University of Strathclyde
Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management

The opening up of hospitality spaces to difference:
Exploring the nature of home exchange experiences

Alexander Grit

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management at the University of Strathclyde

February 2010

This thesis is the result of the author's original research. It has been composed by the author and has not been previously submitted for examination which has led to the award of a degree. The copyright of this thesis belongs to the author under the terms of the United Kingdom Copyright Acts as qualified by University of Strathclyde Regulation 3.50. Due acknowledgement must always be made of the use of any material contained in, or derived from, this thesis.'

Signed:

Date:

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

GLOSSARY OF CONCEPTS USED IN THE THESIS

Concept	Description of Concept
Actual	According to Deleuze only actuals 'exist' and the actual represents the bodily representation of flows arising out of the virtual (Deleuze, 1997).
Adventurer	An adventure, says Georg Simmel, springs from a differentiation within life that opens for something unexpected. It occurs when the continuity of life is disregarded on principle, or rather, when there is no need to disregard it, 'because we are aware from the beginning that we have to do with something alien, extraneous, out of the ordinary. (Simmel, 1971 [1911] p.189–90).
Affect	Affect is the change or variation that occurs when bodies collide, or come into contact. As a body, affect is a knowable product of an encounter, specific in its ethical and lived dimensions and yet it is also as indefinite as the experience of a sunset, transformation or a ghost (Colman, 2005, p.41).
Agency	Refers to the sense of what one can do; this is used here in the context of personal power.
Assemblage	A sort of anti-structural concept that permits the researcher to speak of emergence, heterogeneity, the decentred and the ephemeral in nonetheless ordered social life (Markus & Saka, 2006). An assemblage is any number of things or pieces of things gathered into a single context. An assemblage can bring about any number of effects aesthetic, machinic, productive, destructive, consumptive, informatic, etc. (http://www.rhizomes.net/issue5/poke/glossary.html#assemblage)
Becoming	Becoming is a process of change, flight, or movement within an assemblage. Rather than conceive of the pieces of an assemblage as an organic whole, within which the specific elements are held in place by the organisation of a unity, the process of becoming serves to account for relationships between the discrete elements of the assemblage. In becoming one piece of the assemblage is drawn into the territory of another piece, changing its value as an element and bringing about a new unity. (http://www.rhizomes.net/issue5/poke/glossary.html#becoming)
Body	A body (human, animal, social, chemical) has no interior truth or meaning; it exists only through its external connections and affects." They write, "We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body" (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.257).
Chora	A concept of the tourist destination as 'chora', or interactive space is offered. The tourist then becomes a creative, interacting 'choraster' who takes home an experience which impacts on the self in some way" (Wearing and Wearing (1996, p.229-230).
Communitas	"Communitas is often seen as a temporary process where people of different backgrounds and places within the social order communicate and bond with one another without considering one's social standing as a divide (McGinnis et al., 2008)."

Crystallisation	Crystallisation combines multiple forms of analyses and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematises its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them" (Ellingson, 2009, p.4).
Cultural laboratory	Vacationing where people have been able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mind-travelling (Löfgren, 1999, p.7).
Deterritorialisation	The move away from a hierarchical and rigid context that imposes singular identities and meanings towards a context where a plurality of identity and meanings can exist very similar to deconstruction in poststructuralism. (http://anumberofyounglovers.blogspot.com/ 2009/02/deleuze-and-guattari-desire-and-nomad.html)
Divergent actualisation	The process of moving from a virtual to an actual state is what Deleuze refers to as 'divergent actualisation' (Deleuze, 1994).
Experimentation	In French, the word expérience means both 'experience' and 'experiment'. He states that to experiment is to try new actions, methods, techniques and combinations 'without aim or end' (Baugh, p.91)."). He explains, "The elements which we experiment are desires, forces, powers and their combinations, not only to see what happens but to determine what different entities (bodies, languages, social groupings, environments and so on) are capable of' (p.91).
Flow and Flux	Flux is a tension, it is intrinsically struggling and conflictual. Flow is smooth not packed with tension while Flux is not smooth and packed with tension. To put flux into flow is to put reflexivity in something (flux is always reflexive) (Lash, 2005, p.17)
Guest	Refers to a person who is away from their home environment, and for whom hospitality is provided at someone else's house or in a commercial hospitality establishment. In commercial hospitality establishments' guests are generally people who are staying at the hotel (in-house). Guests can play other roles, for example, as travellers, vacationers, tourists, visitors to the region or sightseers.
Hierarchies	"The distinction between centralised and decentralised control of given process has come to occupy centre-stage in many different contemporary philosophies" (DeLanda, 2006).
Home	An experience, a space of belonging a territory (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).
Home exchange	A manner of organising space, a series of transactions which organise and govern accommodation space based on reciprocity and whereby the mediation process is organised through a kernel organisation.
Hospitality industry	An industry, where commercial establishments, for a fee, provide food, shelter, accommodation, entertainment and a variety of other amenities and facilities to people away from their home environment.
Kernels	Kernels are centrally digitally systems which permit the conduct of transactions (Leadbeater, 1999).

Life	According to Deleuze and Guattari in - *A thousand plateaus* (1987), life has no substance or essence. It requires "to be put in relation with its concomitants: a transcendental field, a plane of immanence, a life, and some singularities.
Life energies	Energies that have a desire to flow in different directions, producing new possibilities and potentials.
Lifeworld	Used as a metaphor for an assemblage of human interactions.
Line of flight	The line of flight is the line of change and metamorphosis, which does not organise in a segmentary sequence. It is one associated with change which usually moves towards reorganisation of forms (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).
Lived experience/	Relates to the intelligibility of the process and result of living and experiencing the world 'first hand'. It refers to the way that a person experiences and understands his/her world as real and meaningful (van Manen 1990:183). It connotes what "personally and immediately one experiences for oneself, as opposed to all hearsay, conjecture, or imaginative and ratiocinator constructions" (Burch, 1990, p2).
McDonaldization	McDonaldization is the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society, as well as of the rest of the world (Ritzer, 2006).
Meshworks	Meshworking seems to combine both the self-organising results of complex-adaptive human systems with the replicable backbone of hierarchical organisation, capturing the better of two operating systems (DeLanda, 2006).
Molar lines	Molar lines organise through the drawing of strict boundaries, creating binary oppositions and dividing space into segments with a hierarchical structure (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).
Molecular lines	Molecular lines organise space in a subtle way, interlacing segments in a non-hierarchical way (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987).
Network sociality space	The term network sociality can be understood in Contrast to 'community'. Community entails stability, coherence, embeddedness and belonging. It involves strong and long-lasting ties, proximity and a common history or narrative of the collective. Network sociality stands counter posed to Gemeinschaft. It does not represent belonging but integration and disintegration (Wittel, 2001, p.51).
Objective and subjective culture	The energies of life are defined and moulded by the forms of 'objective culture', the world of cultural forms and their artefacts that have become independent of individual human existence. Subjective culture is the personal culture of the individual; or the life of the individual as a cultural being (Simmel, Frisby & Featherstone, 1998).
Operationalisation	Refers to the process of putting into operation or practice.
Performativity	Performativity provides a particular focus to the possibility of opening up, in a Deleuzian sense, to the unexpected and the divergent in the 'excess' of multiple possibilities of what people do (Dewsbury, 2000).
Play	A 'special form of activity', and a 'well-defined quality of action which is different from ordinary life' (Huizinga, 1955).

Post-structuralism	Post-structuralism is a broad historical description of intellectual developments in is a broad historical description of intellectual developments in continental philosophy and critical theory originating in France in the 1960s. The prefix "post" refers to the fact that many contributors such as Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari were highly critical of structuralism. In direct contrast to structuralism's claims of culturally independent meaning, post-structuralists typically view culture as integral to meaning. Post-structuralism is difficult to define or to sum up. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, by its very nature, post-structuralism rejects definitions that claim to have discovered 'truths' or facts about the world. Secondly, very few people have willingly taken the label 'post-structuralist'. Rather, they have been labelled so by others. This means that no-one has ever felt compelled to construct a 'manifesto' of post-structuralism. Thus its exact nature and whether it can be considered a single philosophical movement is debated (Steinberg, 2008, p.246).
Process thinking	Involve the assumption "... that things cannot do without processes but also the idea that processes are also more fundamental and elementary than things" (Pyyhtinen, 2009, p.35).
Reflexivity	An awareness of the researcher's contribution to the construction of meanings throughout the research process, and an acknowledgment of the impossibility of remaining 'outside of' one's subject matter while conducting research. (http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1871685/)
Reterritorialisation	For every deterritorialisation there is a reterritorialisation.
Revolutionary becomings	Becomings that can transform a single body or a whole social system.
Rhizome	A prostrate or subterranean root-like stem emitting roots and usually producing leaves at its apex; a rootstock."
Rhizomic Network Analysis (RNA)	Approach of analysing and diagnosing social networks for their type of knowledge dynamics of innovation (Steinberg, 2007, p.5).
Self image	The image that one has of oneself
Serendipity	Serendipity as the art of making an 'unsought finding' Which is followed by a process of abduction. This process of abduction can be explained as … the process of forming an explanatory hypothesis (Andel 1994, p.643).
Service and experience	The difference is subtle but important. When a person buys a service, he purchases a set of intangible activities carried out on his behalf. But when he buys an experience, he pays to spend time enjoying a series of memorable events that a company stages—as in a theatrical play—to engage him in a personal way (Pine and Gilmore, 1999, p.2).
Service experience	The experience of the customer and the service provider in the service encounter.
Service quality	Service quality has revolved around the five points: assurance, tangibles, responsiveness, reliability and empathy (Parasuraman et al., 1988).
Service satisfaction	How satisfied a customer is with the service and the state reached if his/her expectations have been met or exceeded
Service system	A dynamic configuration of resources that creates and delivers value between the provider and the customer through service (If & IBM, 2008).

Sociological impressionism	A form of autobiographical sociology. based on a response from the stranger to the experience of the world unique to the individual., it represents an attempt to express a stream-of-consciousness, reflecting the uniqueness of subjective experience, which is interrelated with Simmel's concept of aesthetics (Lynch 2005, p.530)
Sociological experimentation	Sociological experimentation is based on sociological impressionism (Lynch, 2005) and crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009) and represents a research design for studying the becoming of vital forces in spaces. It focuses on three dimensions the evocative, performative and becoming dimension and engages into crystallisation.
Space	The unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all objects are located (Collins English dictionary, 2000, p.1471).
Spacing	The term spacing is used "to identify subjective and practical ways in which the individual handles his or her material surroundings" (Crouch, 2003).
Striated space	Deleuze and Guattari define striated space as a partitioned field of movement which prohibits free motion (1987, p.479).
Tijl Uilenspiegel	Roman figure from Charles De Coster in 1867 deeply embedded in the Flemish collective consciousness. Tijl represents freedom and challenges every authority. (www.standaarduitgeverij.be)
Tourists	Are particular types of travellers (not all travellers are tourists). A tourist is a voluntary, temporary traveller, travelling in the expectation of pleasure from the novelty and change experienced on a relatively long and non-recurrent round-trip. Vacationing and sightseeing are two types of roles that tourists engage in to varying degrees (Cohen, 1979, p.180).
Urban Vitalis	By considering an urban vitalis, one accepts the subject as a temporary, continual project since a subject, in this case described to be vitalistic by nature, cannot retreat to a fixed position, identity or specific culture in a world of becomings (Pløger, 2006, p.383).
Viability	Viability as a concept can be described by long term self-sufficiency, sustainability, adaptability and flexibility, the capacity to change, self-regeneration, responsibility and security (Bianchini and Landry, 1994).
Virtual	What we call virtual is not something that lacks reality, but something that enters into a process of actualisation by following the plane that gives it its own reality (Deleuze, 1997).
Vital life forces	Vital forces are a potential for praxis and also a possible source of cognition and reflexivity. Vitalistic forces react to and are intertwined with the social (not 'biology') (Thrift, 2004, p.84-85).
Vitalism	Vitalism is nondiscursive, non-representational life energy. It is essential to realise that although 'in the midst of life, nothing can be fixed' (Thrift, 2004, p.84-85)." "... a will possessing potential affects and effects that must be realised in a social world" (Pløger, 2006, p.384).
Vitality	Vitality provides the raw materials, the often unfocused energy, and the force which through creative thinking and strategies can be harnessed to achieve a city that by being self-sustaining, responsive to external challenges and self-generating becomes viable (Bianchini and Landry, 1994).
X-things	Yet undefined bodies or ideas.

ABSTRACT

It can be argued that many potentialities within society are left unused by organising hospitality venues based on modern planning practices. These planning practises regard the setting as a rational space which is predictable and manageable. By applying modern management principles to spaces of hospitality an important function of spaces of hospitality can be easily overlooked and that is that spaces of hospitality can be regarded as spaces which provide 'difference' for both host and guest. This difference in spaces of hospitality entails that hospitality space gives an opportunity to experiment with different futures, or in other words with different becomings. The concept of 'Urban Vitalis', which is initiated at the beginning of the twentieth century by the German philosopher Georg Simmel, and in 2006 reworked by John Pløger, illuminates this quest for difference. Through 'Urban Vitalis' human beings are recognised as self-transcendent entities, whose lives—attitudes, values, ways of acting and behaving—may change through their 'being-openness' toward life but also always influenced by the ongoing striving for being part of relational positions or intersubjectivities. The concept of 'Urban Vitalis' enthrones the quest for difference in space rather than modern managerial principles such as profitability, make-ability or controllability to study hospitality space. When curriculums of Hospitality Management Studies are reviewed, hardly any attention is given to the possibility that spaces of hospitality can be spaces which create a difference.

By adopting 'Urban Vitalis', spaces of hospitality become sites of experimentation where humans should be able to experiment with new combinations, where humans can experience that the future is not a replica of the past. The aim then becomes to find conditions and identify processes which can turn spaces of hospitality into spaces of difference. Through the literature review, it appeared that insights in processes which happen in spaces of hospitality and which open spaces of hospitality to difference are limited. This study can be seen in the light of the aim to create spaces of difference and focuses on home exchange space as an informal space of hospitality. These informal spaces are characterised by open ended planning processes.

This research explores the home exchange experience from a participant perspective and the overall research aim is to analyse the nature of the home exchange experience in order to conceptualise the dynamics of open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality. In other words the practise of home exchange is used to identify processes which underlie creative becomings in spaces of hospitality. The study follows two trajectories, namely, interactively exploring literature alongside the data collection. The interactive exploration of the literature led towards an employment of the concept of the 'Assemblage' from Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in order to know hospitality space. The Deleuzian Guattarian assemblage focuses on what space does rather than on what space represents and searches for processes which underlie the becomings. Through the concept of the assemblage, the metaphor of the Cultural Laboratory (Löfgren, 1999) is used to explore the literature and to reach a post-structural understanding of a space of hospitality as space of experimentation. The art project by Sabrina Lindemann 'Hotel

Transvaal' is used to ground this understanding. Alongside this literature review, field work has been conducted through a participative (auto) ethnographic study and a total of twenty-two home exchanges have been conducted and recorded, this data collection occurred while connecting with home exchange organisations. For analysis and representation of the methodology during the interplay between fieldwork and literature review, 'Sociological Experimentation' has been developed, its goal is to identify underlying processes which lead to difference. It employs three ways of knowing: the evocative, the performativity of space and the process of becoming. The evocative dimension showed the importance of an initiation by the host into the space and highlights the non-representational bodily aspects of the assemblage. The performative dimension stresses the importance of the X-thing, which represents the unknown and potential emergence of the subject into serendipitous experiences. The becoming aspect also focused on this growing and shrinking by becoming other and creating lines of flight. Through becoming other, the guest could become and the ability to (temporarily) escape the guest role by creating new configurations of bodies and sensations. Recommendations for providers of hospitality space and curriculum designers in hospitality management are to acknowledge the constructive forces in spaces of hospitality and to facilitate for X-things to enhance serendipitous experiences.

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

The overall research aim is to analyse the nature of the home exchange experience in order to conceptualise the dynamics of open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality. Home exchanges can be regarded as part of the travel networking phenomenon; a phenomenon which, according to the World Tourism Market (WTM) Global Trends Report 2008, represents the convergence of several trends at play in the travel industry today (p.14). This includes the impact of the internet revolution, international social networking, the search for more authentic travel experiences and contact with local communities (WTM, 2008, p.14).

The nature of home exchange experiences can, possibly, lead to new insights for the understanding of the dynamics in spaces of hospitality and how spaces of hospitality can open up to difference. These insights open the discussion for the possibility and desirability for opening up spaces of hospitality through open ended planning processes within spaces of hospitality, which is the aim of this thesis. It is suggested that open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality turn spaces of hospitality into spaces of access to the undefined. Open-ended planning processes can be understood as a certain manner of organising space.

It is suggested in this thesis that in open ended planning processes such as the home exchange space, roles such as host and guest and processes become more fluid. This fluidity is worth researching since it enables new becomings. Performance artists such as Sabrina Lindemann, creator of the art project 'Hotel Transvaal', use this fluidity of spaces of hospitality to create art (Grit, Lynch and Mishra, 2009).

It can be argued that many potentialities within society are left unused by organising space based on modern planning practices. In planned or predefined hospitality space the host and guest seem to represent stable roles and processes can be presented as staged performances. Ritzer's (2000) concept of *McDonaldization,* criticises modern planning processes. According to Ritzer, a constant drive to increase efficiency leads to predictable experiences. This process is defined as *McDonaldization.* Theoretically, home exchange practices have the potential to provide insights into a process of *De-McDonaldization* (Ritzer and Stillman, 2001).

Open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality are captivating since they potentially connect the unconnected, and evoke new sensations and becomings. Moreover, I argue that the current conceptual thinking about spaces of hospitality neglects to focus on the experimentation role of spaces of hospitality. Spaces of hospitality become sites of experimentation, where humans should be able to experiment with new combinations and new spaces; where humans can experience that the future is not a replica of the past. Concepts which provide insight into this experimentation role can lead to processes of sustainable innovation.

Home exchanges offer experiences which are especially fascinating since they include a mix of personal space, social space in a negotiated time space configuration; the evoked home exchange affects and becomings potentially offering possibilities for experiencing new becomings. This research explores the home exchange experience from a participant perspective. The role of a participant is double during the home exchange: the participant is usually both host and guest at the same time. By exploring the experiences for both hosting and being a guest, a holistic account of a home exchange experience can be revealed. The study of the home exchange phenomenon is interesting since home exchanges are a growing hospitality practice worldwide and home exchangers report valuable, transformative and unique experiences. However, despite the out of the ordinary experiences which are produced by home exchanges, it is almost neglected by the academic world.

Studying open ended planning processes has consequences for the research methodology, since the focus of the research is on processes of becoming rather than on structure. The concept of 'liquid society' (Bauman, 2000) acknowledges this focus. Bauman introduces this term when he argues that research methodologies have to be adapted to recognise the transition into a liquid society. He indicates that theories of a 'liquid modernity' are useful since they "redirect research away from static structures of the modern world to see how social entities comprise of people, machines, and information/images in systems of movement". Further, Bauman views modernity as 'heavy and solid' while he sees the liquid society as one that is 'light and liquid', where speed of movement of people, money, images, and information is supremely important (Bauman, 2000, p.2).

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The background of this study lies in my critique to predictable futures, to futures which are more or less reproductions of the past where experiences are pre-produced and culture is presented as a given.

The subject of this study is hospitality space and the tendency to become predictable. However theoretically speaking, hospitality space has the potentiality to become a space of difference, where new connections are made, not only with people which are not yet known before, but also connections with new and alternative futures. This thesis explores the dynamic of opening up spaces of hospitality by assessing open ended planning processes. The practice of home exchange can be regarded as an open ended planning process and is the focus of this study. An example of the neglect of the subject is when the curriculums of Hospitality Management Studies are reviewed. Hardly any attention is given to the possibility that spaces of hospitality can be spaces which create a difference. On the contrary, students are taught to work with management theories which *control* hospitality space through, for instance, customer segmentation and experience building.

During the Creative Capital Conference in Amsterdam in 2005, it was stated that creativity and innovation have become the driving forces of our economy and society; that the future lies in the capacity to create; and that societies need to strengthen their creative capital in order to enter such a future. Creative capital can be defined as the combined assets of society that enable and stimulate its people and organisations to be innovative and creative. The final report of this conference stated,

> "The period of industrial innovation models is now over. Innovation no longer solely takes place within knowledge institutions or company laboratories. Innovation has become an open process where new combinations are constantly in development" (Steenhoven, van de J et al 2005, p.5).

During the conference it was stated that we need to apply a wide variety of strategies in different domains, varying from education and economic policy, through to urban and cultural policy. This research can be seen as a reaction to this call and fits in with critical hospitality studies, by

exploring and analysing home exchange experiences and an open-ended design for spaces of hospitality.

Hospitality studies are entering a new critical phase and are situated in a wider societal context. Within hospitality and tourism studies, traditional voices echoing management theories have been questioned by several authors (Molz, 2007a; Bell, 2006; Ritzer, 2000; Čaušević, 2009; Ateljevic et al. 2007). Moreover several edited publications with an alternative approach towards hospitality have appeared, such as, Mobilising hospitality: the ethics of social relations in a mobile world (Molz and Gibson, 2007a) and Hospitality: a social lens (Lashley, Lynch & Morrison, 2006) which argue that society could be understood by a hospitality focus. Together with tourism, hospitality has became a central theme within the broad context of mobility studies and thereby placed into a wider social science debate. Urry, an advocate of mobility studies, argues in his book Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century (2000b), that mobilities have 'reconstituted social life in uneven and complex ways'. This places tourism and hospitality studies in the realm of access and power. Franklin and Crang (2001) also place tourism theory in a wider societal context in their article 'The trouble with tourism and travel theory' where they argue: "The tourist and styles of tourist consumption are emblematic of many features of contemporary life, such as mobility, restlessness, the search for authenticity and escape" (p.19). Furthermore this research recalls (a) the work from Pløger (2006) on open-ended planning of space and (b) the work of Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004) who argue to open up spaces of hospitality.

1.2 THESIS DESIGN

This section starts with the rationale behind the thesis design and its relationship with the research design, the second section introduces the five parts and fifteen chapters of the thesis. The rationale behind the particular design of this thesis lies in its main focus to communicate coherent concepts to the reader and to clearly separate empirical data and the concepts. Consequently, the design does not reflect the chronological order of the research. During the study, the tasks of data collection, literature review, conceptual development and analyses were a congruent interactive process. The particularities of this process are covered in Chapter Eight.

The study aims to fully respect the complexity of the subject matter, without reducing variables beforehand. The philosophical concepts that are used for such a task are powerful; powerful in

the sense that they question "structure itself" and even their own existence, consequently they must be "tamed", otherwise they hinder a clear representation of the research. This taming or controlling is reflected in the structure of thesis. In the first two parts of the study in which the concepts and theory are presented, a temporary concept, that of the cultural laboratory is used to "practice on". The concept of a Cultural Laboratory is borrowed from Löfgren (1999) to "play" with and to present the argument. In the third part the practice of Home exchange becomes the "Cultural Laboratory" and analysed through the concepts which are presented in Part 1 and 2. In Chapter 6, the art project "Hotel Transvaal" is also analysed as a "Cultural Laboratory". The original conceptualisation of a Cultural Laboratory by Löfgren (1999) during the research process then becomes lost. Figure 1.1 The Role of the Cultural Laboratory shows the assignment of the Cultural Laboratory. The Cultural Laboratory is in the middle, together with Home Exchange and Hotel Transvaal which become Cultural Laboratories ready to be analysed. The concepts surrounding the cultural laboratory are presented with the help of and through the Cultural Laboratory.

The broad areas such as Philosophy and Management where the concepts related to are on the sides of the model. This model reappears throughout the thesis and the details will be filled accordingly. As a reminder during the actual research process the concepts became apparent in the context of Home Exchange and the assessment of Hotel Transvaal.
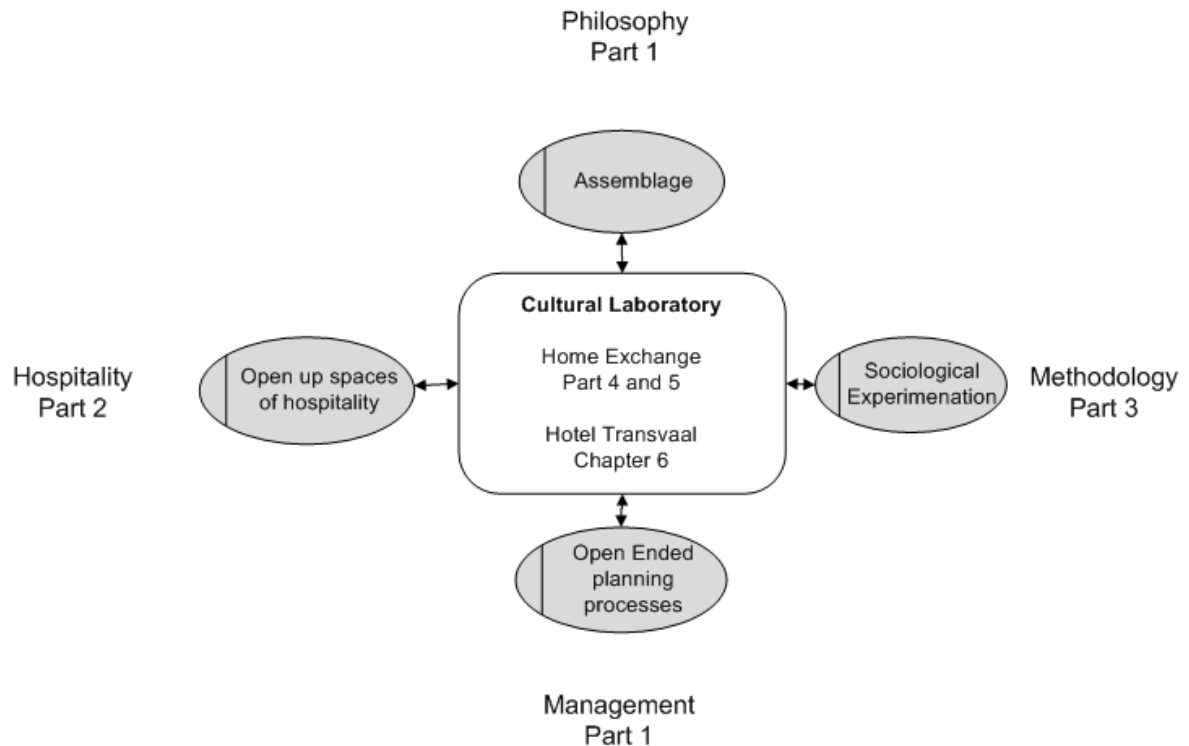
Figure 1.1 Conceptual mapping highlighting the role of the Cultural Laboratory in the research design

This thesis is divided into five related parts which all have objectives and contain several chapters; the following section introduces these parts. Moreover the parts have names which indicate their role and place within the research.

Part One, Preparing the Land - Deconstructing Space and Open Ended Planning Processes, introduces a post-structural thinking process. The post-structural thinking process may be difficult to grasp for the inexperienced, however, it is necessary in order to understand the thesis. The objectives for Part 1 are "To explore a post-structural understanding of space and to explore the nature of open ended planning processes in urban planning". Urban planners have already started thinking in terms of open ended planning processes, looking at their philosophical foundations is relevant since city spaces could share similar dynamics to hospitality spaces. Part One acknowledges the complex stance of the study, questions the dichotomy between host and guest, between local and tourist, between 'on vacation' and at home, where these dichotomies are employed by the hospitality industry, hospitality students and policy makers in making strategies within hospitality/tourism settings. The metaphor of preparing the land is used to indicate that something is going to happen, but the land needs to be prepared first; in this thesis, the same

process applies. First, the reader needs to be introduced into the concept of an assemblage. With the help of the Deleuzian concept of 'assemblage', space becomes understood as something dynamic.

Thinking through the concept of an 'assemblage', enables thinking about vital forces, organisation of hospitality space, evoked affects and becomings. The first part of the thesis focuses on a post-structural understanding of space. This understanding serves as a theoretical lens for this thesis. This theoretical framework should by no means be understood as a coherent theory, but rather as ontology, a post-structural manner of thinking away from predefined structures and futures. The first part has two chapters; Chapter Two introduces a post-structural understanding and argues for open-ended planning processes and Chapter Three reviews literature in this understanding on city space; city space is reviewed since literature on open-ended planning processes in hospitality contexts are rare.

Part Two: Planting the Crops, Spaces of Hospitality, turns to hospitality and focuses on an understanding of the dynamics in spaces of hospitality. The objective of this part is to develop an understanding of the dynamics of space of hospitality through processes of commercialisation and the work of artists. The metaphor of planting crops is used to indicate to the reader that the land is being worked on, in other words, gets a focus.

Chapter Four introduces understandings of hospitality and introduces the discussion in relation to the potential disruptive nature of hospitality. Chapter Five explores how this disruptive nature relates to controlling practices in spaces of hospitality and Chapter Six examines how this disruptive nature served as an inspiration for artists. Chapter Six, Hotel Transvaal as a Cultural Laboratory, presents a case study in which aspects of the Cultural Laboratory and opening of hospitality space become apparent. Parts One and Two together provide a starting point for the empirical research.

The third part, Picking the Fruits, concentrates on the inquiry process and has the following objective: Define a methodology which is able to access the particularities of a Cultural Laboratory and is able to determine how the concept of crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009) can help to grasp the dynamics of spaces of hospitality and focuses on the research design and the inquiry process of the empirical study into the nature of home exchange experiences. The metaphor of picking the fruits is chosen to refer to the process of data gathering. Part Three has only one

pivotal chapter, this is Chapter Seven, Sociological Experimentation in a Hospitality Context. Pivotal since it translates the former two parts into a coherent research methodology. This chapter focuses, just as the previous parts, on the Cultural Laboratory and therefore the Sociological Experimentation can be used to evaluate other spaces of hospitality.

