to focus upon feelings, emotions, observations of facilities, artifacts, people, conversations, and events. These impressionistic observations were supported by an interpretative discourse in the notes, seeking links across the relevant literature with other units studied. Photographs of the bedroom accommodation acted as an aide-memoire and sketches of key room layouts were drawn. Reflections on each establishment were made following each visit, and a research journal was maintained from an early stage”

This connected in my head with the psychogeography I had been reading and provided me with a way to record my data. As such I used a form of this approach by recording stream of consciousness observations and taking photographs to aid observational content where necessary. Using photographs in urban research, is as Rose (2014: 308) points out, often extremely valuable, as they can

“[...]convey something of the feel of urban places, space and landscapes, specifically of course those qualities that are in some way visible: they can suggest the layout, colour, texture, form, volume, size and pattern of the built environment, for example” (Rose 2014: 308)¹¹

¹⁰ Lynch (2005: 528) in his paper describes homestay as a “specialist term referring to types of accommodation where tourists or guests pay to stay in private homes, where interaction takes place with a host and/or family usually living upon the premises, and with whom public space is, to a degree, shared.”

Within Paul's (Lynch 2005) work, analysis of these notes work ordered into themes, with an understanding which was partially in relationship to the wider literature that he had read. Paul described how this framework in its embryonic state was initially influenced quite heavily by the research literature.

My approach was similar. Paul in our PhD meetings would refer to my approach, using the word '*mosaic*'. Mosaic was something I heard quite often. I think initially, it was to describe how I was being 'led' by the research literature, rather than being able to adopt and create my own framework. Observations were being led rather than being natural. I was orienteering with the literature at the back of my head. I found it hard to get out of this mindset. Which meant stream of consciousness observations were not flowing in the way I wanted them to.

I felt like the observations that I was recording were not 'important' enough. I fell into a research stupor at this stage, because I was not able to produce a chapter that I felt was significant enough to demonstrate the theory I wanted to deliver. Rereading Brekhas (1998) gave me a sense of perspective and allowed me to realise something that Paul (Lynch 2005: 531) had already remarked in his published work, regarding his own observations

"These [his observations] are not simply concerned with tangible facets of hospitality but also with the intangible features, and thus are more holistic in describing the hospitality experience than previous studies"

The observations in describing the bones, the root of the hospitality being expressed/felt was keeping with Simmel's original perspective. I realised the mundane observations had as much value as the fantastical ones, which removed me from my research slump. My approach was as follows, use the psychogeographical approach of derive and record my observations in a stream of consciousness fashion by having a recorder playing continuously. Photographs were taken as a way to add to the narrative and detail a particular comment or idea being expressed.

The research methodology also fit with my ontological/epistemological perspectives of social constructivism described earlier. Paul (Lynch 2005: 531) remarked the same thing discussing the work of Carolyn Ellis (1991) in his article (and in person of course)

“The sociological technique of “introspection” as emerging from social interaction, which involves active thinking about thoughts and feelings. Associated with social constructionism, it is represented in the form of field notes or narratives such as journals. This approach similarly can be achieved through free writing, where subjects write nonstop about what they are thinking and feeling and what it means to them. Ellis (1991) observes that many Westernized persons consider inner experience equal to, or more important than, outer display (Lynch 2005: 531)

As Hein et al (2011) described in a poignant passage, fieldwork rarely conforms to standardized checklists, or a set process, but is typically based on the researcher’s judgment on what is meaningful and what is not. I had established an idea of what was meaningful and what was not meaningful before the data was collected, which was having a paralysing effect. I needed to allow the fieldwork to happen, the observations to be natural.

Fieldwork as an approach, has been used more and more in sociological discourse to relate to examinations of our own culture and to dig into the social mores that underpin our own society. Yin (2011) notes that the field work process is initially messy, in the sense that it takes time for the researcher to become fully comfortable and accustomed to the field. I would say that it remains messy. There are always new ideas coming from somewhere else, that grab your attention. Data accumulates and finding cohesion is the ultimate struggle. It is said in anthropological texts (Douglas 1966), that with extended experience in the ‘field’, you become more comfortable with how you position yourself there at this juncture, I will explain the observational method I used alongside my observational role. In doing so, I will discuss influential texts that helped me develop my approach and further, the complications surrounding the data I collected

Autoethnography Influence

The evolution of autoethnography from 'ethnography', methodologically has an important lineage in tourism/hospitality research which I will briefly outline here. Ethnography as a term has become fairly flexible within qualitative research projects. The label is not used in a typical fashion, it varies depending on the disposition of the researcher, which means that a number of different qualitative approaches when combined, in a specific setting can have the appellation 'ethnography' (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) note that this means, that there has been 'semantic overlap' with other labels such as '*interpretative method*', '*case study*' and '*fieldwork*¹²'.

O' Reiley (2005:3) in evaluating various definitions that are used of ethnography in tourism research notes that ethnography is typically '*iterative-inductive research*' which develops as the study is progressing, it aims to establish the complexity of human experience with reference to theory and the humans which take part in the study. Leopold builds on this observation (2011: 88) by noting that ethnography is thus an attempt at constructing '*the community itself*', or in situating a '*community related matter*' as the main focus of a study. It seems important that the researcher is participating, covertly or overtly in people's everyday lives for an extended period of time. Thus, the condition that it is naturalistic and occurring in everyday life without the direct manipulation of the researcher was a key element of ethnography. Ethnography was research which was carried out as people went about their everyday lives (Leopold 2011)

Another caveat is that ethnographic research "acknowledges the research problem within the complex cultural and historical system in which it actually occurs" (Leopold 2011:88).

¹² Other examples include the use of virtual ethnography, which is now referred to as '*netnography*' where data is collected on the internet and the '*field*' in question is digital space (Eisewicht and Kirschner, 2015). It is thus correct to label ethnography metaphorically as an elaborate form of tapestry (Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

Ethnography can be used as a triangulated methodology since it often involves many different techniques. Hammersley and Atkinson (2007: 231) notes that with these various techniques,

"it may be possible to assess the validity of inferences between indicators and concepts by examining data relating to the same concept from participant observation, interviewing, and documents."

Leopold (2011:89) also notes that "ethnography and fieldwork are forms of methodological inquiries in which the researcher him- or herself becomes part of the social activities and knowledge of a researched group while simultaneously partly inflicting his or her opinion upon a researched subject". Ethically, an important dilemma was raised when consulting ethnographic work, with what is termed '*betweenness*'. It is important to find the right balance between 'giving and taking'. An issue of reflexivity is how the researcher deals with this, since the perspective of the researcher in constructing is the way the story is told. Getting the 'community', the sound, the vibrancy and the diversity, to come to life through the pages of the PhD was important.

Autoethnography is a "*highly personalised account that draws upon the experiences of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understanding*" (Sparkes 2000: 21). Within the research literature, there are two different approaches to using the method. There are scholars within both schools of thought, but they are worth discussing briefly here. They are 'analytic' and 'evocative' forms of analysis, a debate Wall (2016:2) describes as

"At present, there [are] debate[s] about the extent to which autoethnography should be narrative, emotional, therapeutic, and self-focused as opposed to theoretical, analytical, and scholarly[.]"

The analytic school comes from the work of Anderson (2006), which is supported by more 'moderate' approaches to the methodology in papers such as Wall (2016). This perspective suggests using personal experience as an entry point, for reflexively buttressing pre-existing scholarly concepts and ideas.

The key area of contention is an epistemological one, in that Anderson (2006) and other scholars within the 'analytic' school are operating from a realist philosophy, whereas the evocative school has a postmodern, interpretivist approach to knowledge. There are significant debates about the usefulness of each approach, but these debates are essentially over the contestation of knowledge itself and its application in scholarly discourse. I believe the dichotomy is essentially a false one. I took considerable influence from the evocative school of thought, in thinking about the narrative qualities of my data. I was also influenced by the analytic framework, in thinking expressly about how my personal experience could be situated within the scholarly literature outlined earlier¹³.

I found when doing observations, my personal reflection started to become included in the data. I would have memories, that would linger like ghosts in the dreary sky, eventually taking over and stopping me in my tracks. I was also keeping a regular academic diary at the time, which I started to blend in with my observational data. I was also doing observations with my partner, which meant the process became personal, in a way that research usually is not. I tried initially to restrict myself from being a part of the data, in the usual way that researchers do. I found that the material was worth including though, as they started to complement the observational content I was recording. Using a diary was something I used to keep my thoughts in order and maintain a clarity on process. I integrated autoethnographic reflections into the main text, for a smoother flow within the observational chapter, or quoted directly from my diary notes where appropriate.

Serendipity

When conducting research, important sources that change the focus of the project can come out of nowhere, emerging serendipitously. A clear example of this was Brekhus (1998) paper on the epistemological distinction between what constitutes the marked and unmarked. The article became an important philosophical bedrock for part of the dualisms discussed in the literature review and it was found by exploring back issues of the Sociological Review

¹³ I attended a workshop by the great Stacy Holman Jones, in the United States and she used a process called "Citation Spinning", where she would encourage researchers to think of a personal story and then look expressly for academic work that could support, or help understanding of that event. It was like therapy for academics.

randomly. Other sources emerged from reading widely across different subject areas; reading author bibliographies; using Mendeley's '*similar articles*' feature and having conversations with academics both on and off social media. I feel like this is a good way to start this section, as it demonstrates the messiness of research. With 'research' bringing together disparate elements of valuable information brought together during the research period.

Messy is an apt way of describing the qualitative research presentation and analysis phase of the study, in attempting to ascertain meaning in large swathes of data. As Billo and Hiemstra (2013: 314) point out

“transitioning from our neat plans to the actual research process felt like stepping into an unknown abyss, and we struggled with what flexibility can and should look like in practice”

When I started the 'fieldwork' phase of the study, I immediately felt this disconnect between what was a neatly presented proposal and the reality of recording data. The major issue at first was in locating valuable information. Value was something I worried about a lot due to the research methodologies I used. Stream of consciousness observations meant that I was speaking, generally off the cuff as much as possible and I struggled with what I perceived to be 'academically important observation' and observational debris. It took some time to relax and record material that was less rigid and on the research theme. Realising that I was falling into the trap of trying to ascribe value with 'exotic sampling' that Brekhus (1998) described, I realised that mundane observations also had their worth and importance, as part of the proper presentation of social reality in my findings.

The archival phase of the research presented the same issue. My supervisory team warned that I might not find anything of value at all in the archives, given that it is entirely dependent on the quality of the archive itself and its relationship to the topic. The quality of the record and its relationship more broadly to public, hospitable relations in the urban context might be obvious such as the introduction of a new water fountain. The importance was in situating that archival information within the established framework and building a picture. The picture I was building over time, through slowly, started to have many different filters.

Analysis of Data

At the end of the 'observational period', I had six transcripts and initially started coding the transcripts, alongside relevant photographs in the qualitative software programme MAXDQA 12 (see figure 5). I followed general principles of coding practice, which were derived from the work of Miles and Huberman (1994), who noted key elements in qualitative data analysis, which is what they refer to as *data reduction, data display and conclusion drawing*.

After initially analysing my data using the qualitative software and generating 'nodes', I moved to manual coding. Part of the reason I did this was I found it easier to connect the data within the Microsoft Word document. Visually, it made more sense and the data connected better for me that way. Although I found the software useful for allowing me to generate themes, I realised I needed to be 'closer' to my data and felt like there was a detachment to the process. There was also not a clear way for me to also categorise my photographs, without it causing issues. Being close to your data and manually coding on paper can result in unexpected connections, themes and moments of serendipity and thus according to Charmaz (2000) enhances the creative potential of the data.

When analysing my archival data, I used a general thematic analysis model. I wrote information manually down in a book and typed them up later as discussed. Eventually, I organised the extracts into suitable themes and started to see where there might be a confluence between the data collected and the extended secondary literature that I read within the archival material. Likewise, with the observational data, I used a general thematic analysis approach, in finding relevant information which fit under similar headings, then copy and pasted the material accordingly.

The framework I used initially for analysing my observations came from the work of Angrosino (2007). His procedure for data analysis within observational data is what he referred to as a *procedural arc*. These are outlined as: the descriptive phase, the focusing phase, the selective phase and the saturation point. When I was collecting my data, I had this general framework in the back of my mind. But it was more useful in understanding the data I had and if I needed

to do more observations. The descriptive phase relies on general questions that allows the researcher to develop an overview of the field (so the physical characteristics of the place, people, behaviour). The descriptive observations are free of interpretation at this stage and they merely document what is happening.

The focusing phase begins when the researcher can observe factors of interest with a greater focus and intensity. The focusing phase emerges after a familiarity with the 'field' has been developed. Doing this allows for the researcher to find patterns or regular behaviour as opposed to unique randomized events. These patterns lead to the next phase, the selective phase. This phase allows the researcher to establish and clarify relationships amongst elements in the site. After close attention to these relationships, the saturation point can be reached when new findings constantly replicate material already accounted for and analysed.

Once observations have been collected and there is a distinct variety to the observations collected, there is a need to sift through the data and establish patterns or themes which are present in the data. The analysis here can be theoretical, which means that the researcher intends to discuss the meaning behind the existing regularities; why certain patterns exist. For this procedure, the researcher brings in outside information and analysis in order to explain the data that has been collected. It can also be descriptive, which means that the data is broken into components with the intention of building up discernible themes or clear patterns. As such the descriptive aspect is similar to grounded theory. Once there is a significant amount of repetition in the themes that emerge from the data, saturation is reached.

Saturation as a concept is often poorly articulated in qualitative research projects (Bowen 2008). Whilst this may be regarded as a post-positivistic point, it is useful to outline exactly what I understood my saturation point to be and what the concept means. Saturation can be operationalized in conjunction with 'pattern finding', which refers to the repetition of themes which emerge repeatedly in the analysis of data. This idea is a staple in a lot of qualitative research and is often termed 'constant comparison' in studies which use a grounded theory approach. There are numerous ways in which saturation can be achieved and documented and a way I did this was also by using thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis can be data driven or theory driven. In the case of theory driven thematic analysis, this could correspond to a classic content analysis (Krippendorff 2004). This form tends to be in analysing conversation such as in the example of discourse analysis or rhetorical analysis (Krippendorff 2004:16). The approach I used was exploratory and so themes emerged from the observational data which resulted in theoretical constructs being established. Building themes from the data means that an inductive approach was taken in analysing the data itself.

A key element within thematic analysis is the idea of induction. The idea is that theory can be developed after themes have been established. Inductive analysis is a concept which refers to an approach which views theories, concepts or models as emerging from interpretations of data made by a researcher (Thomas 2006). The idea of theories emerging from the data is a common description and represents what is referred to in the literature as '*general induction theory*'. Data looks very much like a rhizome, there are numerous possible bridges to cross and pathways that can be taken and it is the researcher's job to not only embrace that particular messiness but, in my mind, to create a clear path from it (Deleuze and Guattari 1980).

Written transcripts are read several times to identify key themes or categories. A coding framework is then developed, and the emerging themes are tagged and grouped for similarity. Coded data is then compared within other data, often with the help of visual diagrams (Jain and Ogden 1999).

Thomas (2006:238) outlines the various steps that are taken in researching inductively derived theories, concepts or models:

- "1. to condense extensive and varied raw text data into a brief, summary format;*
- 2. to establish clear links between the research objectives and the summary findings derived from the raw data and to ensure that these links are both transparent (able to be demonstrated to others) and defensible (justifiable given the objectives of the research); and*

3. to develop a model or theory about the underlying structure of experiences or processes that are evident in the text data.”

Strauss (1990:53) describes seven features of systematic coding:

- 1- The scrutinizing of data (whatever it happens to be) forces the analysis to higher analytic levels*
- 2- Coding develops specific concepts and requires the analyst to give them names while linking them with specific phenomena*
- 3- Questions are inevitably raised through the coding to which the analyst gives provisional questions (hypotheses). Some questions are particularly generative, they raise clusters of further questions and open fruitful operational paths*
- 4- Coding leads to highly directed veritifactory efforts particularly through the use of theoretical sampling*
- 5- Moves more or less sequentially from what we term open coding to axial and then to selective coding*
- 6- These types of coding lead to the detailed interrelating of concepts.*
- 7- The continued coding should lead finally to conceptually rich and densely interrelated integration which is grounded solidly and clearly on data*

Induction is often presented as the opposite of deductive analysis which refers to a type of data analysis in which the researcher tests to see if collected data is consistent with previous theoretical assumptions or research questions. The dichotomy presented here is quite tenuous as researchers typically compare themes, models and concepts with previous literature, which results in an inductive/deductive process. There is a debate when discussing the purity of inductively derived models for this reason

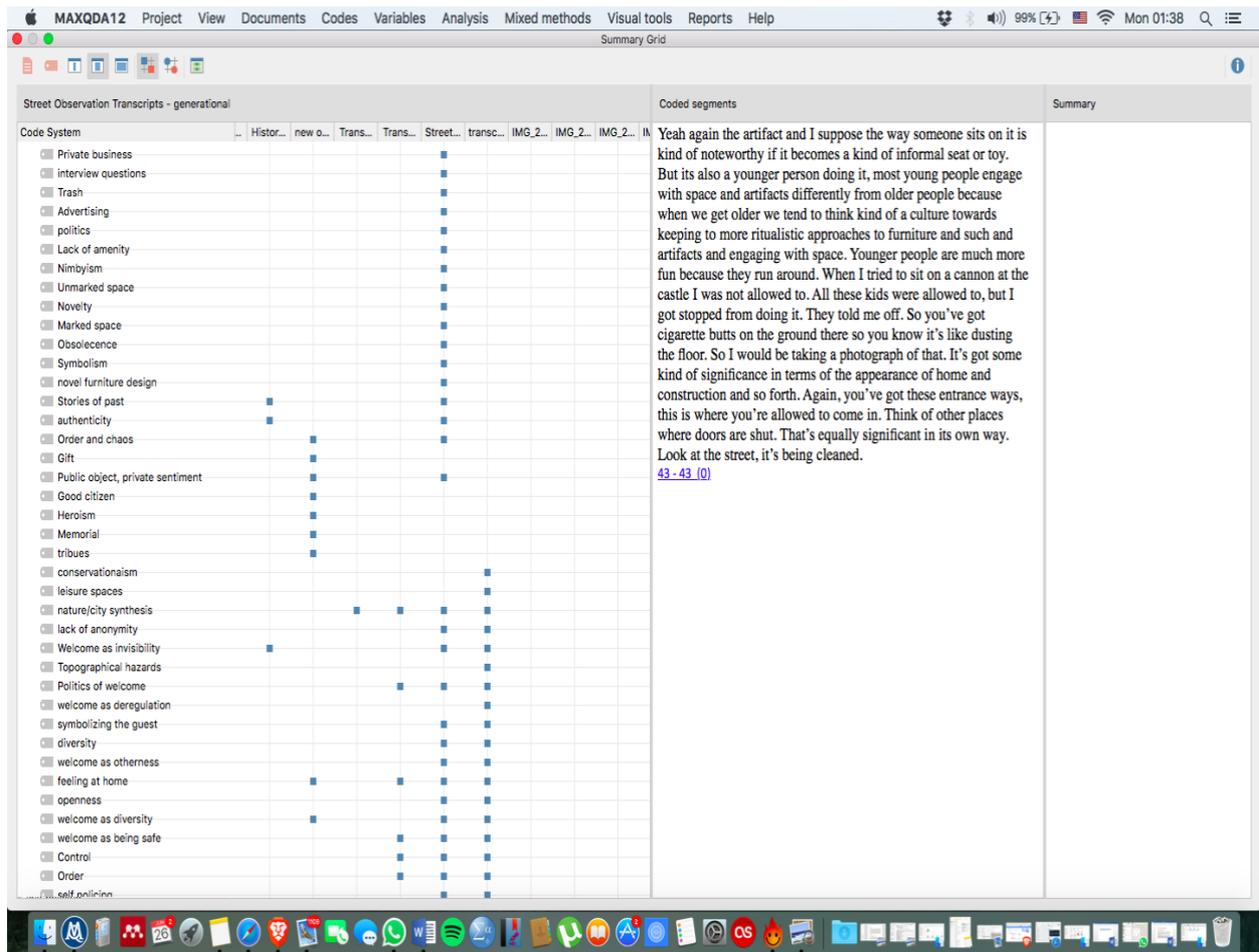


Figure 5: Example of Nodes being generated from coded segments in MAXQDA12

Ethical Issues

Ethical approval for the research design was applied for and granted by the university ethics committee. Further, the anonymity of individuals was protected as no personal information about them was recorded or considered meaningful for the purposes of the observations taken. Ethical problems are part of any research project and thus constitute a significant part of the research design. The reason is to make sure that no untoward harm is done to others when doing research. Within the archives, there was no ethical considerations that I needed to think about, other than taking care of the documents that I used. Ethical issues can be murky when doing observational research as the gold standard of ethical approval is the consent form, which is impossible and superfluous to use on everyone observed within a city. The practicalities meant that ethically, the project needed to take precautions so as to not identify people within the research, unless they expressly gave permission to be included

(such as my partner). Covert non-obtrusive, ethnographic observations despite being disassociated from the participants under study, still have ethical issues to consider. The effectiveness of the methodological tool requires the researcher's status to be concealed from the participants under focus. As Angrosino (2007) describes, whenever we insert ourselves into a community as researchers, we can inadvertently cause distress by highlighting sensitive issues; we can alter the relationships within the community, we can cause emotional distress.

Street observations are a common fixture of everyday life. We routinely observe behaviour that surrounds us, especially when walking around the city, or travelling from A to B. Despite this it is worth noting ethical and practical issues which may be a part of the project. When observing and making notes of the ways in which street objects contribute to an overall welcoming and hospitable atmosphere, there may be instances where observations are taken that involve strangers.

It is my belief, given the detached and non-intrusive element to this project, that gaining informed consent ethically is not problematic within the context of non-obtrusive naturalistic observation. Given that the focus of the study is on the objects themselves, rather than the individual that happens to be using or interacting with them, ethically there is not much to consider.

Furthermore, it is impractical and would hurt the purpose of the observations to attempt to gain informed consent from everyone that I observed on the street. Arguments concerning the basic practicalities of informing others in large public spaces of my intentions as a researcher are well known and worn. Gaining consent from someone that I only shared a distant and fleeting encounter with could also be potentially inappropriate (Lugosi 2006). Letting your status be known as a researcher in naturalistic observation is problematic as it can result in data which is tainted by the Hawthorne effect. The Hawthorne effect is a phenomenon whereby individuals will act differently if they know they are being watched, especially if the surveillance is obvious, such as a researcher recording the productivity of workers in a factory, which is where the initial effect was discovered. The effect suggests that people will behave differently if they know they are taking part in a research project. Workers

will be more productive if they are being watched by senior management because they fear being reprimanded. Given these points, the effectiveness of the methodological tools in naturalistic observation relies distinctly on the covert status of the researcher. Part of this is because naturalistic observation refers to the process of studying people in their natural settings, so that their unprompted behaviours and sometimes words can be put into an appropriate context (Angrosino 2007). Letting people within the spaces of observation know that I am observing them is not only impossible due to the specific site in question, which is the streets of a busy capital city, but it would also change the types of behaviour being observed and therefore neuter the purpose of the methodological tool. These observations are happening in a public space and are therefore constitutive of normal, everyday life.

Politics of Identity

“Urban environments are experienced very differently by different people. Not all spaces are equally safe to everyone not everyone has the power or resources to use towns and cities as they want; processes of deprivation, marginalisation and privilege profoundly affect how urban spaces are used and seen by different social groups” (Rose: 2014: 308)

As numerous writers have pointed out, there are two different kinds of reflexivity. There is ‘epistemological reflexivity’ and ‘personal reflexivity’ (Ellis 2004). Personal reflexivity is having transparency and trustworthiness. It means showing the personal bias, values and inclusion of the researcher. Part of being a reflexive researcher involves not only using your personal voice in your work, but also being aware of what is often termed, ‘*politics of identity*’ (Etherington 2004). Personal reflexivity as mentioned above is being cognisant of the “values, experiences, interests, beliefs, political commitments, wider aims in life and social identities which have shaped the research” (Franks 2016:49).

Within tourism and hospitality research, there has been a reconceptualization of inquiry. Wilson and Holinshead (2015) indicate a shift from what they term, an ‘inherently neutral and objectively-scientific’ approach to academic inquiry, to a form of analysis which is inherently social. The reassessment taken place means that there is a greater focus on knowledge constructed from various social groups, but also the social constitution of knowledge. These

points can be found in epistemological positions which favour the researcher's active presence in the research data.

As such, the quote from Rose (2014) earlier outlines barriers to entry for social research, that are often unsaid. The perspective to note here is the idea behind "*standpoint theory*". As Stoetzler and Davis (2002: 315) state, the premise behind standpoint theory is that it is "*vital to account for the social positioning of the social agent*". Whilst there are problems with standpoint theory epistemologically in my view, which romanticizes the disadvantaged and the oppressed, the general arguments behind the theory have important implications for reflexivity.

It seems entirely appropriate for example to reflect on the fact, that as a young, working class, white male, I bring a specific perspective to the collection of data in this thesis. I have a particular situated position to knowledge. My understanding and appreciation of what is important, may be different from another person, who has a different life history, who is a female, who is older and who has a different social class position. These claims can be seen as epistemological truisms. I grew up on a council estate in the Scottish countryside, just outside Edinburgh. There is symbolic capital that persists in working class neighbourhoods in determining what has inherent value and what does not. I still feel the rung of my roots. There is a way of thinking when understanding these parts of life critically, it structures your thoughts in a way as to always look out for injustice and unfairness.

As Muhammad et al (2015: 1046) describes, researchers are "*centres of power, privilege, and status within their formal institutions*". Given that identity in social theory is often regarded as fluid, there are loads of composite parts which infer specific forms of privilege. It is not the purpose of this section to meticulously delineate forms of privilege, but rather to note that they exist and that they will have some effect on the data, despite my critical leanings. It is hard to determine exactly how significant these forms of power and privilege are as a whole. Regardless, the effects will hopefully be transparent with my reflexivity. Being reflexive throughout the data collection and analysis was a critical starting point for recognizing

researcher privilege. This theme, ended up being a powerful feature of my observational chapter, particularly when using reflexivity on transcriptions and doing autoethnographies.

Another significant challenge for me was in fully appreciating and understanding the nuances of what Harris et al (2007) refer to as '*audiencing*'. The term relates to how we write and frame our voices in the text, how we speak and transcribe our research into different forms for different groups of people. It relates to the decisions that I make as a researcher in representing myself and the people that I work with in my *researcher journey*. I found it hard to look at the PhD as a reader would, someone who was not immersed in the project as much as I was. I had to gradually develop this sensibility. Sometimes '*audiencing*' can be gained in a co-constructed way.¹⁴ Public engagement was also another important element to my development reflexively as a researcher. Using microblogging social networking sites like Twitter for academic purposes meant that I had to be concise and compact with my thoughts. Writing on social media with character limits helps train the mind to instantly seek the clearest and most succinct delivery of information.

Recognizing all these factors was an important ongoing process in considering my contribution to knowledge. My data was going to be shaped by a number of identifiers outside of my control. The researcher is not a neutral collector of data. Other factors include my experiences of what constitutes 'normal'. Tribe and Liburd (2016) note that their lifelong immersion in a particular epistemological frame (the academy in the western tradition) influences the approach that is taken in their research. Likewise, I am a Westerner and have lived my entire life in Britain and so my understanding of everyday life, is entirely different to someone who may have grown up in a different part of the world. Given my awareness of the ways in which social identity contributes to the collection of data, this had an effect on the epistemological perspective that I took.

Research Labelling

¹⁴ Occasionally, I would send extracts of my writing to friends or my partner and when their feedback was bewilderment or general confusion, it meant a redraft was in order.

In this section, I will discuss the various research labels which are associated with this project and reflexively what they mean for me as a researcher. Reflexivity it allows me to understand my situated knowledge and my positioning as a researcher in the current field. The labels explored in the section are the contemporary hospitality and tourism researcher, the sociological thinker and the historian. I thought about these labels in accordance with Foucault's (1980: 113) notion of a 'discursive regime'. These labels exhibit a type of academic 'tribe' and so I will examine how they intersect and how it influenced me practically and theoretically.

Within the business school milieu, I found myself regularly interacting with scholars in tourism, hospitality and events management. Tourism is a field, rather than a discipline, this can be said of hospitality scholarship as well. The field status is due to the ways in which tourism and hospitality knowledge is created, which is often from interdisciplinary sources. The field can be split into two clear camps, the first is 'the business of tourism/hospitality' and the second camp is 'non-business tourism/hospitality' (Tribe 2010). Tourism and hospitality then do not have much cohesion individually as subject areas, they are fragmented. They constitute a place to rest one's scholarly head in a variety of different disciplines. The fragmentation of the field is positive in a lot of ways, for it means there is a diversity to answering key questions and problems relating to tourism and hospitality. The fragmentation is the reason I am presenting this thesis. My experience was entirely outside of hospitality and tourism when arriving at the department. I arrived as a sociology student who had an interest in a diverse palette of ideas. The nomadism and inability to situate myself appropriately within a particular cannon or knowledge base, fit rather well with the fluidity of wider hospitality and tourism scholarship. The field is in constant movement and development, similar to how Bauman described modernity (Bauman 2007).

Tribe (2010) theorizes that tourism (and by proxy hospitality) is an '*indiscipline*' because of a lack of original jargon, language or theories. Tourism and hospitality are subjects which borrow significantly from already pre-established disciplines. We are the 'intellectual refugees' in other words. One of Tribe's more interesting descriptions is how the academics he spoke to generally disagreed as to what was the dominant discourse in the field. Some postulated that (post) positivistic perspectives were still favoured. Others described these

approaches as being less celebrated, insisting that they are being squashed out. The positioning or 'situatedness' of the researcher is therefore important (Haraway 1998). Where you are in the field clearly influences the perception of what constitutes dominant knowledge in the field. Indeed, Tribe (2010) also showed that politics is important for many researchers viewed the dominance of a certain perspective over another as for example, '*neoliberal*', and individualistic ideologies at work.

Labels will often restrict based on world view, or based on the assumptions that come along with adopting that specific label. When considering my own labels, it seems poignant to reflect on sociological and historical knowledge, which is exactly what Bourdieu and Chartier (2015) did. The text considers the labels we use when defining ourselves. The 'sociologist' label and the 'historian' label all presuppose a number of things. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Chartier 2015: 3) notes that sociological truth is 'violent', it injures people and it causes people to suffer. The suffering might be from the fact that what is being expected of the interpreter, is a radical shift in perspective, or a shift in perspective that results from introspection. Sociology is engaged with exploring the edifice which upholds social interaction and social customs. As a result, it can be injurious to unsettle those blocks and allow for the rubble to run. Chartier notes that a key difference between sociology and history might be as follows: history talks about the dead and sociology talks about the living. Bourdieu (Bourdieu and Chartier 2015: 4) agrees with this sentiment, stating that sociology, was like walking on hot coals, the things sociologists discuss are very much alive, they are not dead and buried. A recurring theme therefore is the notion of one discipline being very much entrenched in the past and another as being situated in the present. Bauman and May (2001:3) in their text looking at how to think sociologically also make this distinction by noting that a clear distinction between history and sociology is that "*history is about the actions that took place in the past, whereas sociology concentrates on current actions.*"

It might be worthwhile therefore to reflect on these remarks at the beginning of this section, given that I am positioned between what is 'alive' and what is 'dead'. Between what is present and what has past. A part of being a historian in this project, is about unearthing the remains of a past that was neglected or concealed, but equally, the role of the sociological thinker in this project is to take these remains and supplant them into the living, breathing pulse of

collected data. Perhaps it is right therefore to suggest that sociological knowledge in this respect, is as Bourdieu stated 'violent' for it aims to reconstruct and establish a history of the dead, and a sociology of the present at the same time.

Chater notes, "*historians are now also confronted with what appears to be self-evident categories*" (Bourdieu and Chartier 2015: 10) but the historian is also someone who in confronting these concepts, wrestles with appropriately detailing the construction of these categories. An example in this research is the ways in which the notion of the private and the public have changed over time. Part of the change has been in how the terms themselves are understood and defined, due to the changing nature of society more broadly. Part of the zeal of the sociologist it is argued by Chater, is in stripping away these certainties, showing the social construction in them and this is demonstratively true. Bourdieu notes that the historian can be naive in their use of categories, in assuming the fixity of concepts over time. He gives the example, that it is impossible to do "*longitudinal statistical studies comparing the status of medical doctors from the eighteenth century through to our day*" (Bourdieu and Chartier 2015) because the notion of a 'doctor' is a historical construction that has considerably changed. Part of the framing of the study with this in mind, is how the concepts have changed over time and how these terms were important in the refashioning of the city.

Given all this, Bourdieu can be a deterministic thinker and I believe his descriptions of the limitations of history and sociological thought are somewhat stifling to the creative intellectual endeavor. Bauman and May (2001: 3) quickly dispense with these scholarly assessments of sociological and historical boundaries, with the following statement

"as soon as we begin to justify the boundaries between disciplines in this manner, the issue becomes problematic, for we assume that the human world reflects such neat divisions that then become specialist branches of investigation" With this criticism in mind, the various scholarly divisions that are attempted highlight the various intellectual pitfalls that I could fall into, when undertaking a sociological and historical analysis. It might be presumed that I conform to these particular assessments of academic identity. It was important that I didn't fall into this trap.

Summary of Research Assumptions

To summarize these are the following key assumptions I have about methodological inquiry and the corresponding sources that were influential in generating that particular perspective.

Table 13: Seven key conclusions to take from research assumptions with accompanying source material

Methodological Statement	Key influencing sources
1)- Methodological tools have an active part in the knowledge which is constructed using them. They are not neutral.	Denzin and Lincoln (2017), Law (2004), Brekhus (1998), Kincheole (2005)
2)- Knowledge is socially constructed and knowledge is therefore socially constituted,	Burr (1995), Mannheim (1936),
3)- There is no distinct reality outside of the knower, the researcher is not depicting a reality neutrally. The researcher is active in the construction of data and has an active presence, whether they try to avoid it or not.	Ellis (2004), Nightingale & Cromby (2002),
4)- As a Western, young working-class white man, I have unconscious assumptions about what constitutes meaningful data and important themes.	Etherington (2004); Stoetzler and Davis (2002); Muhammod et al (2015); Harris et al (2007)
5)- Labels such as “historian” and “sociologist” presuppose a range of connotations about specific research practice	Foucault (1980), Tribe (2010), Bourdieu and Chartier (2015); Bauman and May (2001)
6)- Qualitative research is messy and is rarely conducted according to a linear methodological process, despite being assumed as such.	Denzin and Lincoln (2017); Billo and Hiemstra (2013); Ryan (2011)

Table 14: Summary of philosophical positions and key influences

Area	Position	Key influencers described in the chapter
Ontology	Relativism	Burr (1995)
Epistemology	Social Construction	Law (2004)

Objectivity/Subjectivity	In social scientific research, positivistic approaches which attempt to position themselves as being 'objective', over exploratory qualitative postmodern studies which are labelled as 'subjective' is a false dichotomy.	Ellis (2004)
Reflexivity	The researcher should be included in the research data and design	Etherington (2004), Angrosino (2007)

4.0:

Archive

The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the Bags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

Calvino (1978: 11)

Introduction

In this chapter, I outline and develop the following two key themes which emerged from the archival data and supplementary secondary sources: “Issues with Official Representation”, and “Problems to be Dealt with in the Civic Space”.

These historical themes correspond to three ‘*hospitality narratives*’ outlined in the literature review, which are hospitality as metaphor, hospitality as social control and hospitality as social and economic exchange (Lynch et al 2011). Both of these archival themes also aim to partially address the research aims outlined in the literature review. I outline the structural map of the chapter in the table below. When citing archival sources, I use the following in-text abbreviations,

LPC: Lord Provost Committee

CAC: Civic Amenities Committee

LC: Lighting Committee

GAC: Garden Allotments Committee

OG- Official Guide to Edinburgh, 1920

PUC- Public Utilities Committee

WC- Watching Committee

CC- Cleaning Committee

NLS- National Library of Scotland

Table 15: The relationship between the archival themes generated, hospitality narratives and guided research aims outlined in literature review

Archive Theme	Subthemes	General Research Aims from Literature Review	Hospitality Theme
1)- <i>“Issues with official representation”</i>	1)- Feeling at Home 2)- Important Guests 3)- Conservative Surgery 4)- Remaking of Edinburgh Castle 5)- Monuments as Urban Performances 6)- Official Guide Debates 7)- Carnival Trouble 8)- Garden Allotments and Public Gardens	1)- What are the ‘marked’ elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh? 2)- What are the different types of urban welcome (commercial and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh	Hospitality as metaphor
2)- <i>“Problems to be dealt with in the civic space”</i>	1)- Improper Amenity 2)- Amenity Provision 3)- Nuisances	1)- What are the unmarked elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh 2)- What influence does the private need for safety, order and surveillance have on urban hospitality in Edinburgh?	Hospitality as social control, Hospitality as social and economic exchange

I limited the historical analysis within this chapter to broadly cover the years 1752-1950, to outline where possible, changing attitudes across a significant period of redevelopment within Edinburgh. Initially the scope was to be within the 19th century, but delving deeper into the material, showed significant roots that needed to be pulled. Laxton and Rodger (2013) point out that these changing attitudes were paradoxical, because Edinburgh was at the epicentre of the Scottish Enlightenment, where the University of Edinburgh and the Royal Colleges were educating more medical students than anywhere else in Britain, but yet the urban environment was hostile to health and sanitation. It is therefore useful to explore this paradox and what motivated urban change using hospitality as a social lens (Lashley et al 2008). It is my argument throughout this chapter, that what emerged was a distinct hospitality-based approach to civic redevelopment, due to increased tourism, fostering a mentality whereby Edinburgh was conceived of as a '*civic commercial home*'.

Although not entirely a sequential or linear analysis of development, outlining an exhaustive timeline of change, these themes are explored throughout the period, using a Foucauldian genealogical approach. A useful way of explaining the structure of this chapter is to think of each segment like a photograph looking thematically at different elements of welcome and the various contestations and tensions which emerged within each.

My first theme, '*issues with official representation*' shows a recurring anxiety of destination management, where the imagery of what Edinburgh was supposed to mean to outsiders, was complicated by commercial, historical and civic interests. The issue here was how Edinburgh was situating itself as an extended cosmopolitan host. I start this theme by describing proposals that transformed Edinburgh from being a small, geographically uniform city confined by the Flodden Wall and what the motivations were for urban reform. I argue that improvements were made in order to attract wealthy and important people to come and live in the city and this was first attempted through physical reforms of the streets and the surrounding areas. I trace these physical redevelopments, into the construction of a particular story that could be sold to Edinburgh's new guests. This new story of Edinburgh's past was created through redevelopment projects and romanticised guidebooks, cultivating an ideal 'guest'. This idealised synergy between the historically marketed Edinburgh and its corresponding guest, is compromised when alternatives are suggested, such as the consistent

rejection of planning permission for local circus events. The problems encountered by these planning requests, shows evidence of Edinburgh, as a 'tyrannical host' (Mcintosh, Lynch and Sweeney 2011).

My second theme, '*problems to be dealt with in the civic space*' highlights the problems Edinburgh had in maintaining a pristine 'agora' (Chavez and van der Rest 2014) for tourists, due to unruly residents. Part of this involved upholding an imagined morality, in regulating and controlling significant parts of public life. Street furniture and other objects of public hospitality are introduced into key areas of the city, showing a blurring of the public and private dichotomy discussed in the literature review, as private objects started to populate the urban space. These objects though were not simply to encourage a 'hospitality commons', but were also about controlling the public space, providing evidence of Derrida's (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000) neologism '*hostipitality*', which highlights how hospitality is never truly unconditional.

Theme One: Issues with official representation

The issue of official representation is a recurring theme throughout Edinburgh's history, in trying to establish exactly what '*civic commercial home*' should be displayed to its guests. The anxiety of official representation is a recognition of the importance of authenticity, itself an important subtheme to consider. Anxiety is the right word to use, for different ideas of what Edinburgh meant in the past and what it was going to mean in the future were the bedrock of many debates. These debates can be traced through the official Lord Provost Minute Books, but also in secondary sources exploring key council funded construction projects.

The cultivation of particular narratives such as the story of Edinburgh as a medieval historical city developed in accordance with renovation projects on some of its key monuments such as the castle. Official guides to the city were drafted and redrafted during the middle of the 20th century, which shows not only the changing dynamics of Edinburgh literally but also the stories that were being told about Edinburgh. Increased tourism saw new challenges, as well as complicating Edinburgh's role on the world stage. What we also see is competing '*civic*

commercial homes, each with different historical ideas of what was an appropriate presentation of the capital. As a result, clear tensions emerged in keeping people who lived and worked in Edinburgh happy but also in marketing a viable welcome tourist destination.

Feeling at Home

Feeling at home is a subjective turn of phrase that we can all relate to. We *'feel at home'* in different ways, but for the sake of clarity there are a few generalizations that can be made. It is possible to understand this feeling as a warmth which emerges as a result of feeling comfortable and at ease in one's surroundings. Often, this is because we find reliability and relatability with our surroundings. It can also be as a result of our host, who provides the warmth we need through consideration and openness. Feeling at home as a conceptual metaphor is applied here in order to understand how Edinburgh tried, through amenities and civil projects, to instil 'welcome' into everyday life.

Our starting point is 1752. Proposals were drafted to completely transform Edinburgh which was at the time a very small town, confined as a result of the Flodden Wall. It was a space which was convenient as a defensive strategic point, due to its natural topography and as a result of its placement near the North Sea, which was one of the greatest estuaries in the world (Youngson 1966). But, this was increasingly an inconvenient and cramped space to live. The proposals were published in a pamphlet titled *"Proposals for carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh"*. Some of the content is striking and so I will comment on a few selected quotations from the document. Youngson (1966) reproduces the entire document in his text *"The Making of Classical Edinburgh"*, which I refer to.

Each of my selected quotes showcase a desire to reform, but the focus on reform does not seem to be explicitly for utilitarian or practical purpose. Reading these quotes, it seems as an observer that these improvements were, although necessary, also an attempt to spatially divide the city based on genteelism (people of rank, who had 'polished manners') and being able to observe *'beauty'*. As the city was fairly uniform due to geographical barriers, the mindset was to begin offering a space for those of 'growing wealth'. Beauty is a variable that intersects with cleanliness and comfort in these passages, showcasing that aestheticism was

assumed to be directly related to use. The direct relationship between class and the girth of streets for example was assumed and proposals were drafted to expand the streets as it was hypothesised, it would result in people of 'rank' relocating from London and finding their home in Edinburgh.

The first proposal

1)- *"The narrow limits of the royalty of Edinburgh, and the want of certain public buildings, and other useful and ornamental accommodations in the city, have been long regretted"* (emphasis mine) (Youngson 1966: 3).

The 'want of certain public buildings' referred to the sudden ruins that the city found itself in, due to a survey which was commissioned, to remove buildings which were not fit for purpose, as the result of an accident, where the side wall of a six-storey building, full of families, came crumbling down (Coghill 2005). The first proposal elaborates by stating, *"an opportunity of remedying these inconveniences was often wished for and Providence has now furnished a very fair one"* (Youngson 1966: 3). The city was now in ruins and represented an opportunity to redesign it based on a particular host characteristics.

The second proposal conflates beauty with prosperity, a common refrain that will be traced throughout the archival sources available.

2)- *"Among the several causes to which the prosperity of a nation may be ascribed, the situation, conveniently, and beauty of its capital are surely not the least considerable"* (emphasis mine) (Youngson 1966: 4).

The third proposal describes the problem with 'unavoidable nuisances', which is a theme I elaborate on further, later in the chapter.

3)- *[Describing Edinburgh as it stood in 1752], "The narrow lanes, leading to the north and south by reason of their steepness, narrowness and dirtiness can only be considered as so many unavoidable nuisances"*

In the fourth proposal, there are embryonic features of **'conservative' surgery'** a sub-theme explored later in this chapter.

4)- *"Hence necessarily follows a great want of free air, light, cleanliness and **every other comfortable accommodation. (emphasis mine)** (Youngson 1966: 6)*

The ruinous state of the city was blamed on narrow mindedness, poor manners and the lack of strangers visiting.

5)- *"It must be imputed, that so few people of rank reside in this city; that it is rarely visited by strangers; and that so many local prejudices and narrow notions, inconsistent with polished manners and growing wealth are so obstinately retrained"*

However, the proposals attempt to equate 'persons of every rank' as being enthusiastically in favour of the proposed maintenance. Youngson (1966) attributes a lot of the feeling behind the document as being predicated on a loose patriotism. Being proud of one's home. But, the residents did not have much say beyond host confines (Youngson 1966).

6)- *"Persons of every rank and denomination seem at length to be actuated by a truly public and national spirit" (Youngson 1966: 7)*

In proposals seven, eight and nine, it is again emphasised that Edinburgh was not a space where wealth and influence settled. New streets were required (larger rooms). Edinburgh's standing as a city of eminence therefore relied on its ability to adequately convince those of a particular wealth and influence to stay. It can be seen that improvements were suggested as a way of making the rich 'feel at home'. Improvements were thus designed as a way to encourage embourgeoisement.

7)- *"To enlarge and beautify the town, by opening new streets to the north and the south, removing the markets and shambles and turning the North-Loch into a canal with walks and terraces on each side" (Youngson 1966: 9)*

8)- *“It is a vulgar mistake that the greatest part of our principle families chose to reside at London. This indeed is true with regards to a few of our members of parliament and some particular families who were settled there before the union” (Youngson 1966: 10).*

9)- *“But can we expect that persons of fortune in Scotland will exchange the handsome seats they generally possess in the country for the scanty lodging and paltry accommodations they must put up with in Edinburgh?” (Youngson 1966: 10)*

An outward looking mindset is established. How can we attract the wealthy, who live a comfortable life in the countryside to come and live in the city? It was clearly felt that Edinburgh was not a suitable home, that work was required to make it presentable to **important guests.**

Chronically outlining the ‘proposals’ document is important as it showcases a mindset that clearly existed, before the city in its modern form was even designed and constructed, which is to assign value to beauty, a combination which runs through Edinburgh’s later urban regeneration projects and concomitantly the Lord Provost committee minutes of the early 20th century. Feeling at ‘home’ in the city was to be an extension of the private space. As Youngson (1966: 15) notes, the proposals precociously outlined a scheme which in the course of 80 years, was actually carried out. Practically therefore, it was a document which was used as a calling card, a city-wide blueprint.

This feeling at home metaphor can be understood as representing a division that was constructed on the basis of geography and class. Different ‘homes’ with different conceptual understandings of ‘welcome’ were emerging on a spatial level with the construction of the New Town. An advertisement appeared inviting architects and others to submit plans of the New Town in 1766. It was required that the architect *would*

“[mark] out streets of a proper breadth and by-lanes, and [offer] the best situation for

a reservoir and any other public buildings which may be thought necessary”
(Youngson 1966: 71).

The advertisement bestowed the following rewards to the winning entry: a gold medal with an impression of the arms of the city of Edinburgh and the freedom of the city in a silver box (Youngson 1966: 71). The symbolism here is particularly important to outline. Before the 1832 reform act such a freedom permitted the right to vote, ultimately helping to clean and tidy the civic commercial home inferred important privilege and prestige.

Important Guests

Edinburgh had already established that it was interested in receiving important guests and their reforms had been well underway. The first major test, of these new reforms, was the visit of King George the IV. Tracing the lead up to this event through the Lord Provost Minute books in the Edinburgh City Archives and through an official account of the visit by Mudie (1822) we see considerable planning and expenditure.

Mudie (1822:2), describes Scotland as being in a ‘dark age’ before the visit of King George IV, which was compounded by negative attitudes towards Scotland: both the inhabitants and the country as a whole. Edinburgh bearing the brunt of this poor reputation.

“Scotland had a poor reputation, which was "of a more vulgar kind, which were nourished by the joint influence of ignorance and political feeling" (Mudie 1822:3)

Part of this ‘dark age’ was due to municipal and political neglect:

"for a long period after the Union, it seems to have been doomed to entire neglect; or, if the attention of government was occasionally directed to that country, it was in the spirit of vengeance to devise the means of chastising its pride and subduing its spirit" (Mudie 1822: 2)

King George IV's visit is described as a turning point for this isolationism

“No other event of a domestic nature could have occurred more honourable to the people of Scotland, or more gratifying to their feelings” (Mudie 1822: 1)

The author piously refers to the ascension of George III, to being in as important to the annals of Scottish history, as “[t]he immoral Burns, and of a great living author, whose genius has shed a dazzling effulgence over the world of letters” (Mudie 1822: 5). In George IV, we see a guest, whose arrival is anticipated to bring forth considerable change. As Mudie (1822: 7) remarked:

“In George IV, we recognise not only the most powerful monarch on the globe, but the most accomplished gentleman of the empire, whose visit to us has been dictated by a spirit of the purest benevolence and affection” (7)

Rigorous maintenance and cleaning, was a regular feature of visits by the monarchy. Describing the occasion James VI arrived in Edinburgh, Mudie (1822:8) reflected on the preparations that were made for his reception, which included the removal of “red timber, swine and beggars from the city under the pain of discretionary punishment”

Mudie (1822) does not elaborate on the ‘discretionary punishment’, but it is clear that this was compelled.

An extended description of his arrival, shows the welcome that he received:

“The king (James VI) was conducted into the city under a magnificent canopy, and encountered in his progress, a number of allegorical personages and other 'dainty devices'. And the burgesses, besides appearing in suits of the richest velvet and hanging their walls with Arras tapestry, presenting him with the following pieces of plate: a silver basin and ewer, weighing six pounds and ten ounces; two flasks of eight pounds weight; six covered cups, four of which weight twenty eight ounces each and the other twenty four ounces each; four

candlesticks of thirty ounces each; one salt seller of twenty four ounces; a plate of twenty ounces and a dozen of plates of ten ounces each" (Mudie 1822: 8)

When Charles I visited Edinburgh in 1633, large supplies of provisions were "collected in all the royal burghs, which it was probable he would visit; and the repair of the roads in the vicinity of Edinburgh and the counties in Scotland through which he might happen to travel" (Mudie 1822: 12) Edinburgh had been wasted by a plague, around the same time Charles I visited again in 1641. Despite this, Edinburgh was open and hospitable

"The conduct of the Scots at this pernicious crisis shows that, though they had stood forward as the champions and apostles of civil and religious freedom, for the monarchy in the abstract they had a profound and unalterable veneration" (Mudie 1822: 15)

With King George IV arriving, it was a new opportunity for Edinburgh to assert itself as a city of eminence. Despite previous reforms discussed, such as the 1752 proposals. The announcement of the King's visit drove the city into a hyper state of reform. Repair and improvement were instantly a theme, as it had been with previous royal visits. Examining the Lighting Committee minutes, we can see the extent of this planning. We begin with fairly banal suggestions such as, the lighting of public lamps *"ought to be particularly well attended to"* (187). However, this meant considerable investment, with a genuine aesthetic purpose. 1,500 oil lamps *"in addition to the present number [are] to be put up on this occasion"* (187). This included a practice not common at the time, which was to light all of the main gas lamps in the city. Buildings that were deemed 'offensive' were removed instantly and others were made to alter their appearance, as Mudie (1822: 18) describes:

"Various buildings offensive to taste were removed in an instant; - others were made to change their appearance; - roads were constructed and repaired; - arches and platforms erected; - crowds of strangers poured in upon the city; - and after all, never did Edinburgh enjoy more profound tranquillity"

A proclamation was issued 'recommending' fellow citizens to appear during the King's visit in a "uniform dress", which was suggested as a:

"blue coat, white best and nankeen or white pantaloons; and to assume the ancient national emblem of St Andrew's cross (white upon a dark-blue background, placed on the left side of the hat in the manner of a cockade" (Mudie 1822: 18)

Streets were suddenly not properly complete, an anxiety was felt throughout the Lighting Committee minutes, in requiring additional features to make them feel just right. Lighting was used as a way to make streets feel more fuller and warmer. As the committee suggested, *"Gas lighting and pillars must be immediately put up in George street as to complete that street"* (LC 1820- 1853: 187).

During the King's visit, it was determined that even streets leading to the outskirts of the city would be lit, which was an abnormal and unusual circumstance. Lighting was expensive, particularly the continued maintenance of it and no such expense would have been paid for ordinary citizens. It was determined that *"On the road leading from the city to Dalkeith during his majesty's visit* (Lord Provost Minute Book of Lighting, 1820: 187)", gas lamps would be lit. The committee was very clear that every single gas lamp should be lit and other pieces of architecture be replaced, such as on North Bridge, the pillars that were used to house large lamps, were deemed insufficient (LC, 1820: 187).

Presentation involved not only cleaning up per se, but also to celebrate the arrival of a King, who had not previously visited the country before. The committee discussed and decided to have instrumental music playing in the city parks (LC 1820: 65) to have *'triumphal arches'* erected in the streets alongside a plethora of other decorations. Although exact details of the decorations are quite minimal, it is clear that they were lavish and intended to provide a magnanimous welcome. A welcome which regularly involved communal feasts, even to those who regularly would not be included in such affairs as a dinner is proposed within the Lord Provost committee minutes, for the purposes of feeding roughly 500 for the city's poor, within the Waverley Market. Again, a gesture which is clearly confined to the welcoming of the king.

Part of this welcome involved celebratory bonfires and fireworks, where residents were more than encouraged to participate:

"A proclamation was issued by the Magistrates, intimating to the inhabitants, that on the evening after the King's arrival, there would be a bonfire on the summit of Arthur's seat and a display of fire-works at the west end of George Street; - and recommending and requesting a general illumination by the inhabitants on the following evening. The materials for the bonfire were transported by horses to the top of the hill, to which, in all probability, no horse had ever before ascended" (Mudie 1822: 24)

High walls were built, where offensive buildings might be seen, near where the King was going to stay (Mudie 1822: 21) and buildings that were near the palace residence were newly painted. New pipes were laid for "*conveying water to the interior of the palace*". Everything on the King's itinerary was carefully monitored and planned. Near the castle, there was a large and "haphazard building", which had previously stood for over five hundred years, called the Weigh house. This building was removed for the purposes of allowing an "*uninterrupted view which opened up from Castle-Hill*" (Mudie 1822: 22)

This sub theme shows the ways in which Edinburgh went to considerable expense through reconstruction, cleaning, lighting, dinners and celebratory affairs for important guests. A mindset which would become more common place, as tourism started to grow and Edinburgh's place on the world stage started to become more established.

Conservative Surgery

In this subtheme, we see the emergence of a particular type of philosophy, "*conservative surgery*", which was pioneered from Patrick Geddes. The following quote summarises this approach to redevelopment, that Edinburgh, according to Johnson and Rosenberg (2010) started to pursue by the end of the 19th century.

“The secret of improvement of any old town, if economy and convenience, hygiene and picturesqueness are all to be considered is not to ‘Hausmannize’ its streets but to let light and air into its slums and closes...Child and student in Old Edinburgh are alike in need of a more hygienic yet more beautiful environment, a more social yet more deeply educative one- and this is to be reached by their exchanging the atmosphere of close and street for that of court and quadrangle”

Geddes was of the perspective that cities should be seen as ‘evolving organisms’ (Haworth 2000), which was a metaphoric construction which appeared from 1880-1930, particularly when examining urban spaces (see Chicago school discussion earlier). It is no surprise that Law (2005) describes Geddes sociological thought as being informed by evolutionary theory. However, Law (2005:2) points out that for Geddes, the sociologist should *“be a sort of flaneur”*

The productive sociologist should thus be of all investigators a wandering student par excellence; in the first place, as far as possible, a literal tourist and traveller’ (1906: 126).

Geddes had a *“civic commitment to the notion of home”* (Law 2005:2), which was reinforced by a view that state boundaries were *“coercive, arbitrary and artificial”* (Law 2005: 2). Geddes, in his reforms, was informed by an openness to otherness, to the stranger and to a cosmopolitanism. Home is a recurring thematic structure in his writing and it is clear it informed his town planning philosophy.

“We learn by living ... let us be at home in the characteristic life and activity, the social and cultural movements, of the city which is our home” (Geddes 1915: 317)

Haworth (2000) refers to conservative surgery as *‘civic evolution’*, a holistic combination of physical, symbolic and social characteristics of place. Geddes approach was described as a shift in focus, a moderation between two competing, seemingly radical perspectives. One of those positions was *‘architectural conservatism’*, and the other was an approach which encouraged wholesale modernization intent on redesigning the city based on new architectural forms that were developing at the time.

Law (2005) describes Geddes' process as follows:

"Geddes's method followed the scientific observational model of survey, diagnosis and plan. Before undertaking any demolition work, a detailed survey of past, present and future alternatives was necessary to meticulously log the condition of the buildings and to set them contextually within their historical significance and cultural meaning within local traditions and customs"

Proposed improvements in 1893 would have meant clearing slums entirely and focusing on building large scale practical housing blocks. Geddes recognized that in order for a slum to cease being 'a slum', it required the intersection of a picturesque environment (so that people would spend time there) and a social space in order to facilitate interaction. Narrow closes and streets were not hospitable, as previously outlined, showing that the relationship between small and narrow, still emphasised poverty, dirt and bad taste. The preferred design as noted in Geddes quote earlier were courts and quadrangles. Also evident in his assessment was the need for Edinburgh to be unique and to stand outside of architectural, city planning trends as in the rejection of Haussmann, who famously rebuilt Paris.



Figure 5: The Courtyard of Wardrop's Court (Created in 1893 as a result of the Improvement Scheme)

Improvements made in the Old Town were authorized by the Edinburgh (Housing of The Working Classes Act) Improvement Scheme 1893. The goal was ultimately to modernise the area but maintain the '*historical character*'. The balancing act was part of three acts, which passed at the time, all of them trying to deal with the consequences of the other. One of these for example, authorized the same year, augmented and expanded the size of the streets and offered modest upgrades of selected parts of the city. These areas were almost exclusively within the city centre domain (Johnson and Rosenberg 2010: 92). The problem with these alterations was the considerable displacement and rehousing crisis which emerged. The issue concomitantly resulted in the involvement of civic society in rehousing and providing services for those displaced by the improvements. These improvements were tantamount to a foreshadowing of the modern development of citizen participation and of the public-private partnership as essential ingredients for urban generation practice (Johnson and Rosenberg 2010).

The town council took an active decision to involve local civic groups in the implementation of the 1893 improvements. Part of the reason for this was a genuine attempt to develop contemporary examples of voluntary programmes that used the '*conservative surgery*' methodology. The council also invited local philanthropic groups to take part in the scheme alongside the Social Union, who were asked to contribute to the sanitary improvement of Campbell's Close in the Canongate (Johnson and Rosenberg 2010: 95). Local authority expenditure came with additional surveillance and policing of those areas. For example, the Council committed to providing a resident caretaker for each of their new developments (Johnson and Rosenberg 2010: 110). The caretaker needed to be a man '*of moderate force of character*'. He was expected to have a regular presence on site to make sure that both the tenants and the property were kept in good order.

The conservative surgery approach would be an important philosophy in developing Edinburgh's story, in being a welcoming historical city; stupendously modern and old. We can see this playing out in the remaking of Edinburgh castle.

Remaking of Edinburgh Castle

The renovation of Edinburgh castle in the 1880s was an important factor in the establishment of Edinburgh as a '*medieval historical city*' (Morris 2007). Edinburgh castle is a synecdoche, in that tourists often think of the castle as being representative of Edinburgh as a whole. The renovation of the castle into a historical monument from an army barracks also concomitantly changed local attitudes towards old buildings and provided a setting where the national story of Scotland's past could be articulated. The importance of the castle as an embodiment of a particular national identity resulted in a complex power game (Morris 2007). Morris (2007) describes how Edinburgh was surrounded by very visible medieval buildings. These buildings became iconic and were involved in the identity of Edinburgh for residents and visitors. So attuned are they to the spirit of Edinburgh's tourist imagery, that their survival is almost assumed to have been a given. The visual character they offer seen as so inevitable, that to outline how the survival of these buildings represent the outcome of a particular narrative that was developed in 1880, is to disrupt the normative idea of what Edinburgh stands for.

A key distinction was made in the renovation of the castle, which showcases the importance 'authenticity' had. Previous renovations of Edinburgh that Robert Adam had produced such as Charlotte Square and Register House were appropriated from his experiences during his Grand Tour in Rome and Venice. Other examples include Cockrell and Playfair placing an unfinished Parthenon on Carlton Hill which was directly influenced from Ancient Greek architecture. The architects knew they were importing meaning directly into the city. It was about infusing new meaning into the environment (Morris 2007). The castle renovation was different. It was about unearthing meanings that already existed. With the correct intellectual involvement, meaning was to be reintegrated, back to where it belonged. A complication commonly found in decorating the home, in finding the right balance between new meanings and old. A key assumption here though is the idea that there exists an unambiguous and unwavering accessibility to the 'truth' of the past. The past of Edinburgh was presented as something untainted by ideology, something natural.

Morris (2007) notes that there is an irony here, because most of the restored buildings were notable for their lack of authenticity to the past. The interior of the Great Hall “*would have suited a nineteenth century Highland hunting lodge*” (Morris 2007: 65) and the Portcullis Tower was a “*timid version of the fading Scottish Baronial style*” (Morris 2007: 66). The anachronism here is striking for it is clear there was a successful blurring of the present with the past. The synthesis shows that the official presentation of Edinburgh was based on idealized narratives. Morris (2007) describes this as a consequence of modernity. The castle was to be remade and reimagined with a new past. The restorations were ultimately a way for the restorers to “*create scenes for urban performances*” (Morris 2007: 68). The Argyle Tower, St Margaret’s Chapel and the Great hall were stage sets for expressing stories about Edinburgh’s past.

Monuments as Urban Performances

1886 is highlighted by Morris (2007) as a particularly important year for the landscape of Edinburgh. It was a time where Edinburgh’s understanding of its past would be interacted with as part of a cultural and historical relic. In the summer of that year, the International Exhibition of Industry, Science and Art was hosted in the Meadows. One of the exhibitions on display was titled, “Old Edinburgh Street” designed by Sydney Mitchell. As Morris (2007: 70) describes:

“Mitchell had been involved recently in the restoration of the Mercat Cross in the High Street. This much commented upon street was a fiction and consisted of replicas of buildings which had been demolished. In the Old Edinburgh Street visitors would learn about loss. As a history lesson the street was incoherent but the imagining of the Scottish Nation was not. The street contained ‘faithful reproductions’ of buildings ‘where the workers in the building up of National History lived”

By the end of the 19th century, Edinburgh was starting to be seen as a global player. A good representation of the changing role of Edinburgh can be seen in the American Journal of Sociology in an article of 1899 by Charles Zueblin. Edinburgh was described as being ‘*the*

world's first sociological laboratory'. He was referring to the Outlook Tower, which is situated in the Old Town, which today is the site of Camera Obscura and World of Illusions. In many ways, the observation can be taken outwith the initial frame of Zueblin's context, but his context has immediate relevance to how Edinburgh was being positioned as a competitive, novel and innovative city.

Patrick Geddes meant the site to be an exhibition of his planning, to showcase the philosophy behind it. It was meant as an educational space for visitors to learn about the city in relation to the rest of the world. Zueblin (1899: 578) remarks:

"If one were to choose a point on the main street near the castle, where he could see the city, old and new, spread out before him, he could read, not merely the chronicle of Edinburgh, but the history of civilization. Such a point has, in fact, been chosen by one of the pioneers in modern sociological investigation and social activity"

These comments speak to the fact that Edinburgh was being framed as a city with international legitimacy and that the planning which was exhibited was in many ways meant to fortify and create a reputation for Edinburgh as a distinct and world leading city. It was also meant to be a way for Geddes to exert influence by showcasing his proposed reforms and ideas for alterations. By presenting plans in this way, empirically within a context like this, it was a utilitarian practice. It was as though Geddes was with the civic commercial home in mind, sharing his blueprints with his fellow neighbours in the hopes that they approve and allow the work to go ahead.