The inquiry process is informed by design criteria which evolved from Part One and Part Two. Underlying the inquiry process is an emergent research design (Lincoln & Guba, 1994, p.227), whereby data collection and data analyses are simultaneous and ongoing activities that allow for important understandings to be discovered along the way and then pursued in additional data collection efforts. Moreover research cannot be tightly prescribed, and all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data (Creswell, 2007, p.39). The inquiry process adopts a critical stance. The principles of crystallisation defined by Ellingson (2009) are used to validate the data. Ellingson suggests including two or more 'genres' of analysing and representation to allow 'thick descriptions' and 'complex interpretations'. For Ellingson (2009), a research genre is a loose set of criteria for analysis and representation of data. This research includes three 'genres', which are presented in the fourth part. These 'genres' include the evocative, the performativity of space and the process of becoming. The genres are informed and inspired by the concept of a post-structural assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The concept of an assemblage in this study should not be regarded as an applied positivistic framework but rather as a concept which enables 'thinking beyond structure'.
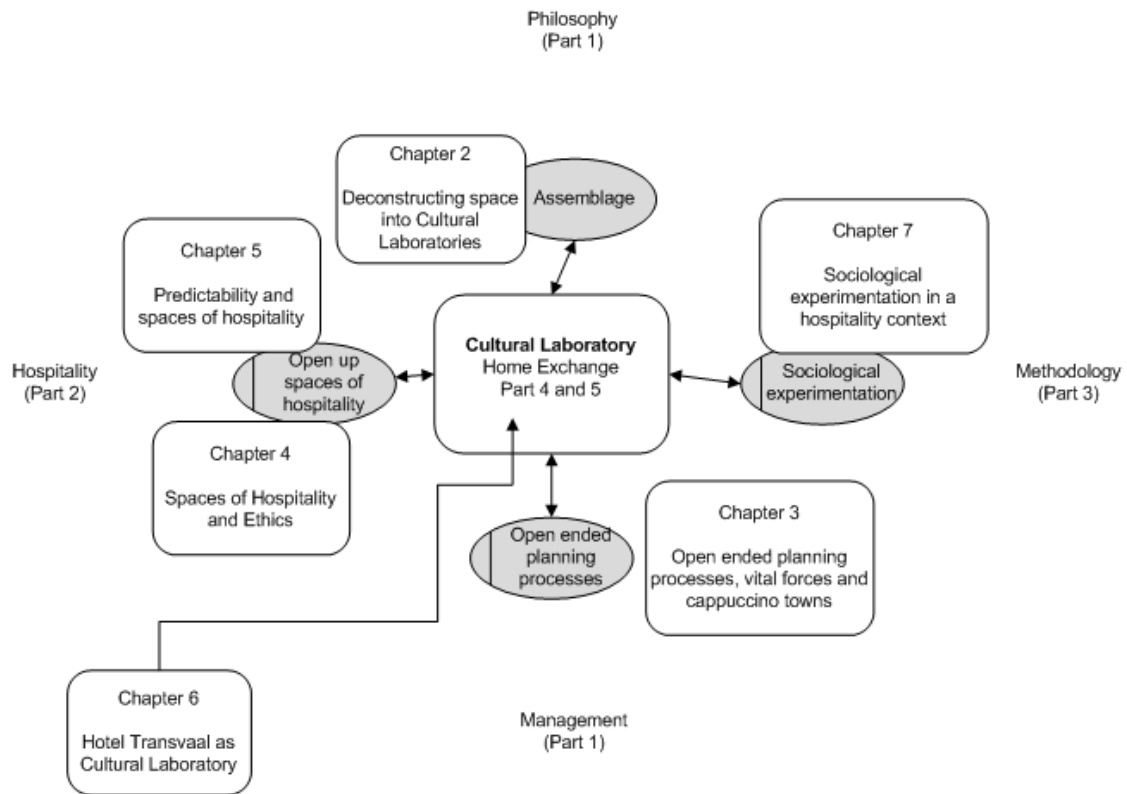
Figure 1.2 Conceptual mapping showing how the different parts and chapters fit in the research design

The fourth part, Cooking and Serving can be seen as the start of the empirical research and includes, data collection procedures, analyses the home exchange and presents the findings through three different 'genres'. These genres include the evocative dimension which focuses on feelings, the organisation of space dimension which focuses on the performativities of the assemblage and relates to the (temporary) structural aspects of the assemblage and the dimension of becomings which focuses on the potentialities and nature of becoming.

This part is divided into five chapters. The objective is: To analyse and represent the nature of the home exchange experiences. The metaphor of cooking, serving and explaining the dish refers to three practices, cooking, serving and explaining the meals to the guest. In the research this can be translated into data analyses, representation of data and data collection procedures.

Chapter Eight, Footsteps in the Sand, presents the data collection procedures, ethical aspects and personal reflection. This chapter gives an insight into the research process and rationale for this

process and reflects on the emergent research design. Chapter Nine introduces the practice of home exchanges, presents background information and introduces the research sites.

Chapters, Ten, Eleven and Twelve are representations of the findings of the ethnographic research. These findings are based on the principle of crystallisation, which provides another way of achieving depth, through the compilation not only of many details but also of different forms of representing, organising, and analysing those details (Ellingson, 2009, p.10). Each genre is presented in a separate chapter and all three genres have different research questions. Chapter Ten represents the evocative dimension through a series of autoethnographic stories. Chapter eleven focuses on the organisation of space in a home exchange setting, how the parts are connected and elaborate on the nature of the connection. Moreover it shows what home exchange practice does. Chapter Twelve focuses on what home exchange assemblages do, which processes underlie creative becomings, and how these lead to new connections and sensations. Chapter Thirteen presents the crystallisation process.

The fifth part, presenting the Bill, presents the discussion and conclusions of the research. The objective of the discussion chapter is to relate the findings back and to contribute to the debates about "opening up spaces of hospitality to difference" which is presented in chapter Four and the open ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality which is presented in Chapter Two. The metaphor presenting the bill refers to finalising the research. Chapter Fourteen presents a discussion, whereby findings are related to ongoing discussions and where I present design considerations. Chapter Fifteen is the conclusion of the research. Part six accounts for the three appendices.

The thesis is written in the first-person singular form, which is in line with the advocative and participatory worldview underlying the thesis. This worldview acknowledges an emergent growing awareness of researcher complicity in design and control of politics, process, and outcomes (Lincoln & Guba, 1994). Moreover, the first person singular underlines the fact that knowledge is socially constructed (Fals Borda, 2001).

1.3 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this research is to analyse the nature of the home exchange experience in order to contribute to the discussions of open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality and opening up spaces of hospitality. This results in the following aims and objectives:

1. To review literature explaining the dynamics of hospitality space.
2. To explore the dynamics of hospitality space.
3. To consider the most appropriate method to employ in order to explore the dynamics of spaces of hospitality.
4. To outline and elaborate the practical implications of the findings.

1.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter, introduced the background of the study, introduced two discussions regarding opening up spaces of hospitality and open planning processes within spaces of hospitality, outlined the structure of the study and presented the research aim and objectives.

PART 1: PREPARING THE LAND - DECONSTRUCTING SPACE AND OPEN ENDED PLANNING PROCESSES

This part explores a post-structural understanding of space and explores the nature of open ended planning processes in urban planning and covers two chapters:

Chapter 2 deconstructs space into the cultural laboratory, introduces Deleuzian thinking and the concept of 'vital forces' and 'assemblage' to understand dynamics, movement and structure.

Chapter 3 aims at understanding vital forces in an urban context together with open-ended planning processes. Studies in vital forces in a hospitality context are rare, although are available in an account of urban planning studies, discussed in this chapter.
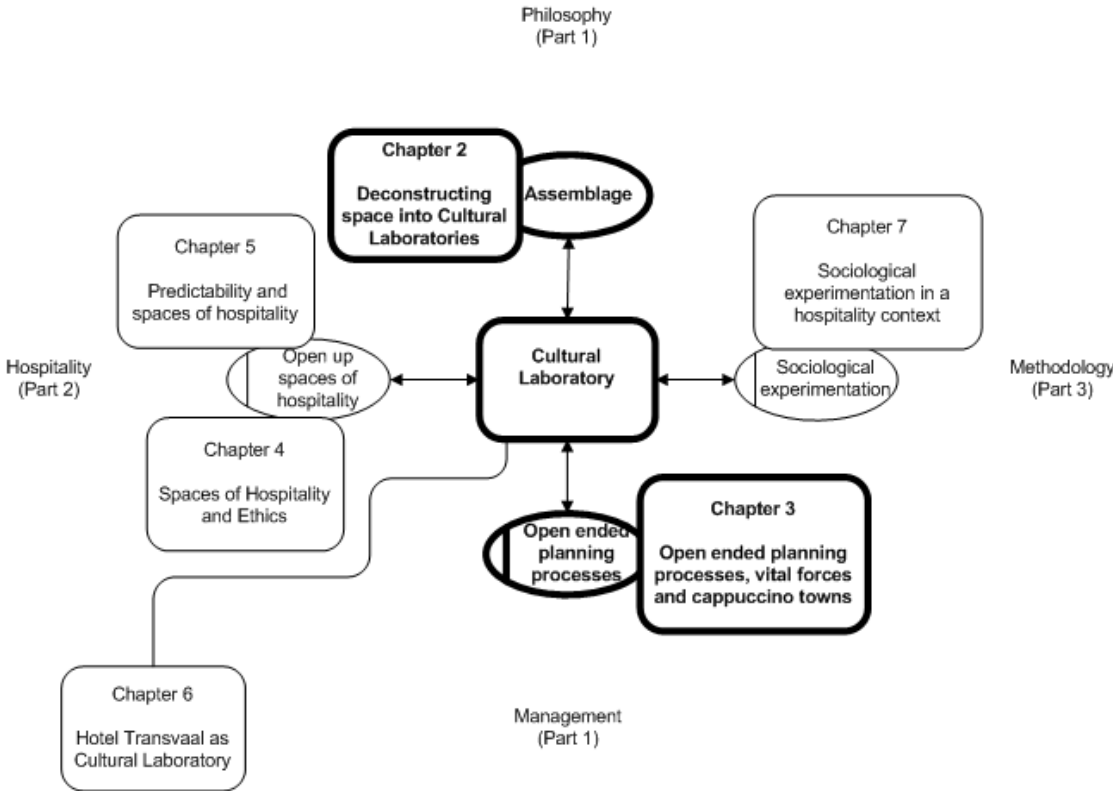
Figure 2.0 Conceptual mapping showing how part 2 fits in the research design

CHAPTER 2 DECONSTRUCTING SPACE INTO CULTURAL LABORATORIES

The goal of this chapter is to conceptualise and search for an ontological understanding of space. The work of Deleuze and Guattari, and the work of Simmel form the basis for the analyses of spaces.

The contrast is discussed between structural and vital approaches towards vacationing, in addition to introducing the vital theorists Deleuze, Guattari and Simmel. This work uses the metaphor of a 'cultural laboratory' to conceptualise 'the space in which vacations happen'. In his book *Sociology beyond societies*, Urry (2000b) argues that appropriate metaphors should be developed with a focus on movement, mobility and contingent ordering rather than on stasis, structure and social order. I propose the 'cultural laboratory' as such a metaphor. The latter term is used instead of tourism to move away from the economic connotations and discussions surrounding tourism. This cultural laboratory, defined by Löfgren, refers to vacationing as "... a cultural laboratory where people have been able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mind-travelling" (1999, p.7). The cultural laboratory does not have a pre-given outcome, but as Löfgren states, "Reciprocal knowledge between tourists and locals might be created, stereotyped categories might be reinforced, or challenged, and social networks might be unmade, remade, inverted or transformed" (Löfgren, 1999, p.8). Here the notion of a cultural laboratory is used and thereby reconceptualises the concept, distinct from the meaning attributed by Löfgren, to explore the vacationing space. This work uses the concept of a cultural laboratory as a metaphor, and this cultural laboratory becomes conceptualised as a Deleuzian "assemblage".

Work on the 'body' has been neglected to a large extent in vacationing theory. This chapter starts with a critique on structural object-subject thinking and acknowledgement of the bodily interactions. Feminist authors such as Veijola and Jokinen (1997), and Wearing and Wearing (1996) acknowledge the body and lived experience. The writing of Wearing and Wearing (1996) is elaborated on the subject of the 'body', in their article - Refocusing the tourist experience: the flâneur and the chorister (1996). This clears the ground for discussing the role of the body and vitalism. In the article Wearing and Wearing distinguish two dimensions towards the cultural laboratory: the first, namely, the tourist as a flâneur and the 'tourist gaze' image; and the second, a focus on interpersonal interactions and relationships. These authors firmly distance themselves

away from a structural tourism dimension, which in their eyes is a masculine point of view, towards a more vital dimension. A structural tourism understanding focuses on the mechanical connections between tourist and tourist destination, and objectifies both tourist and destination. After a discussion of the work of these (tourism) authors and acknowledging their dimensions, the focus turns towards the work of Lash (2005) and Pløger (2006) who both introduce the work of Deleuze and Guattari, as well as the work of Simmel in a similar vein. Both Lash and Pløger introduce the ideas of vitalism, an approach opposing structural mechanical approaches. The key, relevant ideas and concepts of Simmel are introduced in the third part of this chapter, and the work of Deleuze and Guattari is introduced in the fourth part respectively.

This chapter distances itself from tourism as a performance. The performance metaphor does not give insight into the working of a cultural laboratory. Although it describes the common and repetitive interactions, it neglects unpredictable and unexpected happenings. In the edited book *Performing tourist places* (Baerenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004), the various authors in the introduction argue that tourist places should not be seen as necessarily involving strange, remote or exotic places. Instead, following de Bolton (2002), they argue that tourism is not so much about going places as it is about particular modes of relating to the world in contemporary cultures. Tourism is a way of being in the world, encountering, looking at it and making sense. It incorporates mindsets and performances that transform places of the humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic (Baerenholdt et al., 2004, p.2). Tourism is about, "… how people go about making places as part of our everyday lives by tourist performances. Hence, it treats tourism as a way of encountering and sensing the world, and not as a specialised activity designated to, and appropriate for, very particular places" (Baerenholdt et al., 2004, p.4).

2.1 OBJECT AND SUBJECT APPROACHES IN TOURISM

For the cultural laboratory to work, the space in which it functions needs to be defined. A clear distinction between the objects and subjects, which often characterises space theories, needs a refocus. Wearing and Wearing challenge the object-subject approach. As a representative of a typical male approach, the work of Castells is introduced to serve as an example. Wearing and Wearing (1996) introduce an important understanding regarding the cultural laboratory, namely, 'embodiment'. Veijola and Jokinen (1994) indicate, "It has often been forgotten, that tourists moving from place to place comprise of lumpy, fragile, aged, gendered, racialised bodies". John Urry, a tourism-space author and author of the influential book - The tourist gaze (1990), states that "such

bodies encounter other bodies, objects and the physical world multi-sensuously" (2001, p.3). Wearing and Wearing seek to incorporate gender into the fundamental conceptualisation of the tourist and the tourist destination. I suggest, "Such a feminised conceptualisation adds a second dimension to the one dimensional perspective which predominates in current sociological analyses of the tourist phenomenon" (1996, p.229). The first dimension which Wearing and Wearing refer to and critique is the male bias they observe in the conceptualisation of the tourist as flâneur and the tourist destination as 'image' for the tourist gaze (1996, p.230). However they ignore the existence of flâneuses. According to Wearing and Wearing, this difference is almost considered a natural difference. In 'male theories' according to Wearing and Wearing, the tourist destination represents the object and the subject is represented by the tourist. Following the feminist geographer Massey (1994), Wearing and Wearing (1996) confront a gendered nature of modes of theorising and the concepts with which we are involved. They argue for a conceptualisation of space "which incorporates the dynamic social relations of the place and the multiplicity of experiences which imbue it with meaning for the people who interact within it" (1996, p.229).

An example of this first dimension is in the work of Manuel Castells. Castells (1996), however, does not directly write about tourism; his conceptualisation of society into a 'network society' is illustrated in the first dimension. Castells (1996) discusses the nature of production, experience, power and symbolic communication. According to Castells production is the action of humankind on matter to appropriate and transform it based on a variety of socially determined goals. Further Castells refers to experience as the action of human subjects in relationship to their social and natural environment, which is determined by the interaction of their biological and cultural identities. Castells explains power to be a relationship between human subjects which imposes the will of some subjects upon others by potential or actual use of physical or symbolic violence. Correspondingly, Castells also argues that symbolic communication between humans crystallises over history in specific territories and results in the generation of cultures and collective identities (p.15). The flâneur is represented by the consumer and the tourist destination is represented by the production. Power and identities are dominant themes. The lived experience is less important in Castells' view. Within the cultural laboratory, this lived experience is important. Within the interactions however, I acknowledge that power and identity do play a role.

Wearing and Wearing propose a second dimension, which allows them a focus on interpersonal interactions and relationships (1996, p.229). They suggest that the focal point of the second dimension draws on "… feminist studies, which correspondingly drew on concepts from

'interactionist' and post-structural feminist theories". According to Wearing and Wearing, feminist theories have demonstrated this focus on interpersonal interactions and relationships as an important factor for diverse groups of women in their perceptions and experiences of leisure" (1996, p.230). Wearing and Wearing (1996) posit tourism as individual experience and interaction in a space, apart from that of the everyday life of the tourist. In reaction towards the first dimension, Wearing and Wearing (1996) propose the following transformations of terms: "A concept of the tourist destination as 'chora', or interactive space is offered. The tourist then becomes a creative, interacting 'choraster' who takes home an experience which impacts on the self in some way" (p.229-230). The second dimension critiques the first dimension, in respect of the first dimension's difference between object and subject. Wearing and Wearing refer and critique Rojek's works of escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel (1993), which they consider as a product of the first dimension. However the concept of the chora can be critiqued for its acknowledgement for a strict dichotomy between the destination and the 'home', it ignores that the destination might be home; moreover the concept involves a theatrical performative nature.

Urry, acknowledges the embodied experience when he writes, "Bodies navigate backwards and forwards between directly sensing the external world as they move bodily in and through it (or lie inertly waiting to be bronzed), and discursively mediated 'sensescapes' that signify social taste and distinction, ideology and meaning" (2001, p.1). However, Urry maintains a distinction between the subject and object. Tourism is not an escape from the workaday world as suggested by Rojek (1993), but rather "an escape to a social space which allows for learning and growing" (1997, p.130). Wearing and Wearing, critique Urry's and MacCannell's work as well, in respect to the difference between object and subject. Referring to the ideas expressed in The Tourist Gaze (Urry, 1990) and the book 'The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class' (MacCannell, 1976), Wearing and Wearing indicate, "Nor is it 'sightseeing' or the passing gaze at objects either authentic or inauthentic" (Wearing and Wearing, 1996, p.131). The second dimension as proposed by Wearing and Wearing has been initiated, followed and reworked by other theorists such as Jokinen and Veijola, who stress the importance of embodiment (1994, 1997).

Concluding the work of Wearing and Wearing, their focus is on the social interaction that occurs within the tourist space or destination. Similar to leisure, Wearing and Wearing (1996) argue that tourism needs to go beyond ideas concerning time (away from home) and activities that are available at the tourist destination to the individual subjective experience, in such a manner that

the tourist her/himself plays a role in the active construction of his/her own experience (p.230). As we have seen from the work of Wearing and Wearing (1996), Baerenholdt et al. (2004) and Urry (2001), a second dimension in vacationing towards embodiment, experience and interaction unfolds in tourism studies. I, however, dispute whether including this second dimension is adequate to understand contemporary practices in the 'cultural laboratory'. In the second dimension, although less rigid than the first dimension, there is still a mechanical relationship between object and subject.

Author (s)	Subject	Object	Relation between object and subject
Wearing and Wearing (1996)	Chora	Choraster	As individual experience and interaction
Castells (1998)	Human subjects	The destination (Production)	Experience
Urry (2001)	Tourists (Bodies)	Sensescapes	Navigate backwards and forwards
Baerenholdt et al. (2004)	Tourist	Places of the humdrum and ordinary	Transforming places of the humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic

Table 2.1: Relationship between object and subject and movement of selected authors

The distinction, which selected authors draw between object and subject, is shown in table 1.1, leading to a relationship between object, subject and movement. As shown in this chapter, these distinctions between object and subject which underlie dominant contemporary tourism theories are questioned by various authors (Wearing and Wearing, 1996; Urry, 2001). This distinction is unhelpful for researching a cultural laboratory since within one personal transformation which resist dichotomies could be experienced. These transformations include shifting from tourist to friend, shifting from host to guest, and trying out lifestyles. Robert Maitland acknowledges these 'blurrifications'. Referring to strong mobility forces, he points out the distinction between the tourist and destination, which becomes unclear (Maitland, 2007). Maitland makes the point that differentiating between hosts and visitors is unhelpful. The segments of visitors, residents and migrants have common demands driving urban development and can be regarded, according to Maitland, as a 'cosmopolitan consuming class' (2007). Moreover, the potentialities of interactions at a local level are neglected.

In the following chapter the distinction between object and subject, between traveller and destination which is so true for contemporary tourism studies is traded for the term assemblage. Assemblage is part of the ontological stance 'vitalism'. By adopting the concept of an assemblage as defined by Deleuze and Guattari, a cultural laboratory includes both subject and object. This immersion will become clear during the next part.

2.2 A FOCUS ON VITAL APPROACHES

In this section I turn to a vitalistic approach to address the distinction between object and subject. Object and subject approaches are closely related to structure. I argue that in order to find something 'new', the cultural laboratory does not produce or reproduce structure but is rather a testing entity. A testing entity always tends to try new combinations, not only combinations of content in a particular structure but also new combinations of structures. The cultural laboratory, in this process of testing, also changes from within. The reason to introduce vital approaches is because a vitalistic approach can help understand the forces behind these changes. These forces in vitalism can be referred to as vital forces. The underlying principle behind vital forces is that the end is never in sight, and change, rather than structure, is a starting point. Vital forces are always in a state of changing and can be argued to have potential to lead to multiple 'ends'. The work of Pløger (2006) and Lash (2005) prove relevant in building the arguments to abandon the mechanical structural approaches; and both argue in favour of vitalistic approaches. Although writing about different subjects, Pløger (2006) about urban regeneration in Denmark, and Lash (2005) about modern marketing, their arguments shift thinking to vitalism and more particularly to the works of Deleuze and Guattari, and Simmel. Pløger, author of the article *In search of the Urban Vitalis* (2006), draws on the work of Simmel and Deleuze. It discusses the foundation of vitalism in philosophy and he argues that through it, we are able to conceptualise important forces of city life. Pløger's and Lash's main motivations to turn to vitalism are twofold; they both reject the notions of determination of the mechanical approaches and argue for an approach which stresses 'becomings' rather than 'structures'. According to Lash (2005), vitalist or neo-vitalist themes are particularly useful in the analysis of life itself (p.384).

Vitalism can be understood in relationship to mechanistic and structural explanations of phenomena. According to Venn (2006), professor in cultural theory and author of the book - *The postcolonial challenge: towards alternative futures, structure in the natural and social sciences*

reinforces causal determination limited by a logic of stability and linear causality (p.107). According to Bechtel & Richardson (1992), vitalism is best understood in the context of the emergence of modern science during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and as a contrast to a mechanistic view. (p.1). Lash (2005) explains the indeterminate nature of self-organisation, characteristic to vitalism as the primary distinction between vitalism and mechanism, where causation is external and the paths, movement and configuration of beings is determined (p.323). Venn (2006) argues that approaches based on notions of determination, have failed to account adequately for change, resistance, agency and the eruption of the unexpected or unpredictable. Venn further explains that these notions of determination fail to co-relate phenomena across different fields such as across the psychic and social, affective and cognitive and between matter and form (p.107). The question to be answered then is how vitalism and its emergence can be understood without making a link to mechanical structural approaches. According to Lash (2006), the currency of vitalism has re-emerged in the context of changes in the sciences, together with the rise of ideas of uncertainty and complexity, and the rise of the global information society. Lash argues that the notion of life is favoured by an idea of becoming rather than being, movement rather than stasis, action rather than structure, and the idea of flow and flux.

Pløger (2006) argues that vitalism is a will which gives rise to potential affects and effects that must be manifested in a social world. Pløger points out that vitalist forces are not 'ahistorical'; they are social and societal due to the nature of humans to be always 'in life' which is a function of pasts and presents. These vitalist forces are active and relational making them potentials in fluxes and flows (p.389). Thrift (2004) indicates that vitalism is "non-discursive and non-representational life energy". Thrift argues that it is essential to realise that nothing can be 'fixed' in the course of life. He argues that vital forces are a potential for praxis, a possible source of cognition and reflexivity, and react to and are intertwined with the social rather than just 'biology' (p.84-85).

Other contemporary authors who focus on vitalism are Kember and Lury (2005) and Greco (2005). New Vitalism is a term which is also used in recent social and cultural theory, to clearly indicate a shifting away from a biological approach towards process thinking in the social and cultural sphere. Drawing philosophical inspiration from thinkers like Bergson, Whitehead, and Deleuze, New Vitalism's main theme and proposition is the notion of process, process focuses on events: it privileges process over substance and becoming over being (Fraser, Kember & Lury, 2005; Olma & Koukouzelis, 2007).

As a critique to vitalist approaches, Bechtel and Richardson argue, "Vitalism is often viewed as unfalsifiable, and therefore a pernicious metaphysical doctrine" (1998, p.1). Hempel (1965) indicates that the burden with vitalism is not that it posits entities which cannot be observed, but that such explanations "... render all statements about entelechies, understood as a vital force that directs an organism toward self-fulfilment are hard accessible to empirical test and thus devoid of empirical meaning because no methods of test, however indirect, are provided" (p.257). Hempel is correct when a strong positivist stance is taken. A grounded theory towards vital forces however allows for empirical testing, as this study shows. The above comment by Hempel indicates that he believes that 'truth' is somewhere out there, and that it just needs to be captured. According to Pløger (2006), in the philosophy of vitalism reality is approved of only in the plural rather than the singular. Through Bruno Latour, Pløger points out that social space is a multiplicity of 'realities' made of flows, people and things (quoted in Pløger, 2006). Pløger argues that reality, as well as the self and subjectivity, can never be a given but is rather shaped and formed by a continuous, generative constitution of a being, by virtue of 'being-in-the-world' and being thrown into life and lived spaces (Pløger, 2006, p.385). Amin and Thrift confirm this as they state, "If life is 'a being together of existences', vitalism is potentials of becoming existences through a will 'to something' intensively stimulated in social configurations, relations, encounters, interactions, and situations" (Amin & Thrift, 2002, p.28).

Concluding this part, I stress within vitalism or neo-vitalism the emphasis on becoming. Through vitalist philosophy the determinist relationship between subject and object is refocused on a philosophy of becoming, with life itself as the starting point, where unexpected and unpredictable outcomes from the cultural laboratory are not considered deviant, but instead potentials for new becomings. Two philosophers who adopted vitalist forces in their work are Simmel and Deleuze, where both philosophers put life as central. In the next sections of chapter one, their work is introduced.

Simmel, Vitalism and the becoming of Vitalis

In the following section, the work and life of Simmel is covered and the concept of vitalistic forces in relation to the work of Pløger (2006). The relevance of this turning to the work of Simmel is that Simmel's understanding of life forces and, in particular, urban life forces, may illuminate the forces active in a cultural laboratory. Pløger (2006) reformulates Simmel's urban forces towards the twenty-first century into the Urban Vitalis.

Simmel, a scholar, studied at the University of Berlin and received his doctorate in 1881. In 1885, he became an unpaid lecturer at the University of Berlin, teaching courses on logic and the history of philosophy, ethics, social psychology, and sociology. Simmel was a productive author, he wrote more than 200 articles. Simmel also wrote around 20 books in the fields of philosophy, ethics, sociology and cultural criticism. Pyyhtinen (2009) indicates that "Simmel does not consider society to be a defining characteristic of the social but society for him is rather an outcome of the interactions among individuals and groups, and society is something which has to be produced and connected rather than be treated like it is already there" (p.188). Pløger (2006) refers to an ever emergent will-to-life and more-life as vitalism. Simmel's idea of vitalism sees this social reality as a matter of the subject striving for "…more-life and more-than life" (Hansen, 1991, p.58; quoted in Pløger). Pløger (2006) states that Simmel was a theorist who explicitly used the philosophy of vitalism as a source for understanding the constitutive forces of the urban way of living, its modalities, social forms, and processes (p.383). According to Pløger (2006), vitalism to Simmel means, furthermore, that human beings are recognised as self transcendent entities, whose lives—attitudes, values, ways of acting and behaving and so on—may change through their 'being-openness' toward life but also always influenced by the ongoing striving for being part of relational positions or intersubjectivities.

Pløger (2006) uses the Simmelian concepts of proximity and masses to define specific urban vitalistic forces for the twenty first century. By differentiating these forces, Pløger entails resistance to being "a mass," to being unnoticed, being no one, as well as working toward being "a life," and the striving for individuality. These forces might be relevant in the concept of a cultural laboratory as well as for being a constructive force as indicated in table 2.2 where Pløger's urban vitalistic forces based on the concepts proximity and masses of Simmel (2006) are put in a scheme.

Resistance to	Being a mass
	Being unnoticed
	Being no one
Working towards	"A life"
Striving for	Individuality

Table 2.2 Pløger's translation of Simmel's urban forces into Urban Vitalis

He argues that life is made 'real' not only by structures but by the multiple ways of being-in-the-world and ways of thinking shaped by experiences of flows of connectivity, proximity, complexity, strangeness, and the changing presences in life (p.61). Lash (2005) refers to the distinction between form and content within Simmel's philosophy. In this distinction, according to Simmel, being i.e. forming (Formung), is always objectification (Objektivierung). Forms, whether natural or social, are objectified. They are constituted through a process of objectification. The raw material from which they are constituted is life. Simmel's formalism can be seen as an approach that takes style seriously: the style of living, the style of objects, and the poetics of representing the modern (Lash, 2005). Following this, the importance Simmel attributes towards form and life are essential. Pyyhtinen (2009) stresses Simmel's event thinking in the essay Der Fragmentcharakter des Lebens, where Simmel proposes that life could be seen as 'an event, a continuing and constantly shifting play of forces'. Pyyhtinen (2009) claims that the shift from substantial reality to event could be understood as an instance of 'enlivening' of thought, and its object Simmel portrays in his mature work. Pyyhtinen interprets Simmel's understanding of social forms as 'instantiations of process' and ultimately of life, which stands as a sign of 'radical becoming' (p.40).

The above authors find evidence of vitalism (or process thinking) in the work of Simmel. They all, however, refer in different wording to life forces and social forms of interaction. The cultural laboratory can be considered a social form of interaction, where it could very well be a play form of society, together with other forms - the flirt, adventure and sociability. A cultural laboratory could very much resemble the Simmel salon.

The following quote (which needs to seen in the context of the beginning of the twentieth century) connects the blasé person with the salon.

Simmel's blasé person incorporates notions of the environmental causes of mental disease. The blasé individual exhibits a special kind of neurosis, brought on by the intensity and 'motley disorder of metropolitan communication', the 'jostling crowdedness' of city streets, with their 'shifts and contradictions in events', 'rapid telescoping of changing images . . . [and] unexpectedness of violent stimuli', The cure for this condition was what Simmel called 'sociability', or 'the play form of association', as encountered not in the public spaces of the city but in the semi-public/ semiprivate space of the salon, offered the blasé person the greatest therapeutic value (Simmel, 1896, p.78).

I conclude this part on Simmel and vitalism by referring to an important argument by Simmel, (1997 [1911]) where it is emphasised that life and forms of interaction create society. Frisby points out that people interact, exhibit emotions between one another, play or have thousands of different relations with one another which are momentary or lasting, conscious or unconscious, and this continually binds us together. These interactions or 'threads' are revived or replaced by others or are woven together between them, between atoms of society "accessible only to psychological microscopy, which support the entire tenacity and elasticity, the entire variety and uniformity of this so evident and yet so puzzling life of society" (p.109).

This section has accounted for Simmelian ideas of vitalism and urban forces. Pyyhtinen (2009) refers to Simmel, who considers society to be a product of its multiple interactions and something which is produced rather than 'being' there. Pløger, who refers to a will to life, refers to constitutive forces which arise out of proximity and mass, interactions and reinforced impressions – in other words resistance to being a mass, striving for individuality and the unavoidable proximity between people resulting in emergent vitalist forces. Lash refers to Simmelian vitalism as one which can be explained by a continual objectification of forms arising out of 'life'. Simmel points to sociability, a play form of association as a cure to the blasé attitude. Frisby also points to the continual binding together of society through its connections. All these authors suggest a focus on society and interactions. Vitalist forces arise out of and lead to the emergent in society, and can help understand the workings of a cultural laboratory. The cultural laboratory in

the process of 'testing', and due to its experimental nature, is suggested to be guided by vitalist forces leading to a continual changing of shape.

Deleuzian-Guattarian Thinking

In this section the ideas and concepts of the philosophers Deleuze and Guattari are introduced, since their concepts could help to understand and describe the processes which make up a cultural laboratory. Malins (2004) indicates, "The concepts of Deleuze and Guattari can be seen as a philosophical 'tool box' to open up space to new becomings and to enable thought to move away from essences and internal truths and toward multiplicities, affects and machinic potentials" (p.89). Deleuze refers to his concepts as a collection of machinic concepts that can be plugged into other machines or concepts and made to work. In the following section different authors are presented who worked and reworked Deleuzian Guattarian concepts. Deleuze and Guattari encourage others to develop new concepts in order to understand contemporary life. Contemporary life can be described with yesterday's concepts. For any author writing about "the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari" this would mean walking a troubled path, since Deleuze and Guattari object to fixed 'stuff', in this case, the use of language. The words 'the ideas' used in my first sentence already form fixed stuff and incline towards a coherent set of ideas. Patton (2007) indicates that, "Deleuze always denied that his work amounted to being constrained by a systematic philosophy" and Patton further indicates that Deleuze's sketchy delineation of 'Transcendental Emperism' was perhaps the closest he came to outlining a systematic philosophy (2007, p.ix). . Deleuze and Guattari encourage others to create their own concepts through working with the concepts to grasp contemporary becomings. Moreover they go as far as to encourage authors to create their own interpretation and adaptation of Deleuzian-Guattarian thinking through Deleuzian-Guattarian thinking. An example of a personal interpretation and adaptation is in the work of the cultural geographer Marcus Doel (2000). Doel in his introduction Un-glunking geography: spatial science after Dr. Seuss and Gilles Deleuze uses Dr. Seuss' The cat in the hat to explore Deleuzian concepts in the edited book - Thinking space (2000).

In respect of this dissertation, a limited account of the work from Deleuze and Guattari is dealt with and only the concepts which allow me to speak of 'opening up to new becomings' are discussed. I refer to the glossary for further reading about the concepts of Deleuze. Gilles Deleuze began his career as a philosopher in the 'highly competitive and rigorous' intellectual

environment of Paris in the 1950s (Colebrook, 2002, p.xviii). In the 1970 and 1980s, Deleuze joined forces with the French psychoanalyst Félix Guattari. Together, among other works, they wrote the series Capitalism and Schizophrenia, consisting of Anti-Oedipus (1983) and A Thousand Plateaus (1987). Many of the space and difference related concepts are introduced in this thesis. Deleuze's work is referred to as the formation of a whole new way of thinking and writing, rather than just a series of self-contained arguments (Colebrook, 2002, p.xviii). This new way of thinking becomes clear in the case study Hotel Transvaal in Chapter Six which concludes the first and second part of this thesis covering an understanding of a cultural laboratory. However, the individual Deleuzian concepts which help to understand the cultural laboratory are introduced when they add to the line of argument of the thesis. Since, this second chapter focuses on vitalism and space, the concept of an 'assemblage' is introduced, which is a concept based on vitalist thinking. Lash refers to Deleuze and Guattari as leading contemporary vitalists (2006, p.326). I argue that the concept of the assemblage can help to understand the dynamics of a cultural laboratory. However, attention and care in the use of Deleuzian concepts is required since these are powerful and very disturbing at the same time - disturbing in the sense that they undermine modern (logical) thinking. Colebrook in her introduction into Deleuzian thinking expresses this clearly.

Pløger (2006), Lash (2005, 2006), Amin and Thrift (2002), Thrift (2004), Fraser (2006); and Kemby and Lury (2005) draw upon the work of Deleuze and Guattari regarding vitalism. The link between Deleuze and Guattari's ideas and vitalism, is 'life energies' and are the starting point for Deleuze and Guattari. These "life energies" are related to the "Urban Vitalis (Pløger, 2006) . Deleuzian life energies" have a desire to flow in different directions, producing new possibilities and potentials. Deleuze is often referred to as the philosopher of life. Woodward states that for Deleuze, "forces that resist death" constitute life (2007, p.62). Pløger (2006) indicates that Deleuze refers to vitalism when Deleuze speaks of 'meantimes'. Pløger refers to these meantimes as 'between-moments' and meantimes of flows, encounters, situations, intertwinings, and so on cannot be fixed in definite moments but are always in a state of constitution of new and emerging articulations and actualisations (events, experiences, perspectives)") (p.385). Deleuze (1997) argues that life is always in the middle, something that is always in a state of arriving and departing, in the 'absolute of an immediate consciousness" (Deleuze, 1997; as cited in Pløger, 2006). In appendix 1, I include an article by DeLanda about Deleuzian Ontology.

The next section introduces Deleuze's and Guattari's tool box of concepts to open up space, dividing ('stratifies' in Deleuzian terms) the Deleuzian/Guattarian toolbox for the reader into three different compartments. In these compartments several related concepts are housed. This separation and selection of concepts is my own application of the tool box and is only applicable in the context of cultural laboratories.

2.3 CONCEPTUALISING THE CULTURAL LABORATORY

Through Deleuzian-Guattarian thinking, a conceptualisation of the cultural laboratory can be made. The three different compartments resemble 'steps' in 'the process of becoming'. The steps are not reflective of Deleuzian thinking; however I choose to introduce them anyway for a clearer understanding of conceptualisation of the cultural laboratory. This Gritian cultural laboratory acts as an overarching compartment to the steps. Figure 2.1 represents this Gritian interpretation of the process of becoming. The Gritian model presents three steps: assemblage; process; and becomings grounded in the concept of a machinic assemblage. The intensities and affects are considered to be effects of each step. The focus is not so much on the steps of the model but more on the process between the steps. The idea behind the model is that assemblages refer to a configuration of bodies that enter a process of becoming. During this process affects, intensities and new becomings are produced. In the following sections of this part of the chapter the model and the connected concepts are explained in more detail. Underlying the model is the Deleuzian Guattarian concept of an "assemblage". This concept appeared in A Thousand Plateaus (1987) and is more or less a continuation of the concept "machinic connection", which appeared earlier in Anti-Oedipus (1983). The basic idea which underlies an assemblage is expressed by Malins (2004), who states that all bodies are continually forming connections with other bodies. These bodies may be human and non-human, or political and institutional and these connections form assemblages which allow desire to flow and which have the capacity to transform bodies and produce new social formations (p.89).
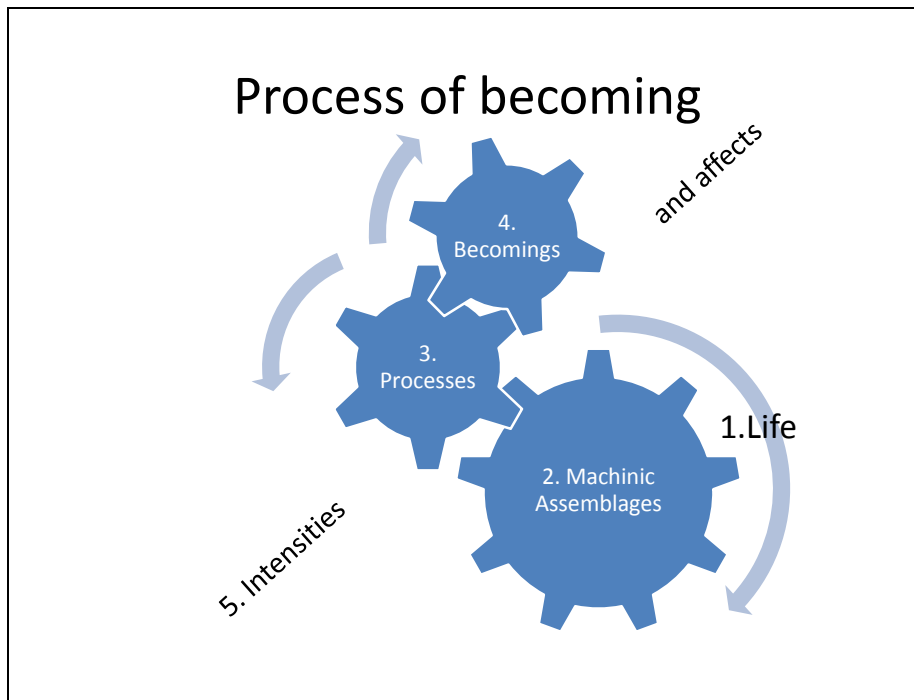
Figure 2.1 Process of becoming

In the following paragraphs, the compartments of the toolbox are accounted for through the explanation of the model. In compartment one, the life energy to keep the process of becoming going is introduced. In compartment two; regarding Deleuzian/Guattarian machinic assemblages, the concepts in the Deleuzian/Guattarian toolbox related to machinic assemblages are discussed. In compartment three, Deleuzian/Guattarian processes, I deal with the processes which influence new becomings and introduces concepts which describe these possible transformations. In compartment four, Deleuzian/Guattarian becomings, concepts which describe the becomings are introduced. In compartment five, I discuss intensities and affects. The concepts are presented to show their potentials to illuminate vital movements, the potentialities of a cultural laboratory. In this chapter it will become clear that by applying machinic thinking, as opposed to mechanical thinking, the cultural laboratory does not have an essence by itself but 'meaning' is created by the connections the cultural laboratory makes.

Compartment 1: Life

According to Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus* (1987), life has no substance or essence. It requires "to be put in relation with its concomitants: a transcendental field, a plane of immanence, a life, and some singularities" (p.6) (for an explanation of the terms please refer to the glossary). Deleuze gets this concept through the Nietzschean will and will-to-life within the

world of flows, connections, and relations as potentialities, making life an "… immediate consciousness and experience" (as cited in Pløger, 2006). According to Deleuze, living is a force of its own, based on a will to 'more life'. These become real or 'virtually real' in moments of particular events, meetings and encounters. In addition to Nietzsche, Deleuze points out the 'necessity of contingency' in life and its role in social relationships (Deleuze, 1985, p.36). According to Deleuze, who refers to the immanence of life and with reference to Nietzsche,

> A life is everywhere, in all the moments a certain living subject passes through and that certain lived objects regulate: immanent life carrying along the events of singularities which do nothing more than actualise themselves in subjects and objects. This indefinite life does not itself have moments, however close together they might be, but only meantimes [des entre-temps], between-moments (1997, p.5).

Pløger, through Deleuze, argues that these meantimes between moments, of flows, encounters, situations and so on, are forms of life that cannot be fixed or tied to specific moments but are composed of ever changing actualisations through new events, experiences and perspectives. Furthermore, life is recognised only in the passing and is eventually bypassed by new becomings of sights, experiences and impressions (as cited in Pløger, 2006, p.385). Deleuze refers to reality and virtualities by stating, "A life contains only virtuals. It is made of virtualities, events, singularities. What we call virtual is not something that lacks reality, but something that enters into a process of actualisation by following the plane that gives it its own reality" (1997, p.5).

Compartment 2: Machinic Assemblages

During a vacation many bodily connections are made, such as the connection between the tongue and ice-cream, between the heat of the road and the soles of the shoes, between ideas about family life and poverty. The vacation as a cultural laboratory provides a multiplicity of connections which can be redefined into a Deleuzian assemblage. This assemblage deals with the issue of structure and chaos. During a vacation this issue is relevant since a vacation has various degrees of organisation, from an all inclusive beach vacation in Cuba to a backpacker holiday, where both forms of vacation involve different encounters; and by assessing them as assemblage the becoming and affects can be mapped. In this compartment I advocate the use of the concept of a machinic assemblage for describing cultural laboratories instead of an assemblage, since machinic assemblage focuses on the nature of the connection. Figure 2.2 shows the concepts

which will be used in this compartment, namely body, potential, and desiring assemblage. The desiring assemblage refers to the notion that an assemblage possibly can be adaptive or resistant towards the desires which are evoked by the connections. As an example, the beach vacation in Cuba could possibly create an interest in Marxism, which can lead to becoming an "anti-globalist".
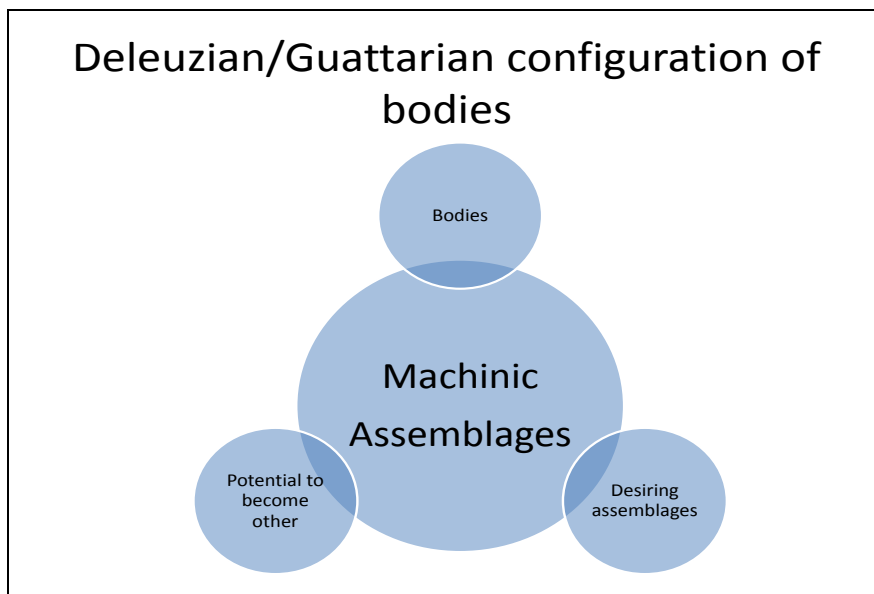
Figure 2.2: Deleuzian/Guattarian configuration of bodies

Marcus and Saka (2006) argue that while the one person indulges and celebrates the unpredictable and contingent in rapidly changing contemporary life, the other hopes for an understanding of the structural principles of order (and disorder) within the play of events and processes. According to Marcus and Saka, these strands are evoked and related to the idea of assemblage, "and are indeed what gives the term power in its multiple borrowings in the work of bringing self-critiqued classic social theory to projects of contemporary research on culture" (p.103). John Philips, in his article Agencement/Assemblage (2006), points to a translation issue regarding 'assemblage'. By translating the French word agencement, which is used by Deleuze and Guattari, into the term assemblage some of the distinct qualities of agencement are lost. For example, agencement implies specific connections with the other concepts. It is, in fact, the arrangement of these connections that gives the concepts their sense (p.108). For Deleuze and Guattari, a philosophical concept never operates in isolation but comes to its sense in connection with other senses in specific, yet creative and often unpredictable ways (Philips, 2006, p.108). According to Philips (2006), agencement designates the priority of neither the state of affairs nor

the statement but of their connection, which implies the production of a sense that exceeds them. On the other hand assemblage refers to a collection of things (p.108). An assemblage is any number of 'things' or 'pieces of things' gathered into a single context. This context can, for example, be a vacation. An assemblage can bring about any number of 'outcomes'—aesthetic, machinic, productive, destructive, consumptive, informatic and so on. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) provide a number of insights. The original text is highlighted below to emphasise the complexity of the concepts and understands that the following text is perhaps confusing. This is due to the writing style of Deleuze and Guattari and their concepts which do not always relate to common sense language. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987),

> "In a book, as in all things, there are lines of articulation or segmentarity, strata and territories; but also lines of flight, movements of deterritorialisation and destratification. Comparative rates of flow on these lines produce phenomena of relative slowness and viscosity, or, on the contrary, of acceleration and rupture. All this, lines and measurable speeds constitutes an assemblage. A book is an assemblage of this kind, and as such is unattributable. It is a multiplicity—but we don't know yet what the multiple entails when it is no longer attributed, that is, after it has been elevated to the status of the substantive. One side of a machinic assemblage faces the strata, which doubtless make it a kind of organism, or signifying totality, or determination attributable to a subject; it also has a side facing a body without organs, which is continually dismantling the organism, causing asignifying particles or pure intensities to pass or circulate, and attributing to itself subjects what it leaves with nothing more than a name as the trace of an intensity..." (p.3-4).

A book, as described above by Deleuze and Guattari, is a jumbling together of discrete parts or pieces that are capable of producing any number of effects, rather than a tightly organised and coherent 'whole' producing one dominant reading. The beauty of the assemblage is that, since it lacks organisation, it can draw into its body any number of disparate elements. The book itself can be an assemblage, but its status as an assemblage does not prevent it from containing assemblages within itself or entering into new assemblages with readers, libraries, bonfires, bookstores, and so on. The article 'Assemblage', by Marcus and Saka (2006), shows how, in recent works of cultural analysis, the concept of assemblage has been put to work to provide a structure-like surrogate to express certain prominent values of a modernist sensibility in the

discourse of description and analysis. Markus and Saka indicate the assemblage is some kind of anti-structural concept, permitting a researcher to speak of emergence, heterogeneity, the decentred and the ephemeral within an otherwise ordered social life (2006, p.101). Venn (2006) argues that the assemblage can be seen as a relay concept, linking the problem of structure with that of change and systems that are far from equilibrium. It focuses on process and on the dynamic character of the inter-relationships between the heterogeneous elements of the phenomenon. Venn continues by explaining that assemblages recognise both structurising and indeterminate effects; that is both flow and turbulence, produced in the interaction of open systems. It points to the development of complexity and multiple determinations. It is sensitive to time in the emergence and mutation of the phenomenon; it thus directs attention to the longue durée (time passed) (Venn, 2006, p.107). The distinction between object and subject is included in the assemblage. The difference between tourist and destination has vanished into the assemblage and become a cultural laboratory. Marcus and Saka (2006) indicate that an assemblage is the source of emergent properties of what Deleuze and Guattari call machinic processes.

In the case of vacationing, the intersection of open systems (the becoming of the assemblage) is between the body and another open system(s) such as another body, ice-cream or museum. The body and ice-cream become the machinic assemblage 'ice-person', as an example, just like the cigarette and the body become 'smoker'. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) state: "A body (human, animal, social, chemical) has no interior truth or meaning; it exists only through its external connections and affects." They further argue, "We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body" (1987, p.257). This assemblage with a focus on the outcomes can be regarded as a machinic assemblage. I follow the ideas from Malins (2004), who explored what happens to the drug-using body when it is rethought as a machinic assemblage. Malins argues that, "… a body should, ultimately, be valued for what it can do (rather than what is essentially 'is'), and that assessment of assemblages should be done based on their ability to enable or block a body's potential to become other" (2004, p.102). Malins stresses the outcome of the assemblage and therefore uses the concept of the machinic assemblage. Here, Malins connects the Deleuzian machinic assemblage with becomings and becoming other, where this becoming other is critical for me. It is critical since, when the vacation is rethought as a cultural laboratory, the outcomes (or becomings), rather than the relationship between subject and object, becomes the focal point. These outcomes include a process of blocking or enabling. In

compartment three, these processes are focused on. In other words, Malins article is relevant since Malins' analyses of the drug-using body can be restated and be rethought of as a body on vacation. The body on vacation is part, and forms many different assemblages. Malins (2004) argues that the body conceived of as a machinic assemblage becomes a body that is multiple, whose function or meaning no longer depends on an interior truth or identity, but on the particular assemblages it forms with other bodies" (p.89). According to Malins (2004), the machinic assemblage is a concept that does not consider the body as a stable, unified, bounded entity. However it gives a basis for a multitude of connections that bodies form with other bodies (human and otherwise). According to Malins, "A body's function or potential or 'meaning' becomes entirely dependent on which other bodies or machines it forms assemblages with" (p.89). Massumi in his introduction to Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) A thousand plateaus states that "The question is not, Is it true? But, Does it work? What new thoughts does it make possible to think? What new emotions does it make possible to feel? What new sensations and perceptions does it open in the body? "(Massumi 1987, p.3).

In the beginning of this chapter, the discussion was on the object and subject. Regarding this discussion, the mainstream view in tourism studies followed the distinction between subject and object; between tourist and destination. However, by accepting the machinic assemblage as the starting point, a relevant question is - where does that leave the subject and the identity of the subject? To answer this question, I refer to the definition of vacationing from Löfgren and ask for attention to be paid to the central role of the subject which Löfgren states as, "Vacationing is a cultural laboratory where people have been able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mind-travelling" (1999, p.7). Note the phrase - 'people experiment with their identity'. For Deleuze and Guattari, the subject is nothing more (and nothing less) than a particular way in which bodies have become organised and stratified in the post-enlightenment social world. By applying Deleuzian thinking and attributing it to the concept of the assemblage, we can only talk of some sort of becomings of and of the affects generated through the assemblage, including the body and its multiplicities. This is a replacement of the object-subject discussion within vacationing, which was started at the beginning of the chapter. In Deleuzian-Guattarian thinking, the object subject dichotomy remerged into the assemblage. This assemblage is the cultural laboratory.

Malins explores, through Deleuzian thinking, what happens to the subject. In Malins' case, when the body becomes a multiplicity by connecting to drugs, the terms 'drug user' and 'addict' become irrelevant. Like Deleuze and Guattari, Malins (2004) does not ask what a drug-using body 'means' or signifies, but rather what affects its assemblages produce and what flows of desire they cut off (its components and affects) (p.85). In the case of a tourist or vacationer, these terms will become irrelevant, and the focus is on what affects its assemblages produce and what flows of desire they cut off. Referring to the object-subject discussion, Deleuze and Guattari describe what happens through language with the 'tourists'. They describe the process of objectification considering the power of language and the problem of signifying. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), "You will be signifier and signified, interpreter and interpreted" (p.159).

Malins (2004) states that within a drug assemblage, the body connects not only to the drug and its texture, smell, taste, appearance and speed, but also to other bodies and machines – "people, substances, knowledges, institutions – any of which may redirect or block its flows of desire". Malins gives the idea of a cigarette assemblage that "connects up the lungs with tar and the blood stream with nicotine: couplings that can both weaken the body and slowly reduce its potential to become-other" (p.89). I end this section on machinic assemblages with Malins' explanation of a drug assemblage to grasp the concept of a machinic assemblage. By adopting machinic assemblage as a concept to understand a cultural laboratory, the focus is not on what it is but what it does.

Compartment 3: Lines of Organisation, Experimentation and Stratification

The machinic assemblage is always in becoming. This becoming is effected by processes of organisation. This compartment focuses on concepts Deleuze and Guattari employed to describe forms of organisation which effect becomings. Figure 2.3 shows the different groupings of concepts which influence the becoming. These are experimentation, stratification processes and lines of organisations.

Deleuzian/Guatarrian processes which effect becomings

Destratification/ stratification

Processes

Experimentation

Lines of organization
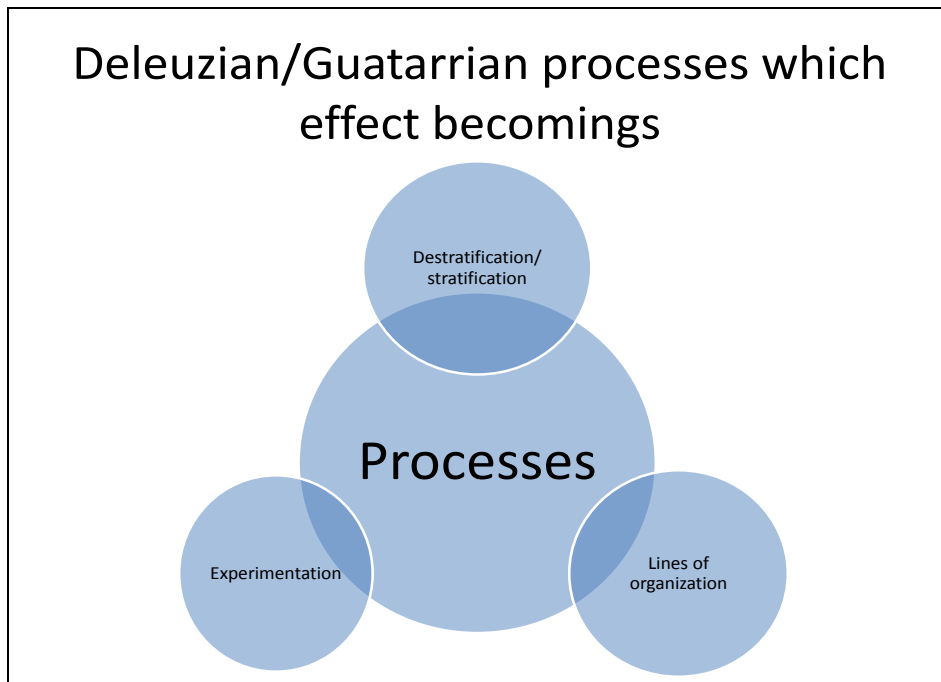
Figure 2.3: Deleuzian/Guattarian processes which effect becomings

Every assemblage is territorial in that it sustains connections that define it, but every assemblage is also composed of lines of deterritorialisation that run through it and carry it away from its current form (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987, p.503-504). Lines of organisation emphasise how things connect rather than how they 'are', and tendencies that could evolve in creative mutations rather than a 'reality' that is an inversion of the past (Lorraine, 2005, p.144). According to Lorraine (2005), Deleuze and Guattari characterise assemblage in three kinds of lines that inform their interaction with the world:

- There is the 'molar line' that forms a binary system of segments
- There is the 'molecular line' that is more fluid although still segmentary
- There is the 'line of flight' that ruptures the other two lines (p.145)

Deleuze and Guattari (1987) suggest that individuals and social structures can be considered in terms of the 'lines' which compose them. These lines express or effectuate different kinds of organisation and various complex combinations of these lines in particular formations express varying tendencies to different kinds of organisation. Molar lines organise through the drawing of strict boundaries, creating binary oppositions and dividing space into segments with a hierarchical structure. Molecular lines organise in a more subtle way, interlacing segments in a non-hierarchical way. The line of flight is the line of change and metamorphosis, which does not

organise in a segmentary sequence. It is one associated with change which usually moves towards reorganisation of forms. Consequently in these ontological concepts of the three lines of Deleuze and Guattari, each one is associated with a danger. The molar line can lead to 'fear', the fear of losing something or a manifestation by clinging on to too much rigid structure and stifling change. The molecular line leads to the danger of 'clarity', leading to mistaken beliefs about truth outside social norms. The line of flight, can lead to the greatest danger of all, a 'line of death', through which organisation may be deconstructed to a point where new organisation may not be able to be constructed once again (Woodward, 2007, p.68-69). Through Lorraine's interpretation, Deleuze and Guattari clearly value lines of flight that can connect with other lines in creative productive ways that lead to enlivening transformations of the social field; however, they also caution against their dangers. A line of flight can become ineffectual, lead to regressive transformations, and even reconstruct highly rigid segments (Lorraine, 2005, p.146). Lorraine points out that Deleuze and Guattari advocate extending lines of flight to the point where they bring variables of machinic assemblages into continuity with assemblages of enunciation (assemblages which are stated), transforming social life in the process; but they never minimise the risks the pursuit of such a line entails (p.146). I argue that the lines determine the becoming and what leads to the becoming. An insight into the working of the lines provides an insight into the process of becoming.

DeLanda (2006) describes how becomings originate in relationship with the organisation of space, makes an application of Deleuzian theory and adopts this into the theory of organisation of space, In this respect DeLanda reworked several Deleuzian principles into his own concepts of meshworks and hierarchies. DeLanda (2006) defines two types of structure, based on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of its composing elements. Deleuze and Guattari also emphasise homogeneity or heterogeneity, and use the metaphor of bureaucracies and markets, implying relativity in the dichotomy between the two. DeLanda argues that markets allow for a set of heterogeneous needs and offers, which become articulated through the price mechanism, without reducing diversity. Bureaucracies are molar-organised and markets are dependent on lines of flights, however these lines of flights serve capitalist society which builds on accumulation, rather than a vital society. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) give another example: one where a military hierarchy sorts people into internally homogenous ranks before joining them together through a chain of command. DeLanda uses the terms hierarchies and meshworks, to understand the relativity between the two.