Zueblin (1899: 585) shows how the floors of the observatory building were meant to mimic from the macro view (the world), down to a micrological excavation of Edinburgh.

"Successive floors give us, in chart, in plan, in photograph and sketch, the whole of Europe, the empire, Scotland, Edinburgh and the immediate neighbourhood."

We thus see Edinburgh being slotted in not only as a distinct player, but a cooperative one. The observatory tower is a perfect metaphor for how an official representation is constructed, which is the successful bridging of myths and reality. Official representations are about creating a successful story, a narrative which can be played out which attracts visitors, but also is authentic enough to the reality.

Around the same time that this paper appeared in the *American Journal of Sociology*, bestowing praise on the progressiveness of the reforms that were being proposed by Geddes, but also the exhaustive variability of the city from gardens to slums to the dominance of ecclesiastical churches, we see tensions emerge.

Official Guide Debates

Part of how a city represents itself is in the welcome it offers to strangers. A way to analyse this concretely is to examine guidebooks. The Official Guide of Edinburgh was a contentious issue, within the Lord Provost committee minutes, leading up to the publication of a new guide in 1920. I contextualize the debate by referring to minutes before (and after) the publication of the text. Afterwards, I provide commentary on the guide itself, showing how the anxiety of representation, in how to present Edinburgh's home made its way into the guide itself. I then discuss briefly how a new guide was proposed, in order to update the errors in the previous guide.

The Official Guide to Edinburgh, is available within the public domain in the NLS catalogue and also on the Internet Archive. The Official Guide of Edinburgh is a way to examine what was considered important knowledge for tourists coming to the city for the first time. What were the appropriate house rules, what were the landmarks? and how did Edinburgh compare with other cities? Further, I trace the ideas presented here into the 1940s looking at subcommittees which were set up to help promote and advertise Edinburgh as a welcome destination.

First to contextualize the debate. In the Lord Provost's Committee Minutes of 1910-11 we see numerous organisations and individuals approach the city with proposed outlines for an official guide. There was no such guide available at the time and it was seen as a pressing issue for those submitting plans. The hypothetical guides in question all proposed to advertise and promote Edinburgh as a viable tourist destination with key monuments and places outlined. Various proposals are rejected and the discussion available to us in the minutes is minimal. It can be hypothesized that there was a latent anti tourism sentiment, but this may be only one of many contributing factors (LPC 1910-11: 30). Another theory, which seems evident to me from the data available is that there was a general lack of uncertainty about the type of image Edinburgh needed to represent to the outside world. Who was Edinburgh? It was a refrain which although unsaid, is something that stands out to the reader of minutes from the period. While it was clear that Edinburgh wanted to be slotted in and regarded with respect in the international community, it was unclear what exactly that would entail. It was a big responsibility and the council were uncomfortable with that responsibility. Part of the problem was in outlining how Edinburgh *ought* to be, rather than what it was.

Evidence for the split involves an instance where a guidebook was on the verge of being approved. After a discussion, the minute books refer to a split vote of 4 votes for and 4 against, which was eventually ruled with a deciding vote to commission the guidebooks. Tracing this, within days the council change their minds and decide not to commission the guide after all. Little detail is available as to why the deciding vote was changed but there are speculative reasons (LPC 1910-11: 38). One of those reasons was that there was a tight control over the imagery which was used to showcase Edinburgh, this is understandable, but there was a sense that the council were not expedient in offering alternatives. For example, poster designs for the city were proposed by ordinary citizens and rejected (LPC 1913-14, April 2nd) with nothing more said, or done. Advertising requests are considerable in this period with the subcommittee spending a lot of time sifting through them. Requests included the superintendent of the Caledonian Railway Company offering to include Edinburgh as a popular holiday resort in their advertising. The committee resolved to take no action on the matter, again showing at least on the surface a distinct ambivalence at the type of imagery that was being proposed, particularly to the newly emerging railway links to the city (LPC 1913-14: 21).

During the same period, a pamphlet was issued, totalling around 25 thousand copies looking at Edinburgh as an industrial centre (LPC 1910-11, 28) with the possibility of new investment opportunities being extensively detailed on the outskirts of the town, or in places divorced from the commercial heartland of the city such as Craigmillar and Gorgie. In the pamphlet, it is clear that extensive areas are out of bounds for such investment opportunities. The pamphlet shows that Edinburgh was willing to attract new business ventures and so was not an isolationist city by any stretch of the imagination. It is clear that the authors of the pamphlet, recognized that certain types of people would have considerable problems with the industrial activity and so the locations proposed were nowhere near the more affluent areas of the city. The pamphlet shows that Edinburgh was evolving and changing, something that was uneasy to makers of the official guide.

This mindset paralyzed Edinburgh from acting decisively. It persisted all the way until 1920. In the minutes, The Weekly Telegraph's publication "*Guide to Holiday Resorts*" requested that council insert a full-page advertisement relating to Edinburgh (LPC, 1920, 30). The subcommittee took no action on the matter and simply ignored the request. Again, curious as to why this was the case. There might have been a rejection of the broad mass market appeal which comes with the holiday resort. Perhaps because a holiday resort was indicative of lower class, or maybe Edinburgh at the time felt they did not need to advertise the city in this fashion (LPC 1920, 33). Around the same time as this snub, the council decides to stop advertising in the "*Messers Munro's Railway Guide*" and the reasons are unclear. (LPC 1921, 124)

A year later, it is decided that a new Official Guide should be made and advertisements are published, hoping to attract potential publishers. The official guide becomes very important during this time, for the committee seems to want a quick turn over for the guide. It is stated in these advertisements that "Edinburgh is prepared to receive offers for the issue of an official guide" (LPC 1920). After deliberation, it is decided that a company, Messers Thomas Allan & Sons, should be granted a five-year contract. They were required to pay 100 pounds a year, but the payment allowed them to retain copyright to the 'Official Guide' moniker. It did not play out as expected (LPC 1920, 68). The Lord Provost committee eventually realised

that the guides were not going to be produced on time for the required use and so impulsively attempted to reconcile this by placing the exact same advertisements back in the newspapers, hoping to attract publishers able to do the guide on a faster time scale. The impulsive commercialism is clear:

“In view of the fact that the guide cannot be published for this season and also the anticipated reduction in the wages in the printing trade, the subcommittee resolved to recommend that an advertisement be again inserted into the newspapers”.

The previous contract to the company outlined was rescinded and they agreed to try and communicate with those who had already enquired previously about the endeavour. Despite all this fuss, they ended up going with the initial company, after a guide was not available by October (LPC 1920, 238).

The official guide of Edinburgh from the 1920s begins with an unsubstantiated quotation, supposedly by a "living authority on art and taste" which proclaims that Edinburgh is the "*most beautiful and romantic of cities*". It is a statement which is repeated twice. The repetition and prominence of this as the opening showcases the idealized aesthetic imagery that Edinburgh wanted to instil into tourists. Throughout the guide, history and romance are key words which showcases the type of welcome Edinburgh was trying to create.

“The most beautiful and romantic of cities, in the most beautiful and romantic of countries in Europe is the judgement pronounced on Edinburgh and Scotland, by a living authority on art and taste” (OG, 1920: 11)

Emphasis is placed on Edinburgh as being hospitable to the stranger, on being able to accommodate and appreciate difference. There is a cosmopolitanism being developed here, whereby Edinburgh can be both a space of preserved historicism but also a modern city. The use of the organism metaphor is particularly striking, as it conforms to the 'naturalistic laboratory' like rhetoric of the Chicago School in the United States, who evoked biology and ecology to describe the city as vibrant and alive. The office guide here represents Edinburgh

as being a finely tuned machine, one which is able to appreciate the historical character of the city and one which is able to change.

“Nor has Edinburgh lost any of these claims to the love of her children and the admiration of the stranger. On the contrary, the city, while seeking to preserve and cherish what is old and characteristic of the past history of the place, has given constant evidence of being a living and growing organism” (OG, 1920: 12)

The guide tells Edinburgh’s story as something that is ongoing and this is where more anxiety and unease seems to be apparent. It is also fairly unusual to see guides spend such a long time describing what currently does not exist in the city. The reader is turned into a voyeur, looking at proposals for development and improvement.

“Following on or arising out of this amalgamation, important plans of development and improvement have been undertaken or projected which should have the effect of adding greatly both to the prosperity and the attractiveness of Edinburgh- schemes of Tramway Electrification, by which an overhead electric system, in connection and in consonance with that of Leith, will take the place of the old cable system; schemes of Electricity Supply and Distribution; schemes of Dock extension; schemes of Town Planning and Housing, of which Craightinny, Gorgie, Longstone and other localities are already the scene” (OG, 1920:17)

Once again, the words romance and historical emerge and allusions are made to Rome, Jerusalem and Athens. Again, with emphasis being placed on how retaining the original character was not at odds with expansion. As noted previously when discussing the renovation of the castle, what counts as the original history is often part of the retelling.

*Within its new circumference as within its old it can be said of it that it is ‘**beautiful for situation**’- that like Jerusalem, Rome and Athens, it is founded upon hills and girt about with other hills. It is true of much of the later extensions, as of the older site that they are spread over the ridges and hollows that mark the last throes of an expiring volcano, and that in their strongly graven features one can trace a long tract of geological as well as*

historical time. Growth is incapable of destroying the essential character and primary features of the place. It will remain a city set on a hill, that cannot be hid” (My Emphasis, OG, 1920: 18)

We see poetic language being used, with the promise of mystery. The nor Loch is described as though it were drained for the stranger arriving. Key words again are beauty and utility to give emphasis to romanticism, but also the description of old in describing various stages of use (protecting against invasion vs a moat dividing the old and new towns).

“Should he come hither by rail, he is drawn straight into the heart of the mystery. If his landfall should be at the Waverly Station of the North British Railway, he merges, through the Calton or the Haymarket tunnel, into the very bottom level of the old Nor Loch, which before it was drained and turned to modern purposes of beauty or of utility as gardens or as railway sidings and platforms, served as part of the defences of the city against invasion, and afterwards as moat of division between the Old and New Town” (OG, 1920: 20)

A mere six years later, another official guide is proposed. However, this time considerable detail is available within the Lord Provost minutes to outline the proposed contents of the guide. There continues to be a lot of ambivalence and uncertainty about city image. The committee deliberated extensively on what paintings should be included in the guide for example and what sorts of people should be valorised. There were discussions regarding the best tourist spots to visit and the best views. The disagreements of the committee therefore were over the contents of the book, the pictures included and the cost. It was not seen as a profitable engagement by many. It was proposed that the following illustrations accompany the new guide

Table 17: Suggested paintings in the new official guide.

- *Water colour view of Hanover Street*
- *Water colour view of the university*
- *Water colour view of Princess Street*
- *Oil Sketch of Edinburgh Castle*
- *Black and White photos: "Edinburgh from Calton Hill", "Dream of the Nor' Loch", and "Edinburgh Playgrounds". (LPC, 1926, 8 Dec)*

The inclusion of these illustrations shows the ways in which the committee wanted Edinburgh to be seen. Most of the suggestions are of paintings, which makes sense for the time period, but it suggests maintaining this romantic view of Edinburgh. The black and white photographs that are provided even signify this type of romanticism in their titles and their reference to an imagined past such as the *"Dream of the Nor Loch"*. We see here the picturesque Edinburgh, that can be controlled by way of paintings.

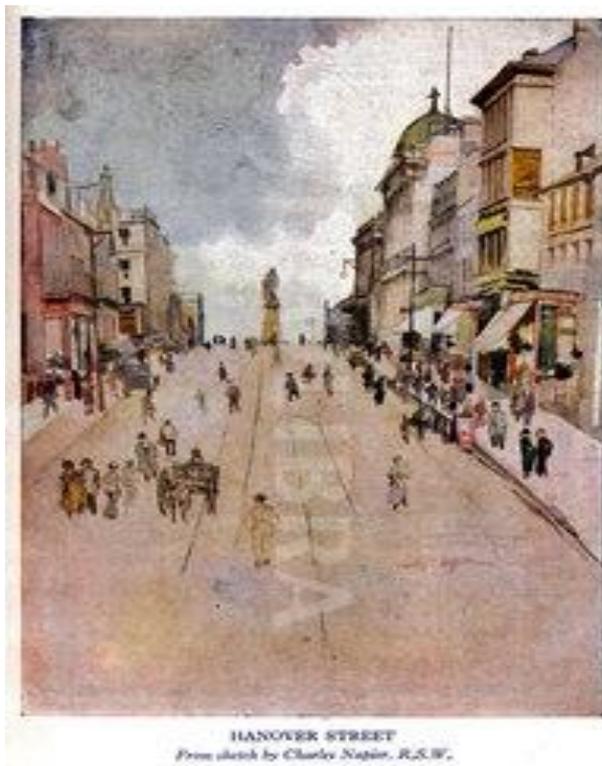


Figure 6: Water colour view of Hanover Street

Part of the ways in which the abstract 'welcome' offered by the city was becoming more commercialized and formal is outlined in later Lord Provost minutes. It is suggested for example that people coming to reside in Edinburgh for the first time, should as soon as they have registered their new address, be provided with a pamphlet giving information on important civic matters alongside a small map of the city (LPC, 1947: 212).

The council in 1947, held an official photography competition. The aim of this competition was to have photographers take photographs of the city, with prizes being awarded for the best entrants (LPC, 1947: 212). We see in this gesture, a co-created welcome for 78 of the 340 entries that were submitted, were eventually exhibited for public viewing. There were eight official winners and many of the photographs submitted were used by the library for personal use and sealed in the Edinburgh room, showing that the imagery was used beyond the confines of the competition. The photographic exhibition shows an appreciation for different types of Edinburgh beyond the official imagery that caused considerable upheaval and frustration only decades earlier. It shows a relaxation of official representation, but a sense that Edinburgh could be represented from various vantage points.

The watercolours depicted earlier, showing a picturesque but ultimately constrained and conservative perspective of the city is replaced with a utilitarian ethos, for the power of representing Edinburgh now lies in the citizen's camera lens rather than commissioned works of art. Photographs are a way of showing an individualistic and specific welcome. It is entirely probable that many of these photographs might have been brand new representations of the city, showing it in a different light. Many might have been unconventional. It should also be noted that the exhibition was commercialized in the sense that it was not a free event but one in which six pence was charged (LPC 1947: 216).

Around the same period of time, local information services were set up to advertise the city further and the Scottish tourist board was given a yearly grant of one thousand pounds. A volunteer run, temporary information bureau (The women's voluntary services) was set up at the top of Waverley Market, to assist with general inquiries. A survey is proposed by the Tourist Board in order to collect information regarding potential apartments for guests

visiting. Guests are a priority in an abstract sense, in a similar way to how hosts may set up spare room for a visitor who is staying in their home. A solution was partially found in the booklet, *“Where to Stay when in Edinburgh”* which was republished in 1947, despite a less than satisfactory response rate regarding apartment allocation.

As described earlier in the chapter by 1947, a subcommittee was devised to specifically address marketing and promoting Edinburgh, particularly potential commercial activities that the city could benefit from. Various proposals of interest, within the archival minutes, included the implementation of information stalls, special street signs for visitors and the cleaning of important statues. Gardening was proposed in order to make Charlotte’s Square into a formal rose garden and the outlook tower, mentioned as an important tourist hub earlier in the chapter, was once again linked specifically to tourist activity.

It is proposed in 1947 for example that official city guides be trained, with the outlook tower acting as a temporary accommodation spot. Not only was it to be used as a lodging space for city guides, but also as a space for tourist parties to assemble. It is clear that the outlook tower was regarded as being an important base point for visitors, for the views that the visitor was afforded was emblematic of the type of Edinburgh that was being marketed.

The arrangement with the outlook tower does not come to fruition (CMC 1947: 471) despite this, we can see the primary plan which was outlined as being indicative of intent. With the marketisation of Edinburgh in the mid 40s, a more overt professionalisation of welcome is apparent at this stage, with more formalised procedures in place. Part of these procedures involved licensing ‘official’ guide who would complete a prescribed training course. There was also wider collaboration with clubs and groups in the town who had this expertise to knowledge share. The Outlook tower experiment was partnered with the “Old Edinburgh Club and similar societies” (CMC 1947: 309). Further, there was a proposal that a film should be made advertising Edinburgh (LPC, 1947, 16th June), which showcases a commercial drive that was more hesitant and reserved decades before. It is clear that Edinburgh’s hosts had a clear understanding of what they wanted, a professionalised experience they could control and ultimately, this was something that they had to fight to protect, as evidenced in my next subtheme.

Carnivals and Precedence

When examining the Civic Amenities Committee Minutes in 1947-1949, there was a recurring pattern emerging, that seemed strange. Planning permission requests that the committee received for carnivals were consistently being rejected, despite prospective parks being proposed, with reasonable timeframes being offered for preparation and delivery. There seemed to be a barrier, which eventually resulted in all carnival entertainment being viewed as a 'nuisance' to residents. Nuisance is a key word in this chapter, in being host jargon, for anything not approved by the Lord Provost Committee and its various arms.

In 1947, Meadowbank was proposed as an appropriate site for a carnival, but there were a number of complaints that the Civic Amenities committee had received which were formulated across three main areas of concern. The first was noise, which was seen as potentially inhospitable, as it was outside the normal parameters of the presentation space of the city, where noise may have been more acceptable. The committee reflects on the fact, these proposed parks were often within residential areas, which meant the potential for folly and 'nuisances' were significant. Which leads to the second area of concern, which was 'insanitary conditions', meaning that the carnival and its participants, were ultimately going to make a lot of mess. The sentiment being, not in our backyard. The third issue was on the 'grounds of amenity', which focused on the perceived inability of the council to provide public grounds, that were suitable for what was being planned. These are fairly reasonable concerns, particularly to a new guest, entering the home. Take your shoes off at the door and do not outstay your welcome.

When examining the minute book request which the committee reflected on for Meadowbank stadium, the Superintendent of Parks, had no objection to the its use. Neither did the city architect. A theme which is repeated throughout this particular subtheme, in showing a disconnect with different levers of power. On the 25th of January 1949, the letter that was received, was summarised as such in my archival notes,

There was a letter requesting the use of Meadowbank and Saughton Park for holding carnivals in the summer of 1949. The superintendent had no objections per-se to Meadowbank being used for this purpose but noted that Saughton Park was unsuitable. There was no reason provided but it was suggested that a park to the west of Broomhouse Road might be a useful alternative the city architect agreed with this initial assessment (CAC 1949: 282)

Within the committee, it is clear that house rules are imposed and the carnival guests are unable to meet the demands set before them. There are proposals across a range of parks and they are all rejected, causing considerable disagreement in the minute books. As I noted in my notes, reflecting on the archival disagreements in May 1949,

“A letter submitted requested permission to hold a circus in “one of the public parks or other suitable location from 2nd to 7th of May”. The proposed site of Leith links adjacent to Duncan Place was proposed. This caused significant disagreement. An amendment by two councillors was proposed to reject the permission for Leith Links. There was a split vote and the chairman casted the deciding vote for the amendment, which rejecting the site at Duncan Place (CAC, 1949: 338).”

The split decision, showed that the carnival was not universally rejected by all members of the committee, but it shows a lack of cohesion, which was notable, given that the decision made, ultimately was against the Superintendent of Parks, who had previously indicated that Duncan Place was also a suitable area for a circus. Despite checks and balances being made, in accessing the ground appropriately for the issues that were highlighted at the beginning of this theme (noise, insanitary conditions and lack of amenity available), there was a consistent refusal to permit the partygoers. As I reflected in my archival notes,

Another proposed circus, this time from Chipperfield Circus and Zoo for the summertime (27th June to 9th July). Again, this was refused. Despite the superintendent of parks reporting that the Duncan place site was suitable for a circus. (CAC 1949: 339)

Applications are received and rejected consistently. In the minute books, they stop explaining why, or going into detail. It uses matter of fact language such as, 'the committee decided to take no further action' The constant requests for carnivals begins to annoy the committee and they eventually put a rule in place noting that carnivals should not be allowed *"to let of any area of ground in any of the public parks for the purposes of holding a carnival"*. Not only does the subcommittee refuse all the amended applications, but they set a rule going forward stating, "No shows of this type be permitted on any of the public parks" (CAC: 1949: 380).

A system of precedence is kept for keeping a check on how to approve or reject various applications that are submitted. Instead of looking at things on a case by case basis, a general precedence is maintained. Precedence crossed many areas of amenity, not just carnivals. A proposed letter for example, asking to make use of public grounds for the use of golf, submitted 19th January 1949 was rejected because the committee had already decided ten years earlier in 1938 not to take any further action on the matter.

Whilst the committee rejected and ultimately banned carnival applications and the various amendments that were made, from the use of public parks that the superintendent of parks had indicated were fit and proper for carnival use, it is curious that later on the 29th of March 1949 (CAC 1949: 393) they accept an application from a reverend, to make use of the Ross Bandstand during the heavy summer months for religious orientated use. There was a clear moralizing at play, certain behaviour was permitted and encouraged within the home and others were deemed unruly and perhaps less moral. The carnival is not the only application refused during this time period. We see applications being refused for country dancing, which would have also taken place in Princes Street Gardens (CAC 1949). It was clear that Edinburgh's Civic Amenities Committee was protective of its public parks from unruly guest behaviour, which connects to the next subtheme, which explores garden allotment allocation, itself a very private, individualised act alongside investment and promotion of public gardens as spaces of leisure, relaxation and contemplation.

Garden Allotments and Public Gardens

A way in which public land was used to create 'ideal guests', was in the use of garden allotments. In this section, I describe the ways in which these privately fostered areas of land, were used to establish ideal guest behaviour (hard work and self-sufficiency), established on the basis of morality. I also describe mass projects which were proposed for public gardens, which were conversely to be spaces of leisure and relaxation. The tone between each is striking, in showing different sensibilities between public and private.

The conventional front and back garden are traditional staples of the family home. Gardens play a big part in the carefully cultivated image of the 'aspirational property-owning democracy'. It is no wonder then that the garden is almost inseparable from the interior of the house, in that the 'home' is said to flow out into the garden and vice versa. Gardens are understood as extended living rooms, where living takes place, albeit with different psychological needs being attended to. Access to nature for example is seen as a fundamental human need (Witheridge and Morris 2016).

Gardens in the city, in the form of public community gardens and private allotment allocation are examples of a city trying to attend to these needs. Conflict begins to emerge in Edinburgh, during the 'allotment movement' of the early 1920s in how adequately these needs were actually being fulfilled. Allotments were routinely regarded as being superfluous and antiquated. They were viewed negatively, in that they were taking up valuable space which was required for other, more pressing needs such as housing. We see strict rules being imposed, with the intent of enforcing good practice. Good practice unsurprisingly meaning well cultivated plots, with the right cleanliness and the correct cultivation manners (no wife and children at the plots and no commercial produce).

Community gardens can be distinguished from a private garden by the sense that they are 'public' in terms of ownership, access and control (Ferris et al 2002). The focus is communal, with the intent of providing a space for everyone rather than individualized allotment plots. Allotments are the converse, in that individual plots of land are provided with the purpose of

individual cultivation. These gardens complicate traditional binary distinctions between public and private alongside the distinction between consumption and leisure.

As DeSilvey (2003:442) states, *“British allotments first appeared in the early ninetieth century where an uneasy conjunction of rural citizen protest and self-interested employer paternalism instigated the first schemes.”* Allotments were eventually assembled within modern, industrialized cities like Edinburgh and their use was ultimately aligned with the interests of precocious town planners and social reformers. Social reformers in the early ninetieth century used allotment sites in order to persuade unemployed (mostly men) citizens to cultivate plots ‘for their own good’ (DeSilvey 2003: 449). Unemployed men received a *“discount on the cost of seeds, potatoes, fertilizers and tools as well as reduced rent on a standard allotment plot-which they were expected to cultivate and keep tidy”* (DeSilvey 2003: 449). These allotments were part of a general trend and recognition from urban planners in the 19th century that these gardens would improve the well-being of the masses. The idea was that they would provide a ‘temporary escape’ from industrialized city noise, bad air and crowds. Gardens were seen as a refuge, a relief from ordinary life. The private home allows you to feel at ‘home’, but in an atomized, individualized way. It was thought that the community garden would be able to recreate this same feeling, this same warmth, but in the city space itself (Gallagher 2006).

Allotment allocation eventually moved from the private hands of social reformers and employers seeking to use the land to eliminate want, into the hands of public ownership. As DeSilvey (2003) describes, allotments were initially popular as privately allocated sites, such as the North British Railway Company’s provision of thirty-six plots to its employees in 1892. The passage of the Allotments Act in the same year (1892) gave new powers to the labouring population to seek allotment allocation in Scotland. The act stated as follows:

“If the local authority of any burgh or county are of opinion either after inquiry made in consequence of such representation or otherwise, that there is a demand for allotments for the labouring population in such burgh...the local authority, subject to the provisions of this Act shall by purchase or by leasing acquire any suitable land which may be available...to provide a sufficient number of allotments”

This act would be taken up properly in Edinburgh in 1912 decades after its passage when the “Edinburgh allotments association” was formed. New draft regulations were proposing that the Council allocate sites for citizens.

As cultivation became more popular, regulations concerning the management and maintenance of these allotments became more pronounced at the beginning of the 20th century (LPC 1912-13) with a strict code of conduct developed. The reason for this was that allotments were going unused and so rules had to be imposed to enforce proper use to prevent unruly and unkempt plots. Attention is paid, in the minute books, for example on so called ‘*rogue gardeners*’. (LPC 1912-13). Flower planning was discouraged implicitly, self-sufficiency was actively praised and seen as best practice but the sale of allotment produce was explicitly forbidden to discourage inter-allotment market competition. Disposing of vegetables was to be done in the private home where the wife and children would be, who were not allowed on the allotment normally and only under special circumstances were allowed if under ‘proper control’. Dogs were to be kept on leads and curiously were in the same sort of category as the women. Inspectors were common in the early days of the allotment rollout (DeSilvey 2003: 4).

It was clear therefore that there needed to be closer regulation regarding not only what was done to the plots, but the people doing the gardening. These rules included the provision that those renting must keep their allotment in “proper cultivation” and within “good repair: and further, maintain the paths that lead up to and adjoin the allotment”. No tenant could use the allotment for marketing or commercial purposes and they needed to provide evidence that they were trustworthy- someone who wouldn’t use it for burning rubbish or use it as a “nuisance”. No buildings or fixtures were allowed to be attached (LPC 1912-13). An example of the extremity of this particular control involves a resident who when refusing to reduce the height of his hut had his lease terminated at the end of the year by the Allotments committee. The creation of a committee in of itself showcases the importance of these plots to the city (GAC: 1925).

These regulations continued to be assiduously adhered to well into the start of the Second World War. Regulations showcase civic rules being enforced by afar. Gardening usually a private, pastoral and individualized past time was now enforced by a strict set of rules governing compliance and dependency, whilst maintaining the narrative of self-sufficiency and individualism.

Going back to the beginning of the 20th century, we can examine the development of other types of gardens into the city space. Other types of public gardens showcase a clear fusing of hospitable sensibilities and moral codes, the same complicated relationship demonstrated by allotment cultivation. The same enforcement of house rules from afar. These gardens were intended as leisure parks, that were to be representative of the '*best private gardens in the country*'. We see in the minutes of the Lord Provost Committee an attempt to fuse public and private sensibilities. Parks and green spaces that were proposed were explicitly proposed to mimic the pristine back lawns of the upper middle classes.

Mass projects were proposed, with the intent of providing a space of relaxation and contemplation. The spaces were to be picturesque and thus ultimately to play into the desired marketing of Edinburgh. Projects were commissioned with the explicit purpose of retaining the idea that Edinburgh is a city which is the type of city seen as the backdrop to popular Victorian novels. An example of big scale projects was the proposal of a winter garden, to be a "central part of the city". The plan was spectacular, with the express intent of providing a conservatory which could if pushed accommodate 1500 people. (LPC, 1913-15: 104). The plan was lavish. For example, it was proposed that the building would house "orchestras of 55 performers" and would be excessively elaborate, ornamental and well kept" (LPC, 1913-15: 104).

Within the minutes it is clear that the civic commercial home was incomplete, there was a lack of exemplar gardens and a lack of general amenity (LPC 1913-15: 23). Within the proposals, it is clear that the garden was also to be a space of hospitality, which is provided through objects. For example, it is stated that fountains should be 'nearby' to 'correct' the garden. The relationship the fountain should have was ultimately aesthetical as well as its obvious functional purpose. A recurring theme that persists, in the fusion of aestheticism and

use value, with the former being more important. The minutes use the phrasing “Correct the architectural relationship” (LPC 1913-15: 2), which shows considerable attunement and detail was paid. The aesthetic properties of the garden were as such that the very location of the proposed garden was changed, from the West to the East. The primary reason for this change was that the garden, it was theorized, would be used “mostly in the early and late afternoon” (LPC 1913-15: 23). At this time of the day, visitors to the garden would have the sun in the west, creating “one of the finest views of the city”. It is clear that the garden was a way of showing off the city, to accentuate the natural qualities of the city, making it look as good as possible. To relax and unwind, enjoying the city and the natural views that are provided was thus a central concern for those deliberating this proposal, but also as mentioned, the maintenance of marketed picturesque Edinburgh.

Theme Two: Problems to be dealt with in the civic space

The second major theme expands on some of the issues that were explored in a more general way in the first theme. This theme aims to provide more context and information on these selected areas of contention, regarding Edinburgh’s home. These problems had civic and commercial implications, as Edinburgh constructed its welcome destination. As such, I have labelled it ‘problems to be dealt with in the civic space’. In this section, I discuss the following subthemes, which are 1)- lack of amenity, 2)- provision of conveniences, 3)- lighting and illumination and 4)- nuisances. After this theme, I will summarise the chapter and its major themes.

Improper Amenity

In the previous theme, I described the lack of amenity in the public space, through the voice of hosts and their issues with destination management more broadly. However, the lack of amenity was also an issue for guests, within Edinburgh and was a consistent source of complaint. One way of exploring these issues, was to look at the archive of the Scotsman, which is available and look for letters which discussed street furnishings and amenity on the street and trace what disconnect there might have been, between the wants of the host and

the desires of the guest. There is a feeling in these letters, that attention is given to tourists and to special areas of the city, neglecting areas which might be deemed 'unmarked' and more residential. Showing an over focus on the agora, that was not explicitly utilitarian.

Searches in the database of the Scotsman, during the same time the Lord Provost Committee regularly sat on issues relating to public amenity, a slew of negative and frustrated citizens, regularly complained about the lack of care and thoughtfulness involved in street lighting projects in particular. One resident in particular complained that instead of lighting the streets, particularly in the back areas of Edinburgh, which might be particularly useful to fend off crime, such as burglaries, money was invested in floodlighting the Castle, which the writer describes as an act of vandalism¹⁵. Vandalism was an interesting word to use, as floodlighting the castle was clearly designed to highlight a key symbolic artefact within the public space, in an effort to emphasise its purpose in the urban story of Edinburgh, as described earlier in my theme on remarking Edinburgh castle. However, the sentiment of vandalism is one which is regularly felt, particularly when the lighting provided elsewhere was potentially dangerous and hazardous to residents. One letter notes for example, that streets lights which were installed on Queensferry Road and Fairmilehead, "*dazzles*" which "*neutralizes their illumination of the road*" which is in turn a danger to motorists. The writer of the exchange describes a friend, who narrowly escaped killing a pedestrian, since the colour of their raincoat was identical with that of the road and the over exuberant illumination of the lamps were inhibiting vision¹⁶.

Floodlighting the castle, is one thing, floodlighting pedestrian areas are another. The amenities that are provided though are lambasted, even down to their colour. This vitriol is expressed beautifully within the Scotsman in 1938, where humour and sarcasm are used to make an important point about the nature of the furniture that existed on the street. It should be homely, not deathly. The resident in being hyperbolic outlines just how important it was for street furnishings like lights to be welcoming and not outlandish, it should complement the everyday and almost feel like it is not there at all, something mundane and out of sight.

¹⁵ The Scotsman 7th February 1935, P 13

¹⁶ The Scotsman Jun 22 1938, Pg 19

“To get anything approaching the effect of the green lights one must travel at least out to Sirius, twenty-eight times brighter than our sun, but at the safe distance of right light years, or to Rigel in Orion a much longer journey still.” “It is time this monstrosity was scrapped; it might find a homely setting in Dante’s inferno but not in Auld Reekie¹⁷”

Street lighting not only completes and makes the civic commercial home welcoming, it also can be used strategically to warn residents of danger. A letter, dated during the midst of the First World War, describes how more adequate lighting, could be a way of making sure residents are able to seek suitable protection and avoid accidents. The city was mostly covered in gas lighting and so there were some limitations, but investment as demonstrated earlier, was easy to come by, when important visitors were arriving at the doorstep. The King had 1,500 oil lamps beaming on his arrival oil lamps and yet Edinburgh was partially in the dark a century later. The letter continues by suggesting that the current lighting on the streets therefore was not adequate, for they are not able to be turned off at a moment’s notice like electric lights are.¹⁸

Other letters complain that the council is not economical enough or efficient, a surprising sentiment I know.¹⁹ It was clear that the wants of the citizenry were not entirely the wants of the council. The disconnect can be spelled nicely by contrasting these letters complaining about the problems with lighting in the public space and the focus the Lord Provost committee had at the time, moving focus to private functions, the allocation of civic space for important guests arriving and approving events. More Royal visits are meticulously planned and cared for, with recommendations to shopkeepers to decorate their premises for the occasion, alongside lengthy discussions on the appropriateness of certain streets and their suitability for children playing (LPC 1947: 351).

¹⁷ The Scotsman June 22 1938, pg 13

¹⁸ The Scotsman Sep 18 1916 Pg 7

¹⁹ The Scotsman Aug 1st 1936 pg 11

Amenity Provision

Directly related to the previous subtheme, part of the welcome given to guests, can be dependent on mundane external factors such as flood lighting the castle and this caused frustration with residents as noted. It is useful to explore this, a little more. Lighting was used as a sophisticated way of welcoming guests to the city and the success of this arrangement leads to a more overt investment to maintain its success all year round. For example, in 1931, The International Illumination Congress, visited Edinburgh for a week and it was proposed that extra lighting for the North Side of the castle might be an appropriate welcome to the delegates, at a cost of 500 pounds.

The Electric Lamp Manufacturers' Association assisted the scheme by supplying all of the flood lighting apparatus and lamps required (PUC, 1931: 213). The enthusiasm for lighting was displayed later in the year, where flood lighting was proposed to act as a welcome during Shopping Week, the week beginning November the 30th. We see here a direct link between the commercial and the civic, in making Edinburgh a welcoming home. People leaving their homes, for an important week of consumption, would be greeted with illumination, on their arrival onto the street. Interestingly this particular proposal did not work out in the end, as it was left too late and there was no time left to make a suitable replacement display or find the right people to do it. Ultimately, shopping week, went ahead without the required welcome of light that the committee had intended (PUC, 1931: 259).

A related snapshot is to explore the use of and provision of various conveniences in the city, provided by the council. Was there a clear organizing motivation for why certain conveniences were provided to the public and what sort of things were eventually labelled as nuisances? The timeline throughout showcases a change of attitude from the beginning of the 20th century up until the middle of the 1950s. There was extra exposure to Edinburgh as a city, which has various complications for protecting the beauty and dignity of important spaces as stated. However, with new people arriving, the stranger was someone that needed to be protected against. The city needed to guard against its new visitors.

An example of this during the early 1920s was when the Lord Provost committee decided to scaffold certain monuments. Other than for the obvious practical purposes (maintaining their quality and protecting against damage), the proposed reason for scaffolding certain key monuments was to facilitate the possibility of a '*closer examination*' (LPC, 1920-1921: 83). Edinburgh was protecting its artefacts, its public displays of eminence. To allow a closer examination, meant shielding. Strange visitors might inadvertently mishandle, vandalize or damage the statues, since they will be spending a lot of time looking at and handling the monuments.

Since strangers are always looking, the city needed to make sure that everything was clean. Throughout the minutes, we are told about monuments being cleaned very carefully with preservatives being used (LPC 1921: 83). When cleaning these monuments, it is clear that specific monuments are more important than others. A hierarchy of importance, although not stated outright, is evidently a working assumption. An example of this emerges when the Lord Provost committee in 1921 looks extensively at the preservation and maintenance of a war memorial. It is clear that Edinburgh had a 'civic mantelpiece' where specific objects were of paramount importance and their display centrally (LPC, 1921: 83; LPC 1921: 93) was important particularly for a city that was fresh from a major world conflict. The maintenance of the war memorial was a hospitality to the past, at a time when Edinburgh and its citizenry were haunted, figuratively and literally by the horrors of war, in their own private loss. These memorials are important for civic pride and for creating a durable identity. We see the monument and remember sacrifice. These values facilitate an abstract welcome in the sense, if you sacrifice honourably, you will be honoured and respected, with your name preserved for all to see.

By the early 1930s, there was a requirement to provide conveniences for monuments and other spaces throughout the city, experiencing more visitors due to an increase in tourism. As a result, the Lord Provost committee, as a matter of priority provides new drinking fountains and allocates new public benches (LPC, 1931-1932: 299). These proposals were accepted without much fuss or complaint, which shows again, expenditure was not a problem if guests that were deemed commercially or civilly important were showing up. As described earlier, with the introduction of the Civic Amenities Committee, we see that these issues of

amenity are simply too big for a miscellaneous committee to deal with. There needed to be regular meetings on the basis of provision and its complications. Tourism was the driving force behind this, not resident complaint or unease.

Part of these 'amenities' included preparing for major events of celebration. Celebration in the civic space, the house party at home, was often prepared for extensively as described in my discussion of the King's visit to Edinburgh. During this time, festivals are more commonly embraced in controlled circumstances and decorations for international occasions were approved of, with a tally of £1,750 pounds being provided for items. There are examples of firework displays being discussed, with expenditure from the budget going to fund them (£550 pounds to be exact) (CAC 1948) for a variety of purposes, that the council deem important or worthy of expressing enthusiasm for. However, they were still highly regulated and controlled. They were dependent for example on "*news of national importance*". Earlier examples of this, such as in the Entertainment Committee provided the following provisos for celebration. If the news is heard before 3pm, the displays are to be held on the very same day at 7.30pm. If the news was received after 3pm, the displays are to be withheld until the following day at 7.30pm (CAC, 1949: 139). There is thus a time schedule to when and how fireworks are to be displayed. The firework rules and regulations almost represent the rules of the home.

Another way that we feel at home is by lounging in the living room. We like a space that feels 'lived in', that has character, or maybe personal history in earlier examples. The Lord Provost Committee minutes of the early 1920s reflected on various letters they received from people wishing to set up coffee canteens in the centre of the city expressly for the use of women (LPC 1919-1921). The proposal suggested running the canteen from 6pm until 10pm. It is notable that the centre of the city was chosen and was referred to as such, as there is a clear contrast between inviting friends' round for a cup of coffee and inviting them round to the centre of the city for the same thing. It shows that the coffee was a means to an end, of experiencing and living in a city and making use of its space (LPC, 1919-1921), particularly an early form of gendered space.

Back to the Civic Amenities committee, the importance of having a lived-in city is played out with the introduction of a public monument that commemorated the past services of the Royal Scott Regiment (CAC 1948:25) in a similar manner to how the war statue was to be preserved and maintained. The proposal here was considered and its acceptance was purely conditional. The condition here is paramount. Seating was to be provided near to the statue, for the statue was something to stare at, something to contemplate. As the council minutes' state, "*Scheme be approved subject to adjustment with the trustees in regard to certain details including seating in the vicinity of the monument*". This shows a focus on contemplative value; the monument is to encourage reflection. It also acts as an ornament for the front room, like crystal on display, or an important artefact on a mantelpiece. Feeling at home therefore means living in the city.

The needs of the city started to come under increasing strain. Performers at the Ross Bandstand in Princess Street Gardens had inadequate accommodation. The reason that these resources became inadequate was greater demand and larger theatrical performances that began to show up in Edinburgh at the time. The accepted proposal to increase space, showed accommodating and changing resources in line with anticipated outcomes (CAC, 1949: 321). The festival was in its infancy and so an increase in facilities meant investing in the future, which was attractive to performers. (CAC 1948: 29). Change was thus economically motivated but also motivated by a fear of bad reputation. Edinburgh was now on the world stage and it had to be a clean, organized and enlarged stage.

Throughout the civic amenities committee minutes, the "*city architect*" regularly makes an appearance. In my earlier section looking at the problems carnivals had in establishing a home for their show and entertainment, I described how the city architect was usually at the folly of the external hosts, who would accept or reject the recommendations made, based on their own internal discussions about the space or amenity in question. However, the introduction of the city architect, was a notable departure from earlier minute books that I was reading. Showing a move from a reactive approach to civic amenity, to a proactive one. With the architect, being in a position to recommend improvements outside the parameters of public disgruntlement or wider civic issues, relating to important guests.

The change here is distinct from earlier minute books, which typically relied on improvements to be suggested by the public, with the ‘winner’ being rewarded for their hard work. I personally asked the archivist at the Edinburgh City Archives about this distinction and change and he mentioned that architects were indeed appointed in the late 1940s, but when archives refer to the “city architect” and even use the gendered pronoun “he”, it was usually in reference to the architect’s office, which would have been more than one person. The office took on a number of challenges in the civic commercial home, such as the design of new notice boards (CAC: 1948: 92), fencing off areas (CAC: 1948: 98) and oddly enough, designing elaborate ponds for the purposes of using model yachts (CAM 1948: 131).

For example, we read of the architect’s job, to create

“Ideal pond the facilities envisioned necessitated a depth of water approximately two feet”. So, we see here, covert concern being paid to the amenities of the public, but it still somehow becomes eccentric and accommodating to the bourgeoisie. Think back to the proposals of 1752.

Nuisances

The fourth subtheme that I explore in this chapter concerns what were euphemistically referred to within the historical archival minutes as ‘*nuisances*’, which meant problems to be dealt with in the civic space. I have already briefly touched upon them, throughout this chapter, but a closer examination is merited.

The theme is interesting as again shows the idealized and utopianism of the council, which was constrained by subtle narratives of decency and moral astuteness. However, when considering the proposals and work explored in the preceding theme, a lot of the ‘problems’ which emerged in the social space of Edinburgh were dealt with reactively rather than proactively at first (Laxton and Rodger 2013). I often read of letters in the Lord Provost minutes of ‘nuisances’ that needed to be cleaned up immediately and the committee would ponder the request and react accordingly. This ultimately was a consequence of the

miscellaneous nature of the Lord Provost committee, which dealt with a considerable range of issues.

As discussed earlier, as the mindset of Edinburgh's hosts started to change due to external factors such as increased tourism, maintaining good morals on the street subsequently meant order and predictability, which was another important and recurring issue in available archived council minutes. It meant having good table manners, being polite with your guests around and definitely not having your elbows visible. The need to police the streets in order to maintain and upkeep an appropriate image of the picturesque, romanticized tourist destination was thus important.

One of the key concerns of the Watching Committee in the later part of the 19th century was implementing measures to combat "the state of public begging" (WC 1846: 167) Very strong language is used in describing this problem, where it is denoted as an "*admitted evil*". In the minutes the following passage summarizes the mindset of the committee, which was concerned with putting their efforts "now to improve the moral and physical condition of the labouring classes" which was "calculated to be of great benefit in diminishing the sources of crime and pauperism" (WC, 1846, 176), Here is a clear example of how the public space needed to be controlled and highly ordered in order to facilitate an acceptable, genteel welcome.

"There is reason to hope that the amount of mendacity may ultimately be lessened by the influence of these moral remedies, especially if they are more extensively and vigorously applied in combination with such an administration of this new poor law as may ensure adequate relief to the really deserving objects".

Ensuring this welcome meant an increase in watching, in making the deviant know that they are being 'checked'.

"As the persons are well acquainted with the movements of the constables whose duty it is to check them and are constantly on the watch to evade detection, it is absolutely necessary that more effective measures be taken in order to bring them to punishment" (WC, 1846: 177)

The vernacular used during the period is particularly vague, the word '*nuisances*' appears often as a stand in for dirt. *"The streets are indeed swept now every day but every bye corner not only of the streets but also of the public works closes and stairs is soon covered with nuisances arising from want"* (CC, 1820: R28).

Cleanliness is brought up as an important factor as early as 1819, in which a committee is set up to address this very issue. The minute books available, which are archived up to 1856, show that attention was paid to combating dirt and pollution, which seemed to presuppose order and thus welcome. The phrasing and understanding of these problems are striking in that the sensibilities of the foreigner are considered, alongside the health of the residents. For example, *"continuation of an inattention to nuisances that not only disgust delicate and refined strangers and foreigners but are excessively prejudicial to the health of all the inhabitants* (CC, 1820: R28) There is a haughtiness that is evident here, in that refined members of the gentry, maybe visiting the city for the first time, might be aghast at the filthy streets and so action was needed to prevent this.

Order and control are thus at the heart of the cleaning narrative, which means coating certain lifestyles and use of the public space in secrecy, sweeping it figuratively under the civic rug.

Returning to the issue of amenities and lighting, discussed earlier in this theme, amenities that were provided were often the target of vandalism, which shows a disconnect between purported use and the resulting outcome. As discussed, people hated the new lighting which was installed and often complained to the newspapers about it. One area though that is of particular interest here is how residents started to smash and destroy lamps once they realised it was for social control. Reading in the minute books of the Cleaning Committee in 1820, we see a nightly destruction of lamps, which caused issues, for curtailing nuisances, as it was harder to catch people in the dark.

"The great expensive incurred by the almost nightly destruction of, or damage to, the present lanterns, has convinced me (putting all other considerations aside) of their utter inapplicability to police purposes" (CC, 1820: R33).

Nuisances can be traced all the way through the 1940s when examining the newspaper archives. A way that the city tried to deal with moral follies, was in trying to commission instructional films, which would be shown to children, outlining appropriate conduct on the street. In the 1940s, children were blamed for the damage that continued to be done to street lamps, during periods of heavy snow. Children were destroying civic objects and were going to be put on the proverbial naughty step. It was claimed that children would smash the glass with snowballs (CAC, 1949: 362)

We can also trace the misuse or vandalism, through other examples in the Lord Provost committee minutes of 1921. Drinking fountains are misused by the residents, for example a letter deliberated on, comes from shopkeepers who complained that the fountains near their shops were a site of nuisances, most likely the issues Brunton (2005) described in her literature review of the problems associated with promoting a hygiene ethos into the city.

“There was submitted a letter from shopkeepers, 55- 61 Dundee Street, complaining of a nuisance from the Drinking Fountain opposite their shops. The committee after consideration authorized the removal of the drinking fountain to the east side of View Forth”

As this was happening, the streets were being cleaned up literally and figuratively with new moralistic legislation taking place to stamp down on prostitution, to outlawing overly ‘aggressive hawkers’, to passing guidelines on everything such as the opening and closing hours of barber shops and to the dispensing of ice cream. We see a trend where so-called immoral offences on the street are punished more severely in the early 1920s. There were increased offences for prostitution, in which harsher sentences were imposed. The streets are being cleaned up literally and figuratively in that moral sensibilities are perhaps the defining element. As the policy states in the Lord Provost minute books detailing the legislation at the time. For example, in 1922, an example of the harsh practices involved in outlawing prostitution was seen: “In the case of a woman who had been twice previously convicted for loitering and importuning for prostitution”

It stated that a reformatory institution would be recommended for a period of “not more than two years” (LPC 1923-1926). This also meant forced medical examinations to see if venereal disease was apparent (LPC 1923-1926). Concurrently, focus is also paid to ridding the streets of ‘itinerant’ fruit sellers (CAC 1948: 201) and a stricter policy emerges over the use of advertising and notice boards that can be displayed such as on the railings of West Princes Street Gardens. Only official corporation activities seem to be permitted as a whole range of advertisement requests are denied such as the Scottish Craftsman Society (CAC 1948: 40). Along with order and control we see a commercialized welcome being constructed. A tension which shows the civic commercial home of Edinburgh grappling with its welcome destination.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter, I looked at two key themes from my archival source material, which were “Issues with Official Representation” and “Problems to be Dealt with in the Public Space”

“Issues with official representation” traced the creation of the civic commercial home of Edinburgh. Edinburgh wanted to attract important guests to visit, particularly wealthy people and were delighted to be able to have a trial run with urban reform and redesign, preceding King George IV’s visit to Scotland in 1820.

The mentality of trying to attract people to the city, coincided with a variety of additional urban reforms, which helped establish a clear marketisation of ‘important’ aspects of the city, such as the castle. Part of the problem with these reforms, was in trying to retain the right balance between renovation and modernisation, with the historical character being integral to the creation of the new civic commercial home. As such, the conservative surgery approach advanced by Geddes, was important for establishing this particular philosophy into the urban design of Edinburgh. The approach meant that Edinburgh could co-construct a marketable Edinburgh appealing to guests on the basis of ‘beauty’ and ‘romanticism’ on the one hand and ‘historical’ and ‘medieval’ needs on the other. In doing so, it was important to establish Edinburgh as an important player, one that listened to tourists, but also provided them with important guides to help discover all the important rooms. As such, I explored debates which occurred, leading up to the creation of the Official Guide to Edinburgh, which showed anxiety

and unease about how Edinburgh was going to be displayed to its guests. Further, I explored the 'marked' story which was constructed about Edinburgh, but ultimately also examined the 'unmarked' ways in which it was established, through a variety of commercial and civic interests, which were bridged ultimately by a committee that had a particular vision.

I looked at the ways in which this particular vision manifested itself through the Civic Amenities Committee, which rejected planning permission requests for carnivals consistently throughout the later part of the 1940s, as an example of house rules being imposed, showing disagreement amongst members, who were at odds with their own City Architect office. I traced this mentality into garden allotment provision and the corresponding investment in public gardens for leisure and relaxation.

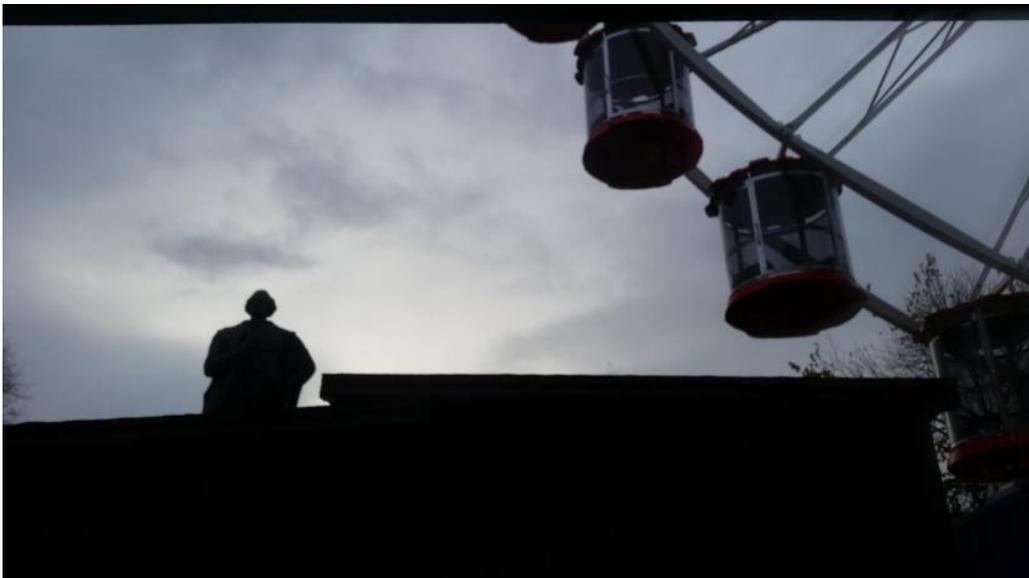
"Problems to be dealt with in the public space" as a secondary theme allowed me to hone in on specific areas which were raised implicitly in the first theme, such as improper amenities, the eventual provision of amenities and the issue of 'nuisances'. In this theme, I demonstrated that the 'wants' of Edinburgh as a 'host' were typically at odds with the requirements of 'guests', who often complained, or vandalised amenities which were eventually provided. In focusing on issues such public lighting, I looked at an unmarked area of contestation in the civic commercial home.

It is notable that the Civic Amenities Committee was only set up to address problems, in the later part of the 1940s, a time when tourism and travel was beginning to become more important. As described, most 'guest' related problems were dealt with on a reactive basis, rather than a proactive one, through a miscellaneous committee which dealt with a wide range of issues that the city had, beyond civic amenity. Edinburgh often provided amenities for imagined guests within the agora, such as the provision of seating near important monuments. They also made sure to protect their important artefacts, by scaffolding them, ostensibly to allow *'closer examinations'*. I show how 'nuisances' was part of a wider civilising narrative, in that Edinburgh wanted to clean up the streets in a moral sense, by imposing harsh penalties on prostitution and public begging, which was part of its strategy for creating a welcome destination.

5.0:

Observations

Edinburgh is a place which has hosted nearly all of my adult memories, as a familiar painting that is always recognisable, a space where most of my life has unfolded. I often think of my memories as sticking to places. When circumnavigating the city, there are momentary glimpses of these moments, like stencil drawings, happening in real time as fragments. Then, I am present again, remembering that I am walking in the here and now. (Autoethnographic reflection)



Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the observational themes which I constructed from stream of consciousness observations, autoethnographic reflexions and photographic material. Four themes are discussed, which are “*Narratives of Edinburgh as a Hospitality Product*”, “*Civic Maintenance*”, “*Hospitality to the Past*” and “*Politics of Identity*”. The architecture of this chapter is as follows, I introduce this section by briefly reacquainting you with the data sources I use in the chapter and then introduce the speakers that talk during the stream of consciousness observations that I quote from. Afterwards, I discuss each theme and provide a chapter summary at the end.

Data Sources

This chapter makes use of three different forms of data. The first source of data is stream of consciousness observations, recorded during walks around Edinburgh. These walks were unstructured and were designed as a fusing of what Guy Debord (1958) called ‘*derive*’ and what Lynch (2005) described as ‘*sociological impressionism*’. As described in the methodology chapter, a derive is an unplanned, unstructured journey through a city where you attempt to drop your normal everyday expectations. You are encouraged to view the city for ‘*what it is*’ and the aim is to let yourself be drawn by the attractions and encounters that you find. Debord (1958) was clear in his writing that a derive was meant to be done as a collaborative venture. He viewed it as a way to cross-check impressions, allowing for a more comprehensive analysis. As a result, I was often accompanied on derives and as such, I introduce the speakers at the beginning of this chapter. Whilst walking, I had a recorder on at all times, picking up stream of consciousness observations and taking photographs, this approach was adopted from Lynch (2005)’s methodology, in recording impressions immediately after entering a commercial home. I also used autoethnographic reflection which allowed for personal commentary to be written after the fact, which I integrated into the main text, or quoted directly from diary notes. I integrated material into a narrative in an attempt to try and make it flow better, in line with my discussion in my methodology about ‘*audiencing*’.

Table 16: Sources of data used in observational chapter

Data source	Reference and theory used
1)- <i>Stream of consciousness observations and photographs</i>	Lynch (2005)
2)- <i>'Derive'</i>	Debord (1958)
2)- <i>Autoethnographic reflexion</i>	Anderson (2006), Wall (2016)

Speakers in the Observational Data

Within the stream of consciousness data, there were three speakers. These were myself, my wife Puneet and my supervisor Paul. I appear in all of the recorded transcriptions (1-6). Puneet appears in transcription five, and Paul appears in the first transcription.

My wife and I are separated by geography. We both occupy very different homes. She lives in Virginia, in the United States and part of our long-term plan, involved me completing my doctoral studies and moving country. When she regularly visited me, in Edinburgh, it was a great opportunity, for me to show her the city I grew up in. I discuss the implications of this within the observational content later in depth. It was some of the more lucid moments of the PhD and her involvement, allowed for a post transcription reflexivity, that enhanced the findings and their implications for the civic commercial home concept more broadly.

Table 17: Speakers within the observational content

Speakers	Transcriptions
Michael	1-6 and all autoethnographic reflection
Puneet	5
Paul	1

Table 18: Observational sub-themes with corresponding definition, sister theme from archives and research aim being addressed

'Commercial civic home' observational Subthemes	Definition as emerged from coding	Sister theme(s) from archive chapter	General research aims being explored from literature review
"NARRATIVES OF EDINBURGH AS A HOSPITALITY PRODUCT"	"Different types of 'welcome' through signage or objects in the public space designed to either make residents feel 'at home' or welcome tourists"	Official Representation"	A1)- What are the 'marked' elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh? A2)- What are the different types of urban welcome (commercial, and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh?
CIVIC MAINTENANCE-	"The daily maintenance through cleaning, ordering and otherwise of the public space"	Problems to be dealt with in the public space	A3)- What are the unmarked elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh
HOSPITALITY TO THE PAST	<i>"Objects within the public space which corresponds to events in Edinburgh's past, or displays which acted as tributes to heroism. These objects also included everyday recognition of ordinary people such as dedications on public benches"</i>	<i>Official Representation</i>	A3)- What are the 'unmarked' elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?
"POLITICS OF IDENTITY'	<i>"Moments of personal, self-reflection with the space around me, which encouraged theoretical insight"</i>	N/A	A2)- What are the different types of urban welcome (commercial, and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh?

Theme one: Narratives of Edinburgh as a hospitality product

The first theme within the observation content that I will discuss is “*narratives of Edinburgh as a hospitality product*”, this refers to different types of ‘welcome’ that were felt either emotionally, or were established as a result of objects within the public space, usually with a commercial purpose or intent. During this project, there were numerous tensions which emerged amongst residents who felt that the streets were becoming overly commercialised and evoked problems associated with ‘*disneyfication*’, whereby the historical integrity and seriousness of the destination was compromised for a variety of reasons, relating to tourist activity. During the observations, there was a sense of this juxtaposition. This theme has a direct relationship with the archival chapter theme ‘*Issues with Official Representation*’ as it was clear experiencing the city as a ‘flaneur’, showed tensions between old and new throughout the urban design, showing competing ideas of what the inside of Edinburgh’s home was to look like. The architecture of this theme is displayed in the table below

Narratives of Edinburgh as a hospitality product
Sub-theme One: “Contrasting and Competing Stories”
Sub-theme Two: “Internationalism”
Sub-theme Three: “Commercial Hallways”
Sub-theme Four: “Hospitality as Resistance”
Sub-theme Five: “Civic Control and Regulation”
Sub- theme Six: “Lack of Police”
Sub-theme Seven “Appropriation of Objects”
Sub- theme Eight- “Disneyfication and Civic Toys”

Table 19: Narratives of Edinburgh as a hospitality product sub-theme

Contrasting and Competing Stories

When walking around Edinburgh, there are moments when you are faced with gentle reminders that these streets are globalized and connected with the wider world. Cities are now spaces of global connectivity, where giants of big business, commerce, industry and the wider service economy merge. Walking in Edinburgh, around the city centre usually means subconsciously reading advertisements. They flicker on and off, walking past bus stops that have electronic billboards; they beam in the sky within the night and day; they are pasted on street lamps, bollards, walls and benches and their small stickers are everywhere. It is impossible to escape; the commercial impulse is the urban elephant in the room. There were a series of advertisements though, which were slightly different from the norm. Usually advertisements are uniformly generic, in being the same message across each geographical area they happen to appear. However, when walking in Edinburgh, there were advertisements which stood out as being about Edinburgh itself. The express aim being, in articulating an idea of Edinburgh, reminding people who and what Edinburgh was.

One in particular that stood out, that narrated Edinburgh back to its residents as a product, was in an advertising campaign run by the banking conglomerate HSBC.

The following was explained to us,

“You’re not just at the fringes, you’re at the heart of culture. The forge that gave us heroic wizards in coffee shops, colour photography and a stage for the world’s comedy weel are ye worthy o a grace. The world’s first city of literature and when hearts face hibs legends are made. From castle rock to Arthurs seat yo sing shang-a lang as you nash. You’re not an island. You’re part of something far far bigger. You are Edinburgh”

(HSBC advertising campaign, Edinburgh City Centre, December 2018)



Figure 6 Advertising campaign by HSBC, selling a story of Edinburgh

A hospitality narrative is presented and has a two-dimensional purpose here. It ostensibly explains the importance and gravitas of Edinburgh, using inside references (*'not just at the fringes'*) and using local slang. It lists important achievements of the city, with the intention of making residents feel 'warm' about their 'home'. The intersection between the commercial and the civic is played out here, in establishing Edinburgh's home as a product, that can be used for the purposes of selling a vision. A vision that anyone and everyone now has the right to use.

To present an interesting contrast with this particular type of commercial welcome, other hospitality narratives presented to tourists, showcased temporality. As traditional hospitality is a service whereby a guest can feasibly outstay their welcome, signs welcoming guests during the festival period in 2016 and 2017 echoed this sentiment unwittingly. These signs had corresponding objects that were placed throughout the city, using similar typeface.



Figure 7: Post it note advertising

As I mentioned in my observations at the time, this welcome felt strangely hollow, almost empty.

“The welcome presented here is very transient....DIY...you make Edinburgh....it’s like a post it note...it’s short lived to indicate the festival limits.....we are for a short time opening up to the world....it’s kind of like saying welcome everyone but just remember this is temporary....this is a note that will be thrown away eventually” (T2)

When walking near the Royal Mile, I made the connection between a litter bin, which had a similar typeface and look, to the welcoming signs that I saw earlier. It was an uncanny juxtaposition.

“Look there is a litter bin.....it’s kind of like that sign we saw earlier.....visitors now have their own litter boxes.....the imagery and connotation of the object is telling.....it looks like packaging material.....only here temporarily and gone by tomorrow” (T2)

I thought about how people often leave notes for their flatmates, when leaving the home, in order to remind them to do something important. The post-it note conveys an important

imperative, or action normally mundane, *'remember to buy milk'*, yet in this example, it was in reminding tourists of a welcome. It also was not just any tourists, it was the world. The imagery is thus striking, the world is being welcomed, but we are not home, we have left the home, gone somewhere else.



Figure 8 A pop-up bar/hospitality café in Edinburgh during the Edinburgh Festival 2018. Evoking the feel of a back-garden party

The world has arrived and we are not at home, to welcome them. The welcome that was given, to the millions of travellers making their way to the city for the Edinburgh Festival also felt ahistorical. Partly because of the notion that these tourists make something *new*, every year, there seemed to be no information presented visually of

exemplar moments in the past, or the contribution that tourists/guests give to the festival. An omission which started to make sense subconsciously, when placed within the local news cycle framework of Edinburgh, which was having a representational crisis about tourism more broadly.²⁰ Building on the idea of transience and fleetingness, was the forms of pop up hospitality which emerged on the street, taking over large parts of the city, with drink and food provision. A relational aspect back to our own homes would be gatherings in the back garden, where similar furniture is used and similar food prepared.

²⁰ For years, Edinburgh's local press has warned of the problems of tourist overconsumption and the deleterious change which occurs as a result of tourist activity in these spaces. A narrative, which sort of became the unconscious normative attitude throughout the city.