DeLanda (2006) introduces the concept of 'meshworking' as a becoming. These terms refer to the modes of becoming of the Cultural Laboratory. What type of behaviour is doing/thinking the test in the Cultural Laboratory? According to DeLanda, meshworking seems to combine both, the self-organising results of complex-adaptive human systems with the replicable backbone of hierarchical organisation, thereby capturing the better of two operating systems. In strict terms, brain scientists use meshworks in relation to self-organising neural nets, and hierarchies in relation to reinforcing levels of hierarchical operations" (2006). DeLanda (2006) helps with defining how meshworks link heterogeneous capacities or entities and how hierarchies link homogenous elements or functions. According to DeLanda, hierarchies are described as, "the distinction between centralised and decentralised control of a given process. DeLanda argues that this has come to occupy center-stage in many different contemporary philosophies."DeLanda (2006) points out that in reality it is hard to find pure cases of meshworks and hierarchies. According to DeLanda, goal-oriented organisations and most markets even in small towns contain some hierarchical elements, for example, the local wholesaler who manages demand and supply by dumping (or withdrawing) products from a market. DeLanda argues that hierarchies give rise to meshworks and meshworks to hierarchies. According to DeLanda (2006), when several bureaucracies coexist in the absence of a super hierarchy to coordinate their interactions, the groups of institutions would tend to form a meshwork of hierarchies that are articulated mostly through local and temporary links.

Baugh (2005) interprets the concept of experimentation. He points out that, in French, the word expérience means both 'experience' and 'experiment'. He states that to experiment is to try new actions, methods, techniques and combinations 'without aim or end' (p.91). He explains, "The elements which we experiment are desires, forces, powers and their combinations, not only to see what happens but to determine what different entities (bodies, languages, social groupings, environments and so on) are capable of" (p.91). Baugh refers to Deleuze's and Guattari's Anti-Oedipus (1983), and indicates that experimentation does not interpret what something, such as a text, an idea or a desire, 'means', but rather seeks to discover how it works by unravelling an order of causes, connections and tendencies. In this way effects can be explained through the workings of assemblage: 'What it does and what is done with it' (p.91). Baugh, who further interprets Deleuze, argues that "experimentation is necessary to reveal 'what a body or mind can do, in a given encounter", what arrangement or combinations of affects it is capable of and also to reveal the effects of arrangements of different bodies and elements,; and also whether these arrangements will increase the powers of "acting of the elements combined into a greater whole,

or whether the combination will destroy or 'decompose' one or more of the elements" (p.91). In the context of the cultural laboratory, it becomes an assemblage of experimentation where things and ideas get tested in a setting. The body in combination with other bodies and things becomes the cultural laboratory.

Malins (2004) indicates that "stratification is the way in which bodies actively and strategically put themselves together in order to have a political social voice and to say 'I'". According to Malins, a body in order to interact with the social world becomes a subject, must accept an identity and particular way of organising itself, otherwise it will be incomprehensible. Malins suggests, "It must reduce its own fluid complexities (I am female and sometimes like to look male and am mostly hetero but sometimes gay but only on Tuesdays and I occasionally use drugs but only when the moon is full . . .) to discrete categories (androgynous, bi, drug user). Languages, institutions and systems of thought all demand it, and bodies rarely fail to accede (p.87)." In line with Deleuze and Guattari's suggestion, Malins (2004) also refers to the 'collapse of subjectivity' and indicates that a "destratification that occurs too rapidly, too carelessly or too absolutely, could lead to a body that is no longer capable of either having desire flow through it, or reforming any connections with the social world", in other words, the 'collapse of subjectivity' (Lort, 2002, p.1; quoted in Malins). Malins in line with Deleuze and Guattari, stresses the importance of being able to retain at least some links with the social world, with organisation and subjectivity. According to Malins, without such links a body becomes incapable of forming new assemblages, of differing from itself and creating new lines of flight, and losing all political and strategic power.

Following this discussion, I conclude compartment 3 with an illustrative example of organising space and becomings. Halsey (2007) illustrates the effects of a particular organisation of space on the becomings. Halsey refers to the Great Australian Bight Marine Park in which eco-tourism is organised in such a way that it creates rigid distinctions and economies. Between nature and visitor the pathways are designed in a so-called 'eco friendly' manner. For example, the strict walkway and steps leading to the viewing platform, which is the only place where the whales could be counted and encountered (p.143). Halsey indicates that the platform was actively supporting 'whale-counting' techniques. This way of organising space, according to Halsey, leads to striated spaces which tend to work against the ways of different becomings (p.146). Halsey strives for smooth space where different becomings are possible and acknowledges the

protection of nature, but argues for less molar forms of organisation of space. The cultural laboratory can be understood in the light of smooth space which invokes new becomings.

Compartment 4: Ethics of Becoming, Nature of becoming, Revolutionary Becomings and Black Holes

Becoming is the pure movement evident in changes between particular events (Stagoll, 2005, p.21). The becoming is the effect of the machinic assemblage in space. Becoming according to Deleuze has a nature, ethics, and possibly a revolutionary becoming. In this compartment, the ethics, nature and the revolutionary becoming are elaborated on. Deleuze formulated an ethics of becomings, which is not based on norms but on movements. Figure 2.4 shows three aspects of becoming, Ethics of becoming, revolutionary becomings, nature of becoming, and black holes.
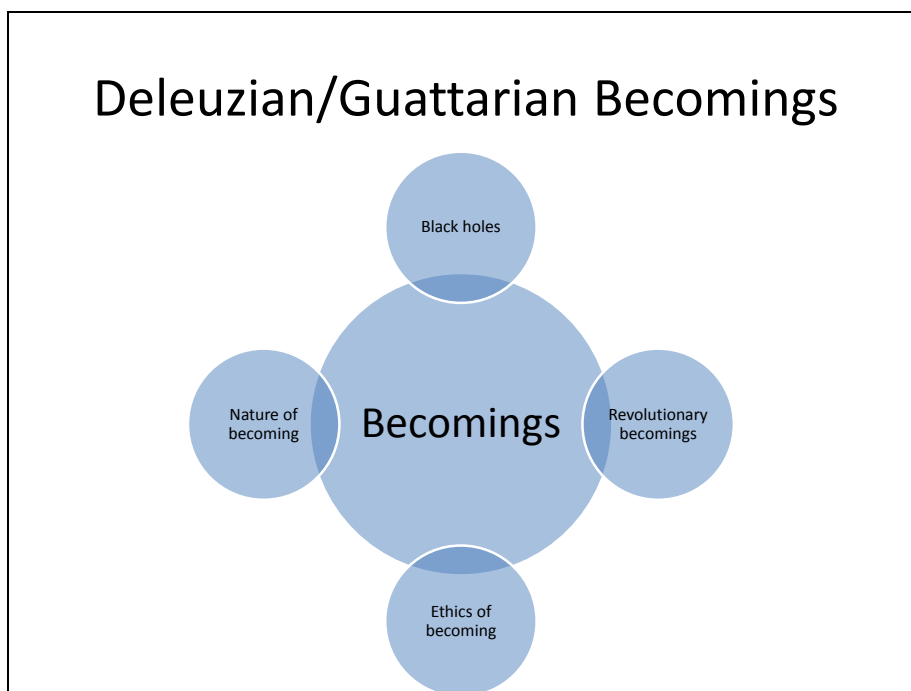
Figure 2.4: Deleuzian/Guattarian Becomings

Malins (2004) indicates that an ethical event for Deleuze and Guattari is one in which bodies emerge with a strengthened and undiminished potentiality. Malins indicates that a drug is not intrinsically bad but becomes bad when it harms the body and good when there are benefits to the body. Malins addresses the importance of bodies being able to go on connecting with other

bodies, "thus creating new flows of desire and undertaking new becomings". According to Malins, "An embodied ethics of this sort aims to reduce unethical assemblages (which reduce bodily potentials) and increase ethical, life-enhancing assemblages: assemblages that increase a body's power to form creative, productive relations and which increase its capacity for life" (p.97-98).

To fully understand what is meant by the nature of becoming, a closer look at the rather complicated Deleuzian ontology is required. Assemblages can have creative becomings, where the becomings run from virtual states towards actual states rather than from possible states into real states. The process of moving from a virtual to an actual state is what Deleuze refers to as 'divergent actualisation'. According to Deleuze, who drew on the work of Henri Bergson (1910) on Creative Evolution, the process of 'divergent actualisation' is the ability of topological forms to give rise to many different physical instantiations. Assemblages open up to difference when they divergently actualise, in other words when their future is entirely given in the past. Bergson had criticised the inability of the science of his time to think new and innovatively (DeLanda, 1998).

According to Bergson, an obstacle was the mechanical and linear view of causality and its implied rigid determinism. Bergson argues that if the future is already decided for in the past, and if the future is just a modality of time where possibilities determined beforehand are realised, then true innovation is not possible. Bergson further argues that in order to avoid this mistake, one must strive to let the future be truly open-ended and consider the past and present to be filled not only with possibilities that eventually may become real, but with virtualities that become actual. In this section, DeLanda (1998), Speaks (1995) and Salehi (2008) are introduced, who have touched on Deleuzian ontology and describe the process of becoming. This discussion is for the reader to acquire a broader frame of reference into Deleuzian thinking. In the following paragraphs the difference between the virtual, actual, possible and real is explained. Table 2.3 shows the two distinct processes of becoming. On the left side is the movement from a virtual state to an actual state and on the right side is the movement from the possible to the real. This distinction underlies the work of Deleuze and is expressed in Difference and Repetition (1994) and Logic of Sense (2005). I use Deleuze's own words to describe the difference between the two processes. After this I will use the DeLanda (2006) explanation of the Deleuzian ontology since DeLanda makes it operational and connects it with creation.

The two process of becoming are described by Deleuze (1991, p.97) as,

> In order to be actualised, the virtual cannot proceed by elimination or limitation, but must create its own lines of actualisation in positive acts. The reason for this is simple: While the real is in the image and likeness of the possible that it realises, the actual on the other hand, does not resemble the vitality it embodies. It is difference that is primary in the process of actualisation - the difference between the virtual from which we begin and the actuals at which we arrive.

Deleuze defines virtual state as "real without being actual, ideal without being abstract" (Deleuze, 1988, p.96).

DeLanda (1998), a contemporary artist, philosopher, and Deleuzian interpreter reasons that the distinction between the possible and real assumes pre-defined essences which acquire physical reality as material forms that resemble them. DeLanda points out that from a morphogenetic point of view, realising a possibility does not add anything to a predefined form besides reality, so closes the space of hospitality. DeLanda argues that the distinction between the virtual and the actual does not involve resemblance of any kind. He refers to Deleuze, who writes, "Actualisation breaks with resemblance as a process no less than it does with identity as a principle. In this sense, actualisation or differentiation is always a genuine creation."

Nature 1		Nature 2	
Making the Virtual actual through divergent actualisation'		Making the possible real, realisation based on pre-defined essences	
Process of actualisation and differentiation	Virtual	Realisation of the possible'	Possible
	Actual		Real

Table 2.3 Deleuzian two natures of becoming

Speaks (1995, p.xiii) argues that the realisation of the possible operates by the principles of imitation and resemblance. Because there are many possibles, the realisation of any one of them limits potential possibles to only one. Speaks (1995) argues that it is important to note that nothing new is ever created since the possible comes to completion only by crossing over to realisation, by way of being figured and represented as realisation filling a hollow gap where difference resides. According to Speaks, in the process of realisation of the possible, there is a disposition for everything to be already given and thus there is no difference between possible and realisation, and the new cannot take form (p.xiii). According to Deleuze, creation is possible due to the virtual being different from the actual and that the virtual can have multiple actualities (Salehi, 2008).

Malins (2004) interprets revolutionary becomings to be becomings that can transform a single body or a whole social system (p.88). Applying this to the cultural laboratory, this laboratory produces a new assemblage with new becomings. An example of a revolutionary becoming is the famous 'black hole'. Appearing in Deleuze's and Guattari's - A thousand plateaus, the term 'black hole' comes from contemporary physics. Deleuze and Guattari refer to spaces that cannot be escaped once being drawn into. They describe it as a star that has collapsed into itself. Message points out that, "… engaged in this process, the subject is deconstituted and becomes a kind of assemblage" (1987, p.28). Deleuze and Guattari argue if a body blows apart the entire organisation, "… the strata, without taking precautions, then instead of drawing the plane the

body will be killed, plunged into a black hole, or even dragged toward catastrophe" (1987, p.161).

I argue that the cultural laboratory can produce ethical and unethical becomings and at the same time produces revolutionary becomings such as a black hole. Malins (2004) indicates that, "… the body retains its own impetus – an impetus for forming assemblages, allowing for desire to flow in different directions, producing new possibilities and potentials" (p.88). With the black hole there are no more becomings and the circle of assemblages stops and life becomes exhausted.

Compartment 5: Outcomes – Affects, Experiences and Intensities

The outcomes of the machinic assemblage are becomings. Apart from these becomings the assemblage evokes affects and intensities. The cultural laboratory produces assemblages, affects and intensities. Affects is defined by Coleman (2005) as,

> … the change, or variation, that occurs when bodies collide, or come into contact. As a body, affect is a knowable product of an encounter, specific in its ethical and lived dimensions and yet it is also as indefinite as the experience of a sunset, transformation or a ghost. In its largest sense, affect is a part of the Deleuzian project of trying-to-understand, and comprehend, and express all of the incredible, wondrous, tragic, painful and destructive configurations of things and bodies as temporally mediated, continuous events (p.11).

Deleuze and Guattari explain experience, "… to be as a milieu, which provides the capacity to affect and be affected, and which is a-subjective, and impersonal" (1987, p.55). This a-subjective refers to the collectiveness of an experience, which is not personal in the eyes of Deleuze and Guattari, however defined through language and signs. Here, a link to semiotics can be made. Semiotics is a philosophical theory of the functions of signs and symbols. Semetsky (2005) interprets Deleuze, and explains that experience is not something that one gets with an empirical perspective into something that is abstract but achieved by experimentation. He argues that a body can be forced to think through a fundamental encounter which can be interpreted in a multiplicity of ways.

According to Semetsky, "In fact novel concepts are to be invented or created in order to make sense out of singular experiences and, ultimately, to affirm this sense" (Semetsky, 2005, p.89). Deleuze (1995) states that, in contrast to analytical philosophy, experience is not limited to what is immediately perceived: Deleuze argues that the line of flight or becoming is real even if 'we don't see it, because it's the least perceptible of things (p.45). Semetsky, who refers to Deleuze, goes on to explain that thinking that is enriched with desire, is experimental and experiential. Semetsky argues that experience is "future oriented, lengthened and enfolded, representing an experiment with what is new, or coming into being". According to Semetsky, experience constitutes a complex place, and as far as Deleuze is concerned, our experimentation on ourselves is the only reality (Semetsky, 2005, p.90).

Through this argument, it can be suggested that our thoughts and dreams are real. Deleuze refers to his work as transcendental empiricism. The methodology of transcendental empiricism demands that the intensities that constitute an extensive being be sensed - the famous Deleuzian 'sentiendum' (Boundas, 2005, p.131). According to Boundas, who interpreted Deleuze sensing cannot be achieved through ordinary exercise of our sensibility. He points out that intensities can be remembered, imagined, thought and said. Boundas argues that "intensities are not entities but are virtual real events whose mode of existence is to actualise themselves in various states of affairs" (2005, p.131).

As can be seen, Deleuze introduces a complete new way of thinking. Through the adaptation of machinic assemblages, the distinction between subject and object becomes blurred. The assemblage informs about its potentiality and affects and intensities that it produces. The becomings are affected by the lines of organisation and may result in revolutionary becomings. By abandoning the object-subject relationship, the researcher can overcome pre-defined and deterministic ways of thinking. The cultural laboratory becomes an entity in itself in which the object and the subject vanish and cease to exist. The ethics of the cultural laboratory is dependent on the connections/encounters it can make with other assemblages or bodies and whether these encounters are leading to revolutionary becomings.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I argued for a vitalist approach to analyse the cultural laboratory. The work of Wearing and Wearing (1998) gave an insight into the relationship between object and subject in

tourism studies. Wearing and Wearing argued for renaming the tourist and the destination in order to indicate the active role of the subject in constructing the destination. I introduced vitalist approaches and introduced significant vitalist thinkers, namely Deleuze, Guattari and Simmel. Social forms were crucial in Simmel's formal sociology and the concept of the machinic assemblage gave the cultural laboratory a vital form.

By looking from a life perspective and through a Deleuzian ontology, it can be argued that virtuals are in a continual process of actualisation, by following planes that define their reality. The assemblage is seen as an unstructured tool to visualise relations of bodies with other bodies leading to open ended multiplicities. These assemblages, as described by Markus and Saka (2006), are the casual product of interaction of two or more open systems. Drawing on the idea of assemblage, the focus shifts onto what a body can do rather than what it is. Also influencing the process of becoming are processes of stratification and de-stratification resulting from combinations of lines of organisation. These lines of organisation are a part of the machinic assemblage and can explain the complexities of meshworking and hierarchies (DeLanda, 2006), as relationships between complex systems. Experimentation also affects the process of becoming and can be related to the cultural laboratory, as a 'testing entity'. Bodies forming relationships with other bodies also actualise into the experimental process of becoming in the cultural laboratory. Furthermore, it has been discussed that cultural laboratories can have both, ethical and unethical becomings, as well as revolutionary becomings such as the black hole. Becomings lead to affects and intensities which plays an important role in sensing. Experimentation seems a methodology to analyse the ethical nature of the becomings. The following chapter introduces the concept of vital spaces of hospitality, a concept which is informed by vitalist thinking.

CHAPTER 3 OPEN ENDED PLANNING PROCESSES, VITAL FORCES AND CREATIVE CITIES

A derived research objective of the thesis is to conceptualise the dynamics of open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality. This is a rather unexplored area of study. However, open-ended planning processes in urban spaces have been explored already. In this chapter, I review the work of urban planners regarding the characteristics of open ended planning including the concept of "urban vitalis". It should be noted that the urban is not only connected with physical city space. The urban is connected to processes of individualisation and lifestyle, in this respect the urban also becomes apparent in the countryside. Van der Ziel (2006) in his research into country site values for the Dutch Social and Cultural Planning Agency (Sociaal Cultureel Plan Bureau) indicates that from the start of the industrialization onwards in the Netherlands, the borders between country sites and the urban started to mingle (p.4). Mommaas (2006), a Dutch leisure scholar, indicates that the countryside transforms itself more and more from a rural production space towards urban consumption space (p.197). Pløger (2006) refers to urban vitalis, where the individual matters and where the individual is recognised. The origin of urban vitalis dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century with the work of Simmel. Pløger points out that Simmel wanted to find out what urban vitalism was, and in particular the emphasis on "socio-psychological effects of particular forms of connectivity, assemblies, flows, proximity, closeness, and presences", (2006, p.387).

In the last chapter, Deleuzian and Simmelian ontology was discussed, with life as a starting point. The cultural laboratory and thus also the practise of home exchanging was discussed in relation to the formation of assemblages and actualisation of virtuals. The "testing of identity" as Löfgren typifies the cultural laboratory can be seen in line with Simmels's reasoning that in an urban context a "subject strives for more life and more than life". In this chapter, the cultural laboratory, as a testing entity, consisting of non-representational vital forces is placed in the context of hospitality and urban spaces. Moreover, the cultural laboratory is implicit characterised as an urban phenomenon. In the knowledge economy, cities are competing on the international level to provide the best climate for innovation and creativity. This becomes clear in the debate on the creative city and the creative class. Thinking through a Deleuzian Guatarrian vein and thinking about the cultural laboratory this would translate into a city which constantly reinvented itself; a city which is constantly doing and redoing itself. Policymakers focus on the question "What are successful strategies and what are necessary conditions?" Developing the creativity of a city is much more than having a vibrant cultural scene. The key question is: how best to organise a local environment that harbours and breeds creativity?

Attention towards this debate on organising and planning in an urban setting is relevant since it provides understandings between the relationship between planning and vital forces. Since recourses into understanding vital forces in hospitality contexts are rare, this chapter focuses on two types of literature, the first includes an acknowledgment of vitalist forces in urban settings and the second set of literature focuses on spaces of hospitality in urban settings. The authors informing the first part of this chapter, who focus on vitalist forces, criticise modernist thinking and argue for open ended planning processes. Open Planning processes make up the cultural laboratory, they make it possible that there is "somespace" left undecided, a space which is left untouched by planners and pre envisioned structures.

Florida (2003, 2005) directly connects economic growth of a city to the presence of the creative class. This creative class is attracted to cities for its lifestyle. Much of this lifestyle is lived in spaces of hospitality. Governments started investing heavily in planning and providing spaces for the creative class. This planning for a particular group raises issues about access and elitism. Peck (2002), a critical scholar, argues that elite spaces, and also the mechanical approach to economic growth, neglect the vital becoming of a city. Although modernist is still dominant in urban planning processes, authors on urban planning processes such as Peck (2002), Pløger (2006) and Sap (2002), a contemporary urban studies scholar, argue for a new thought in terms of movement, dynamics and alternative forms of organisation. They object to the idea of a fixed make-ability and plan-ability of society, the city and space, and argue for open ended planning processes. Peck (2002) argues for planning for chaos and continual unplanned interactions need to be made. Pløger (2006) argues that "the planning process in urban environments must therefore open itself up to mutually agreeable provisional solutions that participants can agree on, without closing the debate or the decision process at that point" (p.393). Pløger is of the opinion that the presence and extent of vitalist forces is what will distinguish cities in the future. Florida (2003), although very much used as a modernist argument for investing in elite urban developments also refers to vital forces which make cities successful. Pløger opines that vitalist forces such as atmosphere, feelings of belonging, and situated pleasure, in addition to enhancing city amenities, cultural quality and urbaneness, play a big role in attracting investments and the creative class. He further argues that it is these vitalist forces that partly influence choices regarding where to invest or where to live (p.395-396).

Pløger explains that in connection with the acceptance of vitalism as a theory, rational thinkers are sceptical due to its corporal and non-cognitive nature. Pløger, author of the article In search of the Urban Vitalist (2006) is essential reading since he proposes a method to open up space. His article discusses the foundation of vitalism in philosophy and he argues that through it, we are

able to conceptualise important forces of city life. Pløger argues that subjects are always in a state of becoming due to vitalist forces that affect it, or by new experiences or reflections. Pløger proposes a framework which allows me to speak of flows and becomings. Although Pløger's ideas apply to urban planning in Denmark, the framework is possibly useful in other contexts. Pløger's work discusses the practice evolving in urban regeneration projects in Denmark, where there is a belief in vitalist forces. Pløger argues for space, and its important role in shaping structural forms of life including urban social forms, rhythms and flows. Pløger builds on Deleuze and Simmel, and he accounts for vitalist forces in the urban. Pløger says that by considering an urban vitalis, one accepts the subject as a temporary, continual project since a subject, in this case described to be vitalistic by nature, cannot retreat to a fixed position, identity or specific culture in a world of becomings (Pløger, 2006, p.389). Pløger points out that only a small number of urban theorists would see urban life in terms of vitalist forces, and argues for a conceptualisation of important forces of city life. Sap (2002, p.1) argues that modernist thought about the city has been characterised by categorise-ability, make-ability and stability; man and city were reduced to statistics and four activities (housing, work, recreation and transport). Sap sees evidence of this thinking in blueprint planning and master planning.

Pløger argues to connect to vitalist forces for planning purposes. The planning process of city space needs to take into consideration things such as moods, atmospheres and so on. Planning for chaos and continual unplanned interactions needs to be made. The challenge of urbanness to politics and planning, as well as to citizens, is about coping with particular and yet common spatial order, socio-cultural openness, everyday structures, and the always emerging potentialities in cities (2006, p.390). Pløger argues that although city life and its policies have been thought of in terms such as moods and atmospheres, there is no depth or political consequences to it. He argues, through Beck (1999), that it is still early to expect politicians and planners to understand the significance of, "... phenomenological and existential vitalist forces, such as, for instance, the feeling of 'wrongness,' 'oneliness', 'sexuality', 'sensitivity', 'uneasiness', and 'observability': all moods and modalities of urban existence (as cited in Pløger, 2006, p.394). Urban politics and planners as Pløger (2006, p.393) argues, generally prefer to think of city life as constituted by fixed spatial zones, designed for order and predictability; which are supported by collective and common societal norms, codes and values. So far, urban politics has not considered the multiple temporalities and spatialities; and the potentials and flows of everyday lives that are present in different urban livelihoods as pointed out by Amin and Thrift (2002), but rather as collective structures. Through Amin and Thrift's account of the 'machinic city' (2002), Pløger explains that

politicians and planners favour the idea of rationality and functionalism, "... as the design format to 'engineering a space of certainty,' a space of order and self-regulatory neighbourhoods" (p.393). Thus it can be argued that stratification occurs in the planning and actions of politicians and planners, regarding the design of urban spaces. Vital forces are not taken into account here due to the mechanical or 'molar' approach and a possible subject-object dichotomy present in planning processes.

Sap (2002, p.3) refers to the contemporary neo-modernist planning processes of relatively autonomous parts of the city and more or less implicit against other parts of the city by the production of controlled, mono-functional and from 'chaos', isolated spaces. Sap regards this form of repressive and exclusive urban planning/design "as an attempt to protect the 'arboreal structure' - the existing hierarchy - against rhizomatic, apparently chaotic powers and (counter) movements of post-modern society" (2002, p.4). Pløger (2006) argues that it is for these reasons that urban ways of living have not been focused on due to the limited perspective of policy makers and planners who do not recognise 'life' to be potentially composed of flows, fluxes, networks and endless becomings; shaped through a multiplicity of strangers.

Landry (2006) introduces the idea of creative cities and the infrastructural factors that need to be considered in its development. In the light of this research it is arguable that creative cities can be facilitated by planning that supports and enables creative becomings, which are open ended. This is suggested to be facilitated by the development of open spaces in urban neighbourhoods, and consequently spaces of hospitality as argued for by Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004), as discussed in Chapter Four. According to Landry (2006), since the 1980s there has been wide recognition that the world is changing dramatically. Restructuring of industries has taken place in the wake of globalisation, mobilities (see Urry, 2001) and ethics. With the advent of new information technologies, a new internet based economy has been created where intelligence has shifted from a focus on brawn to brain and value added is generated by ideas that are turned into innovations, inventions and copyrights (Landry, 2006, p.4). Leading to the creation of a new purpose, direction and goals, cities became neglected and were left locked into their past. It was found that the old way of doing things was not suitable any more, especially in education, where students were no longer being taught the most important things and in the most beneficial of ways. Also not suitable was the notion of management and all its structures of hierarchy leading to inflexibility, control and a lack of adaptability. In order to cope with the changes in the new

economy, a reassessment of cities' resources and potential is needed, together with a process of necessary re-invention in several dimensions (p.4).

Landry (2006) indicates that at this point in time everybody is participating in the game of creativity. While looking at Great Britain, he indicated that twenty cities within it call themselves creative. These include Manchester, Plymouth, Norwich, Bristol and the obviously creative London among others. The same is true for cities in Canada: Toronto and Vancouver; United States: Tampa Bay and Cincinnati and others in Australia and Japan (p.1). Landry indicated that the idea of the 'Creative City' emerged from the late 1980s onwards along a number of directions, which has eventually led to both an enrichment of the concept as well as a confusion of the term due to its diversity. It was introduced in the early 1990s as an aspirational concept involving open-mindedness and imagination, having impacts on organisational culture. He further described the idea behind creative cities as: one having a philosophy that there is always more potential in any place than any of us would think at first sight. According to Landry the idea of creative cities posits that conditions need to be created for people to think, plan and act, with a view and imagination to gathering opportunities, and for addressing urban problems (p.2).

Landry (2006) defines creative cities as a positive concept with an assumption that ordinary people can make the extra-ordinary happen if given the chance. Qualities that play an important role are intelligence, inventiveness and learning. According to him, although artists play an important role, anyone can be creative and participate in the development of a creative economy, in whichever field they are in, by for example, addressing issues in an inventive way. He further points out that creative cities bring the need for a 'culture of creativity' to be impressed into operations and dealings between urban stakeholders. The solutions to urban problems may be broadened by encouraging creativity and using imagination widely on public, private and community levels. Landry argues that this kind of divergent thinking is needed to generate multiple options leading to a convergence of ideas and possibilities from where urban innovations can emerge (p.2). This suggests that, in addition to an atmosphere and culture of creativity, open spaces are needed that allow for creative becomings. The ideas of Pløger (2006) regarding open ended planning and the incorporation of a consideration of vitalist forces present in the urban, suggests the need for open spaces and a creative culture.

Pløger (2006) explains contemporary urban planning and the role for urban innovations as relying on the force of vitalism, the will of participation, connectivity and inclusion. He explains that

these wills are based either on the ethic of closeness or created through interaction and communication. Considering his discussion on urban vitalism, Pløger explains the role of urban planners in order to have the extra-ordinary happen to:

> (a) Having to work in the midst of flows, relations, and chance; meaning that (b) the unforeseeable, contingent possibilities and possible constellations of situations and interactions should be recognised. In practice, then, (c) dialogical, analytical and negotiating skills become important. This is because situations of contingency and eventuality occur (d) in meetings among people that create becomings and possibilities not foreseen or predicted (2006, p.392).

Landry (2006) explains that in order to support a creative city, a creative infrastructure is needed which is a combination of hard, soft and mental infrastructure; the way a city approaches opportunities and problems; the environmental conditions it creates to generate an atmosphere and the enabling devices it fosters generated through its incentives and regulatory structures. He further describes the soft infrastructure as one needing to include a highly skilled and flexible labour force comprising of dynamic thinkers, creators and implementers who are capable of conceiving as well as implementing; and a large formal and informal intellectual infrastructure giving room for space to maverick personalities. In addition, he indicates that there needs to be strong communication linkages, both internal and external and an overall culture of entrepreneurship whether this is applied to social or economic ends. All this brings about an equilibrium bounded by dynamics and tenseness, which intermix with each other. This imaginative city, furthermore, should identify, nurture, attract and sustain talent so it is able to mobilise ideas, talent and creative organisations (p.3). This city is characterised by individuals taking measured risks, true leaders present, a sense of going somewhere, determination without being deterministic, being strategically principled and tactically flexible. Landry argues that the creative city requires thousands of changes in mindset, thereby creating the conditions for people to become agents of change rather than victims of change, and seeing transformation as a lived experience rather than a one off event. Landry points out that the creative city demands invigorated leadership (p.3). He explains that in terms of the built environment, the stage and the setting are crucial for establishing a milieu. According to Landry, these factors provide the pre-conditions upon which activities or the atmosphere of the city can develop. At this point, he refers to a creative milieu as a place that contains the necessary requirements in terms of 'hard' and 'soft' infrastructure to generate a flow of ideas and inventions (p.4).