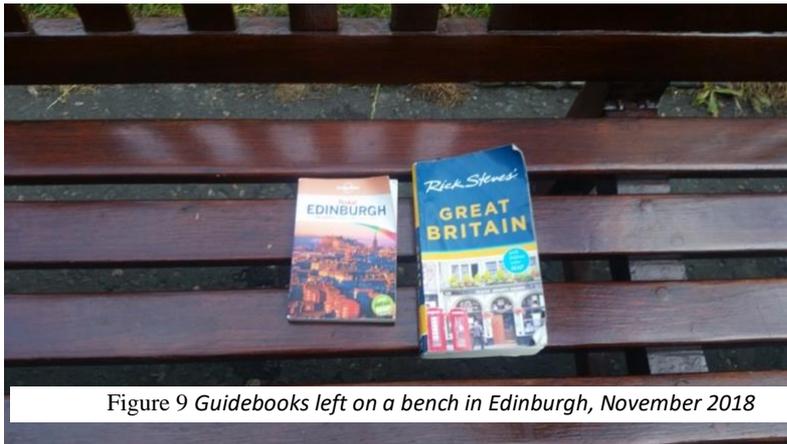


Figure 9 Guidebooks left on a bench in Edinburgh, November 2018

Concurrently as observations were being taken, externally there was a broader debate regarding who the city belonged to. Tourism was viewed almost like a necessary vice, something that the city requires to maintain its life's

blood. During this period, in September of 2018, I was walking in Princes Street Gardens at around 8am. I was on my way to work and often cut through the gardens, as it was typically less crowded. On one of the benches, I noticed two books and stopped to have a look at what they were. Lined up perfectly on the bench was an official guide to Edinburgh, next to an everyday guide about Great Britain. From how they were on the bench, it was clear they were not misplaced, or left there by accident.

It made me think a lot about who these people might be? I thought about the guides being left behind by people going home, no longer having a use for them. But in leaving the guides behind, did they know about Edinburgh now and no longer needed it? Were they satisfied with what they saw? I felt there was a deeper connection in how they left the books on the bench, as I was thinking a lot about benches throughout this PhD and had 'moments of hospitality' on benches in the city. The bench was the perfect place for these books to be left, for someone else to take them and use for their own exploration.

With Puneet, one of the things she noticed, was three different elements that appealed to tourists in the city of Edinburgh. She was a tourist herself, and this presented an interesting way to examine, in our walks, the ways in which she understood the product that was being implicitly sold to her, in essence the marked construction of Edinburgh's tourist destination. When reading the observation back though, it was clear as a resident, I started to scaffold her interpretation, by offering more information, in trying to situate her properly as an ideal guest. A guest that would appreciate all the different features of Edinburgh, as a home. I had to show her all the different rooms. As Puneet remarked in the observational content:

“Puneet: So, it's like, you have three different things in Edinburgh, right? The natural, the nature...the huge emphasis on history but then it is also modern. So, three characteristics.

Michael: Three cities in one you could say. You've got a very historical city which is very evident at different parts, you've got a natural city where you've got these topological, geological structures like when we eventually get to Arthur's seat. It's very much an unspoiled part of the city” (T5)

Puneet had picked up on the fact that Edinburgh was trying to be three different things at once for its many guests. It wanted to be city that had a great history to speak of, it wanted to be known for its large green spaces and it also wanted to be viewed as a modern and contemporary city.

Internationalism

One of the ways the commercial civic home is established is by having many different internationalist spaces, that interlink. Part of this is through welcoming Otherness. It is no secret that Edinburgh is culturally diverse and many who live here think of themselves within an internationalist framework. These spaces could be metaphorically spoken about as though they were different living rooms of the city that blend and diffuse together. The hodgepodge of cultures synchronizing immediately apparent walking down Leith, where there is an emphasis on experiencing different identities, captured in these solo pre-Brexit observations. I was walking down Leith, collecting stream of consciousness observations and noted:

“We stand alone alongside, and with others. It's a strange synthesis. A big church on the street. A Portuguese flag in the window of the dry cleaners. Again, maybe the owners feel they ought to let it be known to people, maybe other Portuguese that this is a Portuguese-friendly business that is run by fellow Portuguese people. Interesting use of displaying of flags. The Real Pizza Factory, the restaurant with a bench that has two arm rests that look like anchors, so the synthesis here of the, I suppose the traditional idea of Leith as a docking area with hospitality and with this new Italian restaurant. So, it can be said that businesses are able to take portions of what it means to be someone born in this area, maybe a generation ago and update it and use it as a business strategy, a marketing strategy. Also, an aesthetic strategy,

to make it look nice, look strange it stands out. Got a business centre, a free copy of the Chinese Times on the outside. This is a truly international part of the town. I think it is" (T3)

And this observation from the same transcript:

"Chinese Times, the Chinese language newspapers, there's Spanish restaurants, Chinese meals to carry out. There're antique shops right next to tattoo shops. (People laughing, comfortable in-home surroundings). There're tanning salons right next to Polish language books stores and mini marts all in the Polish language. There's three or four all in a very short proximity to one another. There's a place that is selling baked potatoes and then part of the sign- it's the Scottish flag, so maybe some businesses want to emphasize a certain type of product or wants to emphasize that the goods that are being sold are distinctly Scottish as opposed to the Polish shops that are nearby. (Also, it is like a stamp of approval that the goods are locally sourced and fresh, for the mums and people who take care of meals in the home). We've got a Chinese supermarket. Is it possible to have many different types of living rooms? Is this the living room, or is it the commercial hallway? (You could argue that different parts of the street represent different parts of the home and they can/may overlap. Some people use the kitchen as a social area and a living room as an eating area, et al.)" (T3)

The varieties of otherness were sometimes of a local variety, in distinguishing specific areas of the city from others. In the observations:

"That's very much emphasized with the signage that you see down here, lots of signs that say "We love Leith." So, there are pictures of The Proclaimers, pictures of famous people from the area. Again, emphasizing distinctness, difference, and multiplicity, but also of a local variety" (T4)

The observation made me think about family pictures of children in the home and the corresponding relationship between the pictures of the Proclaimers and others in the area. A civic variant of the private home.

Commercial Hallways

There is no question though that part of the city seems to have been repurposed with a commercial product in mind, which presents another spatialised hospitality narrative. Thus, a term that was used in the observations that evoked the tourist takeover of aspects of the city was “commercial hallways”, which evoked this sense of travelling between spaces that ultimately felt placeless, or empty. Streets which were redesigned for consumerism. The journey being an in-between point. When walking with Paul, in our preliminary walk through the city, this was remarked upon. The sense that we were in an ‘in-between’ space

***Michael:** Posters. This is like the hallway, almost.*

***Paul:** This is like a kind of hallway, a commercial hallway. It's more like hotel, I guess, or something like retail.*

***Michael:** It's like when you go into a hotel and you've got all the fliers at the front, you know like advertising, what to do in the city and things.*

***Paul:** Yeah, or the retail area. So that should be maybe the first observation is, perhaps this is less like a home than it is more like a hotel in this particular location.*

***Michael:** A commercial space, maybe.” (T1)*

Building on the idea of a commercial hallway, we have ‘commercial nonplaces’, which specifically refers to the over saturation of corporate franchises all over the UK. Recognisable by their branding or advertising, they loom in the distance, call out to your gaze as you walk. As I described in my walk with Paul:

***Michael:** Bunch of different types of Scottishness as well, so you've got Hawick knitwear here; you've got a rural type of Scotland and then you've got maybe the more stereotypical type of Scottish presentation, so you've got the guys in a kilt here, highland costume and things sort of advertising that you can come and take your photograph there. So, you've got kind of competing visions, almost, of what it means to be Scottish.”*

The 'Scottishness' though did not feel authentic to me. It was not real, there was an artificiality to it all. I started to have a feeling that this corporate gentrification of our streets, had an effect on the way we *think, act* and *feel* at home in the city more broadly. From the literature review, I spoke about Molz's (2008) deconstruction of 'home' and these commercial nonplaces attempt to create that feeling on a networked scale outwit the parameters of Edinburgh's walls.

"So we are walking and I see lots of what you might call non places..... In non places there is nothing that differentiates one from another, think of the inside of airports..... individualized meaning that is contingent on place, within the city itself. What we have here is whole rows of commercial brands.... that have of course the same design, the same interiors, the same branding all over the country so every single company that you walk into creates a recognizable sameness" (T5)

Hospitality as Resistance

Reflecting more broadly on this point, was the sense of sameness that I had walking Edinburgh over and over again, saturation was something that was reached quickly, mainly as a result of the commercialised takeover of the city. As a result, hospitality ultimately emerges as resistance, as a form of authenticity, against prevailing sameness throughout urban cities across the world. I described this feeling during an observation:

This is a real problem in our cities because the lack of distinctiveness although fostering a sense of universal hospitality, in the recognition and familiarity of logos, marketing and advertising, it reduces the authenticity of the overall experience. Tourism is such though that it relies on big business and commerce to provide services in conjunction with a packaged narrative. You walk the streets of Edinburgh with a tour guide where narratives are combined with the possibility of getting a Starbucks at the end, or at the beginning, or even using the familiar space as a meeting point on which to begin the tour of authenticity. In a sense inauthentic commerciality is used as part of the overall commercial narrative that the tour operator uses" (T6)

It was something that I focused on more prominently throughout my stream of consciousness narratives, the conjunction between competing forms of hospitality as an abstract concept.

“You’d think this is the natural space for this, elongated shopping area. Spread out, straight-line,, the incongruity, across the road, we have the medieval city, the picturesque vista, you have the photograph that inevitably is taken home by the traveller, there is a tale of two sides of the commercial home, you get the historical, medieval performative imagery on the right and the left you get the goods and services, that you get in any major metropolitan city. (T6)

Another observational point here was that benches, particularly in the agora of Edinburgh (Princes Street) faced towards the shops, indicating a rest spot in the city for the consumerism more broadly. I noticed this during an observation

“Benches are acting as the hospitable in-between point.....of these two sides of the commercial home. Interestingly the benches are looking towards the shops, facilitating a rest- space where people can potentially ponder their next place to shop.....benches are not designed to face the picturesque area....you have to escape the commercial area and go into the park, the civic space to do that” (T6)

When walking with Paul, something that was remarked upon was a comparison between hotel corridors, *another ‘in-between space’.*

“So, I’m not quite sure it’s a front parlor per se, it’s maybe as we came here before maybe the hotel corridors. Got different vibes on each side, so you’ve got competing hosts and guests. So, let’s consider different types of guests, the different types of hosts here. It’s obviously a place that is relatively clean. We’ve got plants everywhere. A number of little potted plants attempt to beautify the outside of the commercial enterprise” (T1)

Control and Regulation

Part of the way these regulations are implicitly enforced as we have already discussed is signage. Signs kept popping up, creating different expectations. On my walk with Paul. He made the relationship between bed and breakfast signs, rules and regulations and parental admonishments within the home.

“All of these street signs, they’ve got a significance. Think about the bed and breakfasts signage and rules and regulations and things like that. Your parents’ admonishments to try and keep the place clean and tidy because that’s really what it’s about. No parking, put your toys away? don’t trip over them all that kind of thing.” (T1)

Signs occasionally tell stories to demarcate appropriate behaviour. A sign at Bruntsfield Links for example, showed the ways in which the park *should be used* by evoking a story, that demonstrated the consequences of not following correct procedure. They have an anchoring quality, albeit fleeting.

“The sign curiously describes a fair which did not take place on the links. Old house rules are clearly demarcated here. The fair which was described as having attracted “riotous behaviour” as a result of drunkenness was set to take place on the Links after residents from the New Town complained about the fair’s previous stint on Calton hill in 1843. The golfers of the park similarly objected for presumably the same reasons. The outlining of this history is clearly meant to establish a history of proper use. The park is not to be used for public drinking and for lewd behaviour. The sign in establishing this history of restricting immoral behaviour aims to censure and control current behaviour” (T3)

Spatially, order is important for the commercial home in spaces where regular visitor functionality occurs, such as places near train stations or other popular bus routes in the very

centre of the city, for example in my observations, I remarked about Princes Street gardens being the **'back garden' of the city'** and this is conveyed by appropriate signage



Figure 10 Sign outlining the smart way to enjoy Princes Street Gardens, juxtaposed with censorious warnings to dog owners

“We’re in Princes Street Gardens and just at a sign which says, “a smart way to enjoy Princes Street Gardens” so obviously there are a number of rules and regulations on how best, or indeed how to at all, appreciate the public park. And that’s because it has its own distinctiveness that situates it right next to a train station, it’s one of the back gardens of the city” (T1)

Paul on our walk, remarked quite poignantly about the confluence of management in the home with visitors:

“You know, when you think about the home you’ve got this very much management image going on and you see that especially with the more commercial operations, but also the type of home ones so like you mow the lawn, you’ve got your flowers which appearance and a certain kind of ... appearance of image in the same way that the home we present in a certain way, according to our visitors and such. So, this is where you’re bringing your visitors, you can think about some parlour idea, I don’t think it’s like some parlour, personally, but that is maybe slightly leaning towards that.” (T1)

Order is something that is imposed in the civic space, in much the same way it is within the home. Micro regulations are everywhere within the private social space, whereby unwritten rules operate. As a young boy, running around the house was strictly prohibited. We lived in a very small home and my father enjoyed ‘displaying’ everything around the home, like a dusty museum. Hand painted and fragile toy soldiers; photographs of our family; expensive plates that hung on the wall precariously and ornaments. It was a mundane kind of order and

likewise, the city has similar manifestations. During the Edinburgh Festival, there was a concerted attempt to maintain a clear sense of order.

The street is essentially a space where micro regulations are played out, particularly when there are competing commercial hospitality narratives at stake. These regulations are done in sometimes inventive ways, for example the gamification used during the Edinburgh Festival of 2017, whereby smokers were offered a novel way of disposing their cigarettes. They were asked a question, such as “Which Ryan” and answers below corresponded to the names of two famous actors. Other examples throughout the city were common, which encouraged a hospitality narrative of not littering, of not defacing the product, of cleaning up after yourself. The theme is similar to a self-catering hotel, or an Airbnb, whereby you are expected to keep the place clean and tidy.



Figure 11 Gamification: Which Ryan?

The idea of incorporating questions in this way, was adopted throughout the Edinburgh Festival period (2015), whereby an online hashtag #OUREDINBURGH was created. During the observation period, I spent a lot of time reviewing the ways in which street furniture was used as a way for people to connect and interact and share thoughts.

This seemed like a way for the council to introduce gamification, or implement a form of nudge theory into the urban space, essentially instilling an environmental and psychologically

efficient way of encouraging waste disposal. There were many instances of this appearing through the city. Puneet remarked that it was like awarding gold stickers for good behaviour in our observations, which is at the root of nudge theory.

In the same way that phone booths are becoming WIFI-hotspots and cashpoints as a result of obsolescence, forms of street furniture were being used to not only advertise the city or our

culture more generally (*Which view is better Arthurs seat or Carlton hill?; what is the best Scottish food? Shortbread or Haggis?; what is your favourite trainspotting character?*). It is also a way for people to express anger at a lack of maintenance in a quick and accountable fashion Signs throughout the city again, reflected this DIY, minimalist design which implied a grassroots maintenance. The ballot questions changing over time and crowd sourced.



Order is also established due to a close management of objects, spaces and places. In the home, we have a presentational space for guests, but in Edinburgh the control over how these spaces are used more functionally is becoming more austere. An example, during the observation. We see a dividing line, preventing the garden from being used, during a period of construction and maintenance. It evokes the segmentation of the home, where certain rooms are off limits, established by locks and baby gates. Part of what constitutes welcome then, is about familiarity and expected orderliness. The order is part of the unspoken hospitable contract. In our walk, Paul described a recent memory he had during a visit to Edinburgh Castle and the issue of unspoken rules governing the public objects outside, which resulted in a mild faux pas.

“Younger people are much more fun because they run around. When I tried to sit on a cannon at the castle I was not allowed to. All these kids were allowed to, but I got stopped from doing it. They told me off.” (T1).

Often these rules are situated spatially with subtle expectations such as maintaining unspoken, but generally agreed upon age appropriate behaviour. The cannon was presentational and engagement was within prescribed limits.



Figure 13 Anti skateboarding example 1

Other ways in which order was established, was sometimes in subtle ways, such as anti-skateboarding measures, which prevented grinding on important walls. Protecting the area from potential damage. These are discrete forms of control, which are not often seen by the normal

'guest', but are enforcing a clear sense of order and stability.



Figure 14 Anti skateboarding example 2

As there are clear political issues at stake in the civic-commercial home, ensuring the commercial product is quality tested is important to ensure its success. An allusion could be made to a profitable restaurant, where high quality meals are prepared regularly, which requires regular quality appraisals. Likewise, in the urban

space, the product is maintained. Part of this involves a politics of seeing. Observations taken during the month of August for example noted that homelessness suddenly vanished, particularly in spaces where homelessness was commonly spotted. I reflected on this, during an observation with Puneet

"An interesting thing that I am noticing is that...with all this tourist activity in the city...there is definitely.....a concerted effort....there is a concerted effort to make sure that the homeless are not visible, so like there will be banned for sitting on the street at certain areas, the policing of it is essentially become more intense and so that is another politics of seeing, what is seen and unseen by people visiting. It is the same thing if someone comes to your house, you spend a lot of time cleaning up everything you don't want them to see, you'll make sure it is neat and

tidy and so we do that as a city by making sure not only that the pollution is limited, the areas where it is most likely they will visit but also who is going to be there and how it is going to be policed” (T4)

A further observation I made, described a homeless man who sits near the Holyrood palace, who has made a distinct part of the grassy portion in front of a set of flats, his home. Part of the research, as described in the methodology, included moments of serendipity. My friend pointed out, that she often saw him doing his daily routine. I decided, on my way home from work, to walk past that area, to see for myself.

I felt like a voyeur. I recognised the homeless man she was describing to me, but as I did, I noticed blood everywhere on the street, which made me pause. The incongruity and juxtaposition of the homeless man, the Holyrood palace and the blood were striking to me.

“I also don't know if this is something I am supposed to talk about. I find this bit interesting though, there is a homeless man on a bench by the restaurant between the restaurant and queens palace. The Holyrood palace. That seems to be his home. I have seen him brush his teeth, I have seen him enjoying a cup of tea, reading a paper. When it was sunny the other day, he was lying under the tree, tanning himself, just sort of enjoying the weather. It almost seems like that is where he lives.

There is severe amount of blood on the ground, that isn't nice. It is dripping everywhere, that is disgusting. But yes, the man appears to be using this bit of Edinburgh as his home and he has a lot of stuff. Oh god, the blood keeps going.” (T6)

Lack of Police

The lack of visible police officers, themselves arbitrators of the law and symbols of order is something that instilled a sense of ease and lack of concern for my observation partner, Puneet, who was from the United States. Being able to forget about control and order was a type of hospitable offering itself, as someone who was used to seeing guns everywhere.

“You see a lot of police and armed forces around in certain areas right [in America?] You have this sense of presence of law enforcement officers. I don't think I have seen a single police officer here. And that, I didn't think about it until now. I guess like, I guess it is kind of like almost positive because I hadn't thought of that aspect at all” [T5]

Forgetting about control and order, whilst being reminded of it in short glimpses, or gestures is one of the ways in which feeling at home is established. However, I also thought that it may have created a sense of unease for Puneet, she was after all used to clear signs of order, that signified normalcy. I could sense the resulting ambiguity in her use of the word “guess” in the way she used it.

There are allusions to be made with the home, particularly the sense of privacy, safety and security which occurs in your own space. I tried to evoke the ‘good host’ and I started to parrot Edinburgh council marketing unconsciously and used the term ‘Edenbrugh’ during a sentence to describe the relative safety and security of the open parks, evoking the sense of paradise. A paradise that has multiple usages, just like the host, overselling their commercial home. As I responded in the observational transcript:

“You've got this kind of area right in the middle of the city where you can let your dog free to run around, but you can also exercise here. The welcome is not only just EDENburgh, and in keeping with the notion with paradise, but it's also in keeping with certain types of citizenry. It's welcoming those with animals, those with bicycles, those who would like to use the city to exercise but not get in the way of the normal pedestrian. So, you've got multiple usages here.” (T5)

Part of this also involved the sense of being anonymous. Puneet, in a new city, felt distinctly exposed which relates directly back to the idea of Flaneur, and anonymity. There is a sense that feeling welcome in the city, is being able to be like you are “on an assembly line”, or somewhere where you do not have to interact. Despite it feeling friendlier, there is a sense that “sectioning yourself off”, has its benefits in being able to make yourself feel at home.

Puneet: I do feel wearisome, but luckily it seems to be dying down. You can kind of section yourself off in New York like a machine on an assembly line, you can't do that here, you are going to see faces, you are going to interact.

Michael: And does that make you feel welcome or unwelcome? Is welcome part of being anonymous, or is it that you want to be part of it

Puneet: I sense if you need directions, or you are lost, you need to ask a question, here I guess you can catch someone's eye more easily, like the guy did back there with you. It just seems more friendly." [T5]

Appropriation of Objects



Figure 15 Iconic red phone boxes

A recurring motif throughout the observational content, was finding objects that were no longer in direct use, but still had a clear indirect use, for the purposes of hospitable welcome. Often these objects, such as red phone boxes, were converted into something new, but still retained the old design. Meaning, they were still

useful for tourist consumption. The photo taken (*figure 15*) would be recognisable throughout most of the West, as representative of UK architectural design. I would argue that the classic red phone-booth is an object metonym for the UK. I often witnessed people (presumably tourists) taking photographs of these objects. These photos could be simple photographs of the objects themselves, such as the example provided in *figure 15*, or the photographer would insert themselves into the photograph through selfies or participating in group photographs. There is a clear relationship to the home, in that furniture can often go out of fashion and represent a particular period of time. Furniture can feel 'old fashioned' and thus like a 'time capsule'.

Within the observations, Puneet was looking for somewhere to eat and we saw a blue takeaway stall. The stall, had been converted from old police call box and these sort of hospitality conversions are all over the city in varying forms.



Figure 16 Converted Police Box

Puneet: *Those little food stalls*

Michael: *It is a food stall now. The idea was you had a door here, it had a phone inside, it was a place to detain someone as well.*

Puneet: *It is nicely camouflaged, or integrated I guess into the city.*

Michael: *Yeah, it's no longer in use, but it is still part of the architectural feel of the city, like phone boxes everywhere, nobody really uses them functionally anymore. You will notice that these streets are very dirty, much more graffiti here as well. There is less concern maybe about order. Got this disused phone box which is now*

operating as a cash machine and part of that entire thing is about the object being obsolescent. It's no longer useful. So, they've basically transformed it, it's now different " (T5)

I noticed that these objects, which were traditionally associated with law, safety and security had moved into being understood as objects of leisure, commerce and exchange more generally. The move from hospitality as social control, to hospitality as social and economic exchange.

"Police boxes which were once symbols of law and order, now kind of use symbols of leisure, kind of coffeehouses, coffee pit stops, rather. The entire meaning of that object has changed over time due to the commercial aspect of the city. "(T5)

The appropriation of objects like this has a direct relationship to the home. I thought about conversions and the renovation of rooms; changing a guest room to a baby's room, a box

room into a walk-in wardrobe; or repurposing old fireplaces into decorative elements in the home. I thought about the old coal bunker, that was outside my Council home when I was young, that never had any coal inside, but made a very good place for me to sit and read my books.

Disneyfication and Civic Toys



Figure 17: Photograph showing the theme park like atmosphere

Explaining part of the external uneasiness with tourism relates back to the carnivalesque fears in the archive chapter, where the circus was a representation of folly. Trying to find a happy medium where the city of Edinburgh is a place that is 'lived' in, in contrast to a performative space, seems to be difficult. I took

many observations during the Edinburgh Festival in 2016 and a particular narrative that emerged was Disneyfication. This was the ways in which Edinburgh seemed to turn into a proxy theme park, or an extended carnival with dutiful service workers everywhere maintaining the city, like groundskeepers.

During a set of the observations Paul mentioned the following after witnessing Mickey Mouse on the street entertaining children

Paul: Yeah. It's being maintained in a particular way. The Mickey Mouse and things like that. So, you've got grandparents with the kind of teddy bear except this is much more in the same the grandparent might use the teddy bear as a way of engaging with the children, as a kind of image perception such like the commercial host is used in that same kind of thing. Maybe quite(?) incongruously but even so. (T1)

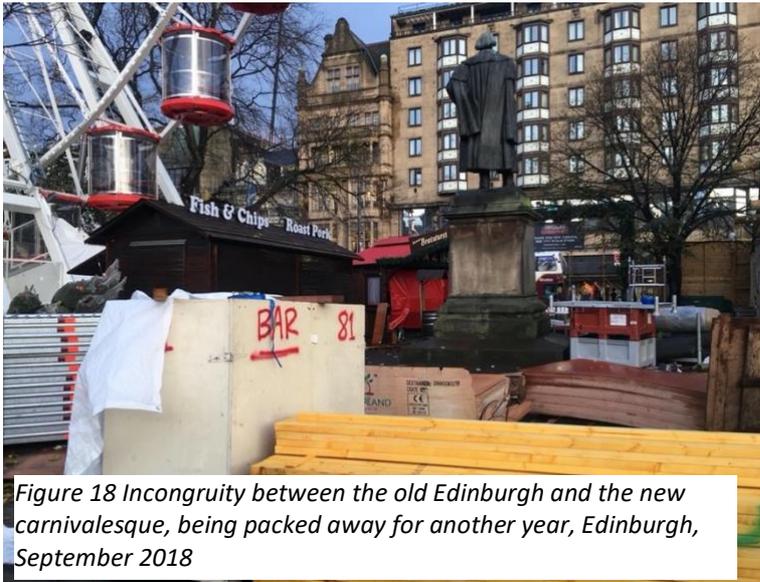
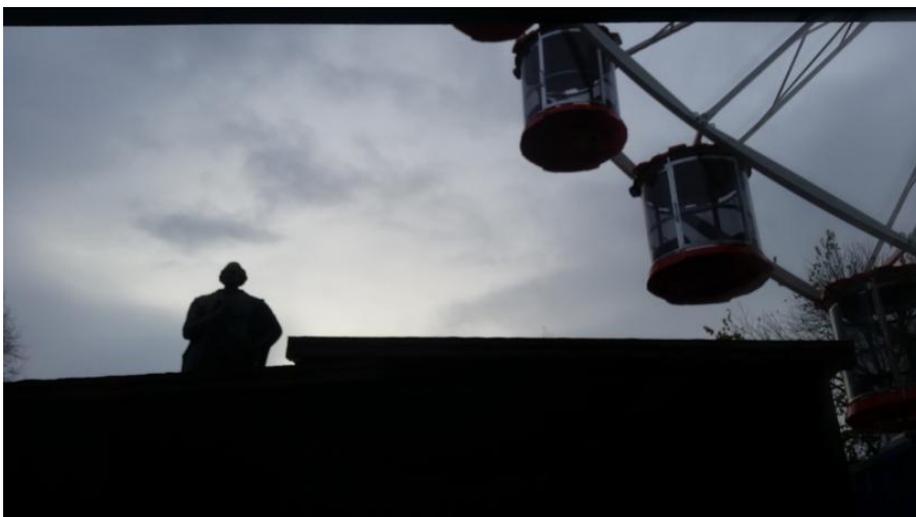


Figure 18 Incongruity between the old Edinburgh and the new carnivalesque, being packed away for another year, Edinburgh, September 2018

One of the striking things about the carnivalesque environment was the juxtaposition between the old monuments; ghosts of Edinburgh's past and theme park construction. The incongruity, is beautifully displayed by photographs I took after the Edinburgh Festival period, where construction lay dormant in the

city, waiting to be cleared away. The looming Ferris Wheel and the Fish and Chips stand, with the old statue, giving different vibes to the observer. I thought about Christmas and how trees suddenly lose their meaning and purpose, once the Christmas festivities are over with. They start to develop a particularly strange and unsettling feeling, especially if they remain out in the open, long after the celebratory period has ended. Likewise, the debris from the festival, evoked that same feeling. I took the same sort of image, many times, across different nights, to try and capture this feeling.

This showed, that objects within the civic commercial home had this built in, unspoken sense of appropriateness, at different periods of time.



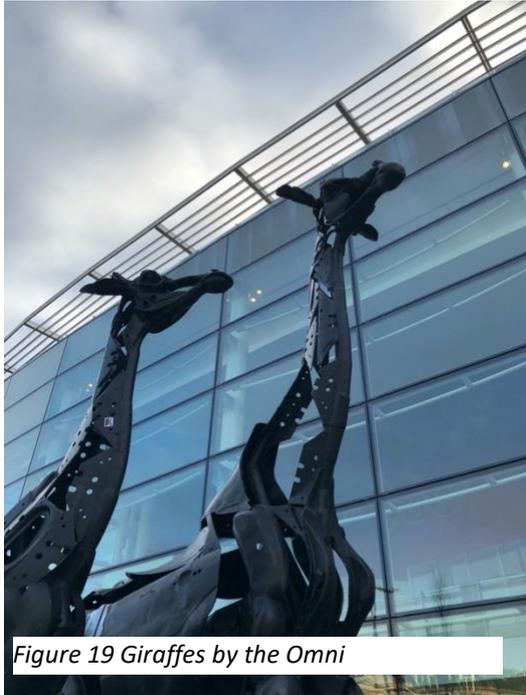


Figure 19 Giraffes by the Omni

This Disneyfication finds its way into normal objects throughout the city, in being like bizarre ornaments or things that would be on display in a glass cabinet back home, as fantastical artefacts. For example, in the observational data:

“On the other side of the Omni Centre, as we’re walking down towards Leith, we have these large giraffe ornaments right outside the building. They’re constructed out of something that’s, perhaps, unusual

They kind of look robotic when you see them at first.

I wonder what the significance of the giraffes are. So, when you’re approaching the statue, it says “giraffes are people who live between earth and skies. Each in his own religious steeple, keeping a light house with his eyes. I wonder if it’s from a poem or something.” (T3)



Figure 20 Civic toy, being used for play

Another thing that I noticed a lot when walking around the streets of Edinburgh, which has relevance to this theme, was the ways in which objects were used by children to play games. A lion for example at St Andrews Square, was always being used for fun and entertainment. Whenever, I was there to take a photograph, it was always being used by a parent and child, or a child independently.

Other objects, such as the ability to insert yourself into ‘portraits’, provided by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, were used regularly by children.

Theme Two: Civic Maintenance

The second theme to discuss is the notion of ‘*civic maintenance*’. As a theme, this broadly covers three key areas within the observational and autoethnographic reflection. The first is regarding the role graffiti and defacement played in observations and how I thought more broadly about the implications it had. The second subtheme described is ‘lack of amenity’, within this subtheme, I reflexively describe the observational content and the ways in which my observational partner Puneet, compared the lack of amenity to what she was used to back home. I discuss the implications for how I reacted in the data and how it made me a proxy host to Edinburgh, defending my ‘castle’. This led more generally into a discussion on maintenance and cleaning hierarchies which through observation I was able to ascertain, throughout the city of Edinburgh. I equated them with ‘back rooms’, and the idea of the civic attic space, emerges here. I outline the subthemes in the table below

Civic Maintenance
Subtheme one: Graffiti and Defacement
Subtheme two: Lack of Amenity
Subtheme three: Daily (un)maintenance

Table 20: Civic Maintenance subthemes



Figure 21 David Hume with Cone on Head

One of the central themes of Psychogeography is the concept of ‘denouncement’. Debord (1994) within the Situationist movement referred to this as turning expressions of capitalism against itself. Culture Jamming for example is the act of ‘responding’, often to advertisements in the public space, by defacing them, or placing stickers over them, subverting the message. We can apply this thinking to the ways in which objects within the public space were defaced, or playfully interfered with.

An example of this, was when I was walking through Edinburgh and noticed a traffic cone on David Hume’s head. The playful ‘response’ to the statue, was a mundane moment. The significance, in the case of monuments such as the David Hume statue on the Royal Mile, is that we deconstruct the normal and intended narratives of importance and grandeur that we are supposed to derive from the object.

In the observational data, Puneet reflected on the ways in which graffiti or defacement was like a form of self-policing. She noticed:

“Puneet: If you look at the patterns of the graffiti, like the citizens here kind of know where they can and cannot do graffiti. They respect the older buildings, like there is a form of self-policing. You can tell where they tried to take the graffiti of, you can still see remnants of it. But when I look at, where you can tell this is definitely a historic building is when it hasn't been

tampered with. That might be because like you said Scottish people are quite nationalist? Patriotic [T5]”

Puneet equated the spatial division of the graffiti and general defacement that we saw on our walks as being representative of the respectful patriotism that Scotland had. It was a strange observation that I thought about, but when thinking about the home, it made sense. Often with children, they might have special walls, or areas where it is entirely appropriate for the crayon or marker to draw on. I remember when I was a child, having my height taken regularly at my best friend’s house, near the front door. His mother, on a regular basis would take her pencil out and take our heights, showing the progress on the wall. I realised this would never have been allowed on a wall, where guests would spend a long time, like an important guest room, or living area. Graffiti then, in the public space seems to be allowed in areas where there are less people to witness it, like children and their own bedroom walls, hidden away. Again, an example of house rules playing in the civic space.

In my other recorded observations, I alluded to graffiti as being temporary redecorating, which is eventually rectified.

“It should be noted that many of the tags that graffiti artists use is actually temporary, they deface a space for a period of time, before the weather actually gets rid of it. Are we properly engaging with our built environment when we do this?” (T3)

The remembered feeling of censure brought forth memories, where house rules and city rules began to overlap somewhat. In the same transcript, I saw walls with posters covered in them, tattered and soaked by the rain, which juxtaposed with the relatively clean and untampered city centre. Memories sync with the environment, something I explore more in detail in my themes ‘hospitality to the past’ and ‘politics of identity’, but in this particular case. I just remembered my father, belligerent, aggressive and bellowing. I remembered ‘no posters being allowed’

“So, we see a wall where posters can be placed. I remember as a kid being unable to put posters on the wallpaper in my bedroom. My dad would always be upset and really frustrated when he saw posters covering what he thought was very stylish floral wallpaper and of course, what I found really tacky and boring as a kid” (T3)

(Lack of) Amenity

A discussion throughout the observational data was moments where amenity was considered, or reflected upon. I consider in this theme, the way I also imposed myself as a ‘host’ on my observational partner, particularly when she described issues with Edinburgh’s amenities.

The first example of this emerged during our walk in the Meadows. I tried initially to compare it to Central Park:

“Michael: It is kind of like our Central Park. It to use a frame of reference. You will see immediately that we have a very different contrast/juxtaposition here. Different organization here, in that relaxation, leisure and so on is the maintenance philosophy. To have a relationship with nature, make it seem like it is part of the organic world. Untapped, untamed

I am telling my observational partner, Puneet, what to expect by using a frame of reference, but it was clear immediately that there was a sense that the area was lacking. Puneet pointed out the lack of water fountains and the lack of drinking water being readily available on the street, something she was used to back home. Another comment was on the lack of clarity in disposing of rubbish, which was unclear. At the time of the observations, there were only single use black bins in most areas where we walked, which caused Puneet, who is quite an environmentally cautious person, to hold onto her rubbish until she knew it could be recycled properly. In the observational content, we see this lack of familiarity with Edinburgh’s home play out, with a distinct yearning for her own urban homely formalities.

“Puneet: I am not happy about the lack of water fountains, no drinking water so far, which is ridiculous. I feel like water should be available no matter where you are.

Michael: *So that is almost a given, a taken for granted piece of street furniture that you would have?*

Puneet: *And it's functional, and the other thing, sorry to go on, I was just going to say, things that you don't have lots of recycling points. You have recycling but your bins aren't, like where do I put my garbage? Is that welcoming to the environment? I don't know*

Michael: *The pieces of furniture that are available is different, so on the other streets that we have been on so far, there is no ability to sit down, because that is not what that street is for, but this point, as we are walking down the street here, we might want to stop and relax and take in the scenery, the sights.” (T5)*

I tried to justify the lack of amenity, by describing other inhospitalities. I noticed that, rather than understanding her frustration at the lack of provision, I was protecting my own home by suggesting that the streets are not really *for that here*. I also suggested to her an alternative moment of hospitality, by suggesting we sit down and take in the scenery and ‘*take in the sights*’. I am not sure why I was so defensive. There was a part of me that wanted her to love Edinburgh and intuitively understand it as a ‘hospitable city’, but it was clear she was finding all sorts of issues, that were pertinent to my discussion. It was not until much later, when rereading these observational extracts, that I realised my defensiveness was that of a ‘host’ trying to make my guest feel welcome. By offering alternative moments of hospitality, I missed out on properly discussing with her, the issues she was expressing. I was thrilled when she started to make positive comments about all the public toilets that were available. Even though it was banal, it felt like we were back on track.

Puneet: *Another thing I have seen is you have public restrooms, like you have the sign right there at the corner of the street that tells you that there is a toilet nearby and exactly how far and in what direction. Which is actually really nice, so you are controlling your hygiene. Especially with the homeless population, whereas when you walk in New York, we don't really have public restrooms, we have them mostly in stores and restaurants but they are not public. You can smell some of it, it is really pungent. (T5)*

What was striking about this observation, was the way she casually used the term 'homeless population', which struck me in the moment as well. I thought, public toilet provision certainly is 'controlling hygiene', but with a growing homeless 'population' in Edinburgh, I realised how important public amenities were to that group and how callous it was in removing them. It was clear that New York, had a highly individualised approach, whereby toilets are private objects. There are many reasons for this, mainly due to the car-centric, always on the move culture, but also the ways in which we view other people. I discuss this observation in more detail in my discussion chapter.

When responding to Puneet, I evoked myself and my ability as a flaneur to explore the city. I think my mindset was certainly in the framework of trying to collect observations in the matter I describe: *"I am able to explore my city"*, but I did not focus on the pertinent observational context in the moment, which was that these objects and their lack of provision, creates a very unwelcoming atmosphere for people who are down and broken by life; who are homeless. Puneet's involvement here was immensely important for recognising a lack of actualisation with my space. I was trying to focus too heavily on my own response to the city, as opposed to bringing others in. The lesson of hospitality from Still (2010) was about bringing the outside inside and this was done, only in reflection.

"Michael: That is another element, it all goes back to the issue of how welcome you feel, and unwelcome. Part of that is feeling like you are able to do whatever you are able to do whenever you want. I am able to explore my city, we are able to do this but under the very clear awareness that I am never going to be in a situation where I am stuck and not going to be able to use a public bathroom." (T5)

Puneet, reflected that the city seemed to 'close early', by which she meant that the main areas of consumption closed by 6pm. As a tourist, her sense of welcome was about purchasing items to take back home, to her friends and family. There was an observable incongruity, in that she felt like it was possible to find everything we needed, but nothing was stable and long lasting.

“Puneet: No matter where we have turned, it feels, I feel like we can find what we need. I like that about this city. The thing I don't like about the city is that things close early! I don't know how the city functions like that” (T5)

Earlier in our walk, I had described the city as being a ‘go-between space’. In doing so, I said to Puneet, *“I think it is helpful to have your perspective as well, because I live in this city and I was born here and so a lot of what is normal to me might be unusual to you”* I was not aware that I was imposing myself as ‘host’, or normalising my observations to her, or situating a claim for authenticity, that an outsider might not have. I felt like I was expressing gratitude, that she was helping, offering her views. It was clear though, subconsciously, I thought my observations were going to merit a sense of truthfulness, that her observations were not. I was familiar with the wallpaper, she was not.

“Michael: We normally use the city as a go-between space, getting from A to B, so we don't usually think about these underlying issues, so it is interesting exploring them. I think it is helpful to have your perspective as well because I live in this city and I was born here and so a lot of what is normal to me might be unusual to you.” (T5)

Something Puneet noticed was the inclusive recognition of cyclists and their ability to use public space. She had been in an accident with her bike, months before these observations took place, where she was badly injured. It made her stop cycling for a long time and the constant noise and heavy smoke and sirens that populated the American urban space, hardly made her enthusiastic to start again. In Edinburgh though, she could see the dedicated effort to involve people like her, a recognition that she felt personally, but did not express throughout the observational content.

“Puneet: I also like how welcoming the city is to cyclists, there seems to be a dedicated effort to incorporate that into the normal flow of the city itself. I feel like that is important for a variety of reasons, but also how wide the lanes are, they are not right next to pedestrians, or what not, or at least here anyways. That seems like a conscious welcome. The main streets not so much, I guess?” (T5)

I knew she probably did not want to talk about her accident and wanted to stick to the content. I tried to remark that the city was designed in a way to encourage a specific type of travelling.

“Michael: The way the city is designed, is it deliberately enforce a certain way of travelling around it? I have been in cities where it is totally antagonistic towards pedestrians, this isn't so much, this encourages walking.”

An observation that Puneet made was regarding the lack of ‘safe spaces’ to protect people against the rain, which as she remarked was obviously a very common feature of Scotland. We were obviously getting soaked at the time, but she made a point that was important, regarding shelters, which were located more within the central belt of the city, as opposed to the outskirts, where we had by this point wandered to.

“Puneet: For a city that rains a lot, you don't really have safe spaces to protect yourself against the rain, like awnings. Not even shelters, you see, I don't know, I don't see awnings in front of buildings, or anything like that.

Michael: That is a good point

Puneet: Even this one is very small, impractical for that purpose.” (T5)

Daily (un)Maintenance

The next sub-theme to be discussed, which emerged in the observational content, was what I termed ‘*daily (un)maintenance*’. This particular theme refers to observations, photographs and autoethnographic reflections, which described or commented on notions of cleanliness. Another aspect of this theme is the ways in which certain areas are privileged relative to others, which is a consequence of tourism, affluence and stigma. The segmentation here is similar to the home, where the living room is the primary presentation space for guests, with backroom doors being closed at all times. Backrooms constitute the ‘*other fringe*’, of Edinburgh, the disconnected spaces that have significantly less amenity and life beyond the private home. Craigmillar and Niddrie are key examples, where their ‘*blemish of place*’

presupposes what type of home is constructed there geographically. However, the blemish of place, is also within the presentation spaces of the city as well.

There was a clear sense of cleaning hierarchies, with back rooms all around the city having trash and disposed items, littered everywhere. Often, I would witness fly-tipping occurring, where couches, mattresses, broken televisions and other household goods were thrown into a corner, somewhere out of sight, out of mind. Again, there were clear house rules occurring, whereby the disposal of these objects was done in accordance with a clear understanding that the 'living room' was not the place for that. In my observations, I often reflected on the ways in which trash seemed to be undealt with in areas, where I guessed people would be less likely to visit. Cleaning was orderly and done in accordance with a scheduled plan.



Figure 22 Back close with trash everywhere

“Coming down a back close here and it’s not as maintained. It gets quieter when walking down this way, a forgotten area or area of rest/peace in the home that may not be open to visitors. Looks like less effort is put into maintaining these back streets. Tells a different story here in the back closes you get a different side of Edinburgh” (T2)

These places, often had no discernible amenity and felt hollow, simply nonplaces, a ‘no man’s land’ as I described in my observational content

“You get this untapped space where you’ve got these weird sorts of nothing, no man’s land places. These areas where it’s full of rubbish, but equally you get these weird little dragons. Certain spaces, you can imagine, graffiti is accepted, maybe it’s less cared for. When we’re around here you see a number of different things in the distance. Part of the trouble with this is you’re trying to uncover potentially distinctive interesting things and, while there certainly is an aspect of that it’s hard to uncover what is seemingly mundane. That’s pretty interesting.” (T2)



Figure 23 Fly-tipping in the backroom

Noticing trash was a big part of the observational findings, something that did not normally happen for me. When I started looking at Edinburgh outside the normal parameters, of being an ordinary citizen, I found that I was more forensically attuned to the everyday. Near the Royal Mile, I reflected on an overabundance of

litter, which showed a clear and necessary maintenance, which was simply out of control.

“Also got this overabundance of littler. Might be because of the time in the morning, but of this immense amount of litter and littler bins, which crowd the street. Which, presumably, might or might not be cleaned away. There seems to be great effort in maintaining litter around here, but all of it’s still overflowing. For example, two bins here which are fairly overflowing” (T2)



Figure 24: Rubbish in the non-bin

Or within Princes Street Gardens,

““The trees are probably kept up; specific trees are probably planted with several choices of flowers. I’m coming around the corner and we have a disused buggy. Even within this serene and well presented, well preserved, up kept lush garden we do have these back elements, the unmarked elements, where we’ve got entire side areas where there’s buggies and disused litter, jackets that have been there probably for a while, they look very old. Also, a unique setting here with the fence, you’ve got a sense of some kind of

prohibition, obviously for safety reasons.” (T2)

Theme Three: Hospitality to the Past

In this theme, I discuss, mostly autoethnographic material, which I wrote when engaging with the urban environment. I found memory interacting with mundane moments of hospitality, during my observations, which reflexively resulted in wider connections between the civic space and the home. These subthemes firstly discuss a makeshift memorial, that I saw after the assassination of Jo Cox MP, during the Brexit referendum. I connect this with wider uses of the street as a space for tribute and memory of the past.

I then look at bench plaques and their wider attachment to memory, affect and embodiment, acting as small memorials, or reminders of hospitable friendships in the city street, but also as reminders of our own history and our own place in the civic commercial home. In the table below, I outline the subthemes of hospitality to the past.

Hospitality to the past
Subtheme one: Makeshift Memorial
Subtheme two: Bench Plaques

Makeshift Memorial



Figure 25 Makeshift memorial to Jo Cox MP

Being attuned to Edinburgh, as a result of this project, meant being aware of how the streets were used to explore collective and highly emotive issues. The street was used as a point of congregation for the expression of grief, it was a canvas for collective displays of emotion, in real time. It was a time of great political unrest. There was a sense that ideology was suddenly a militarised and dangerous consequence of divisions that were being felt across the UK. We were in the midst of a brutal referendum

campaign on the future of the UK within the European Union, with both sides of the debate heated.

During a walk, collecting stream of consciousness observations, I found myself on Lothian Road and I saw a makeshift memorial, a tribute to Jo Cox, an elected Labour party member of parliament for the constituency Batley and Spen in West Yorkshire, who was murdered on her way to her constituency office in June 2016. I stopped and looked at the memorial, the tree displaying a picture of Jo, with her red electoral ribbon. Burnt candles and flowers lay there. The flowers were particularly dead looking, with their petals worn and brown.



Figure 26: Post-Box painted Gold for Sir Chris Hoy

In a previous observation, I considered the ways in which the city had a '*civic mantlepiece*' in displaying important achievements, of its citizenry, such as the post-box painted gold to celebrate the achievements from the Olympic games. In this particular observation with Jo, I was thinking now about the way the home can be a space for sadness and for private reflection.

I connected this in my head to how Edinburgh, displayed a tree of hearts, which contained messages from the public, giving thanks to servicemen who died in the war.

The messages were often highly personal and the juxtaposition between individual family history and the public space was moving. These small instances of memorial, sometimes take you off guard and you are not fully prepared for them.



Bench Plaques

Benches are an important mundane object on the streets of Edinburgh. One of the more notable features of benches in Edinburgh, are the plaques on them. Many are dedications to loved ones who have passed away, others are gifts to the city. They intuitively connected in my mind to the idea of the memorial, a small tribute, that remains in the open for all to see, like Jo's picture on the tree, fluttering in the wind.

The following was an autoethnographic reflexion I wrote, immediately after sitting on a bench and reading one of the plaques. I sometimes think about my grandad. He was someone who died when my father was ten, so I never got the chance to meet him. He is the reason for my last name being "*Palkowski*", as he came from Poland immediately after the Second World War and settled. He hardly knew any English but made Edinburgh his home. I have often thought of how he arrived, what he must have been thinking, what chaos was he leaving behind and what sort of welcome did he feel in his gut, when he saw the Wellington Statue, or heard bagpipes in the distance. Did he just *know* this was it?

From my academic diary notes:



Figure 28 My Grandad and Gran on their wedding day

“Bench plaques outside here at the commonwealth pool (which are indicative of the public benches throughout the city) are an example of a bequeathed gift, usually in tribute and it is interesting to examine the kinds of information offered.

In this particular plaque, we read about a father and a son. The son died in combat in Tripoli at a very young age (19 to be exact) and the father died much later, we are told, in a “more comfortable situation”. As someone reading this right now, I get loads of images flowing through my head, frame by frame. The images that are conjured evoke heroism and the archetypical

hero is something that lies in the mythological substrata of what it means to be a good citizen. A good guest. I think of how this would fit in the home.

I remember a scrap book that my father used to keep, which he would occasionally bring out for us to look at. It had a few pictures of granddad, in his military outfit and he was smiling, kind of half aware that the camera was facing him. I can think of his eyes and how they are my eyes. My parents never really spoke about why he decided to leave Poland after the war, but what was true, was that he never looked back. Something happened when he arrived in Edinburgh, which made him realise it was the right place to settle, to establish a secure and meaningful life. I wonder what he would have thought, being included in a PhD like this.

I think of the person who donated this gift, in remembrance, in deciding how much information they gave, was also in a way, determining the imagery that would be constructed of that person. We see bench plaques that only mention names and dates. The gift, although something that is shared publicly, is really a private fixture, for its true meaning is retained outside of public consumption. I think about these names as I sit here. Would I ever consider their names, were I not doing a PhD like this? These private mementos are like a unique way of etching memory into the space where they lived. At home, we retain reminders albeit in photographs or belongings of the people who we loved and who have now passed on. They

contribute to the life of the home. When I think of the old family home, I mainly think of the photographs of the relatives on the wall, who looked over us. I realize that all of my memories as a child, in that house, were formed with the extended family cocooned and insulating. That is probably why it felt so small. “



Figure 29 Bench memorial

When walking down Princes Street, which is covered in benches and memorial plaques, I came across one which simply stated, *“In Memory of Gittel and Jack Levison, Who Loved this City Street”* and I weirdly thought about my own death. I considered the idea of my own bench, on the street, my own plaque, that would say my name and would be there for anyone to use. I love these streets.²¹

²¹ After this thesis was complete and pending examination review, The Edinburgh Evening News ran a story describing damaged memorial benches being burned by Edinburgh City Council workers, as a cost cutting measure. The article, which included photographs of smouldering benches, like the one photographed above, in a smoky bonfire, described the incident noting how “managers at the council are telling staff to dump the benches on a bonfire to save money from their budgets. It meant several people watching as around 70 benches, which had had their memorial plaques removed, go up in flames at the council’s Inch Depot”.

Theme Four: Politics of Identity



Figure 30 At Skinner's Close

Moving on from hospitality to the past, which saw a move from inside to outside, in connecting memorials, or tributes to my own stories or family members. I started to think more broadly about politics of identity, when I was transcribing and analysing my observations. Throughout this chapter, I have reflexively described moments where with Puneet, I tried to 'host' her observations and be welcoming to her, in my own way. I was my own 'civic commercial home host' during the observational content and I did not realise this connection between the tyrannical host, the tourist gaze and to the self, as being the last phase, in what I was looking for in describing the civic commercial home. As I discussed in my

methodology, I view the world as a constructivist, and the researcher brings their own experiences and reflections on the world into the research. It is an inevitable part of how it is constructed. As a result, in this section, I consider looking at more of the observational content, the ways in which I moved from external to internal, through the space being described and how I noticed politics of identity through mundane moments, such as the discussion of statues, or reflecting on space with disabilities in mind.

Table 21 Politics of Identity Subthemes

Politics of Identity
<i>Subtheme one: Everyman</i>
<i>Subtheme two: Diversity and Inclusion</i>

Everyday Man



Figure 31 The Everyday Man Statue

The same representational issue is also at work on the individual level, where politics of identity became an issue in public monuments and statues. During 2017, there was considerable unrest internationally with civil war statues, commemorating confederate soldiers in the Southern states of America. There were significant protests throughout Virginia, targeting statues as symbolic totems of oppression. These public monuments were a sign that genuine equality and egalitarian politics were not represented in the public space. Whilst equality was being won in legislature, there were reminders of civil war division. Protesters targeted the statues and

pulled them down, causing significant debate. It was a theme that was of considerable interest to my project, as statutes and their representational power were at the forefront of international political discourse.

I also ended up writing a significant part of my PhD in Virginia in 2017, living with my wife an hour or so away from Charlottesville, the epicentre of the unrest. The statue debate, was a major point of discussion, not only throughout my personal conversations but also no doubt within the mind of Puneet, as we walked throughout Edinburgh. There was a ghostly presence of its persistence, when we approached statues, or thought about them. We had been so accustomed to the highly local and highly fraught political drama unfolding in America. Major questions emerged, what convergence exists (if any) of the American political uneasiness, with our own context. Should we examine the theme of welcome alongside statues, as they might unconsciously reinforce notions of sexism, or racism?

It was a major point of discussion between myself and others, who remarked quite extensively in private, about what monuments actually infer and what they can be said to politically represent in a large industrial city, that is supposedly multicultural and a home for all. The statue protests made me think more broadly about how Edinburgh represents its history and its citizens within the social space. In much the same way we have photographs and reminders of our lost ones at home, often on display. This influence will tie explicitly into an extended discussion later on the use of the city as a space for tributes, condolences and memorials more broadly. The memory politics here, is a civic commercial issue that ties with broader political issues of who is remembered and who is forgotten.

As such, representing the individual in Edinburgh appropriately and with care is a hospitable act. As I mentioned in the literature review, when I described the work of Creswell, we could view this as a *'hospitality to the past'*. As Identity is often infused with local space, which relates intrinsically with class and wider issues such as what is truly a public area, for everyone to use freely as a 'commons' and what is private. Increasingly the distinction between these two is becoming less clear.

I remember meeting a friend (Dr Ailsa Holinshead) in town for a coffee in late 2017 and we spoke at length about the statues that were being pulled down across America. As someone who taught at Napier, within the area of gender politics, she had a particularly interesting take on a particular statue that had been designed in accordance with representing what the designer thought of as the *'everyman of Edinburgh'*. It was interesting that a statue came to mind immediately, as being synonymous, even if only in spirit, of the political unease in America.

She was particularly frustrated with the representation of the statue. A nameless male figure representing the average Edinburgh citizen. She remarked quite poignantly that female statues are few and far between. I realised that there was a direct relationship here between the gendered politics of the home and the wider representation of women more broadly in public space. A Scotsman article had described this quite powerfully,

“In Edinburgh, there are at least three statues to named animals – Greyfriars Bobby, Bum the dog (a similarly faithful hound from Edinburgh’s twin city, San Diego) and Wojtek, a “soldier” bear adopted by Polish troops in the Second World War, but only two to a named woman; and both of them are of Queen Victoria.” (Garavelli 2016)

We eventually finished our coffee and went to visit the statue, which stands on Market Street just outside the Edinburgh Council Buildings. The position of the statue, directly outside the council buildings, was pertinent. I had just done archival analysis in the city chambers, looking at ‘host’ perspectives, written down in ledgers, many hundreds of years old. The statue had no plaque or inscription, especially from afar. The office windows behind the statue giving it a sense of authenticity. I approached the front of the building with Ailsa and we went inside, to ask about the statue.

In a more relaxed and British way, it seemed that this statue, was a consistent source of unease, with regular people constantly coming in and inquiring about the strange statue outside. A moment like this was important here in the project, because it made me realise that politics is everywhere in the objects that we decide to showcase to the world, much like the host in deciding what objects to show guests in the commercial home, regardless of perceived guest preference, take it or leave it.

Diversity and Inclusion

Puneet, who has an Indian ancestry and who regularly speaks Punjabi to her mother, who is not fluent in English, had a perspective that was different to me as a white man. She brought a sensitivity to Otherness, that I had not readily considered, which made me consider the space around me in a different context. I felt her simply being there made me think differently about the civic space. During a lot of my original stream of consciousness observations, I focused primarily on myself as the object, which resulted in material which came from a particular set of unconscious assumptions about the space around me. I was not explicitly considering the ways in which as a flaneur, I was limiting my data.

Having Puneet with me, helped me consider different forms of spatial inequality, which has a bearing on the 'civic commercial home'. During the observational content, politics of identity emerged as we considered how 'welcoming' the streets were to disabled people. Cobblestones, hills and uneven terrain everywhere. I suddenly started to consider narrowness, steepness and started to feel out of breath even thinking about it all. I asked Puneet directly, if she thought the city, based on our walks, was a space where disabled people would feel comfortable. At the time, we were navigating between loads of people on the busy area of Forest Road, where people were darting past us. It was a busy day during the festival period, in August. A time that might cause significant anxiety for people with disabilities. A time when people might not leave their home at all.

I remarked to Puneet:

***Michael:** How do you think the city experience we have had today be different to someone who is disabled?*

***Puneet:** Hard, like based off the streets. It is so uneven.*

***Michael:** So, that is something that I just thought of because we have assumed a certain ableness, a way of experiencing the city with our ease. You are always trying to navigate and go between people. I think the pace we are walking is representative of a certain able bodiedness, which means our welcome is totally different to a welcome elsewhere. Our notion of Edinburgh as a city here, it might be a minor problem, but on the whole, it caters to our needs. For certain different types of people, this welcome might be entirely unwelcome. The cobbled streets whilst embodying this kind of historical feel and letting people experience a city with distinctive character that is emblematic of what Edinburgh was at one time, that might be a nightmare for someone with a wheelchair. "(T5)*

Again, I found myself being a proxy 'host', describing an experience that I did not really have to describe. Was I the "expert"? who should have been attuned to these thoughts and feelings? I wondered who this person was and why I suddenly knew about 'ableness'

Another aspect of politics of identity emerged when me and Puneet and I walked down to the Meadows and considered the mental health benefits of having wide open spaces, in conjunction with busy pedestrian heavy areas. One of the major aspects of the psychogeography literature was concerned with 'being anonymous' Our observation here reflects this particular aspect of 'welcome' that was a direct consequence of the design and integration of parkland into the city space.

"Puneet: You are not bending nature to what you need, you are trying to work with it. It is very accommodating, like you are accommodating a visitor, it is seen in your, the way you build things. Or the signage

Michael: Is this an issue of mental health as well, so like, if you, I have often had this in the city where I feel like, I get fed up of the teeming masses and this urban jungle that goes on and then we come out to a place like this, which is still part of the city but it feels like all of a sudden, we are out in the countryside, we are no longer in the same city, there is almost a different feel, when you are walking in a park like this

Puneet: When you are walking in a park, I feel close to nature, it feels even more secluded, lonely, there is a welcome here in just solitude, in being alone. It is really a place to come and be yourself and I like that as a city, it offers that. Sometimes you can't escape. If you have any, I haven't seen any water fountains which I find surprising and that sometimes helps to, when you are near the water fountain it will drown out the sounds around you, so that would be a good addition to the isolation here, noise cancelling water fountains as well as obviously for the convenience that they bring and you can bring your kids and family" (T5)

6.0:

Discussion

Home is a crucial factor in the life of society but the paradox is that public policies do not seem to reflect this; neither sociology research investigations nor other academic research disciplines

(Zaha 2012: 50)

Within this thesis, I looked broadly at four aims that were used as a rough guide, from my literature review, to help establish the civic commercial home concept. These four aims were:

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- *“What are the marked elements of hospitality that take place in the city of Edinburgh?”*
 - *“What are the different types of urban welcome (commercial and civic) that are offered throughout the city of Edinburgh?”*
 - *“What are the unmarked elements of hospitality that take place on the streets of Edinburgh?”*
 - *What influence does the private need for safety, order and surveillance have on urban hospitality in Edinburgh?*
-

In this discussion, I will cover the key themes and ideas that were addressed in the thesis and relate it back to the literature. I will also discuss new literature which emerged as a result of the data. In exploring the themes that were created in the thesis, it is clear within the archival and historical material surveyed that hospitality understood as a metaphorical device, as a means for social control and as a form of economic and social exchange were useful ways to understand motivating factors for Edinburgh’s development as a welcome tourist destination. The anxiety of influence, to appropriate Howard Bloom’s (1973) famous phrase, was evident in Edinburgh’s establishment as an internationally renowned, welcome tourist destination. In renovating key symbols such as the castle and creating a story which could be marketed as a shared, collective past, Edinburgh was using its destination exactly as Marschall (2012: 2217) describes in her description of the importance of tourists as audience members.

“for their politics of preserving and (re)presenting collective memories and the projection of preferred images of their natural past”

Urban regeneration projects, alongside the tensions which emerged during the construction of the official guide to Edinburgh, in the archival minutes, showed a number of sentiments that have direct relationship to the wider hospitality literature. The first, is in relationship to the changing nature of ‘home’

As Zahra (2012) describes, when discussing the work of Belardinelli (2011), home is an area which is often left out of social analysis

“Home has also been identified as a paradox. S. Belardinelli (2011) claims that home is a crucial factor in the life of society but the paradox is that public policies do not seem to reflect this; neither sociology research investigations nor other academic research disciplines”

And yet, ‘home’ played such an important part in not only the mindset of some of its key architects and designers such as Patrick Geddes, but also can be traced through reforms aimed to make Edinburgh a ‘home’ for specific guests, such as people of rank, wealth and importance.

The improvements suggested in 1752, spell this out clearly:

“It is a vulgar mistake that the greatest part of our principle families chose to reside at London. This indeed is true with regards to a few of our members of parliament and some particular families who were settled there before the union” (Youngson 1966: 10)

“But can we expect that persons of fortune in Scotland will exchange the handsome seats they generally possess in the country for the scanty lodging and paltry accommodations they must put up with in Edinburgh?” (Youngson 1966: 10)

Not only is ‘home’ an absent feature of social analysis, as described by Zahra (2012), it is also as Molz (2008: 326) reminds us *“always an absent presence in narratives of travel and mobility.”* and the reason for this is usually focus. Tourists are theoretically going away from home. They are seeking difference (notwithstanding ‘staycations and other forms of domestic authenticity which have emerged as low-cost alternatives to international travel). As a result, the ways in which ‘home’, as a cosmopolitan signifier and as a welcoming abode (Molz 2008) has influenced destinations, has been an ‘unmarked’ (Brekhus 1998) area of analysis, particularly from a hospitality perspective.

In the archival sources, evoking 'home' and using the language of hospitality (host/guest), allowed for useful examinations of the commercial and civic tensions which emerged when constructing a welcome.

The 'conservative surgery' approach taken by Geddes, in retaining 'historical elements' but ultimately modernising the main urban areas of Edinburgh, was Geddes' way of creating '*spaces of hospitality*' (Bell 2007a) with home in mind. His formulation of home, is evident in the exhibition that was held in the outlook tower, which Zueblin (1899) described, as making Edinburgh "*the world's first sociological laboratory*". The tourist gaze was embryonically constructed, in showing two key pieces of information to the public. Scott and Bromley (2013: 110-111) noted that the outlook tower, was a "*symbolic centrepiece*", which placed Edinburgh in its context, within "*the universe, the world, the British Empire, the Scottish nation, the region*" (Scott and Bromley 2013: 111)

As Zueblin (1899) remarked

"Successive floors give us, in chart, in plan, in photograph and sketch, the whole of Europe, the empire, Scotland, Edinburgh and the immediate neighbourhood."

'Ideal guests' change over time, in accordance with Edinburgh's story of its past. You could say, ideal guests are socially constructed. There is a change from '*tyrannical host*' (Mcintosh et al 2011) to a '*tourist gaze*' (Urry and Larsen 2011); inward looking to outward looking. Evoking the 'agora' and the fortress' dualism described in the public/private dichotomy (Chavez and van der Rest 2014).

To re-illustrate the shift, Edinburgh prepared excessively for King George IV's arrival, by being a tyrannical host. Demolishing buildings regardless of their longstanding merit, doing extensive urban regeneration projects that were not for utilitarian reasons and 'recommending' what clothes citizens should wear during the visit. It is clear urban space should temporarily conform to a homely standard fitting of a King and forget momentarily about the extensive problems the citizenry described with basic hygiene. These elements were to be hidden, put away in the civic attic.