Landry (2006) gives an account for Partners for Liveable Places (later Communities) founded in 1977, which is an organisation that was initially focused on design and culture as resources for 'liveability' in society. Over time, Partners has launched several programmes and has continued to broaden its definition of liveability (p.6). One of its programmes, 'The Shaping of Growth in America' programme added a human dimension that involved social equity, children and families, minorities and the poor. Their core belief now is that social equity and human potential are the most important elements of a liveable community. Core concepts also used by Partners were the ideas of cultural planning and cultural resources (p.7). Thrift (2004) argues that vital forces react to and are intertwined with the social.

The second part of the literature reviewed in this chapter focuses on spaces of hospitality in urban settings. Bell (2007) in his research, aimed to look at the ways in which certain versions of hospitality (and hospitableness) have come to be woven into urban regeneration schemes that attempt to create a hospitable 'consumption identity' as a form of competitive advantage. His objective was to explore how commercial hospitality is constructed and performed in regenerating neighbourhoods to encapsulate and produce new patterns of urban living – patterns often condensed to the (inadequate) short-hand 'loft living' (Zukin, 1982). Bell (2007) indicates that research into the vitality and performativity of spaces of hospitality is needed in order to study urban change. Bell talks about a way of thinking of hospitality centrally pertaining to regeneration policy and practice. Bell argues that a particular notion of hospitality is prevalent these days, one which has been progressively woven into regeneration scripts and schemes as cities attempt to draw in money and people (2007, p.8). He argues that there is a so called 'culture-led regeneration', which has tried to package hospitality and hospitableness as traits to attract visitors, new residents and footloose capital. Cities are increasingly rebranding themselves as pleasure zones, entertainment centres and tourist attractions, using leisure and pleasure as a key part of their brand (Bell et al., 2007). Contrasting this with the idea of open ended planning for organisation of space, Bell does not refer to vital forces as such.

Bell also agrees with Esperdy (2002) and Franck (2005) in the idea that city-centre eating and drinking establishments have become important components of regenerating neighbourhoods, both in terms of attracting new residents and in terms of making them gastro-tourism destinations (2007, p.9). Bell, Esperdy, Franck and Neal refer to spaces of hospitality as birthplaces for city regeneration. I argue that the role for spaces of hospitality is debatable, since while hospitality venues bring difference and economic growth, at the same time they possibly force identity and

objectivity. Correspondingly, Bell argues that the ethics and politics of hospitality calls for a discussion of encounters in bars, cafés, restaurants, clubs and pubs, as these ways of relating should be seen as potentially productive of an ethics of conviviality that revitalises urban living (2007, p.12). Laurier and Philo (2004) encounter in cafés the play between the civil and its opposites and, perhaps more importantly, variations in how different communities orient to civil life (p.8).

Through urban studies by Latham (2003), Bell points out that there is a need to engage more positively with the broader contemporary enthusiasm for the city by thinking about the context and emergence of new kinds of spaces and social practices associated with urban change (Bell, 2007). Bell's work is based on this notion as well. Bell suggests the concept of 'hybrid hospitality' as worded by Telfer (2000). This form of hospitality acknowledges the need to move to more complex models of what counts as and motivates hospitality in domestic and commercial domains. These complex models have the capacity to connect the debates on the philosophy of hospitality, hospitality studies, hospitality management, and urban planning, policy and geography, so that a more multi-view perspective can be benefitted from. Furthermore, through highlighting some recent work on urban regeneration and commercial hospitality spaces, Bell suggests that the commercial sphere should be brought into discussions of spaces of hospitality, rather than be dismissed as narrowly economic and therefore too conditioned and conditional (Bell, 2007, p.11). Bell argues that a focus on hospitality as philosophy "opens up urban life to new forms of analysis, while placing a focus on the practices of hospitality helps one rethink the ways we theorise hospitality and hospitableness" (p.19-20). Bell indicates that research into the vitality and performativity of spaces of hospitality is needed to study urban change. Latham (2003) followed suit and used diaries, photographs and interviews to give an account of New Zealand's spaces of hospitality, for example, Ponsonby Road, Auckland. This account, produced with his respondents Joseph, Miranda, Paul, and others, was given with due consideration (a) that was respectful to the people and communities involved in its making; and (b) that had a certain truthfulness, a truthfulness consisting both of an intellectual rigour as well as a certain emotional resonance (Latham, 2003).

Concluding this part of the literature review, Bell sheds some light on spaces of hospitality and city regeneration. Furthermore, Bell agrees with Low and Smith (2005), who acknowledge the importance of public space due to striation of politics and economics. He explains that if this notion is to be accepted, the will becomes the most important force in human encounters, and

planners cannot consider it as constitutive of practice but also think about its emergent effects (p.392). Bell sees a direct role for commercial hospitality venues in order to vitalise cities. In line with my argument to open up spaces of hospitality Bell argues for more complex models, whereby the distinction between domestic and commercial blurs. The future competitiveness of destinations, and the development of tourism performance, will not simply depend on a destination's natural and cultural resource base, its ability to harness new technologies, or its depth of human capital. Success also depends on attributes of trust and reciprocity (Fukuyama 1995).

The relationship between the creative city and spaces of hospitality is unclear, but worth studying since creativity involves personal development and interaction, through research into spaces of hospitality in which creativity can flourish. Pløger (2006) argues for alternative forms of organisation of space and for open ended planning. His understanding of the Urban Vitalis, a continual project, as a collection of social bodies with no fixed identities provides a vital perspective to urban spaces. These spaces of organisation from a vital perspective are suggested to contain multiple crossings of many vitalist forces. Pløger (2006) explains contemporary urban planning as relying on the force of vitalism, the will of participation, connectivity and inclusion. He explains that these wills are based either on the ethic of closeness or created through interaction and communication. Considering his discussion on urban vitalism, Pløger explains the role of urban planners as, (a) having to work in the midst of flows, relations, and chance; meaning that (b) the unforeseeable, contingent possibilities and possible constellations of situations and interactions should be recognised. In practice, then, (c) dialogical, analytical and negotiating skills become important. This is because situations of contingency and eventuality occur (d) in meetings among people that create becomings and possibilities not foreseen or predicted. He explains that if this notion is to be accepted, the will becomes the most important force in human encounters, and planners cannot consider it as constitutive of practice but also think about its emergent effects (p.392). Pløger also suggested a deeper look into moods and atmospheres, and creative look into planning and decision making processes. This mention of the will of a body in human encounters has implications for indefinite affects that are produced in emergent becomings. Sap (2002) argues against repressive and exhaustive urban planning. I argue that this repression present in central planned spaces and controlled by modern hospitality management principles could limit the will and the chance for a multiplicity of affects to occur and argue for a need to focus on urban ways of living and to consider the ingredients needed for vital spaces, which are characteristic of what Landry (2006) calls creative cities. I argue that there is a need for

open spaces of organisation, and consequently spaces of hospitality where a culture of creativity can be created, a cultural laboratory, which is temporary and where people can experiment with new aspects of themselves and their social interactions. The background behind this argument is that I argue in favour of spaces where the modernist tendencies to organise bodies and ideas which stratify daily life can be escaped and questioned. Spaces conceptualized as Deleuzian and Guattarian assemblages (1987) can be made and re-made. Spaces of hospitality can become welcoming cultural laboratories, where not only the guest and the guest's money are welcomed, but also where new, unanticipated connections can be made. Thus, life can express itself not only through existing (power) structures, but also can create new meaningful assemblages. The concept of 'hybrid hospitality' worded by Telfer (2000) and pointed out by Bell (2007) has implications for commercial hospitality and urban spaces. The idea of meshworking (DeLanda, 2006) can be related to the kind of social interaction that might take place in hybrid spaces, where the commercial domain might be characterised by hierarchy. To have a closer understanding of how vitalist forces are described in spaces of hospitality, its dynamics need to be understood. Part two of the thesis focuses on the dynamics of spaces of hospitality.

PART 2: PLANTING THE CROPS - SPACES OF HOSPITALITY

This part seeks to understand the dynamics of spaces of hospitality. It covers explanations and the issues around opening spaces of hospitality, predictability and the controlling of spaces, and a case study showing vital forces.

Chapter 4 covers the theme 'opening spaces of hospitality', relevant hospitality studies and mobilities, with vital thinking.

Chapter 5 will cover predictability and space issues.

The concluding Chapter 6 deals with vital forces in a hospitality context and with a case study.
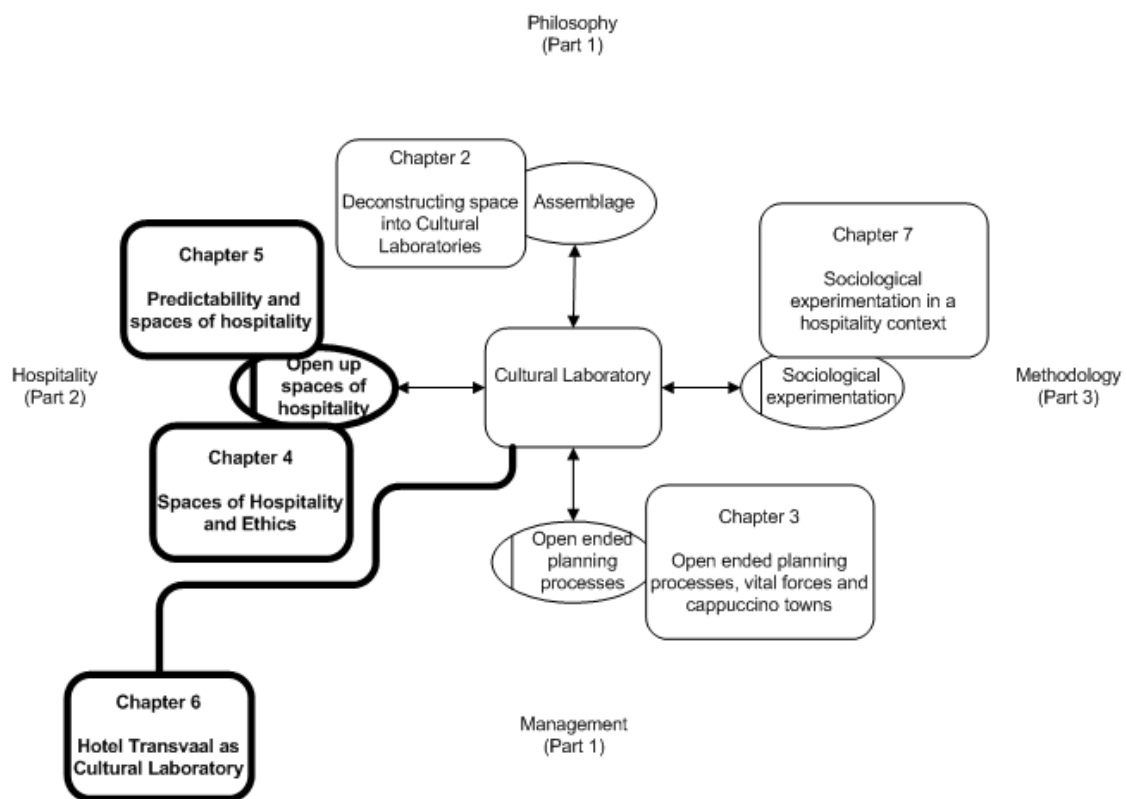
Figure 4.0 Conceptual mapping

CHAPTER 4 SPACES OF HOSPITALITY AND ETHICS

This chapter focuses on the space of hospitality and its opening up to difference. This chapter provides an understanding of the idea of opening up of spaces of hospitality. In the last chapter, vitalist forces were argued to play a role in the organisation of space and I argued for an open-ended planning of urban space. A lack of consideration of vitalist forces in urban space planning highlights the importance of understanding these forces and what they do in an open space. Deleuzian ontology provides the basis for an understanding of the dynamics of spaces of hospitality and the potential for a process of becoming with life as a starting point. This chapter also attempts to link the experimental nature of the cultural laboratory, as a testing entity and as a metaphor, and the idea of an open-ended organisation of space. The cultural laboratory may have different becomings and this is suggested to be connected with open spaces of hospitality. Deleuzian ontology and the concept of assemblage (Deleuze & Guattari, 1987) are put to work to understand opening up spaces of hospitality. Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004) argue through Derrida (1999) to open up space. Conceptually speaking, by opening up spaces of hospitality, the space becomes less predictable and a less stable entity. The theoretical advantages of such a hospitality space can be rendered and understood on a conceptual level by the idea of access. In order for the making and remaking of Deleuzian and Guattarian assemblages, access to other territories or plateaus is prerequisite. Assemblages in their state of becoming continuously make new connections and open spaces of hospitality are providers of difference which assure availability of new bodies and ideas. The concept of spaces of hospitality is therefore a key concept and in this thesis understood as a manner of organising space. On a daily level, theoretical advantages of a less stable hospitality space include appealing unstandardised hospitality experiences and involvement of more life spheres. The modernist compartmentalization of work, family, school, personal and public in separate defined places will start to merge in open-ended spaces of hospitality. I understand that this reasoning is a theoretical conceptual reasoning. Therefore, towards the end of this part of the thesis, the case of *Hotel Transvaal* (Grit, Lynch & Mishra, 2009) is used to strengthen the understanding between opening up spaces of hospitality and the organisation of space.

4.1 DERRIDA AND OPEN SPACES OF HOSPITALITY

This section introduces the work of Jacques Derrida (2000) on the deconstruction of hospitality. This part suggests that the deconstruction of hospitality as a philosophy has important implications for a consideration of the concept of assemblage to understand the workings of a cultural laboratory. Mustafa Dikeç's (2002) essay on opening spaces of hospitality is based on the deconstruction of hospitality by Derrida (2000). This deconstruction is useful and necessary to un-cloud, uncover and demystify the constructs to which hospitality has been subject. According to Derrida, "Hospitality is a contradictory concept and experience in itself' that is 'possible only on the condition of its impossibility, producing itself as impossible', which is the condition of its possibility" (2000, p.4). Dikeç opens the discussion on the true nature and concept of hospitality through the work of Derrida. David Bell's work (2007) acknowledges the theoretical and philosophical debate about ways of relating, about hosts and guests. Derrida's discussions, which form a framework to Bell's work, discussed in the last chapter, have an influence across a range of disciplines concerned with the ethics and politics of the host-guest relationship (p.9). In addition to the discussion in the last section, Derrida also talks about the difference between the virtual states and the actual states in Deleuzian The concept of hospitality needs to go beyond ideas concerning time (spending time in another location than home) and activities (made available by the host) to individual subjective experiences so that the guest her/himself has a part to play in the active construction of the guest experience (Wearing and Wearing, 1988).

Derrida's (2000) deconstruction of hospitality is useful in order to stress the fact that hospitality is an experience which is always on the doorstep. Derrida argues that there is a paradox in absolute, unconditional hospitality: hospitality given by a host to a guest, whoever he or she may be, with no thought of reciprocity or reparation. This is an openness to giving or offering to give to the 'absolute, unknown, anonymous other'. To be a perfect host means to offer hospitality unconditionally, unreservedly, unendingly (Derrida, 2000, p.5). According to Derrida this idealised form of hospitality, to which he refers as 'just hospitality', is locked in a 'non-dialectisable antinomy' with the conditional form, which he calls 'hospitality by rights', or 'hospitality in the ordinary sense' (Derrida, 2000). Derrida discusses hospitality with four acceptations– the notion of 'not knowing', a temporal contradiction, a regulatory dimension and a self-contradictory or self limiting nature of hospitality. These acceptations are important to consider as a fundamental and philosophical aspect of understanding hospitality practice in a post-structural context.

Derrida also touches on politics of hospitality where a politics of hospitality is 'a politics of capacity and power' with regard to both the host and the guest, concerning the power of the host over the guest and vice versa, 'like two sovereign powers' (2000).

Derrida's (2000 p. 5) first acceptation is on the dimension of 'not-knowing' as an essential part of the notion of hospitality. According to Derrida this not-knowing is not automatically a lack, a disability, a weakness. It reminds the mind only that hospitality is not a concept that readily lends itself to an objective knowledge. This acceptation, clearly questions the generalisation of knowledge concerning the encounter. Dikeç (2002) stresses that Derrida wants to emphasise hospitality is an experience beyond objective knowing, directed to the other as the absolute stranger of whom nothing is known. According to Dikeç, the conceptualisation of the stranger revolves around 'circles of conditionality such as the family, the nation, the State, citizenship', thus already assuming some form of determination in the conceiving of the 'other' as the stranger to whom hospitality is due (p.230). For Dikeç, this implies that the spaces of hospitality are becoming more closed. In order to understand the hospitality experience, a closer look is needed into the process of engagement and the power roles that are created and sustained in hospitality spaces. The stranger assumes an important role in the idea of an unpredictable process of becoming.

The second acceptation of Derrida has to do with 'the temporal contradiction of hospitality'. Derrida, through the work of Raffestin (1997, p.166), argues that hospitality carries both a temporal (before – after) and a spatial value (here/on this side – beyond). He argues that we do not know what hospitality is simply because it is not a 'present being'. Derrida's temporal contradiction refers to the point that the experience of offering or receiving hospitality cannot last; it is performed only 'in the imminence of that which is "on the point of arriving" and can only last an instant' (2000, p.9). This issue focuses on the time aspect and will be dealt with in more detail by the concept of affect by Deleuze. The affect is the effect of the machinic assemblage and is a result of an actualisation of vitalist forces. Derrida's temporal contradiction comes close to Deleuzian ideas that virtuals are always in a state of being actualised and assemblages are always in states of initiation.

A third acceptation of Derrida's work on the dimension of 'not yet' is not, however, about temporality. Derrida (2000) argues that on one hand, 'not yet' refers to our limited ability to conceptualise hospitality since until now it has been conceptualised as a cosmopolitical system of

limits and obligations, and as a regulative idea. Thus conceptualisations of hospitality have been limited to 'universal European law' (p.7). Dikeç (2002) argues that there is a need to reconsider the boundary, not only as a separator but as a connector as well, where hospitality comes into play pointing beyond the boundaries. More importantly, if a cosmopolitan approach is to be taken, hospitality needs to be considered more than just in terms of cosmo-political conditions; going beyond the interests, authority and legislation of the state (p.243). On the other hand, 'not yet' refers to the opening as an intrinsic part of the notion of hospitality for we do not know, yet, who and what will come (Derrida, 2000, p.8). Thus, before the encounter takes place, there is already a predisposition or stance towards the intruder. By crossing the boundaries or threshold, that edge the space of hospitality, both the host and the guest have fixed ideas about the encounter and the meaning of the encounter, within a regulatory and objectified spatial composition.

Hospitality, as Derrida suggests, is a 'being at the threshold'. Dikeç goes on further to argue that the act of hospitality is never completed – the guest is never settled because there is a constant process of engagement, negotiation and perhaps contestation. There is a constant process of shifting roles as hosts and guests. The guest and the host are held in tension which is an important feature of the notion of hospitality in the sense of avoiding oppressive settlements and closures and furthermore, calling for a political dimension in addition to the purely administrative. Dikeç, further, is of the opinion that as far as the relationship between the guest and the host is considered, hospitality is neither absolute nor ultimate (2002, p.237). Furthermore, Derrida argues that the challenge is to find the means, between the law of hospitality, which is unconditional, and laws of hospitality, which limit, condition and are inscribed in laws between states, to welcome the stranger (p.231).

The final acceptation, Derrida (2000) makes, relates to the self-contradictory and self-limiting nature of hospitality. Dikeç points out, through Derrida, that in order for the host to be able to offer hospitality to the other as a stranger, the host 'has to be the master at his/her house' and 'has to be assured of the sovereignty of the space and goods s/he offers'. Derrida argues that hospitality becomes a threshold.

4.2 DIKEÇ AND FRIESE AND THE OPENING UP OF SPACES OF HOSPITALITY

The space between the host and the guest has possibilities for difference and openness and, on the other hand, for sameness. As we have seen for Deleuzian ethics, movements towards sameness

and molar lines create undesirable, unliveable, unvital spaces. This section will focus on the ethics of space through the philosophy of Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004), where they make arguments for opening spaces of hospitality towards difference. Their ideals are discussed in the following paragraphs. The main argument of Dikeç is that he wants to open spaces of hospitality. He puts forward four dimensions concerning the ethics of spaces of hospitality. The first dimension concerns the re-conceptualisation of hospitality. Secondly, Dikeç argues for the rethinking of boundaries and the stranger. The third dimension touches on law and politics and finally, the fourth dimension touches on the roles of the host and the guest.

Concerning the first dimension of ethics, Dikeç bases his work on Derrida's deconstruction of hospitality and argues that a sufficient explanation cannot be given for hospitality due to the fact that it is not a 'present being' (p.228). This argument is in line with Derrida's second explanation concerning the temporal contradiction of the notion of hospitality. It is also in line with Deleuzian ideas of 'becoming'. Hospitality in this sense, expresses a temporary notion as that which is always before the event. However, neither Dikeç nor Friese refer to the ideas from Deleuze about becomings and rhizomes. The ideas from Deleuze and the ideas from Dikeç and Friese are complementary to each other in this sense. Concerning hospitality, both Dikeç and Friese want to open up spaces of hospitality to difference. Dikeç argues that the notion of hospitality is one that needs critical reflection and investigation, one that needs re-conceptualisation. It may not always be liberating or emancipatory for both the host and guest, but may, on the other hand, hide an unjust aspect beneath its welcoming surface (p.228). This point is vital as a quality statement in relation to the spaces of hospitality since it touches on the manifested power relations, exclusion and inclusion.

Friese goes into the roots of hospitality and also plays a role in exploring the semantic and conceptual field of hostis/hospes. According to her, the concept of hostis originally referred to the identity of the master of the house or household. Hospitality was limited to a reciprocal exchange, an obligatory pact which ultimately reflected the legal and institutional framework and a 'specific politics of hospitality'. She also explained the double meaning of the notion of hospitality, where hospitality refers to both the guest or stranger and the enemy and how it already predefines the guest as 'being-foreign' and 'hostile' (2004, p.69). Thus by having such a predefinition of the stranger in the space of hospitality, the space is already being closed with less chance, possibility or inclination to open up. Further, she asks for opening up spaces of hospitality and redefines the role of the other. Note the changed connotations from guest into other. If one assumes the stance

of a Deleuzian dividual, the term dividual indicates that a body is always in becoming and therefore multiple, the question of 'own' becomes difficult since the subject gains meaning from the encounters that it generates through space. The Deleuzian dividual is critical towards the liberal individual. The liberal individual indicates a fixed identity which needs to be protected against influences from the outside. Friese (2004) refers to the ideas of Hans-Dieter Bahr which give some evidence of operative constitutive changes that challenge any form of stable and describable identity. What is essential is the recognition of the principled impossibility of a clearly defined 'own' and/or 'other'. Instead of questioning stable and resistant structures, one should aim to question the possibilities of outcomes from a plurality of emergent social life. Moreover, it may be possible to open space to a combination of ideas of anthropology and philosophy in a way to discuss ambiguities in hospitality (p.74).

Dikeç argues that thinking about hospitality should involve thinking about openings and recognition, and acknowledges the inherent nature of boundaries in the notion of hospitality. He implies a 'mutuality of recognition', and argues that boundaries need to be opened, without being totally abolished, and the stranger needs to be given spaces, thus providing for recognition on both sides of the boundary (2002, p.229). Regarding the stranger, Dikeç (2002) concludes that there is greater importance in being able to provide for the social, cultural, institutional, ethical and political spaces where people could learn to engage with and learn from each other, in a democratic way. People may then be able to find their own meaning in things free from subordination and control. This supersedes the (un)importance of reflection on avoidance of the 'disturbance' of the stranger. Dikeç's point is therefore to open spaces; where recognition as well as contestation and conflict can take place. Furthermore, the point is not merely to open spaces, but to keep them open also (p.244).

Dikeç supports the possibility that hospitality could be developed as a sensibility in social relationships and interactions, as well as in institutional practices. Through the work of Connolly (as quoted in Dikeç, 2002), Dikeç relates sensibility with 'critical responsiveness' which is characterised by boundary crossings, and which is essential to the 'maintenance of the constitutive tension between pluralism and pluralisation'. This arises in settings where the end in question is not clearly viewable. According to Dikeç (2002), hospitality implies the cultivation of an ethics and politics of engagement. It is a sensibility, both political and ethical, which implies reverence for the stranger (p.236-237). In this way the stranger gains power and access to newly produced or reproduced spaces of hospitality.

On a more macro-industry level, Friese (2004) also focuses on the guest. She theorises the guest as a stranger and how the stranger gets a special position within society. Friese questions this tendency to 'reduce' the guests' roles to that of the stranger. Friese's idea of the role of the stranger is fixed. She argues that hospitality is a fine art which avoids the destabilisation of a fragile equilibrium. It implies esteem and consideration from the side of the guest, as well as a clear understanding to depart at the right time, so as not to interrupt the daily routine and rhythm of the house and become a burden or a nuisance (2004, p.70). Therefore, the stranger has to respect the schedule of the host, who is the master of the space of hospitality. Friese then argues that the stranger embodies the encounter with the unknown, dubious, incomprehensible and uncanny. The perception of the stranger's doubtfulness and his potential threat can lead to the stranger being labelled as a scapegoat or a public enemy. From this, aspects of hospitality which should guarantee sanctuary, protection and exchange may lead to thoughts of deception or invasion of the stranger and his plundering notions (2004, p.70). Furthermore, she points out, "If the stranger is rendered a guest only with respect to another singular other, namely the host, then 'absolute hospitality' paradoxically becomes the continuation of the phrase 'we do not need guests' " (p.72). This shows the importance of the stranger's place in a society in relation to his or her contact with the society at large. The idea of the stranger in my view is more complex. Simmel's (1950b) explanation of the stranger involves two types of distances namely: social distance; and proximal distance. (Simmel, 1950). Simmel took the figure of the stranger to explain, or rather to capture, the contradictory experience of what it means to interact socially with someone who is both near in a spatial sense, yet remote in a social sense. Simmel (1950) describes the dilemma as:

The unity of nearness and remoteness involved in every human relation is organised in the phenomena of the stranger, in a way which may be most briefly formulated by saying that in the relationship to him, distance means that he, who is close by, is far, and strangeness means that he, who is also far, is actually near. For, to be a stranger is naturally a very positive relation; it is a specific form of interaction (p.402-403).

Friese (2004) acknowledges that hospitality signifies the deferment of definite belongings and evolves in a liminal space. It does not imply sacrifice beforehand, the giving of gifts or taking advantage of the other within an encounter. On the other hand, she argues, "It opens a space and forms of exchange that allow for encounter, yet does not extinguish the obligations that must be

noticed and noted for hospitality to come into being and to subsist" (p.74). Hospitality has been seen so far as a response to the arrival of an 'other' and a demand inevitably always already implies a form of reciprocity. In this sense, hospitality intervenes as a regulatory factor in the obligation of the guest towards the host; and the mutual pact created between the one who receives, or the host, and the one who gives him/herself to the host, or the guest. This mutual pact, though promising negotiation and agreement, cannot be considered to be guaranteed or assured by hospitality (Friese, 2004, p.73).

On a more philosophical level, Friese argues that hospitality is not all about its thematisation but also an integral part of an ethics of good life, or a renewed ethics of hospitality. She also recognises the need to talk about the tension between the law of unconditional hospitality, on the one hand, and the political and legal laws on the other (2004, p.71). Dikeç (2002) refers to Kantian philosophy and its inclusion of ethical and political perspectives in its definition and explanation of hospitality. Dikeç argues that Kantian philosophy does not consider hospitality to be some kind of abstract right to be distributed individually, but one limited by agreements, conditions and prejudices. Moreover, it is one that cannot be held to guarantee; in the same way that an abstract right cannot be a guarantor of treatment compatible with human dignity. As far as human dignity is concerned, the notion of hospitality goes along with human rights. Although providing the inclusion of some rights in hospitality, the Kantian philosophy, as pointed out by Dikeç is still conditioned. This is why the notion of hospitality advanced here is conceived as both ethical and political (p.235).

Using two terms from Pogge (1992) institutional and interactional conception of hospitality, Dikeç (2002) rationalises a different direction in ethics, politics and law within hospitality than that of Kantian philosophy. The institutional conception of hospitality has to do with the juridical, with principles and institutional arrangements; while the interactional conception has to do with ethics, our actions and engagements as individuals and groups, as well as social coalitions and relations that go beyond institutional practices and structures. Dikeç argues that the institutional conception is not enough to describe implications of the politics of hospitality which are present in all acts of hospitality (p.237). The ideas of Kant take into consideration power relations in spaces of hospitality; however access for all was not his focal point. In opening spaces of hospitality, this access issue needs to be addressed.

Hospitality has been seen as a more or less formalised rite of integration, regulating the transformation of the stranger's status and considering him or her as socially acceptable. In order to have the same rights and benefits, he must be transformed into a relative or citizen, thus becoming 'a new social being', and being allocated into a determined place in society (Friese, 2004, p.71). Here Friese argues for the deconstruction of the stranger, who is perceived to have a negative place in a society. This placing of the stranger by the host leads to the questioning of the authority of the host. Dikeç (2002) argues for questioning, instead of considering the relation between host and guest being conceived as absolute. He questions the construction and limitations of authority. According to Dikeç, being hospitable or extending the notion of hospitality does not imply the sovereign power of the host over the guest, but the recognition that we play shifting roles in our engagements, both as hosts and guests. He further argues that hospitality is not about rules of stay being implied or predefined through power relations between hosts and guests, but about recognition that we are hosts and guests at the same time in multiple and shifting ways. In this aspect the roles of the host and the guest, are not to be pre-conceived but are mutually constitutive of each other and are relational in nature (p.239). Through these important points, Dikeç emphasises the shifting roles of the host and the guest. The guest, in Dikeç's perspective, requires and deserves more power. Through the guests gaining power in space, society itself consequently becomes more hospitable. The space of hospitality is not a value-free space and involves dynamics. In this respect I move to the concepts of flow and flux.

This relationship between flow and flux is described by Simmel. Flow is a simpler harmonic gathering (Lash 2005). On the other hand flux, according to Urry who refers to Simmel, involves tension and conflict, a dialectic of technology social life at complex intersections of mobilities and immobilities. Urry also points out that there is no simple or pure flow but rather more a vitalist flux (2007, p.25). Deleuze and Guattari link flow and flux to the concepts of desire, a desire for flux is a desire for difference. This desire is, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), a productive and creative energy, a desire of flux, force and difference, a revolutionary. Flux relates to the need to think in ways that will disrupt common sense and everyday life. Flow refers to the process of realisation, a desire someone has for something she wants or lacks (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Flow is considered as involving a negative desire which is infused by capitalist thinking. Desire is directly connected to the concept of Vital Life Forces. These are described in the second chapter as constructive forces.