"Various buildings offensive to taste were removed in an instant; - others were made to change their appearance; - roads were constructed and repaired; - arches and platforms erected; - crowds of strangers poured in upon the city; - and after all, never did Edinburgh enjoy more profound tranquillity"

The tranquillity described, was of course a highly controlled and prescriptive one. Edinburgh was a temporary home, which could be significantly altered depending on the whims of its hosts. As such, the tyrannical host was traced throughout my archival sources, through the provision of objects and amenity on the street and the imposition of rules and regulations. These findings lend evidence that Edinburgh was imposing a 'civilising process' (Elias 1991) on its citizens, for the purpose of long-term sustainability, destination management and international prestige

When dealing with problems in the public space, the Watching Committee (1820-1848) and the Lord Provost minute books (1820-1920), the contradiction at the heart of hospitality is articulated. As described in the archival chapter, Edinburgh had a considerable problem dealing with what was labelled nuisances. As described, in the chapter, the Watching Committee of 1820, bemoaned the state of public begging, and later reflected on the requirement to improve the "moral and physical condition of the labouring classes", which would result in diminishing sources of crime and pauperism.

continuation of an inattention to nuisances that not only disgust delicate and refined strangers and foreigners but are excessively prejudicial to the health of all the inhabitants"
(1820)

These reflections show hospitality being used as form of social control, an understanding of good and acceptable behaviour is established. We can evoke Goffman's (1958) dramaturgical metaphors of front stage and back stage and note that Edinburgh's "front stage" was forcibly changing through regulations and control. Residents were expected to behave in the public space, keeping censured behaviour 'backstage'. Edinburgh's hosts were shameful of the actions of their residents and felt like it was going to cause significant problems for tourists.

One of those issues highlighted in the archival sources was the introduction of public urinals, in an effort to stop indecent behaviour (Brunton 2005), but also to instil a 'hygiene ethos'. These issues were also about lighting and providing the right kind of amenity.

The findings of this thesis also reflect the work of anthropologist Mary Douglas (1966), who noted a significant departure for the management of dirt in the 19th century, from dirt being understood as an issue of religious purity to a more secularised narrative of hygiene and aestheticism. The evidence with Edinburgh is that dirt in the 19th century was understood in the discourse of hygiene and aestheticism, particularly as Edinburgh was constructing its entire destination on the basis of beauty and romanticism, words that were constantly repeated in the early 1752 proposals and continued throughout the entire archival chapter. Edinburgh thus sutured the secularised understanding of dirt as being about hygiene and beauty, onto the urban destination itself, for the purposes of attracting wealthy people to come and stay, the important guests.

As scholars regularly note waste is often in the domain 'unmarked', because it is out of site. Waste, like the home is not a typical fixture of social research. However, it is clear that a prescriptive form of moralism still existed, with begging and prostitution being viewed as necessary evils, which was part of the extensive clean-up project, showing hospitality being implemented in accordance with control, order and censure (Lynch et al 2011). In a metaphorical way, clear house rules are set up and precedence is set, with particular forms of entertainment and use being rejected or banned. These concerns of moral ineptitude follow and show that hospitality as a socially constituted frame, means excluding behaviour which is not deemed 'hospitable'.

It was clear that requests for carnival entertainment caused problems for the Civic Amenities Committee. One of the ways this was eventually dealt with was the Edinburgh Festival emerging as an open source, entertainment, which was nevertheless an officially permitted and initially more controlled carnivalesque experience. As Johansson and Kociatkiewicz (2011: 395) noted when discussing carnivals, evoking the work of Mikhail Bakhtin

“[the] carnival [...] [is] a momentary disruption of the status quo, exuberant, outrageous and sometimes even violent, yet also integrated into the larger, hierarchical social order. Excitement, danger and uncertainty, although inimical to managerial control, are crucial ingredients of festival and city experiences and their framing in the experience economy”

The carnival represented a disruption of an established Edinburgh ethos and a potential rupturing of the civilising discourse which had been established over the preceding decades. Hospitality as being about the gradual incorporation of the ‘outside’ and thus the ‘public’ is seen. The change in focus also marks a move from anti-commercial hospitality and self-marginalisation (Mcintosh et al 2011) to an accepted form of commercialisation.

The move from tyrannical host to tourist gaze can be seen, after the Official Guide of 1920. I traced in the chapter the overwhelming anxiety of representation which preceded the creation of that text. However, in the guide itself, there are a number of interesting comments which show that Edinburgh was beginning to have the tourist play the role of voyeur, in outlining prospective plans for future development, within the guidebook. Doing this, shows that Edinburgh’s hosts were still anxious about tourist perception, echoing the host who is always describing the future conservatory that will be added onto the property. As I noted in the archival chapter

“Following on or arising out of this amalgamation, important plans of development and improvement have been undertaken or projected which should have the effect of adding greatly both to the prosperity and the attractiveness of Edinburgh- schemes of Tramway Electrification, by which an overhead electric system, in connection and in consonance with that of Leith, will take the place of the old cable system; schemes of Electricity Supply and Distribution; schemes of Dock extension; schemes of Town Planning and Housing, of which Craightinny, Gorgie, Longstone and other localities are already the scene” (Official Guide 1920: 17)

This shows a host, more willing to engage with their guests and show areas of improvement, which will be established with long term works. Another example of Edinburgh beginning to adopt a more individualised, guest-based approach akin to the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011) was their use of public photograph exhibitions in the archival data

The council in 1947, held an official photography competition. The aim of this competition was to have photographers take photographs of the city, with prizes being awarded for the best entrants. We see in this gesture, a co-created welcome for 78 of the 340 entries that were submitted, were eventually exhibited for public viewing. [Archive chapter p156]

Previously, the council had rigorous control on official representation, or stories that were told about Edinburgh's home. With this, it was clear that Edinburgh's hosts were realising and embracing Other perspectives. The individualised approach, this sense of a co-constructed Edinburgh, was discussed in my observational chapter, looking at internationalism and the ways in which Edinburgh's civic commercial home, is one now which embraces diversity, openness and multiculturalism. A home, which exudes culture As I reflected in stream of consciousness observations, walking down Leith.

"Chinese Times, the Chinese language newspapers, there's Spanish restaurants, Chinese meals to carry out. There're antique shops right next to tattoo shops. (People laughing, comfortable in-home surroundings). There're tanning salons right next to Polish language books stores and mini marts all in the Polish language. There's three or four all in a very short proximity to one another. There's a place that is selling baked potatoes and then part of the sign- it's the Scottish flag, so maybe some businesses want to emphasize a certain type of product or wants to emphasize that the goods that are being sold are distinctly Scottish as opposed to the Polish shops that are nearby"

Internationalism as a theme speaks to the wider hospitality literature, on being cosmopolitan, on embracing Otherness. The root of hospitality is the unexpected arrival of the stranger and the welcome that is received (Derrida and Dufourmantelle 2000). Still's (2011) notion of hospitality being a study of relations between the inside and outside, can be looked at through the prism of two metaphorical applications of hospitality.

"Hospitality is by definition a structure that regulates relations between inside and outside, and, in that sense, between private and public. Someone or ones, categorised as 'outside', as not necessarily, by right or legal contract, part of the 'inside', is temporarily brought within." (Still 2010: 11)

Mindset wise, the council was restrictive and focused on a tightly controlled narrative of Edinburgh's home, which showed a very 'inside' and 'private' based mentality on the basis of the host. Despite this move from a tightly controlled and regulated 'host' driven perspective, to a more unregulated tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen 2011), within the observational content, it is clear that there is still a contestation of home and it is through the juxtaposition of different commercial and civic interests. A term that was used in the observations, was 'commercial hallways' which reflected the 'nonplace' feeling, that was established. The streets were for consumerist use value, rather than as a place of collective commons.

Paul: *This is like a kind of hallway, a commercial hallway. It's more like hotel, I guess, or something like retail.*

Michael: *It's like when you go into a hotel and you've got all the fliers at the front, you know like advertising, what to do in the city and things.*

Paul: *Yeah, or the retail area. So that should be maybe the first observation is, perhaps this is less like a home than it is more like a hotel in this particular location.*

Michael: *A commercial space, maybe." (T1)*

The feeling that the streets were not really 'for us', but for a different purpose (buying things), reflected an observation Lynch et al (2009: 140) made regarding being in another person's commercial home. The uncanny, the unease, which emerges, is the same feeling which emerged walking through Edinburgh's marked tourist hallways:

“This space... beckons to our instincts of homeliness, familiarity, stability and the desire for genuine welcome. Yet the experience may also prove bitter-sweet as the visitor must negotiate a passage through the personalities, personal possessions, routines and norms of its more permanent residents, and resist any yearnings for anonymity and solitude that the space may not allow’ (Lynch et al 2009:140)

The bitter-sweet feeling is a sense of a loss of authenticity, one that has been firmly established through the long marketing of Edinburgh’s story, through generations of anxiety and unease, as described in the official guide debates in the archival chapter. Residents feel like they *know* Edinburgh and therefore know what it *isn’t*, a sentiment that was traced in my archival sources, in the Scotsman archive, showing discomfort at particular amenities, not being right for Edinburgh. As I noted in my observational chapter, “hospitality ultimately emerges as resistance, as a form of authenticity, against prevailing sameness”. These observations have a direct relationship to Zukin’s (2011) work on authenticity.

The subtheme of Disneyfication that was explored in the observational chapter has a clear relationship to the home, in the sense that homes are often co-opted by our children, rooms are full of toys everywhere, often all over the floor. Nowhere is safe, from the feeling that our once pristine home, is now a playground for someone else, which is equally important to us. The battle is normally in containing it, restricting it to its correct space. The ‘*civic toys*’ were a good representation of that. After my observational data had been collected and I was writing up my thesis, Edinburgh was suddenly covered in temporary Oor Wullie sculptures, which children were constantly playing on and having fun with. These sculptures were inescapable and it was commonplace to see people taking ‘selfies, with their children smiling and having a lot of fun. It was not reserved for children though, as adults were often regularly taking part. Finding all the ‘toys’, that were scattered around the public space, was a goal and was subsequently a social media sensation.

A host, in Munro and Madigan (1996: 113) noted, “*I would love a big basement where you could say to the kids ‘right that’s yours, that’s your place to take your friends’, so they could still have bedrooms that aren’t all cluttered”*. Similarly, there is feeling that Edinburgh would

like a civic attic space, to conceal and hide away the theme park like atmosphere, that emerges during festival time. I had feelings during my observations, which were similar to this in hoping for an 'anti commercial hospitality' (Mcintosh et al 2011). It was an instantiation of the fortress which Chavez and van der Rest (2014) described. These ideas of an authentic uncontested home are ultimately not what hospitality is about.

Bittersweet, as described by Lynch et al (2009) earlier is a key word, because the imagined story of community we have, is constructed on contradictions. Bauman (2001) helpfully reflects on these dreams, the idealised construction of a past, the embracing of inclusivity, the stranger at the door.

As Bauman poetically (2001: 4) describes:

"The 'really existing community', were we to find ourselves in its grasp, would demand stern obedience in exchange for the services it renders or promises to render. Do you want security? Give up your freedom, or at least a good chunk of it. Do you want confidence? Do not trust anybody outside your community. Do you want mutual understanding? Don't speak to foreigners nor use foreign languages. Do you want this cosy home feeling? Fix alarms on your door and TV cameras on your drive. Do you want safety? Do not let the strangers in and yourself abstain from acting strangely and thinking odd thoughts. Do you want warmth? Do not come near the window, and never open one. The snag is that if you follow this advice and keep the windows sealed, the air inside would soon get stuffy and in the end oppressive." Bauman (2001: 4)

However, it was clear that despite this impossible authenticity, this impossible hospitality (Derrida. and Dufourmantelle 2000), this feeling of bittersweet, there were mundane moments, which had a profound relationship to the home. Despite Glickman (1983) noting that monuments, bandstands, statues and planters, are nearing obsolescence, my findings suggested otherwise. They offer a warmth and familiarity to our streets, that we now take for granted, that is unmarked. Monuments, detailing the past triumphs of the city are important, in the same way photographs of the family are around the home. We see our past relatives, of historical antiquity and recognise ourselves within the streets they once stood.

In my observational findings, I described how Edinburgh has a 'civic mantelpiece' of objects within the public space, which are used to celebrate past achievements of its citizenry (*for example the gold painted post box, in honour of Sir Chris Hoy*). These objects are intended to display pride and honour. The provision of these types of celebratory themed amenities in the public, has a clear relationship to how Sweeney et al (2018:90) described the use of symbols and artefacts in the commercial home, as being there to "*attract people to stay at that property*" However, further allusions can be made to the work of Darke and Gurney (2000) who, when examining home owners painstakingly putting a lot of time and effort in to their home, note that they require an audience and the symbols and artefacts displayed have meaning, intending to send clear messages to guests (Sweeney et al 2018: 91). Likewise, the host of the 'civic commercial home' in the provision of artefacts, intends to show to tourists, through artefacts, that Edinburgh is a '*place to stay*'.

My findings regarding street furniture reinforces the work of Brunton (2005) and Song and Siu (2010) The lack of amenity meant that Edinburgh's living room was bare. The inhospitable feeling was akin to an empty room, which meant a range of functional groupings of furniture (Glickman 1983) were missing from the 'agora' (Chavez and van der Rest 2014). The amenities that were approved and provided in the public space, often had ulterior motives, as described in Song and Siu (2010)'s research when examining the case of Hong Kong.

In my observational chapter, I described how the streets of Edinburgh are spaces of 'micro-regulations' that are played out often through the use of signage. I thought I was looking for control but on reflection, I am used to trying to find sources of authority and rebel against it, which is why it made sense for me to evoke the image of the tyrannical father, as often as I did in my observations. In documenting Edinburgh's home, in much the same way Molz (2008) described the traveller, carrying a sense of home with them, I was carrying my own home with me as well. As I reflected in my observational chapter, the sense of order when it came to signage, reminded me of my childhood, where my father was a strict authoritarian in the maintenance of the tiny space we had.

“Micro regulations are everywhere within the private social space; whereby unwritten rules operate. As a young boy, running around the house was strictly prohibited. We lived in a very small home and my father enjoyed ‘displaying’ everything around the home, like a dusty museum. Hand painted and fragile toy soldiers; photographs of our family; expensive plates that hung on the wall precariously and ornaments”

Whilst also demonstrating social control throughout the archival sources and my observational content, I also showed how objects in the public space encourage private moments of hospitality, extending the work done by others (Brunton 2005, Song and Siu 2010, Glickman 1983). Within my observational chapter, in my theme, hospitality to the past, I discussed the importance of the public bench.

The bench is a mundane object, which complicates the public/private dichotomy and the host/guest dynamic. The plaque dedication which appears on the bench, creates a sense that you are partaking in a hospitality encounter. Sometimes, it can be in tribute to someone who died and the bench is imagined as a memorial, or the bench can be gift to the city from a charitable organisation. The sitter has a ‘mundane moment of hospitality’ (Bell 2007b). My findings extended this particular observation though, by exploring its wider connection to memory and affect.

In my literature review, I discussed how Kuhn (2010) described postcards and souvenirs as memory objects. They have considerable importance to the identity of the city, acting as visual reminders for tourists going home and acting as symbolic representations of the destination. We see ourselves there and memories are ascribed to the object. They are ‘containers of memory’. In much the same way though, memory can be infused in mundane objects on the street, such as the bench just described.

In my observations, the bench plaque dedicated to a premature military death, was a ‘*container of memory*’, when I reflected on my grandfather and his military service. The personal plaque, detailing death and sacrifice, were powerful symbols for my own thoughts. I thought of my granddad, trying to imagine his face, a man I never met, arriving in Edinburgh, with little English to speak of, after the brutal Second World War campaign. I thought of how

his experience must have been, in trying to find 'home' in a foreign land, in a way that made sense to his own past and to the experiences of death, destruction and chaos that he just emerged from, leaving Poland behind because it was too hard to bear. The bench is a gift, a public gift of hospitality and thus a public object, but as I described in my observations, it was intended to produce a private moment of reflection.

“The donator of the bench, in deciding how much information to give, also determined the imagery that would be constructed of that person, we see here bench plaques that only mention names and dates. The gift although something that is shared publicly, is really a private fixture, for its true meaning is retained outside of public consumption. I think about these names as I sit here. Would I ever consider their names, were I not doing a project like this? “

Sitting on the bench, I was brought back to my family home, the stuffiness, the claustrophobia, the dust and the photograph of my Grandad, smartly dressed with my Gran, after their wedding day, looking across from me, through the dust.

“These private mementos are like a unique way of etching memory into the space where they lived. At home, we retain reminders albeit in photographs or belongings of the people who we loved and who have now passed on- they contribute to the life of the home. When I think of the old family home, I mainly think of the photographs of the relatives on the wall, who looked over us. I realize that all of my memories as a child, in that house, were formed with the extended family cocooned and insulating. That is probably why it felt so small.”

Benches were also a source of ‘mundane moments of hospitality’, that went beyond their functionality, or purpose as memory containers, that were hugely symbolic for the purposes of this project. When I encountered two guidebooks in my observational chapter, lying on a bench, clearly designed for another person to claim as their own, I was floored at how apt it was. As I reflected in my observational chapter:

“On one of the benches, I noticed two books and stopped to have a look at what they were. Lined up perfectly on the bench was an official guide to Edinburgh, next to an everyday guide about Great Britain. From how they were on the bench, it was clear they were not misplaced, or left there by accident. It made me think a lot about who these people might be? I thought about the guides being left behind by people going home, no longer having a use for them. But in leaving the guides behind, did they know about Edinburgh now and no longer needed it? Were they satisfied with what they saw? I felt there was a deeper connection in how they left the books on the bench, as I was thinking a lot about benches throughout this PhD and had ‘moments of hospitality’ on benches in the city. The bench was the perfect place for these books to be left, for someone else to take them and use for their own exploration.”

These observations show the importance of the public bench for wider social and political reasons, in encouraging participation in urban communities, but also in having private and personal moments within the public space. These memory moments would have been inhibited and prevented, without a clear space for reflection. As a result, these findings show the importance of maintaining civic amenities on the street. What is also important though is a civic commercial home, that encourages visitors, to express themselves fully.

The streets of Edinburgh were used as a space for grieving and for bearing collective loss and this was evoked in gestures, which showed hospitality to the past. In my observation, after the assassination of the member of parliament Jo Cox, I saw a makeshift memorial, on Lothian Road, with her photograph, all wet and tattered, broken brown petals nearby in the wind. Using the street for a DIY memorial, was a gesture of kindness in a turbulent political campaign, which was engendering division, the very antithesis of hospitality, when openness to the stranger was at stake.

“I stopped and looked at the makeshift monument, the tree displaying a picture of Jo, with her red electoral ribbon. Burnt candles and flowers lay there. The flowers were particularly dead looking, with their petals worn and brown.”

Jo's memorial was a 'space of hospitality' (Bell 2007a), for the purposes of mourning. The observation connects to wider literature such as Walter (2009) who described the relationship between home and work in the separation of grief. The home is often used as a space for sharing memories about a loved one, after a funeral. It was clear, this was a civic variation in a politically contentious moment in our history.

Other moments where memory interacted significantly during the observational chapter, was during a rumination on graffiti and posters throughout the city and remembering instantly the very strict, authoritarian rules my father had at home. The remembered feeling of censure brought forth memories, where house rules and city rules started to overlap somewhat. In the same transcript, I saw walls with posters covered in them, tattered and soaked by the rain, which juxtaposed with the relatively clean and untampered city center. Memories sync with the environment and create unexpected moments.

“So, we see a wall where posters can be placed. I remember as a kid being unable to put posters on the wallpaper in my bedroom. My dad would always be upset and really frustrated when he saw posters covering what he thought was very stylish floral wallpaper and of course what I found really tacky and boring as a kid” (T3: 5-5)”

In my methodology chapter, I discussed politics of identity and its importance in social research. I was not ready for it to emerge as such a powerful theme in my observational content, particularly when reflecting on the observations I made with my partner Puneet. When thinking about them, after transcription, I started to notice my own 'hosting' and my own bias. This was a finding that was not supported by the work of Vergunst (2010), who did observational research and autoethnography in Aberdeen, with groups of people, exploring Union Street.

I realised that I was acting as a proxy host for Edinburgh, in trying to act as a tour guide, to my observational partner, as we reflected on amenities. I felt that Puneet, being fairly fresh to Edinburgh (she had visited the city a few times before we did observations together), would be able to offer a different perspective, which I could then counterpoise with my native and presumably experienced approach. I also really wanted her to like Edinburgh, she was from

the United States and it almost felt like a referendum on me and my life as well. My defensiveness in the observational content, shows that Edinburgh was *'my castle'* in the same way, as McIntosh et al (2011) described the protective attitude of hosts to their commercial home.

As I described in my observational chapter, I was scaffolding Puneet's interpretation by offering additional information, in trying to situate her properly as an ideal guest. A guest that would appreciate all the different features of Edinburgh, as a home. I was trying to show her all the different rooms and why they were made up that way. An early observation in our walk, showed this beginning to materialise:

"Puneet: So, it's like, you have three different things in Edinburgh, right? The natural, the nature...the huge emphasis on history but then it is also modern. So, three characteristics.

Michael: Three cities in one you could say. You've got a very historical city which is very evident at different parts, you've got a natural city where you've got these topological, geological structures like when we eventually get to Arthur's seat. It's very much an unspoiled part of the city"

In describing Arthur's seat as an 'unspoiled' part of the city, I was echoing the destination management and marketing literature, just like when I evoked 'paradise' in other observations in response to Puneet reflecting on the lack of visible police. Epistemologically though, this presents an interesting finding in the sense that 'host' experience of the urban environment, can establish powerfully reflexive pieces of work, that have long term consequences for the researchers doing the work. A finding has useful implications for autoethnographic work and urban explorations of home cities going forward.

I also was able to reflect on politics of identity, when reflecting on the power of public monuments and the imagery they evoked to marginalised people. The everyman statue, in being 'representative' of the typical Edinburgh citizen, the typical 'guest', echoed gendered politics in the private home. It made sense why the statue caused frustration, because it was a civic embodiment of everyday inequalities at home. As Munro and Madigan (1996: 114) argued, *"[W]omen often create social space, and ease conflict by using their role as 'housewife' or 'carer' to distance themselves or subordinate themselves to others in the*

household." As such, representation was an important issue and it was apparent when walking around Edinburgh, that women were massively underrepresented in statues and everywhere, that seemed important.

7.0:

Conclusion

Conclusion

There is a special feeling that occurs when you return to the beginning of something after a long journey. I imagine this is why people who travel all around the world, usually end their voyage at the exact same spot where they left. In going back to the start, I have an obligation as a host now to outline the key ideas presented in this PhD. In doing so, I will also outline the main contributions to knowledge and further research proposals which result from the findings.

Thesis Summary

Table 22: How 'civic', 'commercial' and 'home' equate to Edinburgh's welcome tourist destination

Edinburgh	
Civic	Maintenance projects to clean, upgrade and provide amenity on the street
Commercial	The move from the tyrannical host (non-commercial) to the tourist gaze (commercial) in presenting/preparing Edinburgh
Home	Changing nature of 'home' due to 'global abode' and cosmopolitanism, with 'home' being evoked metaphorically by key reformers.
Welcome Tourist Destination	

Chapter 1

My literature review described the creation of a hospitality concept '*the civic commercial home*' by examining scholarly work which was influential in the creation of the idea. I examined hospitality as a subject area, outlining the emergence of more sociologically informed approach to hospitality, in response to what remains a discourse dominated by a quantitative managerial paradigm.

I looked at three research dichotomies, as a literature review framework I constructed, as a way to explore pertinent themes within wider hospitality and tourism literature. These were the distinction and contestation between marked/unmarked, public/private and host/guest. I also explored literature examining the 'home' and its place in a globalised, cosmopolitan world of international tourism and commerce. After this, I documented literature within hospitality studies, which looked at commercial homes and started to establish a 'civic commercial home' variant, using the insights I had developed from my analysis of the proceeding literature.

Chapter 2

Chapter two outlined my methodological journey for exploring the civic commercial home of Edinburgh. It detailed my ontological and epistemological perspectives as a constructivist and summarised those philosophical implications on the research data I gathered. I outline my study as a 'bricolage' (Denzin and Lincoln 2017), as it aims to establish an exploratory concept using multiple data sources. I describe the approach I took in the archives, which involved analysing minute books from the Edinburgh City Archives. I discussed how I used additional resources, such as primary sources available online and newspaper archives and exemplar secondary material.

I then described how I developed my observational approach, combining elements from sociological impressionism (Lynch 2005), psychogeography (Debord 1958) and autoethnography (Anderson 2006, Wall 2016). I also reflected on how I analysed my data using thematic analysis, alongside appropriate ethical issues, bias and research labelling.

Chapter 3

Chapter three describes the archival source material that I collected, which had two key themes. The first theme was *"Issues with Official Representation"* and the second theme was *"Problems to be dealt with in the civic space"*.

The anxiety of official representation showed a "fortress" (Chavez and van der Rest 2014) like mentality to Edinburgh, in how it promoted itself to the world. Similar themes were recorded in McIntosh et al (2011) of the anti-commercial activities and self-marginalisation of the commercial host. These were reflected in the archival data, as there were ideal guests and Edinburgh's home was not understood, as part of a hospitality 'commons', as evidenced by the efforts of the Watching Committee and the strengthening of regulations and control, in the 19th century. Urban regeneration was done on the basis of important people and reform was reactive, rather than proactive, with general amenity provision in Edinburgh being poor throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Geddes, an influential planner in the city, in his conservative surgery approach, aimed to maintain a historical but modern Edinburgh, which attracted and welcomed everyone. Doing all of these reforms with a concept of 'home' in mind, as well as a distrust and hatred of borders. Debates over what was to be included in the Official Guide of 1920 and the range of issues its eventual publication had, showed the last vestiges of a tyrannical host trying to control the imagery of Edinburgh to its guests. The anxiety continues beyond the first publication and there are still regular examples of house rules being imposed, through the rejection of planning permission for carnivals (parties) and precedence being imposed. Throughout the material, there are signs of movement between tyrannical host and tourist gaze, where Edinburgh's hosts allow for a more 'co-constructed Edinburgh'. Ultimately leading to the creation of a more 'welcome destination'

Chapter 4

Chapter four describes my observational data, which included stream of consciousness observations, autoethnographic reflexion and photographs, with four main themes. These were, “Narratives of Edinburgh as a Hospitality Product”, “Civic Maintenance”, “Hospitality to the Past” and “Politics of Identity” I began the chapter by contrasting commercial narratives aimed at different guests, which showed a sense of romanticism, importance and cultural depth to residents, but fleetingness and transience for those visiting the Edinburgh Festival. I then reflected on Edinburgh as being an international, cosmopolitan home, but a home which on an observational level has challenging juxtapositions between new and old. These are commercialised spaces (such as the issue of *disenfranchisement*) for tourist consumption and an ‘authentic’ (Zukin 2011) historical Edinburgh.

Within the chapter, I find myself within the civic commercial home of Edinburgh and reflect on the connections between mundane moments of hospitality, urban design and memory. In doing so, I make valuable connections with Bell (2008) and Kuhn (2010), by considering how the street becomes a space for mourning and remembrance. I considered wider issues of ‘welcome’ and explored gender representation, public statues and the home, showing that monuments in the public space have considerable power in what they represent about the city. To be a truly welcoming and inclusive destination, I reflected on the ways in which Edinburgh might be inaccessible to people with disabilities. I also reflexively considered how in collecting observations with my partner, I started to become a proxy ‘host’ for Edinburgh’s civic commercial home, acting as a tour guide, scaffolding her interpretations and concerns about the destination.

Theoretical contributions to knowledge

1)- *The 'Civic Commercial Home'* concept for exploring hospitality within the urban context is a brand new, theoretical contribution to knowledge. It expands thinking within the hospitality studies domain by extending the “commercial home” notion from within rented accommodation onto the urban space. This concept takes into consideration the ways in which civic and commercial interests intersect, often as a result of the competing interests between tourists and residents, hosts and guests. Thinking of the city of Edinburgh as an abstract host, allowed for an analysis, where hospitality was explored using a ‘social lens’ (Lashley et al 2007). The insights from this PhD adds significant value to other recent examinations of hospitality within urban settings, such as Chavez and van der Rest (2014) and Grit and Lynch (2011).

2)- The findings presented in this PhD adds significantly to the understanding of Edinburgh’s development as a ‘welcome tourist destination’ documenting, through archival source material, the anxiety Edinburgh had in moving away from a ‘tyrannical host’ (Mcintosh et al 2011) to the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry 2011). In detailing the tensions which exist between different conceptualisations of Edinburgh’s ‘home’, these findings present an alternative history of Edinburgh’s evolution. These findings add significantly to the understanding of Edinburgh as a welcome destination.

3)- The findings within this PhD adds to the growing literature on the intersection of memory studies, urban settings and the tourist experience of a destination. In using observations and autoethnography to consider the ways in which hospitality was experienced, this PhD adds to recent work looking at ‘mundane welcome’ (Lynch 2017) and ‘mundane moments of hospitality’ (Bell 2007b). It demonstrated how spaces of hospitality were created, through ordinary objects on the street and how they meaningfully contribute, to ‘guest’ experience of the civic commercial home, despite being ‘unmarked’ (Brekhus 1998).

4)- The methodological approach in this study was designed with two facets in mind. The first was to design research which would help demonstrate from an exploratory perspective the theoretical concept that was derived and discussed in the literature review, 'the civic commercial home'. I believe that a bricolage approach, as described by Denzin and Lincon (2017) outlined the best way to establish a ground work and reference point for the approach. Using a bricolage perspective helps establish a clear contribution to knowledge, by discussing the concept through various methodological approaches (archive, observations, photographs and autoethnography). Bricolage as a methodological idea is increasingly gaining traction due to methodological eclecticism starting to become more popular within 'mixed methods' approaches to qualitative research (Denzin and Lincon 2017). However, the particular combination used in this study of combining archival source material, observations, photographs and autoethnography is a methodological structure which can be replicated in the future, in exploring Edinburgh and indeed other urban contexts further. As a framework, I will continue to use this approach that I will established here in my future research.

The second facet that was considered was methodological originality, whereby the methodological approach taken could be seen as a contribution to knowledge in of itself. As demonstrated in the methodology chapter in devising my observational approach, I combined three elements which are currently disparate in the literature. The first was the psychogeographical concept of *Dérive*', which was originally proposed and articulated as an anti-capitalist means of exploring a city as a non-consumer, by the Situationist author Guy Debord (1958), to the idea of examining different forms of welcome on the street as a hospitality researcher. Psychogeography is rarely used within the tourism and hospitality literature with a few exceptions (e.g Vergunst 2010).

The second was incorporating the concept of Sociological Impressionism as developed by Simmell (1950) but developed methodologically in hospitality research by Lynch (2005) as a means of recording stream of consciousness observations during the derive, an approach that was not suggested by Debord, who was positivistic in his approach to recording his observational content. Finally, I used autoethnography to explore myself reflexively and consider the ways in which I was collecting the data and the personal biases that might be

impacting me. These three elements in combination produce an original methodological contribution to the literature.

Table 24: Summarizing methodological tools used in the research and their novel application

Methodological feature	Applied from	Novel application
<i>'Bricolage'</i>	Denzin and Lincoln (2017))	Using a bricolage approach as a means of showcasing a newly proposed theoretical concept the 'civic commercial home' through various vantage points in Edinburgh, Scotland historically and contemporarily
Archive	Foucault (1979), Brunton (2005)	Using archival material in the Edinburgh City Archives (and secondary sources) to construct the emergence of a 'civic commercial home'
<i>'Dérive'</i>	Debord (1958)	Applying 'dérive' as a methodological tool to explore the streets of Edinburgh as a hospitality researcher.
<i>'Sociological Impressionism'</i>	Lynch (2005)	Using stream of consciousness observations with photographic accompaniment in an urban setting, for the purposes of exploring social hospitality themes
<i>Autoethnography</i>	Ellis (2004)	Using personal reflection and diary entries to expand stream of consciousness content collected and bring 'self' into research

Research Limitations and Future Research

1)- As discussed in the literature review, there are a growing number of local pressure groups, aimed at preserving street furniture for the purposes of a healthy, open, and democratic civic space. In line with the bench project, these research findings support the idea that street furniture helps to create spaces of hospitality (Grit and Lynch 2011). They provide 'mundane moments of hospitality' (Bell 2007b) and as a result, their importance for the welcome tourist destination has long been undervalued and understated, particularly in a time when council budgets are being slashed and public amenities are slowly disappearing.

2)- The research project initially considered conducting a range of semi-structured interviews with 'key informants' in the Edinburgh City Council and other associated pressure groups, who had gravitas, particularly within the planning and destination management aspect of the thesis. I felt this was moving too far away from the basis of this particular study, in shifting focus from the evocative aspects of 'welcome', which were critical in my mind for establishing the Civic Commercial Home concept. I also agree with Silverman's (2016) analysis, where he describes the interview within the social sciences, as being omnipresent. Interviews are the assumed methodology of choice for qualitative researchers and their persistence has meant that 90% of journal articles published in mainstream qualitative journals, make use of the interview (Silverman 2016). The critique here is not to discount the interview and its ability to obtain important analysis; there could be useful applications of these findings externally using interviews as a methodological feature. Exploring other methodological approaches though, meant a contribution to knowledge which was constructed differently from the normal qualitative social science PhD thesis.

3)- There have been many papers published recently looking at the ways in which the hospitality industry is incorporating technology into hotels and restaurants with mixed success (Kattara and Said 2014). Urban approaches to hospitality will similarly have to contend with the rise of 'smart cities' and the corresponding effects they will have on urban planning, predictive policing and social control.

Cowley and Caprotti (2018:6) explore the possibility that smart cities challenge prevailing orthodoxy in planning rationalities and how they enhance local authorities' ability to "*address social and environmental problems*" (Cowley and Caprotti 2018:2) Whilst this is at odds with the technocratic and systems-based critiques offered by earlier scholars, it shows a potential area where the civic commercial home concept can be explored. Many of the themes that were highlighted in this thesis such as social control, anxiety of official representation and problems to deal with in the public space, all have potentially new angles when machine learning, data algorithms and 'scientific' approaches to urban design become the norm. Koens (et al 2019) in a recent paper for example discusses '*the smart city hospitality framework*', which shows the interdisciplinary potential insights from this study may have when informing such frameworks going forward.

Edinburgh's willingness to adopt 'smart' based solutions is almost inevitable, as Cowley and Caprotti (2018: 6) describe:

"Recent research suggests that almost a third of the UK's urban areas with populations of over 100,000 currently have clear ambitions and/or substantial programmes of current activities labelled as 'smart'"

4)- Research using hospitality as a 'social lens' is still fairly new, especially when applied to the urban space. Further research can use the insights developed from this thesis, to explore hospitality as a metaphor, hospitality as social control and hospitality as economic and social exchange (Lynch et al 2011) through the prism of historical planning literature within other cities. The approach can be replicated beyond my chosen case study of Edinburgh.

5)- When exploring the civic-commercial home concept, I thought about incorporating postcards and using them as an additional data source, which would show a 'marked' construction of Edinburgh's home, as well as the commercial product being sold about the home. It was clear though that this would constitute its own research study. This idea would be particularly interesting as a comparative analysis between two similarly sized cities that had similar historical constructions (mining legacy, high working-class leisure tourism etc).

Postcards in hospitality research were explored by Cleave (2014) in a research note, where he described their potential as a powerful historical data source.

6)- Research which incorporates insights from Brekhus (1998)'s epistemological arguments about the construction of research data, are important going forward for us to properly present social reality in the correct way. A potential application of this study, could be in trying to explore mundane moments of everyday life, as gathered in the observational section of the thesis, in other urban contexts, with hospitality as a guiding principle in mind, which would contribute meaningfully to the growing subfield 'sociology of everyday life'.

7)- Autoethnographic studies within the urban space are also lacking, particularly within the tourist framework of experiencing cities and applying those insights analytically to the scholarly literature. As we go deeper into this 'qualitative moment' (Denzin and Lincoln 2017), more evocative approaches to urban design and its relationship to the home and the welcome destination should emerge.

8)- In the fairly new area of 'memory studies' an interesting application would be to examine plaques on public benches within a particular city, with more depth. These plaques make for interesting examinations on private memory and the public space which it occupies. A study that purely focuses on that particular aspect of the civic commercial home, would be a novel application of the findings here.

9)- A debate which has permeated deep in public consciousness is the extent to which public statues are symbols of memory, or containers of history. One of the most pressing political issues in recent memory comes back to a central theme in this PhD, which asks simply whose roof are we under? Who is Edinburgh for and what does it represent? One of the issues I highlighted in my politics of identity theme in my observations was how protesters targeted confederate civil war statues in the United States and tore them down by force. I discussed how statues can feel like neutral slates like the tabula rasa depicted in David Hume's granite statue. However, there are analogous political issues that are starting to germinate in the UK, which are beginning to show a divide on this central point, are statues that stand in our public spaces commemorative pieces which deify the life of the individual standing there? Do they

imply respect and celebration? Or are statues merely museum pieces which show us the past? As I discussed in this PhD hospitality to the past (Creswell 2008) is a powerful theme when combined with urban development. What is preserved and what is thrown into the sea?

Collectively we might want to move statues into the cellar, where they no longer haunt quite as much as they did before and future research in understanding these long-term political concerns and their implications can help understand where our welcome destination does not open its front door quite as wide for everyone.

9)- A final point I should reflect upon here is the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic and its implications for future research in this area. Since March 2020, the rippling effects of this unprecedented global health crisis have been felt in all aspects of daily life. The government of the UK instituted a mandatory lockdown, where non-essential business was forced to temporarily close and people were asked to work from home if they were able to. Since then, we have been in a lockdown state, with social life being paused and the city of Edinburgh feeling like the ghost towns of western movie lore. The annual Edinburgh Festival has been cancelled, which will have a significant long-term impact for a range of civic and commercial stakeholders in the city. Edinburgh does feel very different to me at the moment, as I write this section.

My research here represents Edinburgh pre-pandemic and further research will explore the effects of Edinburgh's 'civic commercial home' post pandemic, as the implications of social distancing are designed into the streets, architecture and mindset of residents and tourists far into the future. The interrelated issues of hygiene, health, disease, contagion and fear will have a greater impact on Edinburgh's destination management concerns than it did pre-pandemic, which further research should be cognizant of.

Our home has changed and defensive architecture might be part of our wallpaper for generations. I am already seeing mundane moments of control and order occurring throughout the city, some as temporary measures and others that will be a more permanent reality. However, this is only starting now and further research will be needed to document the longevity of these measures.

I have noticed street benches covered in red tape, obviously to prohibit their use, as though they were part of an ongoing crime scene. Additionally, I have noticed benches being removed entirely, presumably for fears that they might encourage loitering and thus have negative effects on temporary social distancing regulations. Some parks have been closed and there are visible signs mandating social distancing rules. There are examples of common street furnishings being used to express our gratitude to key workers during the pandemic, such as post-boxes being painted blue to symbolically celebrate and support NHS workers.

The ways in which 'welcome' is understood and felt in this PhD might have been different in a post-pandemic world. I could imagine the focus would have been more attuned to notions of disease and hygiene and these issues might have been reflected upon in the observational data, where memories drawn from confinement and their relevance to the city would have been established. Beyond this pandemic, I can imagine many residents, particularly those with compromised immune systems and the elderly, retaining these new forms of unease within our public spaces, that were not reflected upon in this PhD. As a result, further relationships with the private home and wider civic concerns can be drawn out and substantiated with additional observational material in the future.

8.0:

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Appendix One: Ethical Approval Acceptance

Doyle, Jim 

11 May 2016 at 15:30

DJ

To: Palkowski, Michael

RE: ethics application

Dear Michael,

This is to let you know that your RI (ethics) application dated 09.02.16 was approved by the Business School RI Committee on 11th May 2016.

For future reference your application has been given the internal tracking identifier ENBS/2015-16/032.

Regards,

Jim

[See More from Michael Palkowski](#)

Appendix Two: Notes Taken on Critical Realism

Sources consulted in these notes

- 1)- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6bHeCBKITPo>
- 2)- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ILYn7u6Z4aY>
- 3)- "What Is Critical Realism? And Why Should You Care?" Contemporary Sociology - Philip S. Gorski, 2013". *Journals.sagepub.com*. N.p., 2017. Web. 30 May 2017.

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- 1)- ON BCR: Collier, Andrew. *Critical Realism*. 1st ed. London: Verso, 1994. Print.
- 2)- ON DCR: Norrie, Alan. *Dialectic and Difference*. 1st ed. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2009. Print.

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Main theorists

Roy Bhaskar

Margret Archer

Andrew Sayer

Mervyn Hartwig

Alan Norrie

Tony Lawson

"It is important to stress from the outset that CR is not itself a theory of society. It is a philosophy of science, a theory of what (good) science is and does". (Gorski 2013: 660)

Antecedents Beginnings

"The dominant philosophy is positivism. Its oldest rival is interpretivism. The young upstart is social constructivism.³ The three approaches are premised on very different social ontologies (i.e., theories of social reality" (Gorski 2013: 660)

"Positivists draw no ontological distinction between natural and social entities; both are just "phenomena" or "objects of experience" (Hempel 1965; Popper 1959). Interpretivists draw a sharp line between the two domains; they argue that social reality is linguistically constructed (Geertz 1973; Winch 1958). The constructivists go further still. They see the natural sciences as linguistically constituted as well (Feyerabend 1975; Rorty 1979). For them, the natural sciences are just another realm of social life."

Brief distinction between positivism and interpretivism to start us off

"Positivism presupposes and indeed requires that scientific knowledge take the form of "general" or "covering laws"—universal and exception-less statements that enable us to predict and control events. If and only if there are such laws will a "falsificationist" method apply (Gorski 2004). Otherwise, a single counter-instance will not be logically sufficient to refute a theory.

Strong versions of interpretivism have (wrongly) accepted the positivistic account of natural science but (rightly) insisted that it does not obtain for the social sciences. Natural life may be governed by laws, they counter, but social life is governed by meanings. Thus, they conclude, the aims and methods of the social sciences are radically different from those of the natural sciences. The social sciences pursue idiographic knowledge by hermeneutic means. They do not attempt to explain what happens in the social world, only to render it comprehensible by reconstructing meaning and intention."

" (Gorski 2013:661)

Where the social constructivists were right

"To their credit, social constructionists have recognized these complex intertwining's of power, language, and reality. They know that researchers do not just give up on their theories because of a single anomaly. They know that our observations of the world are linguistically mediated. They know that social structures partake of linguistic ones. Alas, they often turn these complex inter-twinings into a simple chain of causality, such that reality is (solely) constituted by language and language is (merely) a medium of (an impersonal) power" (Gorski 2013: 662)

"Taken to its logical consequence, a strong version of social con- structivism ultimately leads to conclusions like the following: (1) human agents are ven- triloquist's dummies for discursive powers; (2) social and natural reality are mere epi- phenomena of human language; (3) human language is governed by an ethereal, omni- present and impersonal medium of "dis- course" or "power.'" (662)

Critical realism beginnings

In the Marxist tradition, it was developed by British philosopher **Roy Bhaskar**.

His parents into Theosophy, a religion started in the 1800s, kind of a combination of things- buddhism/hinduism- believing that there is one single message which has been taught through the ages and voiced in various ways.

His parents converted to this movement, Bhaskar grew up in that movement. He visited the theosophic library. He never became one, but he had influences there. The philosophy of critical realism really had no spiritual focus, it was a secular philosophy

2)- Bhaskar says that there is a stratified reality- layered reality

"By contrast, CR is realist "all the way down"—and all the way up as well. Instead of a purely conventional distinction between "micro" and "macro" it appeals to the real ontological distinctions between the various layers or "strata" in the natural and social worlds." (Gorski 2013: 659)

There are three primary layers (*The Possibility of Naturalism 1979*)

1)- Real

2)- Actual

3)- Empirical

Real- are the underlying mechanisms/structures that are responsible for what we can observe/ the real cannot be seen- we can speculate on it. It is not something we have direct knowledge of. The reason why there are so many views of what is reality is not that there are different realities but simply our ability to understand what is real is limited by ourselves, so the limitations have nothing to do with the real, but limitations we have. Underlying mechanisms- gravity for example. Nobody has ever seen gravity, and yet we know if we take any object of any size/mass and drop it in a vacuum, etc

Actual- refers to events, which are caused by the mechanisms in the real. We can't observe the real, but we can observe the actual. We can observe that an object falls in gravity, we can see it happening. No one has ever seen human nature, we talk about it, it has been debated for thousands of years, do we have free will for example, is it so called human nature to be selfish/alturistic etc, no real settled position on that and yet people talk about it as though it is real. In effect human nature is part of the real, something speculating on

But we talk about it in relation to events that are caused by human nature

Social action

Empirical- The empirical refers to experience, observable experience, something we can sense and this is the position of the individual, scientist (natural/social or whatever), the person who is actually observing the events in this actual level. Then making speculations about the real, in other words the empirical relates to the position of the observer.

I can see actual events, I can speculate on the real

Legit speculation (based on observation on the actual)- wild speculation which is grounded in rumour, innuendo etc.

Critical aspect

"This is not to say that CR presumes that the structures of reality are somehow self-evident or even directly observable. Critical realism is not naive or commonsense realism. Even intentionally constructed social structures such as formal organizations or legal codes often have unintended effects that may not be evident to the social actors themselves. Moreover, non-intentional social structures such as fields and networks and culture can usually be observed only indirectly via their causal effects with the help of social scientific instruments (e.g., block modelling and correspondence analysis). Thus, a genuinely scientific realism is necessarily a critical one, which continually reflects on and revises its own categories and instruments. Its ontology is provisional and fallible." (Gorski 2013: 659)

THUS

The understanding interpretivism and positivism has of natural sciences is misguided according to critical realism.

Since the positivists think they are obtaining 'the real' in their data collection, but actually they are only obtaining 'the actual' as a result of their empirical investigations.

"Common understanding of natural science. Unfortunately, Bhaskar adds, this understanding is quite mistaken. In reality, even the physical sciences do not actually generate "covering laws" of the positivist sort (Cartwright 1983). Nor is scientific knowledge based on a passive observation of empirical events. What the natural sciences mostly do is isolate causal mechanisms by means of active interventions into the world (a.k.a. "experiments") that produce indirect observations of the world (via "instruments") (Hacking 1983). Note that the one major exception, astronomy, merely proves the rule: it seems to involve a closed system, namely, the universe." (Gorski 2013: 662)

*"social structures are dependent upon human activity and culture, they vary over space and time to a far greater degree than physical structures. Human nature might seem an exception, whence the perennial appeal of methodological individualism in the social sciences. But evolutionary biology teaches us that a high degree of **behavioral plasticity** is a distinguishing characteristic of the human species."* (Groski 2013: 662)

Pinker's book on how we are become more humane/caring over time. It is a changing variable, not static. Not something unchanging

Dialectical period (1993-2000)

"The publication of *Dialectic: The Pulse of Freedom* (1993), certainly Bhaskar's most difficult work, inaugurates a second and shorter phase in his intellectual development, known as "dialectical critical realism." Most of the central ideas of DCR are presented in a shorter and more readable form in *Plato etc.* (1994), a collection of essays from the second period. The difficulty of *Dialectic* put off some readers. But DCR provides important tools for describing structural change, tools that are lacking in BCR and in other contemporary realisms as well." (Gorski 2013: 662)

"A third important feature of modern science—so obvious we might overlook it—is the growth of knowledge over time. How does this occur? Through the simple accumulation of facts? The relentless falsification of theories? Transcendental realism suggests different metrics. If nature is stratified and strata are emergent, then scientific knowledge will grow via the discovery of previously unknown strata (e.g., the quantum level), entities (the Higgs-Boson), and interactions between them (e.g., molecular genetics). But this cannot be the whole story. If it were, says Bhaskar, then the growth of knowledge would be "monistic" in form, that is, purely cumulative and continuous. Instead, as we now know, the history of science is full of leaps and breaks from Ptolemy to Copernicus, Newton to Einstein, Linnaeus to Darwin and so on— "paradigm shifts" in Thomas Kuhn's well-worn phrase. Bhaskar therefore draws a distinction between the "intransitive" and "transitive" dimensions of science, between a natural world as it really is and our changing concepts of it. This is the difference between naive and critical realism. CR understands that ontologies are fallible." (664-665)

Transformations (Beginning in the year 2000s)

As is his "*spiritual return*"

He fine-tuned critical realism and came up with something called the philosophy of meta reality, referred to as "meta realism"

Meta reality is basically a way of understanding reality on a somewhat deeper level, that was possible using critical realism itself. Even though it is a continuation, it also brings critical realism to a greater depth than it had in the earlier years.

He says the real includes at least 3 more layers

- 1)- Cosmic envelope or **co presence** (I am present with other people)
- 2)- Relative reality (diversity/difference)
- 3)- layer below that- **demi- reality** (basically disunity, alienation, people being cut off from each other)

He proposed co presence as a solution to demi reality, he isn't saying they are stages of consciousness. He is saying that demi reality and co presence are real, they are real layers, actual realities, they are not simply creations of our consciousness, they are independent of our consciousness, we observe them fallibly based on our ability to observe the events they produce but we don't create them directly. If we look at that and consider, the importance of this idea of co-presence, what we see is he has taken Marxism and has created a "trans Marxism" or a "transcendent Marxism", he has taken Marxism and moved it to a new level.

Marxism in a general sense refers to two things. 1 emancipation or liberation and 2 domination or oppression. What he says is the key to emancipation is copresence, in other words recognising our unity, instead of staying in demi reality or disunity, copresence literally meaning united in our diversity.

The ultimate objective, the goal of any project of emancipation is reaching the co-presence, ultimately, we recognise this non-duality, we are all connected.

Connections with CR

"The dominant form of sociological realism at the moment is "**analytical sociology**" (Gorski 2013: 659)

Critical realism critiques

Brown, Andrew. "Critical Realism in Social Research: Approach With Caution". *Work, employment and society* 28.1 (2014): 112-123. Web.

"In particular, is it really true that critical realism is the sole purveyor of such basic ontological insights?" (113)

Appendix Three: Critical Theory Engagement

In this section, I will describe work that emerged from the Marxist oriented Frankfurt school of critical theory. When referring to the Ayn Rand influenced philosophical building block table, described in the methodology, this would be the political element which has derived from the preceding analysis on ontology, epistemology and ethics. The Frankfurt school's work was important for me in orienting myself as a critically minded researcher, but also in embracing a particular conceptualization of knowledge that is opposed to positivism.

First, it should be determined exactly what makes a theory critical. There are a number of key factors here. Adopting a critical position means that you are suspicious of the assumptions that reflect "power relations and social processes that foster oppression or exclusion" (Sloan 2009: 324). Exposing hidden value judgements that prop up prevailing theory, which in turn justifies the status quo, is typically the ammo of a critical researcher. Hammersley (2013) points out that this entails not simply reflecting on what happens but being evaluative which typically reflects a political or ethical position. Doing theory as a critical researcher means that we consider the "cultural, historical, economic, familial, institutional and local processes" which forms theory (Solan 2009: 324). Often this critical context is minimized and so we rarely have a holistic view of what is happening and how social processes change over time. Hammersley (2013) points out some of the rhetoric that critical projects have, such as a focus on 'exploitation', 'emancipation', 'oppression'. The focus of this project is not one of exploitation, emancipation or oppression, but rather in the importance of civic responsibility and ensuring the conservation and maintenance of public spaces and the objects that help maintain a sense of welcome. A wider concern for public space is a critical perspective particularly in a time where public services are being cut.

A good expression of critical theory in relation to positivism, an epistemological position that I reject, is to comment briefly on the Frankfurt school's work on the subject. Horkheimer's critique of positivism is threefold. He suggests that positivism views humans and objects as mere facts and objects to be studied; there is a type of empirical and mechanical determinism at play. In other words, this type of one-sided analysis divorces key context which is important for understanding why things are the way they are. Positivism makes no distinction between

essence and appearance; the world is only understood on a narrow scale of empiricism. The standpoint is always extrinsic. The key critique from Horkheimer and Marcuse is that positivism separates knowledge from human interests. Knowledge for Horkheimer is to be constructed on the basis of what he terms emancipatory interests. There is clearly a political element to this type of knowledge, for it seeks to rebalance society by instituting change on the basis of emancipatory issues. As a critical researcher in the field of hospitality, (using hospitality as a social lens), the focus is more on the uneven, oppressed and socially isolated 'unmarked' areas of social life.

Appendix Four: Partial Transcription Example

Puneet: I think one of the things you might want to consider writing about and I don't know how you would approach this but the homeless, how they are similar and different from homeless in different cities. There is like, I don't know, being from New York, there is definitely a difference, your homeless are not, I haven't seen a homeless person who is mentally incapacitated.

Michael: Right

Puneet: You see a lot of that in New York city, they are really well mannered and you just don't know where to expect them, there is no

Michael: No specific space that you would be like, this is where homeless would congregate?

Puneet: Yeah, exactly, they are spread out, there is no congregation of homeless people. And I am really surprised to see homeless people here, I guess you can have homeless people everywhere, but Scotland seems to be a country that takes care of its people well. You have lots of programs that would help people out whereas in America there can be an issue, it's very complex to get that help, right? You can't even get a job without an address.

Michael: An interesting thing that I wrote about was that, during periods of intense tourist activity in the city, so the festival in August for example, there is a concerted effort to make sure that the homeless are not visible, the policing of it is essentially become more intense and so that is another politics of seeing, what is seeing and unseen by people visiting. It is the same thing if someone comes to your house, you spend a lot of time cleaning up everything you don't want them to see, you'll make sure it is neat and tidy and so we do that as a city by making sure not only that the pollution is limited, the areas where it is most likely they will visit but also who is going to be there and how it is going to be policed etc.

Puneet: Two things, I take back the whole green thing, this is definitely a lot greener and two, that would be an interesting to consider as part of your work, subconsciously what is the city ashamed of? Because you would hide the things you are ashamed of, so that's interesting

Michael: Now look at how we are putting the signage up here. it is a rock, so again playing to the natural topography, this is like you would say is like what you were saying about the natural part. We are in nature, but it is controlled nature

Puneet: Do you want to take a photograph of this?

Yeah



Puneet: You are not bending nature to what you need, you are trying to work with it. It is very accommodating, like you are accommodating a visitor, it is seen in your, the way you build things. Or the signage

Michael: Is this an issue of mental health as well, so like, if you, I have often had this in the city where I feel like, I get fed up of the teeming masses and this urban jungle that goes on and then we come out to a place like this, which is still part of the city but it feels like all of a sudden, we are out in the countryside, we are no longer in the same city, there is almost a different feel, when you are walking in a park like this

Puneet: When you are walking in a park, I feel close to nature, it feels even more secluded, lonely, there is a welcome here in just solitude, in being alone. It is really a place to come and be yourself and I like that as a city, it offers that. Sometimes you can't escape. If you have any, I haven't seen any water fountains which I find surprising and that sometimes helps to, when you near the water fountain it will drown out the sounds around you, so that would be a good addition to the isolation here, noise cancelling water fountains as well as obviously for the convenience that they bring and you can bring your kids and family out.

I am not happy about the lack of water fountains, no drinking water so far, which is ridiculous. I feel like water should be available no matter where you are.

Michael: So that is almost a given, a taken for granted piece of street furniture that you would have

Puneet: And it's functional, and the other thing, sorry go on, I was just going to say, things that you don't have lots of things of is recycling points. You have recycling but your bins aren't, like where do I put my garbage. Is that welcoming to the environment? I don't know

Michael: The pieces of furniture that are available is different, so on the other streets that we have been on so far, there is no ability to sit down, because that is not what that street is for, but this point, as we are walking down the street here, we might want to stop and relax and take in the scenery, the sights. The artificially constructed by the way country aesthetics.

And then your benches, depending on what side, or what part of the city you are on differ, like here you have metal benches, but then you have like, I forget, was near the castle, wooden ones

Michael: And on Princes street, where we have walked previously they are all the way down the street, as a type of designed welcome

Puneet: They seem fragile

Michael: And the thing about that is, we have talked about the history part of the city where they want to present this kind of city which has historical character to it, and so there might be a politics involved in what type of benches are where?

Puneet: Yeah, where they want you to see more of the history wherever it is touristy, you have those older benches.

To go further to that point, if you look at the benches down here, they are no inscriptions on them, so they are very modern and there to serve a functional, practical purpose,

They are not dedicated to anyone, they are not representing any past, or anything

Michael: But the ones up and down Princes street, it is an issue of who is seeing those benches. Every single one of those benches, they have inscriptions, they are old, they are dedicated to some person, or some thing in the past, which gives this idea of historical authenticity, it is a place that is infused with character, it didn't just spring out of

nowhere, we have something that is worth looking at. There is a politics of history, because it is old does that mean it is worth looking at, worth studying because it is old?, Does the oldness of something merit us evaluating it seriously?

Puneet: I just realized, I haven't seen any part of the city that I would describe as young. Like, it just feels young, it looks young. Does that make sense? But again, I have only seen small parts, but what I have seen so far, the old is very pronounced

Michael: Do you think the old is being constructed, look at these lamps for example that we have here. They are very old looking but they are very clearly new



Puneet: So there are certain parts, like the top of certain buildings, the building itself just from the stone is fairly new, but when you look at the top of certain buildings you can tell they are built in such a way to camouflage into some of the older buildings. Maybe it is because your eye travels up when you are a tourist, you automatically look up when you are trying to take in the city, you don't look straight ahead. I have noticed that you often look straight ahead because you live here, you have looked up long ago, but my views and I suppose my welcome of the city is created from looking up. Especially a hilly street like this, the tops are visible even when you are coming down.

Michael: That is a very conscious decision which has been made. Do you think that these lights probably cost more as well, because of the way the glass is, so extra expense is taken for a vintage feel?

Puneet: Another thing I haven't seen is you have public restrooms, like you have the sign right there at the corner of the street that tells you that there is a toilet nearby and exactly how far and in what direction. Which is actually really nice, so you are controlling your hygiene. Especially with the homeless population, whereas when you walk in New York, we don't really have public restrooms, we have them mostly in stores and restaurants but they are not public. You can smell some of it, it is really pungent.

Michael: That is another element, it all goes back to the issue of how welcome you feel, and unwelcome. Part of that is feeling like you are able to do whatever you are able to do whenever you want. I am able to explore my city, we are able to do this but under the very clear awareness that I am never going to be in a situation where I am stuck and not going to be able to use a public bathroom.

Puneet: No matter where we have turned, it feels, I feel like we can find what we need. I like that about this city. The thing I don't like about the city is that things close early! I don't know how the city functions like that.

Michael: I suppose it goes back to the historicity argument.

Puneet: So your latching on to a part of your history, where life used to be, whereas a lot of cities aren't.

Michael: Yeah, it certainly isn't a 24-hour city.

Puneet: No it's not

Michael: But I also don't think it wants to be.

Puneet: I don't think so either.

Michael: Even though it probably might be in the city's best interest to do that, it probably doesn't want to do it.

Puneet: The city feels comfortable about who it is, it is comfortable in its own skin. When you think of France, or Italy or whatnot, you don't think this.

Michael: We normally use the city as a go-between space, getting from A to B, so we don't usually think about these underlying issues, so it is interesting exploring them. I think it is helpful to have your perspective as well because I live in this city and I was

born here and so a lot of what is normal to me might be unusual to you.

Puneet: The monuments and taller buildings are very pointy, I don't know why I noticed that but I did, they really stand out, is there a reason for that? I also like how welcoming the city is to cyclists, there seems to be a dedicated effort to incorporate that into the normal flow of the city itself. I feel like that is important for a variety of reasons, but also how wide the lanes are, they are not right next to pedestrians, or what not, or at least here anyways. That seems like a conscious welcome. The main streets not so much, I guess?

Michael: The way the city is designed, is it deliberately enforce a certain way of travelling around it? I have been in cities where it is totally antagonistic towards pedestrians, this isn't so much, this encourages walking.

Puneet. In Washington, cycling is pretty much encouraged, take it onto the metro, stick it on the bus. It is built into the public transportation system; it is a normal daily thing.

PAUSE

Puneet: The feeling I get walking through Edinburgh, the city is kind of like a celtic knot, the way the streets interleave and interlink and what not. The kings and queens of Scotland had honors, septors, crowns and so on, It would be interesting if the city has its own honors in the forms of buildings, or monuments, or whatever.

PAUSE

Puneet: So, I was just using the public restroom and um, it is fairly clean for a public rest room out in the open, this guy, I guess was drunk or mentally unstable or something and came in and used the bathroom, tried to open my door, not realizing I was in there and it opened slightly.

Michael: Part of it was because the male toilet was closed.

Puneet: I couldn't understand what he was saying. It was a shock.

Michael: We are now on south bridge street, as you just said, the vehicles are quite overwhelming, the noise is intense, do you feel claustrophobic on this street?

Puneet: Yeah, I do. Cause if you look at the proportions of the buildings and the wideness of the streets, the buses don't seem to fit properly, like I feel like sometimes, when we were on the bus, I felt like you could go over, obviously it won't but you get that feeling, when it is making a turn. It is so close to the street

Michael: This is very pedestrian heavy.

Puneet: This is the most amount of people I have saw since I have came here. [5pm South Bridge, footfall traffic].

Michael: More likely to get interactions on this street,

Puneet: Yeah, more people, impossible to just go about your normal flow, you can't avoid people, you have to navigate past people. Another kind of thing, let me ask you a question, these things here, these stores, these apartments, offices

Michael: Apartments.

Puneet: So, I guess that is another example of how things are very integrated, intertwined, the businesses are not sectioned off from your daily living. Apartments are right here with the businesses.

Michael: Two distinct types of home here, the welcoming commercial home and the private, all in one. Oh...This is a police box that I was talking to you about.

Puneet: Those little food stalls,

Michael: It is a food stall now. The idea was you had a door here, it had a phone inside, it was a place to detain someone as well.

Puneet: It is nicely camouflaged, or integrated I guess into the city.

Michael: Yeah, it's no longer in use, but it is still part of the architectural feel of the city, like phone boxes everywhere, nobody really uses them functionally anymore. You will notice that these streets are very dirty, much more graffiti here as well. There is less concern maybe about order

Puneet: There is more living going on here too. This is definitely not one of your honors, haha.

Michael: Spoiled vs unspoiled

Puneet: For a city that rains a lot, you don't really have safe spaces to protect yourself against the rain, like awnings. Not even shelters, you see, I don't know, I don't see awnings in front of buildings, or anything like that.

Michael: That is a good point

Puneet: Even this one is very small, impractical for that purpose.

Sorry Sorry! [*Navigating between people, bumping into others*]

We are having to seriously negotiate, almost getting hit by bicycles, people are almost knocking us by, loads of noise. How can you be anonymous here, you just can't?

Puneet: Again, I am going to make a comparison to NY, even though its crowded there you can be anonymous, isolated in your own world, that is dangerous.

Michael : I was just like walking towards the street and a huge bus just came near, that's what I'm talking about, you feel like you might get hurt, Sorry!! [avoids other people on the street]

Michael: Just banged into a bollard

Puneet: Is this to protect us against the traffic?

Yes

Okay

Puneet: Obviously that has been a problem before

Michael: So, I am not too concerned about being run over, I sort of know the rhythms of the city, the tempo seems fast and disorderly, but I feel like I can negotiate it because I have been here so many times before. I have become used to the flow and it doesn't seem dangerous to me. You seem a little timid here though, which is interesting, like you don't feel so welcomed out here!

Puneet: I do feel wearisome, but luckily it seems to be dying down. You can kind of section yourself off in New York like a machine on an assembly line, you can't do that here, you are going to see faces, you are going to interact.

Michael: And does that make you feel welcome or unwelcome? Is welcome part of being anonymous, or is it that you want to be part of it?

Puneet: I sense if you need directions, or you are lost, you need to ask a question, here I guess you can catch someone's eye more easily, like the guy did back there with you. It just seems more friendly.