The concept of opening up spaces of hospitality in relationship with a Deleuzian Guattarian desire for flux and difference results in the notion of "opening up spaces of hospitality to

difference". In other words making the space of hospitality more unpredictable and an allowance of Vital Life Forces to be realised

4.3 HOSPITALITY LENS AND THE DESCRIPTION OF SOCIETY

The hospitality conceptual lens (Lashley, Lynch & Morrison; 2006) focuses on hospitality interactions in order to analyse society. The lens focuses on the themes: host-guest transactions, inclusion/exclusion, social and cultural dimensions, laws, performance, domestic discourse, politics of space, types and sites, and commerce. These themes focus on hospitality transactions in the light of a host/guest dichotomy, while still adopting a subject/object dichotomy with room for an embodied performative approach. Table 4.1 provides an overview of these themes.

Themes	Description
Host/guest transaction	In certain cases, the role of the authority is accepted by the hosts, in others the role of the authority is not accepted
Inclusion/exclusions	Certain strangers are welcomed and transformed into the guests, certain strangers are not welcomed
Socio-cultural dimensions	Certain norms are constructed through the relationship between the hosts and the guests and the socio-cultural contexts under which the relationship takes place
Laws	Standards and principles, norms and obligations defined through the social and cultural settings
Performance	Symbolism of meanings, authenticity and staged authenticity, depicted through the host/guest transaction
Domestic discourse	Domestic settings, gender issues, and practices observed through the transaction between the host and the guest
Politics of Space	Boundaries, which denote inclusion and exclusion, domestic and commercial discourses
Types and sites	Forms and locations and their role in experiencing the host/guest transactions as the core of the hospitality
Commerce	Commercial hospitality is only one among the other social dimensions of the host/guest transaction

Table 4.1 Hospitality a social lens (themes) (Lashley et al., 2007)

This lens indicates the issues in spaces of hospitality, which interactively influence each other. The focal points of the lens are imminently present in the literature review. The lens is built on the assumption and definition of Lashley, (2001, p.4), who defines hospitality as,

... "a set of behaviours which originate with the very foundations of society".

Lashley argues that sharing and exchanging the rewards of labour, together with mutuality and reciprocity, associated originally with the hunting and gathering of food, are at the core of collective organisation and communality. Although he refers to later developments where there is an apprehension and fear of, and need to, contain the stranger, hospitality is primarily concerned with mutuality and exchange, and thereby feelings of altruism and beneficence.

By focusing and zooming in the lens on spaces of hospitality, the different aspects of the hospitality space are made visible. However, the bodily affects, produced by the assemblage challenges the researcher to record becomings. Čaušević (2008) employs the hospitality social lens framework (Lashley, Lynch and Morrison, 2007) to analyse the host-guest relationship under those specific post-conflict contexts (p.357). Čaušević's (2008) research into post-war tourist developments, developed partly through the hospitality lens, describes the term phoenix tourism as, "a comprehensive term in defining the process of tourism development after long-term political conflict, which can be attributed to the energy involved in rebuilding and re-energising, and then, coming back to normality". Her research defines phoenix tourism as a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imaging and revitalisation in a post-conflict context. Čaušević's research uses the lens to focus on spaces of hospitality and produces a critical concept – phoenix tourism. The main characteristic of phoenix tourism is that it is not a permanent label, but one stage in the process by which a conflict becomes a genuine tourism heritage. Phoenix tourism is not just another tourism sub-group or another tourism niche. Phoenix tourism has an expiry date. It is one of the stages in the process of post-conflict tourism development. Its main characteristic is its dynamics. According to Čaušević:

Phoenix tourism is a state of mind. Tourism theory sees only the destroyed site and labels this as dark tourism. Phoenix tourism is the state of mind which argues that the ruined Mostar Bridge alone is not important. It is the state of mind which argues that the renovated Mostar Bridge is not important either. It is a state of mind which understands that the dynamics of that change, the process of re-building that bridge gives the meaning. The story, the connection, the link, and the process, give meaning. This is phoenix tourism (p.351).

This example indicates that the hospitality lens brings into focus aspects which were unseen before such as phoenix tourism, and also could magnify the process of opening up hospitality

space. The themes discussed in the hospitality lens provide a framework to understand the dynamics of space by looking in particular at transactions, socio-cultural dimensions, performance and the politics of space. These aspects can inform this research regarding the predictable nature of closed spaces and the reinforcement of hospitality as a commercial transaction.

4.4 MOBILITIES

The discussion on mobilities is relevant to this research due to the movement that the workings of a cultural laboratory entail. Molz and Gibson (2007) indicate Social relations are increasingly produced through mobile networks of environmental, cultural, social and economic interdependencies that transcend territorially bounded societies or nation states (p.3). Movement of people, things, information and ideas are central to people's lives and to most organisations. Urry (2007) accepted and developed, through this movement, a 'new mobilities paradigm', which is explained in this section. Urry examines how mobilities each presuppose a system that permits predictable and relatively risk-free repetitions. The book Mobilities (2007) encompasses such systems and analyses the implications for social inequality, social networks and meetings, the nature of places and alternative mobility futures. In his book Sociology beyond societies, Urry (2000) asserted and developed new mobile rules for sociological methods. Urry (2007) argues to examine the extent, range, and diverse effects of the corporeal, imagined and virtual mobilities of people, for work, for pleasure, to escape torture, to sustain diasporas and so on. He also argues to consider things as social facts and to see agency as a product of mutual intersection of people and objects; and to embody one's analysis through investigating 'sensuous' constitutions of humans and objects (p.9). The link to cultural laboratories is that a cultural laboratory is a social phenomenon which includes the movement of ideas, people and artefacts. The organisation of the cultural laboratory could affect social inequality, and power relationships.

Urry draws on the work of Jain (2002) and Kaufman (2002) and notes that there are four main understandings of the term 'mobility'. The first one is to mean something that moves or is capable of movement. Here it is taken to be in a positive sense. Secondly, there is a sense of mobile as a mob, or an unruly crowd not fully fixed within boundaries and one that needs to be tracked and socially regulated. Thirdly, there is a sense of mobility deployed in mainstream social science. This is known as upward or downward social mobility, where mobility is seen more as vertical and involves hierarchies. Lastly, there is mobility in a longer term sense of migration or

other kinds of semi-permanent geographical movement. This kind of movement is implied in a horizontal sense of always being 'on the move' (Urry, 2007, p.7-8).

Urry makes use of the ideas from Simmel, especially making references to the essay 'The bridge and the door' (1994). This is logical since Simmel describes the movement of various mobilities. Urry noted Simmel's interpretation of the significance of mobility infrastructures. According to Simmel there is exceptional human achievement involved in creating a path that links two particular places. To understand the work of Urry, this essay from Simmel is discussed. Kaern (1994) translated Simmel and pointed out one of the greatest achievements of humans who were the first to construct a path between two locations. Although subjective relation was created through the treading of humans back and forth on a path between two locations, "they were objectively related only after humans imprinted the path visibly on the surface of the earth". Through this, Kaern argues than the 'will-to-relate' had facilitated unlimited repetition, independent of the number of times of its occurrence (p.408). This argument suggests that there is a flow between subjective and objective forms of relations which may be reinforced through mobilities in the sense of being on the move, socially mobilising in society and regulation of mobile 'mobs'. The cultural laboratory, when seen as an assemblage moves from one configuration to the other, caused by interventions by vitalist forces and the will to do something.

Kaern suggests that the bridge symbolises the spreading of our will through space. Using the metaphor of the banks of the river as 'separated', he states the concept of separation would not have any meaning if it was not already thought of by us in our imagination by our relating to it. Kaern argues that the natural form aids this conception of separateness; here separateness of singular elements appears to be the rule but the mind then transcends this separateness in a reconciling and unifying fashion (p.408). According to Kaern, the significance of the door demonstrates that the acts of separating and relating are but two sides of the same act (p.409). The metaphor of a cultural laboratory can give insights into these movements. A cultural laboratory has elements of both bridge and door included. It enables, closes and creates paths into different experience worlds.

Urry uses Simmelian thinking (1997, p.p.160) to add a descriptive layer in mobility studies, the layer of socio-spatial patterns. Although Simmel published in the beginning of the twentieth century and other forms of travel should be added, his manner of analysis remains valuable, (1997, p.p.160). Simmel distinguishes between various socio-spatial patterns of mobility such as

nomadism, wandering, a royal tour of the kingdom, diasporic travel, the Court's travel, migration, adventure and leisure travel. He notes that in each case its social form or the 'form of sociation. in the case of a wandering group in contrast to a spatially fixed one' is distinct. According to Simmel, this contrast stems from the 'temporal duration' implicated in the period 'away'. Simmel argues that "Time structures the 'nuancing of the course of a gathering' – but this is no simple and direct relationship. Sometimes a short time encounter can lead to the conveying of secrets through the role of the temporary 'stranger'; while on other occasions spending a longer time together is necessary for mutual adaptation to occur so as to develop the trust of all involved" (as cited in Urry, 2007, p.p.21). In the above paragraph, the effect of time as an influence on duration of stay is mentioned. The amount of time that one stays somewhere has implications for the kind of relationships formed.

Concerning travel, Simmel makes an important point. He argues that not only are people attracted to each other because of ulterior reasons but also for the pleasures of 'free-playing sociability', for forms of social interaction that are freed from content, substance and ulterior end. According to Simmel (1997, p.p.9-10), "Co-present conversations happen in and for themselves, a kind of 'pure interaction' that can be an end in itself". Much of social life and hence the perceived need or obligation to travel stems from the pleasures and attractions of talking face-to-face, and sometimes body-to-body." Simmel also examines the attractions of 'adventure' in shaping the desire to be elsewhere; such an adventure occurs 'outside the usual continuity of this life' (Simmel, 1997, p.222). The adventurer, he says, is in the present, not determined by the past and where there is no future. The adventurer thus enables the body to escape the blasé attitude, to be rejuvenated through moments of bodily arousal in motion (Urry, 2007, p.24-25). This play form of society as Simmel describes it is very compatible with the metaphor of the cultural laboratory which is described in the second chapter.

Mobilities such as objects are not just sharing a time space configuration but react towards each other. Simmel talks about how 'things find their meaning in relation to each other, and how the mutuality of the relationships in which they are involved constitutes what and how they are' (Lash, 2005, p.325). Simmel in this respect gives an insight in the Berlin trade show how all objects seem to communicate with each other (Frisby, 1992). This relationship is described by Simmel as flux rather than flow, flow is a simpler harmonic gathering (Lash 2005, p.324). According to Urry, "Flux involves tension, struggle and conflict, a dialectic of technology social life or, as I develop below, the complex intersections of mobilities and immobilities. There is no

simple or pure flow according to Simmel but more a vitalist flux" (2007, p.25). Modernist reasoning about spaces of hospitality prefers flow rather than flux since flow connects to predictability, plannability and logical reasoning.

Urry suggests a complex (rather than vitalist) character of social life stemming from the flux-like dialectic of immobility and mobility, and in particular from the Simmelian inspired-account of the dialectic of systematisation and personalisation (p.26). The space of hospitality is not a value-free space and involves dynamics. Flux could describe the nature of vitalist forces and the movement of an assemblage from one time-space configuration to the other, highlighting the movement of the cultural laboratory.

Deleuze and Guattari explain the process of deterritorialisation of nomadic territories based on their ontological lines that describe the 'smoother' organisation of space which characterises Nomadic societies. Deleuze and Guattari elaborate on the implications of nomads, external to each state. Nomads characterise societies of de-territorialisation, constituted by lines of flight rather than by points or nodes. They argue that the nomad has no points, paths or land. If the nomad can be called the de-territorialised par excellence, it is precisely because there is no re-territorialisation afterwards as with the migrant. More generally, here in the works of Lash, this neo-vitalism emphasises process and change as the core of social life. There is no stasis, only processes of creation and transformation. There is nothing before movement; movement expresses how things are (as cited in Urry, 2007, p.33).

According to Urry's mobility paradigm, new kinds of 'on the move' research methods are needed to simulate the interdependent forms of intermittent movement of people, images, information and objects. These 'mobile methods' include observation, especially face-to-face observations; participation while conducting ethnographic research; maintaining time-space diaries; analysing texting, web-sites, blogs, e-mail and so on; anticipating the particular atmosphere; researching objects and pictures that people carry. All these methods can examine how multiple tracks of people pass through various 'transfer points' (Urry, 2007, p.39-41). With this point Urry provides a reasonable argument to move towards a more experimental methodology capable of capturing the mobilities aspect in my home exchanges.

4.6 CONCLUSION

Derrida, Dikeç and Friese indicate that modernist thinking assigned a role to the stranger. This role led to a reduced position in relation to the host. Friese (2004) discusses semantics within hospitality and refers to the predisposition prevalent towards the stranger. This closes space, consequently making it more predictable. Dikeç (2002) argues for a mutuality of recognition and advocates a different politics of hospitality, with implications for the construction of open space. Derrida provides a philosophical direction to think about the notion of hospitality which points towards a post-structural understanding of interactions and experiences. Derrida informs us with a useful analysis that hospitable is not a current thing but a thing always in a state of becoming. All three authors argue to open up space of hospitality and to redefine the host guest relationship. This is congruent with the concepts of Deleuze, who advocates lines of flight and deterritorialisation to redefine the space. Molar lines have been threatening world hospitality spaces, and therefore vitality, too long. Flow implies stasis and predictability and by considering the flux present at the intersection of vitalist forces, a post-structural understanding of processes is enabled.

An issue which is neglected is the experiential element of the space of hospitality. Perhaps the stranger has access to space. How is the space then catering towards the stranger? The embodiment of the stranger is necessary to add to the discussion of opening up spaces of hospitality. The feminist authors Wearing and Wearing (1996), and Veijola and Jokinnen (2007) stress this point as discussed in Chapter Two. An intermediation process discussed in this chapter exhibited the distinction of the tourist and local. However a post-structural understanding of the organisation of space demands a consideration of social, psychic and individual forces present within. Ellis (1991) refers to the neglect of emotions and their experience, and argues for the importance of studying how private and social experience is fused in felt emotions (as cited in Lynch, 2005). The viewpoints of these authors are valuable for knowing spaces of hospitality, both from a host perspective as well as a guest perspective. Referring to Bell (2007), a closer look into moods and atmospheres is needed to understand a hybrid conception of commercial hospitality space. As discussed, art can possibly evoke emotions and affects among people involved in spaces of hospitality, leading to creative becomings and open spaces of hospitality. This calls for an open-ended organisation of space free from striation. Opening up spaces of hospitality involves destroying current organisations within space to give rise to new forms of organisation. This process can be liberating for people who lack access to space while on the other hand, people who are in power and set the organisations of spaces of hospitality will lose control over their power.

CHAPTER 5 PREDICTABILITY AND SPACES OF HOSPITALITY

This chapter focuses on the forces which influence the dynamics of spaces of hospitality, such as institionalisation, commercialisation, McDonalisation, diversification and personalisation; and reviews literature which account for how to record these dynamics. The dynamics are set in a framework which addresses the Deleuzian two natures of becoming which are presented in table 2.3.; through this framework, the becoming of hospitality space can move from the virtual towards the actual or from the possible to the real. In both cases, hospitality space is the space in becoming and is regarded as a cultural laboratory. The becoming of hospitality space can follow a predictable pattern, space in this respect is striated space, this is the space which could flourish in modernity and is managed by procedures, service blueprints, service concepts and service quality could be measured. The becoming of hospitality space can also follow an unpredictable pattern whereby the space continuously is negotiated and other spaces become integrated and part of. hospitality space. This is the space of the cultural laboratory.

This chapter also focuses on how to record and represent the dynamics of space. Simmel describes the process of 'formung' as the crystallisation or condensation (Verdichtung) of interactions into cultural forms—both transitory (as culture in statu nascendi) and enduring. This concept involves the process of giving form to content (Frisby, 2002, p.xx-xxi). In a similar vein Goffman described the dynamics in the form of performances (1959). Crouch (2003) acknowledges possible deviations'. Crouch (2003, p.1945) introduces the concept of performativity

This chapter is divided into seven sub-parts. The first sub-part focuses on unpredictable movements within spaces of hospitality and discusses Simmel's adventurer (1911), together with Henricks' (2006) contemporary interpretation of Simmelian thinking into play and communitas. Following this, the second sub-part discusses performance (Goffman, 1956; MacCannell, 1979) as theatrical staged authenticity, and performimitivity (Crouch, 2003) as a concept of reconstituting life and 'going further'. The third sub-part discusses the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) as the next stage in economic offering. Ritzer's discussion on McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1991, 1996, 2006) is introduced in the fourth sub-part where predictability is critiqued. The fifth sub-part focuses on hospitality and commercialisation with a discussion on commercial hospitality by Bell (2007) and the control chain by Robinson and Lynch (2007). The sixth sub-

part presents an offer of hospitality in less institutionalised hospitality settings and presents a discussion on Deleuze and Guattari's conception of home (1987). Finally, in the eighth sub-part, a discussion can be found on the eruption of the unexpected in social sciences, through car boot sales and other contemporary practices.

The objective and subjective culture concepts from Simmel provide an insight into how culture is created and recreated into forms, such as the adventurer and the stranger which are discussed further in the literature review. This process of creation and recreation includes 'formung' (forming). This forming also happens in spaces of hospitality and influences the predictability and experience of the space itself. According to Urry (2000), enforced mobility in the twenty first century led to dynamic constructions and deconstructions of forms. Hospitality, is here defined as 'inviting the other', and as a result became more a process of 'hosting' and 'guesting'. In the book Mobilising hospitality: the ethics of social relations in a mobile world (2007), authors assessed mobility and hospitality issues.

5.1 PLAY AND COMMUNITAS

The work of Simmel (1911) and Henricks (2006) is important because they give an account for interactions in host-guest encounters. Interactions can be analysed to see how space is being produced. I suggest that play also has implications for the engagement of individuals in spaces of hospitality and the negotiation and initiation of assemblages within. Simmel refers to social types within society while Henricks provides an understanding of forms of human expression, based on Simmel's work. Referring to the form and content discussion discussed earlier, the form relates to subjective culture and can give an idea of the types of relationships that are characterised by open and closed spaces of hospitality.

I suggest that interactions in spaces of hospitality are moderated to a large extent, embedded in predictable outcomes. Various social types collectively make up society as suggested by Simmel (1971). Simmel (1971) indicated society to be 'a name for several individuals connected by interactions'. For instance, an adventurer is a social type within society. The adventure is marked by its disruption of the flow of one's routine. It stands outside of the psychological chain that links ordinary experiences and seem to occur outside the context of regular living. It has an unreal quality, like dreams, compared to the day-to-day events that are so familiar. Simmel continuously described the adventure as a beginning and an end much sharper than those to be

discovered in other forms of our experiences. As a result, the adventure seemed to be disconnected from the events that surround it. The tension between its closeness to life and its distance from the everyday gives the adventure a different kind of logical coherence. The adventurer seems to function with a disregard for the ordinary apprehension of causes and effects. Kjølsrød (2003, p.462) draws on the work of Simmel, who argues that an adventure springs from a differentiation within life that opens for something unexpected. According to Simmel (1971[1911], p.189–190), adventure occurs when the continuity of life is disregarded on principle, or rather, when there is no need to disregard it, "because we are aware from the beginning that we have to do with something alien, extraneous, out of the ordinary". According to Simmel (1971[1911], p.189–190), something becomes an adventure by virtue of two conditions. The first one is that adventure is itself a specific organisation of some significant meaning with a beginning and an end and that despite its extraterritoriality with respect to the continuity of a life, "it nevertheless connects with the character and the identity of the bearer of that life". Furthermore, it has a nature to transcend life's more narrowly rational aspects. The second condition is that it is a socially organised activity in which play can take place. I suggest the inherent nature of play to facilitate creative becomings in an open organisation of space. In reference to the cultural laboratory, play is characterised by some experimental form of activity.

Henricks (2006) referred to Huizinga's (1955) definition of play as a 'special form of activity', and a 'well-defined quality of action which is different from ordinary life'. Furthermore, play is not reducible to other forms of experience. Some characteristics of play were also listed by Huizinga (1955, p.4), where he argues play to be something voluntary, not ordinary or real life, secluded or limited. He further states that play creates order, is ordered and surrounds itself with secrecy. Henricks (2006) argues that by playing, one deeply cuts oneself off from life's continuities and complexities (p.2). Lugosi (2008) refers to communitas experiences within spaces of hospitality. Lugosi refers to Victor Turner's (1969) interpretation of communitas to describe interactions within spaces of hospitality. Henricks' book Play Reconsidered (2006) explores the concept of play from sociological perspectives. Based on Simmel's theory, Henricks suggests forms of interaction based on the predictability and the transformative nature of events or interactions (as cited in Henricks, 2006, p.202-205). Henricks' interpretation of the nature of the play is reflected by comparing play to three other fundamental forms of human expression— work, ritual, and communitas. Henricks argues that these are important forms of activities between people who willingly declare their feelings and interactions towards the condition of their lives (p.26). As shown in Figure 5.1, the interaction or sequence of interactions are manifest

in space, and are labelled 'work' which is transformative and predictable; 'ritual' as predictable and not transformative; 'communitas' as not transformative and unpredictable, and 'play' as unpredictable and transformative. These are forms of interactions formulated by focusing on these phenomena as patterns of interaction.

Pattern of Engagement

	Contestive (Opposition-focused)	Integrative (Unity-focused)
Predictable (Clear direction)	WORK	RITUAL
Unpredictable (Unclear direction)	PLAY	COMMUNITAS

Directionality of Engagement (vertical axis label)
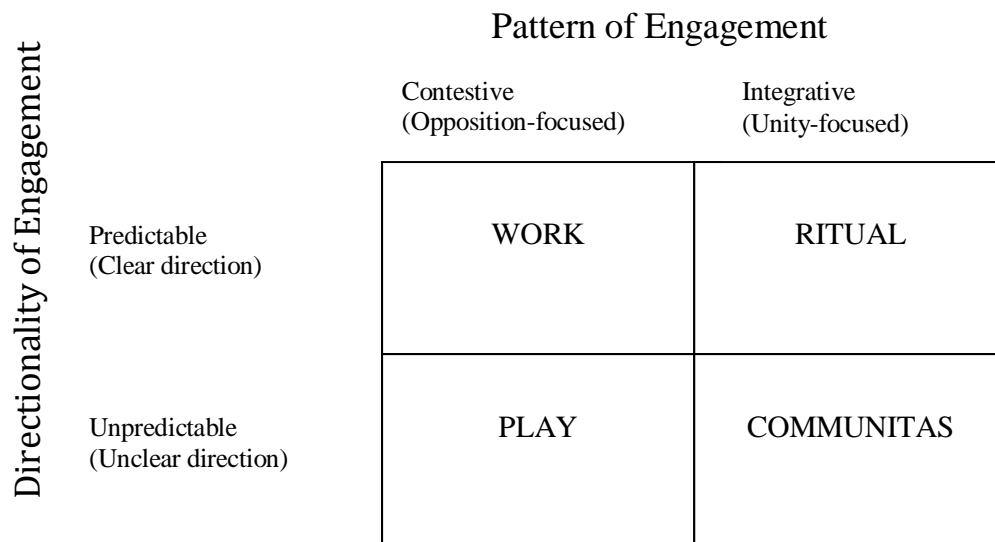
Figure 5.1: Modes of Human Interaction (adapted from Henricks, 2006 p.203)

The horizontal axis in the figure focuses on 'patterns of engagement' and represents the tension between contestive and integrative activities. The vertical axis represents the directionality of the arrangement as predictable or unpredictable. According to Henricks, contestive activities explore the meanings of difference and opposition while integrative activities explore cooperation and union. Henricks (2006) points out that all four patterns are attempts to build relationships, and are to be distinguished from patterns of withdrawal and non-engagement (p.203).

I argue that play and communitas change the nature of the space of hospitality in different ways. Play transforms (deterritorialise - in Deleuzian terms) the organisation even if only for a short while and makes it less predictable. On the other hand communitas does not deterritorialise space itself but leads to unpredictable interactions. Work and ritual are predictable interactions within spaces of hospitality. It can be suggested that the more play-form activities are involved in interactions, the more transformational it is likely to be, and correspondingly less predictable. Interactions in predictable environments can be argued to be mostly work-related, or have become so predictable that they have become ritualised. The ritual tends to be less transformational as one would not be creating or transforming into something new, in an

environment of sameness. The communitas refers to the communities formed among groups of people. These communities may also comprise of the hosts and guests in the interaction, and are normative in nature. In the case of communitas, there are many different interactions taking place at the same time and the role of culture, values and meaning becomes important. In some non-commercial hospitality institutions, the guest/host interaction can be seen as play-formed social encounters. Since during play-formed interactions, the exchange is not standardised or measured by cost or value, but voluntary desires in the social life. Forms of interaction can be related with molar and molecular organisation of space. Molecular organised environments would likely involve more play interaction as an activity of inviting the 'other' as well.

5.2 PERFORMANCE AND PERFORMATIVITY

Performance can be seen as a crystallisation of forms and a description of these forms and commonalities. Performance is partly built on Simmelian thinking. A full account of performance and spaces of hospitality will not be given here, but rather an exploration of performativity. The roots are laid by Goffman (1956) who describes interactions in a hotel, by using the metaphor of a theatre in order to describe the relevance of human social action. The method is called dramaturgy. Pine and Gilmore (1999), discussed further in this chapter, use the same metaphor to describe the transition from a service economy into an experience economy. MacCannell (1979) also uses the metaphor of the theatre when he describes the front stage and the back stage within a tourism setting. Crouch (2003) delivers a contemporary interpretation of the performance. The work of MacCannell and Crouch are introduced in this section. Through their work, it can be argued that interactions in the commercial hospitality industry run a risk of being too performance oriented and thereby a realisation of something that is predictable.

MacCannell is concerned with the un-authenticity and superficiality of modern life (1979). He quotes Simmel regarding the nature of the sensory impressions experienced in the 'metropolis'. All tourists for MacCannell embody a quest for authenticity, and this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred. According to MacCannell, the tourist represents a postmodern pilgrim, looking for authentic experiences. Tourists show interest in the daily lives of the inhabitants of destinations that somehow possess a reality hard to discover in their own experiences (Urry, 2000). MacCannell indicates that modern society is rapidly institutionalising the rights of outsiders to look into its workings. He states that institutions are increasingly fitted with arenas, platforms and chambers that are set aside for the exclusive use of tourists

(MacCannell, 1999, p.49). MacCannell indicates that such 'real lives' can only be found backstage and are not immediately evident to the tourist. Hence, the tourist gaze involves an obvious intrusion into people's lives, which would be generally unacceptable (Urry, 2000). So the people being observed and local tourist entrepreneurs gradually come to construct backstages in a contrived and artificial manner, giving rise to 'tourist spaces', which are thus organised around what MacCannell calls 'staged authenticity' (1999). This thinking results from a clear division between the tourists and the destination. It is grounded in performative thinking where norms prevail, however, the thinking itself is very relevant for thinking about the organisation of hospitality space since it gives an insight where molarisation of space can lead to. Richards and Wilson (2006) argue that 'authenticity' is not dependent on external referents or the direct context of the experience, but on the transformational potential of the experiences themselves and the imagination and skill of the tourists (p.1221). Authenticity is very much debated as a concept since it can be understood as a personal rather than a collective experience.

Crouch adds complexity to the discussion on performance. In spaces of hospitality the idea of performativity highlights the options for moving beyond fixed interactions. Therefore, Crouch is rather extensively discussed and opens the door for acknowledging interactions between the actors which are not fixed. Crouch, in his research, seeks to bring the discussion of space closer to a practical realisation of performativity. He explores the potential of the individual to reconstitute life through an articulation of spacing. The term `spacing' is used to identify subjective and practical ways in which the individual handles his or her material surroundings. In his research Crouch gives particular attention to the ways in which spacing, as a dimension of performativity, can also be a manipulation of things as they are for the individual. These may have the potential to go further and to be reconstitutive as well as unexpected (2003, p.1945). Spacing is positioned in terms of action, making sense (including the refiguring of `given' space), and mechanisms of opening up possibilities (2003, p.1945). Spacing can have potential. Crouch performs his study on three inter-related themes: embodied practice, performance and performativity. As will be seen, Crouch includes the space element.

According to Crouch, who discusses engaging, "The term spacing is used to focus the performative character of what people do". He seeks to bring space, and agentive and subjective acts of spacing, into the discussion of performativities, and their relation to conceptualisations of embodied practice. Furthermore Crouch explores the possibilities, through empirical investigation and interpretation, of engaging, and in particular the performative "in making sense

of the terms which determine an individual's capacity to renegotiate his or her life". Although geographers have recently shown keen interest in performativity, there remains a keen need to explore its argument through empirical investigation. It is now well known to consider space as metaphorical or symbolic, and material. Crouch's intention in his research is to consider the discussion about the apparent mundane, "to explore the potential of working ideas of the performative and of embodied practice through the unremarkable, with the possibility of their becoming remarkable for the individual subject, and thereby provide insight into the everyday working of space as spacing" (2003, p.1948). Performativity in spaces of hospitality refers to a way of opening up space through negotiations between hosts and guests. This performativity within spaces of hospitality indicates the possibility of moving beyond the crystallised forms within spaces of hospitality (performances). Performativity also suggests the possibility of reconstituting life, in experimental ways, ways that are not performance-based. An understanding of performativity as an act of spacing can supplement one's perceptions into the working of a cultural laboratory.

Crouch refers to Crang (2001), who argued for the processual, constituted character of space; in practice temporally contingent in open-ended, multiple flows. Referring to Thrift (1997), and Thrift and Dewsbury (2000), Crouch (2003) points out that the modes of practice and performativity through which individuals may give different character to space, have been critically explored. Crouch also refers to the Deleuzian ideas of folds, complexity, and possibilities to further 'practice' in the making of lay geography by focusing on the nuances of performativity and the uncertainties and possibilities that it may produce (p.1946). Crouch (2003) was interested in the notion of performativity as 'going further', which is in containing the possibility of the unexpected, the different and risky. According to Crouch, space is considered in terms of its distinctive contribution to furthering the interpretation of performativity and the ways in which individuals can use this in making sense of their lives alongside the developed work on embodied practice (2003, p.1946). This fits in to the discussion of the virtual going to the actual and the possible moving towards the real. Crouch uses the performance metaphor to move from the possible to the real and the performativity to the virtual into the actual. However a Deleuzian line of flight might include a revolutionary becoming. Performativity leaves this option behind. It stays within certain boundaries of the spaces of hospitality. It cannot entirely transform the space of hospitality.

Crouch (2003, p.1946-47) refers to the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962), Crossley (1995, 1996), Radley (1995), Harre (1993), Radley (1995), Burkitt (1999), Ingold (1995) and Harrison (2000) to consider the different theoretical notions of embodied practice. According to Crouch, their ideas can be used to think of space in terms of negotiating life in the act of spacing. Crouch (2003, p.1947) acknowledges that it is in recent debates on performance and its performativities, that the possible constituents of spacing offer a further step. He refers, through Grosz (1999), particularly to Deleuze and Guattari's (1988) attention to how the uncertainties of flows and the momentary character of performativity elaborate the uncertainties and complexities of spacing, and its potential, as part of performativity, to reconstitute life. Crouch (2003) argues that the difficulties with performance and performativity; and between the performative and embodied practice, are in the divergent perspectives surrounding the term performance, and the overlapping reasoning between performance and performativity. He refers to Dewsbury (2000) and agrees that performativity and embodied practice are both profoundly bodily. Referring to Radley (1995) and Tulloch (2000), Crouch emphasises the importance of the expressive body.

Crouch argues, through Grosz (1999, p.25) that the performative errs towards the potential of openness. Grosz argues that the reconfiguring or reconstitutive potential of performance is increasingly cited in terms of performativity. It is a way of modulating life and discovering the new and unexpected and in ways that may reconfigure the self in a process of opening up the enabling of the unexpected and actualisation of the virtual. Here the connection between opening up spaces of hospitality and performativity is bridged. The reconstructive potential of space is acknowledged by Crouch. In Crouch's discussion, becoming is distinguished from being in the sense of Grosz's becoming as `unexpected', where performance's performativities may open up new, reconstitutive possibilities. It is in the notion of multiple routes of becoming that the discourse on performativity is particularly powerful (Crouch, 2003, p.1948)." Crouch gives his account of the process of becoming. He argues, through Dewsbury (2000) that the expressive character in performativity is especially significant in becoming, where the significance of becoming tends to be considered in terms of profound rearrangement of the self and the nuances of getting along in life, and the numerous momentary performativities that may themselves be significant.

Crouch also touches on Turner's (1969) idea of liminality – the in between time. Crouch suggests a liminality of experiences and experience through relationships of individuals. According to him, individuals in his research suggested transformative possibilities of the simple, uneventful things

they do, in terms of feeling rather than outcome. Thus they carried on and what they did and felt was enacted in relation to spaces. Crouch argues that the process of 'doing' is significant (p.1952). Furthermore, space takes on or is given new significance in a process of spacing. According to Crouch performance suggests the liminality of performance in which the self and world are transformed. He also argues that significant happenings can occur in seemingly habitual performances. He argues, "Although the power of liminality may be performed by going somewhere else, if this becomes habitual, much of what is performed is seemingly routine. However, it is in the cracks of habitual acts that significance can be found".

Crouch's (2003) ideas touch on the idea of the cultural laboratory described at the beginning of the literature review. The following quote fits into the idea of a cultural laboratory, since it highlights the experimental nature of, according to Crouch (2003):

> Gaps, as spaces of possibility, can be created in the particular combination of events, encounters, moments, and flows. Individuals feel differently about themselves, their lives, people, places, and things they value. Activities such as allotment gardening and caravanning can signify the `disruption of the everyday'. Becoming, temporarily, may be significant in the desire to return and to become again. Caravanners doing rallies usually choose new places to go, and can rework their performance memory. Others return to the same site, perhaps risk failing to repeat their becoming but also may revisit it in what they do, where perhaps the possibility and potentiality of becoming are increased. In each example individuals may be driven by the desires of tasking, in a performance of their identities as they understand them to be. However, their performativity can overflow the limits of tasking and identity play. Risking disappointment and frustrations, in the tasking and the becoming, they return to their performance as a route that offers being and becoming. In both examples there is a transfer of time and space and a refiguring as well as a revisiting of memory that becomes embodied performatively. In these cases, individuals negotiate what they are doing, how they feel, and cope with, or reject, the performances that precede and follow, and occur 'now' (p.1955).

Summarising Crouch's discussion, Crouch uses reasoning of both embodied practice and performativity due to evident overlaps and mutualities of performance and its particular distinction of performativities, and embodied practice. By considering performativity, Crouch

emphasises the divergent and multiple possibilities of reconstituting life. He discusses various themes through some empirical work and works around the challenge of identifying and of interpreting performance, and its significance, in and through spacing. According to Crouch, performativity provides a particular focus to the possibility of opening up. This opening up is a vital opening up towards difference as described earlier in the literature review. Crouch refers to Dewsbury (2000) who points, in a Deleuzian sense, to the unexpected and the divergent. Crouch mentions ambivalence between being and becoming, where there are continual tensions that individuals cope with between holding on and going further. He suggests that there is a potential fluidity between being and becoming; of holding on, and both a realisation of a state of being and also of reaching forward in various habitual states. Crouch discusses flows of encountering and constituting space in spacing, as a means to comprehend what space, and particularly the performative emphasis of going further or becoming, contributes to the understanding of performativity (2003, p.1949). Crouch (2003) concludes that performativities, similar to the expressive and embodied practices, can produce numerous 'hybridities'. He suggests that through these hybridities new possibilities and connections may be made (p.1958). Across his research, Crouch noted that there is a process of selection and identification of particular performative content and character that emerges, which was significant according to respondents. Crouch suggests that the unexpected may emerge during and between the times spent in tasking (p.1958). I suggest that together with the perception of spaces of hospitality as assemblages, Crouch's argument has implications for the methodology employed in this thesis, for the use of recording of performative content.

This section has introduced the concept of performance and performativity. Goffman (1957) and MacCannell (1979) refer to roles in hospitality assemblages and use theatre metaphors to describe the interactions taking place. There is a running risk of hospitality interactions being 'staged' for authenticity. In the same suit as Richards and Wilson (2006), I suggest that there is a quest for authenticity, which depends on how transformational the experience actually is. Crouch's discussion moves beyond fixed interactions, and he explains spacing as a way to reconstitute life. This spacing can be likened to my perception of the cultural laboratory, a testing entity, which is experimental in nature. Performativity in embodied practice, as a metaphor for going further into divergence and the unexpected, can be seen in Deleuzian terms as an actualisation of the virtual. In this instance, by spacing one could reconstitute and reconfigure the performance, leading to the unexpected, divergent and emergent in life. In molar spaces of hospitality however, where an objective ethics of hospitality may prevail, the potential for spacing may be restricted.

5.3 THE EXPERIENCE ECONOMY

The concept of the experience economy is grounded in capitalism, and performance. Spaces of hospitality in the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) are being represented as stages. This part illuminates that the realm of the experiences became part of the money economy and that scarce experiences in the twenty first century are worth money. A cup of coffee on the San Marco square in Venice becomes more expensive than the same type of coffee in the Merchant City in Glasgow. In the slipstream of the experience economy many books appeared such as The experience economy: work is theatre & every business a stage (Pine & Gilmore, 1999); experiential marketing: how to get customers to sense, feel, think, act (Schmitt, 1999); and the dream society: how the coming shift from information to imagination will transform your business (Jensen, 2001). The most influential was the book by Pine and Gilmore (1999). This book deals with the construction of an experience, an economic offering that follows after the offering of a service. Pine and Gilmore state that when a person buys a service, she/he is purchasing a set of tangible activities which are carried out on her/his behalf. On the other hand they argue that when she/he buys an experience, she/he is engaged in a personal way by paying money to spend time enjoying memorable events staged by a company, like in a theatrical play (2000 p.2).

Pine and Gilmore (1999) argue that experiences can be broadly classified into experience realms as shown in Figure 5.2. This figure shows two axes along which experiences can be delineated; the horizontal being the level of guest participation and the vertical corresponds to the kind of connection, or environmental relationship that unites customers with the event or performance. The guest or customer can either be actively or passively involved in an experience or encounter. Based on different configurations of these axes, the customer or guest can have four types of experiences: entertainment, educational, escapist and aesthetic. Active participation from the guest's side can possibly lead to the process of becoming for the guest or may facilitate for an exchange of the host and guest roles. Escapist experiences essentially are those where the customer/guest is active within the service experience and immerses him/herself in it. Here there is potential for some transformation to occur since a guest or customer becomes physically (bodily) or virtually a part of it, and can influence the experience to an extent where self-assuring value has been reached. According to Pine and Gilmore (1999), escapist experiences are memorable encounters of the third kind. They are the polar opposite of pure entertainment

experiences. Furthermore they argue that the sweet spot, the ideal situation is in the middle of the graph - this is where the consumer is engaged in all four sections (p.31-34).
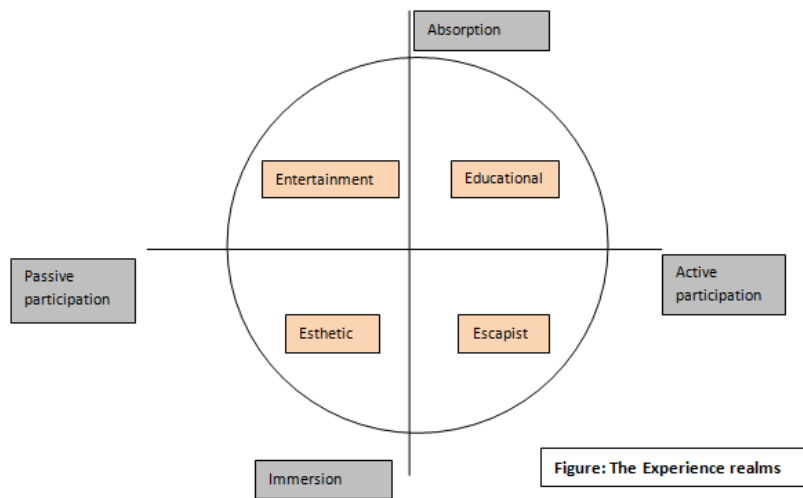
Figure 5.2 Experience Realms (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, p.30)

The experience is presented as constructed and completely controlled by the supplier, and is presented as a theatre play. Pine and Gilmore call these staged experiences; experiences which, they argue, need to be memorable as well. Pine & Gilmore (1999) propose a performance model where people move to the centre stage in any performance of business theatre. The people, in this case become the 'cast', where each member of the cast is an actor who plays a specific role. These roles, which are meant to be character specific, allow the actors to 'act' them out well. Pine and Gilmore argue that people take on roles but they act out characters and that people with good character should exist in all industries, beyond just show business (p.140-141). In the age of the new economy, service jobs are becoming automated and there is a concern about human-technology interaction and acceptance. According to Pine and Gilmore, the focus of human to human interaction in business is shifting to staging experiences (p.142). Pine and Gilmore's (1999) theories on the experience economy have shown that there is a new stage in economic offering of products, which moves beyond the passive reception of (cultural) goods to that of the consumption of experiences. After the economic offerings of commodities, goods, and eventually services were necessary to compete in business, Pine and Gilmore contend that 'experiences' are now the next stage in economic offering. Richards (2005) argues, however, that experiences too have moved into a new dimension. Today's tourism consumption is characterised by the need for self development (Richards, 2005). The offering of experiences, however, includes a setting of ready-made experiences, such as themes and other attributes responding to senses, and

production of physical settings (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). Experiences, as were explained by Pine and Gilmore, have therefore received criticism from authors such as Florida (2002) who argues that cities which adapt to the ideas of the experience economy produce unauthentic, staged products. Pine and Gilmore point out that people want to be affected by experiences. They explain that experiences can offer enjoyment, knowledge, diversion, beauty and can bring the desire for memorable qualities; while on the other hand, they can be anything but fun, enlightening, distracting or breathtaking. Pine and Gilmore argue that the experiences we have affect who we are, what we are able to accomplish and where we are going, and consequently we will ask companies to stage experiences that can transform us. Pine and Gilmore (1999) go on to state that as economic activity shifts further and further away from goods and services, there is a risk of experiences becoming commoditised. As someone experiences something more, she/he enjoys it less and less, in a digressive fashion, until the point at which one may notice that it does not really engage her/him as much as it did before. This can be exemplified by the phrase 'Been there, done that' (p.165).

Pine and Gilmore explain the distinctions in the different kinds of economies, for example, the goods economy or the service economy and so on. This can be visualised in table 5.1.

Economic offering	Commodities	Goods	Services	Experiences
Economy	Agrarian	Industrial	Service	Experience
Economic function	Extract	Make	Deliver	Stage
Nature of offering	Fungible	Tangible	Intangible	Memorable
Key attribute	Natural	Standardised	Customised	Personal
Method of supply	Stored in bulk	Delivered after production	Delivered on demand	Revealed over a duration
Seller	Trader	Manufacturer	Provider	Stager
Buyer	Market	User	Client	Guest
Factors of demand	Characteristics	Features	Benefits	Sensations

Table 5.1 Economic distinctions between agrarian, industrial, service and experience based economic activities (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, p.2)

Pine & Gilmore (1999) suggest that there is another column on the right of 'experiences', which they refer to as transformations. According to them this represents a distinct economic offering and the highest one in the progression of economic value. They argue that with transformations, the economic offering of a company is the 'changed' individual person or company, as a result of what the company does or the services that it provides – in other words, the customer is the product.

According to Pine & Gilmore (1999), the economic progression of value moves from discovering and extracting commodities all the way to determining and guiding transformations. The transformative has the character of a 'change' of state or conditions. They further argue that transformation elicitors must determine exactly the right set of life-transforming experiences required to guide aspirants in achieving their goals. Transformations cannot be extracted, made, delivered or staged but can only be guided. These elicitors can also be escapist in nature, in a way, so as to boost the customer or guest's personal capabilities and characteristics to new levels. These transformation elicitors can bring about the right situation under which change can occur.

However, according to Pine and Gilmore, there is more to guiding transformation – it involves diagnosing aspirations, staging experiences and following through (p.176). Pine and Gilmore (1999), in discussing differences between experiences and transformations, go on further to state that experiences transform guests into participants at the site of the encounter, whether the long term effects are 'deleterious' or 'therapeutic'. Further they suggest that transformations turn out a 'new you', with all the ethical, philosophical and religious implications that the phrase implies (p.183).

In Chapter Two, the object/subject distinction in tourism studies were critiqued; the division between destination and tourist, between host and guest, between producer and consumer is also true for the experience economy. The vitalistic critique was that the subject relationship with the object is too mechanical, much too determined. The relationship does not account for the unexpected and the disruptive. Table 5.1 indicates the strong division between the object, subject and the relationship between them. The object, the production site, is the stage while the subject is the guest. The relationship between the stage and the guest is that the stage produces 'memorable sensations' which are 'revealed over a duration' through a script. The theory gives an insight into the economic 'value' of an experience; includes bodily sensations; gives an account of the nature of the various becomings (such as educational, entertaining, etc.); uses powerful metaphors from the theatre world such as 'script' to describe the construct of the experience and stage to describe the space, but fails to give an account for the unexpected, unpredicted and the complexity of performative space.

In spaces of hospitality, I argue whether a potential for interchange of the roles of the host and guest is imminent, although the stratified nature of space possibly prevents this, and closes the spaces of hospitality. The model of Pine and Gilmore is one that is closed on the side of the stager (producer). The guest (consumer) has a limited means to transform space and interaction. The experience economy is the finest example of theorists who described spaces of hospitality as a complete registered interaction; so, the movement from the possible to the real. Although acknowledged throughout the theory, the actual embodied experiences and becomings are relatively underdeveloped and the whole stays an intellectual performance.

5.4 MCDONALDIZATION

The process of McDonaldization is one of the processes which can influence the becoming of spaces of hospitality. This section focuses on this process and makes references to tourism. McDonaldization explains the stratification process (see Deleuze, 1987) of spaces of hospitality. With the advent of globalisation and new, innovative technology, the culture around the world is becoming more and more commercialised and objectified. With reference to this age and the kind of culture that is produced through the rationalisation of processes, Ritzer (2006) indicates that profit may be generated; however guests are seen merely as a 'source of revenue'. Ritzer (1991) originally described the term 'McDonaldization of society' in a reference to the increasing rationalisation of the routine tasks of everyday life. According to Ritzer, "McDonaldization is the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society, as well as of the rest of the world (p.1)."It is noted that the phrase 'rationalisation of the routine tasks of everyday life' appears in several publications. This can indicate that McDonaldization not only influenced hospitality but also daily life. Authors like MacCannell (1973, 1976), as discussed in relation to performance, argue that modernisation leads to a cry for authentic experiences out of the ordinary; which in turn leads to staged-authenticity.

I argue that the problem with McDonaldization is that it is very explicit while actual bodily experiences are ignored. It might be that a guest experiences a serially reproduced space as very different. Richards and Wilson refer to Harvey's (1989) concept of 'serial reproduction of culture' and argue that,

> ... processes of globalisation and symbolic competition seem to be leading to increasing serial reproduction of cultural attractions and 'commodification' of the cultural tourism product. Cities and regions are seeking solutions to this problem in a variety of strategies which seek to add value, diversify and animate the tourist and cultural product (p.1221).

Richards and Wilson (2006) link serial reproduction of culture, tourism and creativity. I would like to follow in the direction of 'creative tourism' as suggested by Richards and Wilson (2006). This also supports the discussion on creative cities discussed in Chapter Three.

McDonaldization has been criticised by several authors, such as Alfino, Caputo, & Wynyard (1998) in their book McDonaldization Revisited: Critical Essays on Consumer Culture. They look at McDonaldization with a new approach with a feeling that something new needs to be said about it. Alfino, Caputo, and Wynyard, apart from admiring Ritzer, accuse him of offering a reductionist analysis and expressing 'cultural elitism' (see Parker) that is insensitive to the variety and diversity of consumer practices and local inflections of McDonaldization (Wood; Taylor, Smith and Lyon; and Wynyard; quoted in Alfino et al., 1998). Moreover, Ritzer is also accused of neglecting the cultural dimension of McDonaldization, and especially the semiotic construction of McDonald's functions to make the McDonald's experience as much social and cultural experience as culinary (p.viii). I also critique the lack of cultural representation and sensitivity in the case of McDonaldization which is aimed at predictable experiences under the guise of social and cultural experiences.

Ritzer and Liska (1997), relying on Ritzer's (1996) theoretical work on the 'McDonaldization' of society, have suggested that the transformations occurring in post-tourism constitute a part of advanced modernity, a 'McDisneyization'. They imply that tourist sites have become, increasingly, places where people can seek out tourist experiences which are predictable, efficient, calculable and controlled. The branding of such sites offers the guarantee of known satisfaction. The work of Ritzer and Liska contradicts Urry's statement that the massified package tours, or at least the most standardised of them, have passed their heyday and are in decline (1990). Differing to Urry, Ritzer and Liska considered that the package tour remains alive and well and highly McDonaldized. Arente and Kiiski (2005) argue, through Urry, that today's tours are less McDonaldized than their predecessors precisely because the society itself grows more and more McDonaldized (p.13). Frisby (1985, 1992, 1997) and Urry (Urry, 1994; Urry & Lash, 1995) have consistently pointed out, referring to Simmel, that it was precisely the innumerable forms of social interactions which brought space to life and endowed it with meaning (Allen, 2000, p.54). In his recent book, Globalisation of Nothing, George Ritzer (2004) suggests that 'one of the best examples' of the 'globalisation of nothing' is in the realm of tourism which involves the global production of non-places (Disneyland), non-things (mass-manufactured souvenirs) and non-people (clerks at souvenir shops) (p.105). According to Ritzer, tourism is about the production of 'nothing' which refers to a 'social form that is generally centrally conceived, controlled, and comparatively devoid of distinctive content'. In this conception, flows of people, information, and signs and symbols that characterise tourism

disembody or delocalise culture, making it difficult for people to develop meaningful interactions, or individual and communal identities.

Starbuckization refers to the process of McDonaldization (Ritzer 2001) which happens in spaces of hospitality "it represents the McDonaldization of the coffee-shop business". According to Ritzer (2001), Starbucks is not only the current star of the fast-food industry and a model for business people everywhere, but it is also increasingly seen as an important cultural force and cultural phenomenon (2001). In a similar fashion it can be argued that there is a 'McDonaldization' of hospitality procedures and processes prevalent in the industry.

I further argue that this process of McDonaldization is visible in the hospitality industry, through attempts towards standardisation and process efficiency. However, it can be argued that this McDonaldization does not automatically leads to McDonaldized experiences. According to Deleuze (1987), life always creates difference. This difference can be facilitated by example through other visitors and how staffmembers interpret their jobs.

5.5 HOSPITALITY AND COMMERCIALISATION

Hospitality has for a long time been linked to commerce, as a way of providing services based on an economical exchange, rather than explicitly on the philosophy behind it. Bell's (2006) account of urban regeneration relates to the commercialisation of hospitality spaces. He argues that hospitality encounters are a collective effort to produce and reproduce staff-to-customer and customer-to-customer hospitableness as a concrete enactment of a new way of living in cities. He is of the view that deployment, staging and performance of hospitality should be considered as important, not only from a commercial viewpoint where it is simply reduced to an economic exchange. Bell states, "Relations of host and guest could, in the process, be rewritten, not to become like the impossible Derridean ideal, but to avoid their foreclosure or dismissal by academics, planners or those who live in and with cities" (2007, p.19). This adds support to the argument by Pløger (2006) who argues for a vital approach by urban planners to urban planning and regeneration. I argue that the hospitality education and pedagogy may be too focused on the commercial and management aspect, while aspects such as seeking the unexpected or different are played down.

Bell argues that in the commercial setting, hospitality takes place in various ways and no encounter is played out in any one way. According to Bell, "Any theorisation of commercial hospitality must therefore be attentive to the complexities of hosting and guesting specific to the commercial context (Bell, 2007, p.18)." Through Lashley (2000), Bell argues that encounters in commercial settings stage various forms of hospitality, which often rests on monetary exchange in the form of restaurant bills, bar tabs, wages and tips. Lashley points out that these types of encounters have been argued by some writers to be insincere, inhospitable and based on 'calculative hosting'. However, other critics suggest that this is known to the host and guest and they actually take pleasure in this act of staging (as cited in Bell, 2007). Regarding the performance of employees, Bell argues that commercial spaces sustain a hospitable ambience through the employment of backstage and front-stage workers, differentially valued and remunerated for their roles (2007, p.18). Thus a kind of division of labour and a stage distinction can be seen in connection with performance and appearances of employees.

Commercialisation can be related to high levels of control. The high levels of control of customers in service processes not only influence the employee-customer encounters, but the danger lies in the domination of the controlled process in the society or even the world. Robinson and Lynch (2007, p.145) employed a paralanguage analysis of poetry to represent The Control Chain of a fast food service operation process: the double control dependency of the macro-host to micro-host and customer, where the host-guest interactions are turned into a standard role-play. I consider this kind of service encounter to be provided by a host acting as a "human robot".

Eruption of the unexpected and unpredictable in social research

This section exemplifies how there can be eruption of the unexpected or unpredictable in contemporary practices. Service encounters like 'car boot sales' fall into the category of unpredictable spaces of hospitality where the roles of host and guest are not defined at all and the scope of unpredictability is highest as the normal host-guests setting hardly exists.

Crewe and Gregson (1997) argue through their paper, Tales of the unexpected: exploring car boot sales as marginal spaces of contemporary consumption, that consumption spaces situated at the margins of contemporary exchange such as car boot sales, flea markets, fairs and so on, represent sites within marketplace conventions which are abandoned or suspended (p.40). Consumption spaces are replaced by forms of sourcing, commodity circulation, transaction codes, pricing

mechanisms and value which are quite different from those which typify more conventional retail malls and department stores (Crewe and Gregson, 1997). Marginal spaces such as the car boot sale offer both some important clues into the potential for rethinking marketplace dynamics, notably with respect to our understandings of value, and some intriguing possibilities for consumer politics. Crewe and Gregson felt that the current geographical debates on retailing and consumption are both partial and skewed. The neglect of marginal consumption spaces and related silences over cycles of commodity use, re-use and chains of commodity circulation distort our understanding of contemporary consumption and point to the largely unexplored potential of a serious and detailed interrogation of the social, cultural and economic practices of exchange within such spaces (1997, p.40).

In their article, Crewe and Gregson evaluate the current consumption research, focusing in particular on three facets of the neglect of marginal spaces of exchange: the overemphasis on the mall as the cathedral of contemporary consumption; the excessive attention paid to the symbol and the sign; and the limited consideration of exchange processes (1997, p.40). Crewe and Gregson emphasise that much of the attraction and popularity of the car boot sale is explicable in terms of the conjunction of unpredictability, informality, disarray and cheapness to be found within this arena. (1997, p.42). Car boot sales, then, are dirty, cluttered and unpredictable but as such are also exciting, challenging and fun. At the same time, however, this sense of fun and excitement is not just something experienced at the level of the individual. Rather, much of the pleasure gained from participation stems from its intrinsically social character for both vendors and buyers alike (Crewe & Gregson, 1997, p.42).

Crewe and Gregson concluded that the boot sale offers some important clues into rethinking the determinants and dynamics of contemporary consumption and reveals the contemporary significance of the non-regulated buyer–supplier relation (1997, p.49). Car boot sale was referred to as liminal space: is neither shopping mall nor jumble sale, neither street market nor antiques fair, yet it shares features in common with all these spaces. Vendors are also buyers, and buyers in turn are also browsers, sightseers, momentary tourists. This is a space for quasi-fun, quasi-leisure, quasi-work activities; an arena in which conventional boundaries are blurred and/or transgressed. A movable feast, whose affinities with the fair, the carnival and the theatre of exchange in previous centuries is unmistakable; the car boot sale provides a consumption experience characterised by excitement, anticipation, risk and unpredictability. Indeed, the reversion here to forms of consumption activity where transactions are dominated by cash, where

prices are negotiable and where commodities are invested with histories and geographies evidently offers a compelling alternative to the uniformity and predictability of the mall and the department store (Crewe & Gregson, 1997, p.49-50).

5.6 CONCLUSION

Concluding this chapter we clearly see how spaces of hospitality can create difference and so reduce the predictability of the space of hospitality. Two main visions can be distinguished – the first one is the experience economy, which is based on a pre-scripted performance and one which is very molar organised where performance is extended to performativity which indicates the norm (performance). The second vision is the variation of the norm – play forms of society, such as the Simmelian stranger and adventurer. The revolutionary becoming from Deleuze is not represented in this sub-chapter since all practices relate to performances.

This chapter, on predictability and spaces of hospitality, showed that objective and subjective culture in various configurations exist in hotel spaces. The dangers to society, of objective culture outrunning subjective culture to a large degree could 'standardise' interactions, resulting in a molar organisation with an increasing level of predictability. A clear definition of roles, in an organisational reality, also reduces the gap needed for difference, and lines of flight that are needed for creative becomings. I argue that the education and pedagogical practice is reflective of objectification that is taking place in society today. The serial reproduction of hospitality practice could be a danger to the ethics of hospitality. Ritzer (2000) discusses McDonaldization, which in Deleuzian ontological terms facilitates standardised hospitality spaces with predefined connections, resulting in movements from what is possible to what can be made real. The nature of the connections between bodies in these standardised hospitality spaces, which are designed for hosting guests are rather fixed.

The work of Crewe and Gregson (1997) on car booth sales shows that by connecting differently, other than through a formalised scripted encounter, space hosts and becomes many becomings. Hospitality interactions have been likened to stages with roles, scripts and performances. However, this may result in staged authenticity. Authenticity is suggested to be achieved by transformational experiences and it is argued that an open-ended planning approach needs to be used in the production and organisation of space. The discussion on spacing and performativity has shown the resemblance to a Deleuzian ontological way of thinking. Spacing in a cultural

laboratory assemblage can lead to a reconstitution and reconfiguration of the assemblage, leading to the unexpected and creative becomings. The chapter concludes by arguing for a less molar organisation of space to allow for the multiple and divergent. In contrast to a vital perspective which considers life, will and desire, the experience economy still maintains an object/subject distinction in many industries. There is a distinction between the destination and tourist, host and guest, or producer and consumer. The experience economy, although talking about staged experiences with the purpose of transformation of the customer, fails to give an account for the unexpected, unpredicted and complexity of performative space. Further, in spaces of hospitality, it is argued whether a potential for interchange of the roles of the host and guest is imminent, although the stratified nature of space possibly prevents this. The closed nature of the 'experience' being offered in an intentionally designed space of hospitality is suggested to restrict an individual's potential to 'space' in her/his surroundings.

The form of interactions taking place in hospitality spaces could be viewed from the perspective of work with a contestive pattern of engagement. It is suggested that this engagement is negotiated and is aimed at grounding predictability. In Deleuzian terms hospitality spaces can be seen as molar or molecular organised space, and this moderates the level and form of interaction within them. Molecular organised environments would likely involve more play interaction as an activity of inviting the 'other' as well. Perhaps the play form discussed by Henricks (2006), might lead to a cultural laboratory, in which experimentation takes place. This play form of interaction may, and is, also likely to lead to transformational experiences.

CHAPTER 6 HOTEL TRANSVAAL AS CULTURAL LABORATORY

Various artists have picked up the idea to use hospitality frameworks to evoke art and critique society. I have become acquainted with certain of these artists and conducted case studies. This chapter analyses Hotel Transvaal, an initiative of Sabrina Lindeman and briefly describes P Reizen, an initiative of the performative art group G.A.N.G. An explanation of the relationship between an assemblage, opening up spaces of hospitality, and performative art through the example of Hotel Transvaal (Grit, Lynch & Mishra, 2009) follows. This case shows the complex relationship between spaces of hospitality and the organisation of space. Hotel Transvaal is an interesting case since it creates many different spaces of hospitality; with different bodies and other assemblages. It illustrates the different power relationships in spaces of hospitality and the separation of the creator and the creation of the assemblage. The creator constructs an assemblage which hosts different spaces of hospitality. This shows that the creator does not necessarily have to participate as a host on a daily level – the creator is in fact hosting the spaces of hospitality. The creator is an artist and looks for new ways of becoming, in this case, at the edges of hospitality and design. Artists create new spaces of hospitality which have a unique composition and facilitate processes of becomings.

Since power relations are very much present in spaces of hospitality, which are embodied in the access to resources and access to space; an ethics concerning spaces of hospitality is vital for the minority groups who lack power. This part will focus on the ethics of space and hospitality through the philosophy of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987). These ethics also influence the discussion of urban development and commercialisation of hospitality. Although Deleuze does not explicitly write about hospitality and space, his ideas about space and movement, and the ethics of space and movement are relevant since the associated ethics and movements are present in spaces of hospitality.

Art provides one of the most important sites for the production of revolutionary becomings (lines of flight). The study of various arts such as painting, music, drama, dance, and so on, is crucial to the study of social ethics. Its power lies in its capacity to produce blocs of sensation that operate differently to the organised world of political opinion, identity and reason. Art facilitates new environments of sense-making and collections of impersonal associations. According to Hickey-Moody and Malins,

Art produces its audience because it has the capacity to re-work a body's limits: it can re-adjust what a person is or is not able to understand, produce or connect to. A work of art develops a miniature universe that can perform a pedagogic function through crafting and presenting previously non-existent elements of difference, which in turn produce the viewing body. This is not to say that a work of art will change its viewers in prescribed ways, rather, that it can create new associations; new organised patterns of affect. Art engenders, then, both a corporeal reconfiguration and an emergent cultural geography of human affectivity (2007, p.9).

The affects of art take place in relation to the level of body that is not defined as human (as opposed to individual or human) and creates new, unimagined sensory landscapes for an audience that does not yet exist, because the viewing body and its capacities for affecting and being affected, is itself produced in relation to each artwork or performance. In this belief, Deleuze and Guattari speak of an audience that is 'yet to come'.

The case illustrates the point that one assemblage can host different spaces of hospitality, and that the assemblage itself can illustrate power relationships and criticise modes of working. The unique aspect of the hotel is that it is created out of fragments. Fragments which formally belonged in other contexts or still form the essence in other contexts are forged into a hotel concept. Connections between seamlessly former unconnected entities are made by the artists. Fragments are linked, marked and redefined and put into a hotel context visualised by a map made by the artists. This map recreates fragments from the neighbourhood into a hotel. Examples of fragments are local ethnic restaurants; welfare centres, shopkeepers, street flowers, street art, and so on (Grit, Lynch & Mishra, 2009).

During its existence, the Transvaal neighbourhood in The Hague, The Netherlands, has undergone several transformations due to increased human mobility and the associated processes of globalisation. Transvaal is situated south-west of the city centre in The Hague. Before the Transvaal neighbourhood was built, the area housed a castle and a large farm. The Transvaal neighbourhood was built at the beginning of the twentieth century. During this century, the inhabitants of Transvaal had become more diverse throughout the history of the neighbourhood and the amenities had changed character accordingly. On 1st January 2007, Transvaal hosted 190 different nationalities in 16,033 houses. Since then, the neighbourhood has attracted many

businesses such as restaurants, including many ethnic cuisines such as those from Turkey, Morocco and Suriname; (Ayurvedic) massage salons, barbers and internet cafes. The ministry of VROM (the housing and environmental department) has considered the Transvaal neighbourhood as one of 40 problem neighbourhoods (VROM, 2007). These neighbourhoods were categorised as such on the basis of a clustering of social, physical and economic problems.

The Transvaal neighbourhood is currently undergoing a large-scale transformation process. 3,000 social rent houses have been demolished and 1,600 new houses are in the process of being newly built. These large-scale transformations in neighbourhoods in the Netherlands are not rare. Governments at various levels and housing co-operations in large cities must all manage deteriorating neighbourhoods. The policy towards addressing this deterioration is that of demolition and rebuilding. The consequences for the inhabitants of the neighbourhoods are that they are being reallocated to other parts of the city and may have the option of moving back. A number of the homes which are being newly built are for sale and not to rent, unlike the current situation where the homes are rented through housing co-operatives. The people who live in the houses which will remain in the neighbourhood are experiencing a complete makeover of the urban space. In the meantime the inhabitants and visitors experience windows which are nailed up, open fields and building activities (Grit, Lynch & Mishra, 2009).

Grit, Lynch and Mishra (2009) indicate that Hotel Transvaal was initiated in 2005 when the artists' organisation Mobiel projectbureau OpTrek asked the architects Jan Konings and Duzan Doepel united in Ral2005 to visualise the transformation of the Transvaal neighbourhood. The concept of a hotel was chosen for this visualisation, not a common hotel but a place in which, according to the artists, the whole neighbourhood became the hotel and local residents became hosts. The streets became hotel hallways. The local cafés became dining halls. The hotel rooms are situated in those houses which are ready for demolition. As hospitality scholars, it is an interesting challenge to analyse such a venue, since it forces one to rethink the notion of 'hospitality' when a combination of the concepts of 'hotel', 'hospitality' 'neighbourhood' and 'renewal' become entwined.

Two distinctive artist's roles in the city can be identified: on one hand, the superficial decorative role of artists working with fashionable and institutional models of creativity, and on the other, artists who resist artists who create new becomings and new space. Although this difference is academic and obscure in practice, this distinction helps to understand the role of the artist in a

city context. Harvey and Verwijnen (1999) indicate that public art has become a part of urban regeneration schemes such as waterfronts, and is increasingly used to raise the value of real estate property and large-scale projects. They argue that in order to avoid a superficial decorative role, artists will increasingly have to operate as facilitators of local civic participation. Hotel Transvaal clearly qualifies for the second category, since the 'local' is the assemblage (Grit et al., 2009).

By accepting, adopting and applying the concept of an 'assemblage' to analyse Hotel Transvaal, causal relationships become useless and room is made to focus on potentialities. When focusing on Hotel Transvaal from an assemblage point of view, the emphasis is not so much on what Hotel Transvaal 'is', but rather on what Hotel Transvaal 'does'. Grit et al. (2009) question the relevance in this respect: what connections are being made by the production of the assemblage Hotel Transvaal? What encounters and spaces do the assemblage Hotel Transvaal produce? What consequences are produced by its encounters?

Organisational lines indicate how the constructive parts of the assemblage are connected with one another (Grit et al., 2009). Woodward (2007) indicates that "molar lines organise by drawing strict boundaries, creating binary oppositions and dividing space into rigid segments with a hierarchical structure" (p.69). As a result, the space of hospitality characterised by its organisation through molar lines becomes highly organised and as a result the host-guest roles become strictly defined and predictable (Robinson & Lynch, 2007). The line of flight on the other hand does not organise space in a fixed fashion. As a result, the space of hospitality becomes highly unpredictable and the host-guest roles can even become undone, and the space of hospitality may cease to exist. Furthermore, Woodward argues that the line of flight is the privileged line for Deleuze and Guattari since it is the line of metamorphosis and change, and that a line of flight breaks with tradition (2007, p.69).

According to Grit et al. (2009), various complex combinations of these lines in particular assemblages express varying tendencies towards different kinds of organisation. Many spaces in the contemporary society are organised through molar lines; the most obvious example being a prison. In the organisation of a prison the distinction, for example, between staff and inmates is very much defined, which is visible in the design of the building and in clothing. A hotel is also organised along molar lines: the transactions in a hotel setting are usually very predictable; the distinction between host and guest is clear and the financial consequences calculable, secured through procedures, rules and rigid places. The creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal chose the

molar line of organisation to 'build' Hotel Transvaal, to connect the fragments together. A residence/host/guest is an example of such a fragment.

The molar lines, which the creators implemented in the Transvaal neighbourhood, can be explained through the Quintessence model (Zwaal, 2003, p.25): In traditional hospitality management, "... the Quintessence model can be applied in conducting an organisational diagnosis for any company in the service business sector." Zwaal (2003) refers to five perspectives, known as the service pentagon, covering the quintessence of service management. These perspectives are the HRM perspective (all people involved), technological perspective (efficient and effective systems), operational perspective (to create and deliver, efficient, effective), customer and marketing perspective (a valuable and satisfying experience), and finally, a financial perspective (efficient, effective). It is this way of organising hospitality space which leads to molar hospitality spaces, dividing the host and guest into separated roles. HRM is purely for the host; marketing attracts the guests, while finance objectifies the relationship between host and guest and also between organisation and employees. Furthermore technology optimises the processes of dividing the host and guest, and operations ensure a smooth separation between host and guest. Hotel Transvaal reinforced its existence by printing its name on the bathroom towels. The model functions to show how a service provider functions and it is useful to see which molar lines are used to construct Hotel Transvaal. However such an analysis would not convey its special features. From a hospitality management standpoint, the unique aspects of the hotel will be hidden underneath the balanced scorecards and income statements (Grit et al., 2009).

Apart from the use of Molar lines by the creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal, they also applied lines of flight to organise Hotel Transvaal (Grit et al., 2009). According to Grit et al., the neighbourhood is transformed into a hotel through molar lines which inevitably evokes lines of flight since it transforms residents into a mixture of hosts and guests and pulled streets together with its cats, dogs, residents and so on, into spaces of hospitality.

Grit et al. (2009) indicate that by transforming residential spaces into spaces of hospitality, creators/artists applied lines of organisation which broke with the tradition of homes and shifted these places into hotel rooms. The unique aspect of the hotel is that it is created out of fragments. These fragments are 'assemblaged' into a single context namely - Hotel Transvaal. To illustrate: a blackberry bush, once part of a garden, becomes wild and becomes a part of the landscape of

the hotel; a child playing with a bicycle on the street becomes a local attraction. Or, a 'Wham poster', from the eighties pop group, where at one time such a poster was featured in the context of a teen's room within the context of a family life; the artist, who decorated the room, incorporated the poster into the design of the room and this fragment becomes part of the interior design. Local shopkeepers and restaurant owners become 'amenities' in the context of the hotel. The massive revitalising of the neighbourhood becomes the 'theme' for the hotel, just as the Disney Company applies a 'Wild West theme' to Disney's Davy Crockett Ranch. Fragments which formally belonged in other contexts or still form the context in other contexts are forged into a hotel concept (Grit et al., 2009).

Grit et al., (2009) argue that Hotel Transvaal has several of these spaces, such as the space of the artist, where the artist is invited to design the rooms. These rooms are located in old houses in the Transvaal neighbourhood which are ready for demolition. The houses will only be there for a couple of months before they are finally demolished and rebuilt. Then there is the space where the guest is invited to rest, or a bedroom; and the space where the employee is invited to welcome the guest, which comprises of the reception and the bedrooms. There is also the space where the guest can experience food and entertainment, such as the restaurant and other amenities. In addition, spaces where journalists and social scholars are invited to produce materials regarding spaces of hospitality are created, besides the space where other artists are invited to participate. Spaces all have their nature as to how the encounter between things, people and ideas become organised (Lynch, 2005). These encounters generate effects which in the Deleuzian sense can be linked to embodied sensations. Merleau-Ponty (1964) defined embodiment in a way that reflects how we live in and experience the world through our bodies, especially through perception, emotion, language, movement in space, time, and sexuality. He spoke of existence as known only in and through the body.

The next parts are experiences I recorded during a stay in Hotel Transvaal:

> In the silence of the night, I stand in front of the open window on the chilly floor. It was two o'clock and I looked out at nailed windows illuminated by the moonlight, the long shadows created by the trees, the uncontrolled rose bushes scattered around the window, the sweet smell of the wilderness of the garden, the big yellow container to collect wood for recycling, the sight of graffiti and the overwhelming power of the government. The sight of the uncontrolled roses remind me of the fairy-tale Sleeping Beauty. She slept for

one hundred years. If this had happened in Transvaal, the Sleeping Beauty would have been awoken by a destruction hammer... or perhaps not... The spindle would have ended up, for sure, in the yellow container.

The guest of the hotel becomes part of a slice of history of the Netherlands and experiences how the Netherlands copes with urban forces of the twentieth century. This is made sensible through Hotel Transvaal, which through the concept of a hotel, connected fragments into a Deleuzian assemblage. These fragments which formally belonged in other contexts, or still indeed form the context, are forged into a hotel concept. The inhabitants of the Transvaal neighbourhood become hosts, the streets become the hallways and the houses are turned into rooms. Connections between former seemingly unconnected entities are made by the designers. Fragments are linked, marked and redefined and put into context. In short Hotel Transvaal connected the unconnected within one context and this assemblage as space of hospitality created more spaces in which the stranger is invited to participate (Grit et al., 2009).

The case of Hotel Transvaal illustrates the complex relationship, as mentioned earlier. In this case a space of hospitality is assembled, which produces several other spaces of hospitality within the neighbourhood. These are the interactions of the guests of Hotel Transvaal with the different 'fragments'; these interactions lead to new becomings in the form of spaces of hospitality. The creators/artists of Hotel Transvaal have created a paradox using a rigid (hotel) organisation in order to create 'becomings'. These new becomings are aesthetic and ideological. The ideological part is to show an insight into a 'deterritorialisation' of the neighbourhood by the government, in the sense that governments at various levels are reallocating inhabitants, and changing social and physical structures. It can be seen through this paper, the significance of an assemblage constituted by molar lines connecting fragments together, and its role in facilitating lines of flight within its produced new spaces of hospitality (Grit et al., 2009).

Looking at the nature of the interactions within the new spaces of hospitality produced by Hotel Transvaal, Grit et al. argue for the label 'smooth space' This is a Deleuzian post-structuralist notion for open-ended spaces, in other words, spaces which are not defined by a path between fixed and identifiable points (Massumi, 1987, p.xiii). This can be linked to the notion of opening spaces of hospitality proposed by Dikeç (2002) - being hospitable or extending the notion of hospitality does not imply the sovereign power of the host over the guest, but the recognition that we play shifting roles in our engagements, both, as hosts and guests. It is further argued that

hospitality is not about rules of stay being implied or predefined through power relations between hosts and guests, but about recognition that we are hosts and guests at the same time in multiple and shifting ways (Lashley, Lynch & Morrison, 2007). In this aspect the roles of the host and the guest, are not to be pre-conceived but are mutually constitutive of each other and are relational in nature (p.239).

Furthermore, Grit et al. (2009) point out that Hotel Transvaal challenges the guest's existing ideas and facilitates cultural laboratories, as discussed in Chapter One. Löfgren (1999) indicates that "in a cultural laboratory, people are able to experiment with new aspects of their identities, their social relations, or their interaction with nature and also to use the important cultural skills of daydreaming and mind-travelling" (p.7). Hotel Transvaal has facilitated true cultural laboratories, which are based on hospitality principles. Moreover Hotel Transvaal re-engages and develops hospitality theory, and suggests an alternative way of thinking about the exchange of hospitality, where there is an inviting of the 'other' and a diffusion of host and guest roles into one another. Hotel Transvaal clearly involved the shifting of roles; and the production and opening up of spaces of hospitality through gluing together different spaces within the neighbourhood into one assemblage. Hence society and its interactions themselves became more hospitable.

Through the case it can be seen that there are broader implications for the production of new hospitality and tourism space, or the development of hospitable socio-organisational space, which includes innovative ideas about the regeneration of urban space for hospitality and tourism. For Deleuze, art has a distinctive role of resisting fixed representations, 'to create', is 'to resist'. In Deleuze's own typical and recognisable writing style: "Art's effective, positive; the world would not be what it is if not for art, people could not hold on any more" (Deleuze, 1988, p.9). For Deleuze, resistance is possible only through a creative act: "whenever one creates, one resists" (Deleuze, 1988, p.1). Hotel Transvaal is such a creative act. Hotel Transvaal resists 'problem neighbourhoods' and its molar tendencies of including and excluding. By creating one assemblage which produces many other spaces of hospitality, Hotel Transvaal resists hostility (Grit et al., 2009).

Moreover Hotel Transvaal offers a setting in which the roles of the host and guest are interchangeable In a post-industrial society and by applying hospitality in the sense Bell suggests, the roles of the hosts and the guests may possibly interchange within a hospitality encounter, with regard to the process of engaging. Bell (2007, p.9) agrees with Dikeç (2002) in the idea that

hospitality is a gesture of engagement; hosts and guest are, moreover, 'mutually constitutive of each other, and thus, relational and shifting'. Bell also refers to Tregoning (2003), who sees hospitality as offering ways of being with others who are inaccessible through communities. Bell through Tregoning, discusses the philosophy behind this type of hospitality in terms of postcolonial theory, argues that this kind of hospitality is politically preferable to that within a community where there are feelings of boundedness, belongings, inclusions and exclusions. Through this argument, Bell points out that Tregoning unlocked an area of relationships within hospitality that had been dead-ended by debates about 'community' and 'identity'. Thus this perspective formed an important part of his work to re-open the discussion of commercial spaces of hospitality (p.10).

Furthermore, I became acquainted with the various artists from the performance art group 'Stichting P Reizen (P Travel)'. I followed this group for years and many students became acquainted with their main theme 'de parallele wereld' (the parallel world). This idea of a parallel world is contradictory; it turns attention to the forgotten realms of modernity, while presented as a scripted leisure activity. Activities involve a bus tour to the ugliest place in the Netherland or a stay in their temporary highway amusement park, or driving rounds on the Amsterdam peripheral A10 highway. Another initiative is by the German artist Günther Jäger, who started rentagerman (spelt like rent-a-German), an art project where one can 'rent' Germans. The site indicates that: "The rentagerman offers a wide range of Germans for your personal and social needs - You can select the German of your choice for an exclusive lifetime experience: "Imagine appearing with your German at parties, family events, or just hanging out with them at the local shopping centre. No matter which occasion you choose, you will surely impress your environment by presenting an original German" (http://rentagerman.de). The significance Stichting P Reizen and rentagerman are that these artists just like Sabrina Lindemann from Hotel Transvaal, create art by forcing a hospitality frame work upon a mundane situation. So a host guest relationship is used to complicate space and to evoke new experiences. One can say, the artists add another layer to space and thereby reconstruct space. This insight can inform the Cultural Laboratory, this becomes a true centre for testing, one layer is added and the outcome changes dramatically. This layer is the acknowledgement and naming of a guest role and a host role in a spatial setting.

Concluding this chapter, the artists used hospitality which involves the host-guest framework which they applied as a starting point to a mundane phenomenon such as a neighbourhood (Hotel Transvaal), industrial area (P Reizen), or nationality (rentagerman). The rest of the interactions

that follow, which are rather unusual in character and involve different states of mind, are considered art.

CONCLUDING THE LITERATURE REVIEW (PART 1 AND 2)

The case of Hotel Transvaal finalises the literature review. Hotel Transvaal can be regarded as a cultural laboratory; Sabrina Lindemann acknowledged that also and used the term 'Cultural Laboratories' to refer to her workshops which accompanied Hotel Transvaal. The case of Hotel Transvaal teaches that a 'hospitality assemblage' can be regarded as a form of organisation of space. This 'hospitality assemblage' can be placed upon other spaces; in the case of Hotel Transvaal, the space on which a 'hospitality assemblage' is placed was a neighbourhood in transition. As the Hotel Transvaal case showed, the placement of a 'hospitality assemblage' on the Transvaal neighbourhood changed the nature of the connections between bodies; streets became hallways; inhabitants became guests; and a local coffeehouse became an attraction. In this respect the notion of hospitality can be understood as a line of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The original organisation of the neighbourhood temporarily becomes disrupted .In Deleuzian ontological terms the virtual became actualised in a rather unpredictable manner. The creators of Hotel Transvaal planned an 'open ended space'. Since the positions of host and guest are more or less undefined, both guest and host might have to negotiate hospitality and thus create flux rather than flow. Hospitality itself can be regarded as a line of flight, disrupting and dividing space into yet unknown roles of hosts and guests and yet unknown becomings. This yet unknown allows the vital life forces to flow since they are both constructive as well as performative. Constructive in the sense that they can build the 'yet unknown', performative in the sense that the can 'experience' difference in the 'yet unknown'; thereby opening up the space of hospitality towards difference, since the outcome of the 'yet known' are unidentified. This opening up is in contrast with the objectification of hospitality space discussed in Chapter Five of the literature review which deals with predictability and spaces of hospitality and showed that spaces such as hotel space which are designed for hosting guests, become rather standardised and predictable. Ritzer (2000) calls this process 'Mc Donaldization'. Theoretically speaking this process of standardisation related to a Deleuzian ontological idea of becoming would mean a movement from the possible to the real, rather than a movement from the virtual to the actual. However, this theoretical way of reasoning is too simplistic and too one dimensional, since it ignores the complex nature of space. Yet one could say that the nature of the connections between bodies in these standardised hospitality spaces, which are designed for hosting guests are rather fixed. Authors such as Goffman (1957) and Pine & Gilmore (1999) combine these processes with human experience, they regard the positions and assigned job descriptions in

hospitality assemblages as so fixed, that they use theatre metaphors to describe scripted interactions. Concepts which they acknowledge are roles, performances and scripts. These give insights, however they also lead to predefined notions of space. Part three focuses on the research methodology, a methodology is proposed which adopts the Deleuzian concept of assemblage including the evocative dimension and at the same time focus on performativity as well. Part 3 and Part 4 will address the question of which processes underlie the 'yet unknown'.

PART 3: PICKING THE FRUITS – INQUIRY PROCESS

This part includes one chapter:

Chapter 7 Sociological experimentation is about engaging in crystallisation, and methods of ethnography and auto ethnography. The chapter presents a methodology which is applicable for spaces of hospitality in general. Chapter 8 applies the methodology Sociological experimentation to home exchange space.

The following piece is included for inspiration purposes

1948 A Russian journal

War photographer Robert Capa and John Steinberg travel to Moscow to paint a picture of post-war USSR. During this trip Capa writes in his diary "The hundred and ninety million Russians are against me. They are not holding wild meetings on street corners, do not practice spectacular free love, do not have any kind of new look, they are very righteous moral, hard-working people, for a photographer as dull as apple pie. Also they seem to like the Russian way of living, and dislike being photographed. My four cameras, used to wars and revolutions, are disgusted, and every time I click them something goes wrong. (Steinbeck, 1948).

CHAPTER 7 SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTATION AS RESEARCH DESIGN

This research design should be able to access the complexity of the hospitality space. This complexity is addressed in the concept of a Cultural Laboratory. The case of Hotel Transvaal demonstrates that 'hospitality' can be regarded as a form of organisation of space. This 'hospitality' can be characterised through other spaces as well. In the case of Hotel Transvaal, the space in which a 'hospitality assemblage' is described is a neighbourhood in transition. As the Hotel Transvaal case described, the placement of a 'hospitality assemblage' on the Transvaal neighbourhood changed the nature of the connections between bodies; streets became hallways, habitants became guests and a local coffeehouse became an attraction. In this respect, the notion of hospitality can be understood as a line of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), where in the case of Hotel Transvaal the original organisation of the neighbourhood temporary became disrupted.

This chapter introduces 'Sociological Experimentation' as a research design for studying a 'hospitality assemblage'. This focus on the becoming of assemblages requires a research design which can handle the undefined and floating nature of assemblages in becoming. The research design has two main tasks: firstly, to be able to record the connection and the evoked experiences which are generated by this connection, and secondly, to find a method to analyse the data and represent the findings in an ethical manner. The methodology 'Sociological experimentation' is developed by me while interactively exploring literature alongside the data collection, thus accordingly identifying and developing the approach. The research design accepts the concept of the Deleuzian-Guattarian assemblage (1987) to understand hospitality space. An introduction into the assemblage theory is given in chapter two. In short, assemblage theory focuses on desire, processes, becoming and affects. The concept of the assemblage values complexity, while on the other hand it allows the researcher to speak of a certain performativity. This acceptance of the assemblage has consequences for the epistemological focus of the research; the focus is on connections between bodies and bodies, and bodies and ideas. These connections produce space and qualities such as certain predictability, intensity, representation and non-representation. Moreover the unexpected connections are regarded as valuable and should be taken seriously.

This chapter introduces sociological experimentation as a research design for studying the becoming of vital forces in spaces of hospitality. The first part of this chapter states the particularities of an assemblage. These particularities translate into three requirements for a research methodology which is given the daunting task to access a Deleuzian-Guattarian assemblage. The second part introduces the concept of crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009). Ellingson uses the term 'crystallisation' to refer to the use of multiple 'ways of knowing' or the mixing of genres within one research project. Grounded on the principles of 'crystallisation' I propose to study the becoming of the assemblage and thus hospitality space from three perspectives. These three perspectives are: the 'evocative' which focuses on the feelings, the 'performative' which focuses on the organisation of space and the 'becoming' which focuses on the nature and intensity of the becoming. Ellingson's (2009) work permits researchers to combine several different methods of analyses and representations in one research project and this makes the concept of the assemblage workable.

The third part accepts both the concept of crystallisation as well as assemblage theory to examine the cultural laboratory and proposes sociological experimentation as a research methodology. This can be seen as a translation of the concept assemblage into a research methodology employing three different 'ways of knowing' hospitality space and involving autoethnographic fieldwork. The goal of sociological experimentation is to examine the dynamic settings and the underlying processes for the emergence of new becomings in spaces of hospitality. Sociological experimentation addresses the requirements set in the first part of the chapter - it rejects dichotomies and replaces this with the concept of an assemblage. Secondly it recognises the body in the research process. Thirdly it focuses on processes of becoming. Fourthly, it acknowledges unexpected events, not as something which is an exception and falls out of the norms, but something valuable since it can challenge the norm. The research methodology positions itself in the advocacy and participative research tradition since it follows an ethic of opening up spaces of hospitality to difference, and strives to open up space. The fourth part of the chapter focuses on autoethnographical methods since these underlie the methodology of sociological experimentation. The fifth part summarises the three ways of knowing.

Together with Chapter eight this chapter forms the methodological chapters of the thesis, and focuses on the theoretical aspects of the methodology. Chapter eight (which is located in the fourth part) focuses on the application of the sociological experimentation research design on

home exchange space, and includes data recording, data analyses, reflection and ethical considerations.

7.1 THE CHALLENGES AND REQUIREMENT FOR THE RESEARCH DESIGN

This part of the methodology chapter introduces contemporary methodological challenges which inform the requirements of research design. Figure 7.1 shows the challenges which inform the research design. Conceptually they highlight the characteristics of a Deleuzian-Guattarian assemblage. The challenges include embodiment, non-representational aspects, unexpected movements and an objection to dialectic thinking. This provides an understanding of Deleuzian affects, and the body and its potentialities.
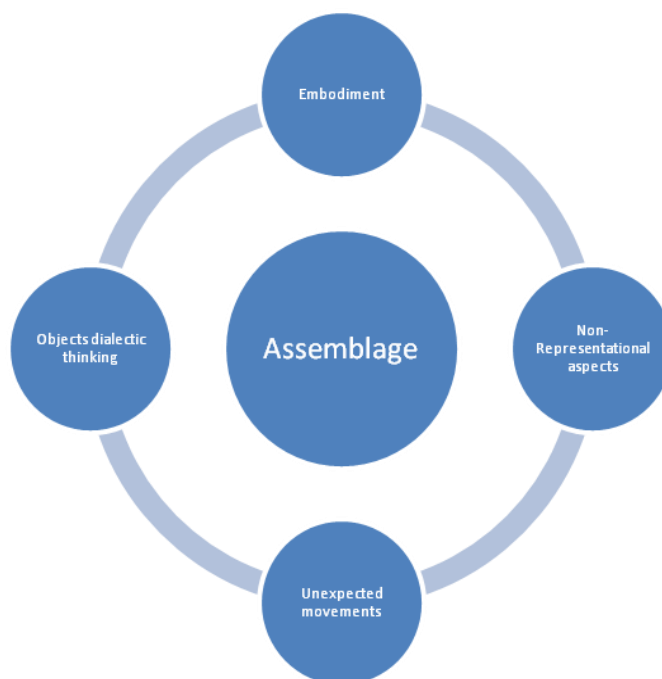
Figure 7.1 Challenges which inform the research design requirements

Embodiment of the assemblage

Embodiment was first put on the agenda by authors such as Veijola and Jokinen (1994), who questioned why no one looked at the sensing of place. Swain (2004) talks about the (dis)embodied experience and power dynamics that are present in tourism and the hospitality space. Within spaces of hospitality embodiment is evident and cannot be seen as apart from the assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The assemblage is 'embodied', even by non-human

bodies. Qualitative research by Swain has shown that embodiment plays an important role in tourism research with implications generally for praxis worldwide. Swain argues that research contexts of local landscapes and global systems must also be taken into consideration. She points out the power dynamics emanating from ethnic/racial hierarchies, patriarchal systems including academia, and disability stereotypes, as well as ideologies of equity and inclusiveness that shape qualitative research agendas and results (Swain, p.103).

According to Swain, 'Embodiment' in the dictionary sense means to give something a concrete or discernible form, a tangible body. Davis (1997, p.1), in a comprehensive essay on embodiment theory, notes an explosion of academic and popular culture interest in 'the body' during the late twentieth century. Swain uses the meaning suggested by Davis (1997, p.9) where the term's use in contemporary scholarship on the body has come to mean 'individuals' interacting with their bodies and through their bodies with the world around them. Swain (2004) argues that a focus on embodiment in qualitative research acknowledges the researchers' selves as well as the researched 'subjects' as primary factors in the research process. According to Swain, embodiment provides "ways of thinking about humanity that makes it impossible to commoditise bodies as objects to be simply bought and sold". She argues that fluidity and temporality are other aspects of embodiment. According to Swain (2004), embodiment theory challenges deeply rooted western constructs about the duality of mind and body, "and virtually all life experience as opposite pairs rather than integrative wholes" (p.104).

Swain acknowledges the paradigmatic shift across disciplines to a distinct 'focus on the body', the 'interrogating philosophical preference of mind over body', the 'theological preference for the soul', and 'social science relegation of the body to biology', and desire. Work by several researchers reflects the use and practice of the term embodiment in tourism research. Urry (1990) proposed an ocular approach focused on the tourists' 'gaze'. The space of hospitality is viewed rather than sensed with the whole body. Assemblage theory goes further and states that the body is part of the assemblage, the destination, not separated. Franklin and Crang (2001) have noted a growing trend to a fuller embodied analysis beyond the gaze, and Urry himself (2002) has now reflected on the relationship between tourism and embodiment. Research into embodiment implies that researchers take embodiment seriously, not only the tourist's embodiment but also their own embodiment. According to Swain (2004), the researcher's perspective as one which is mindful of her/his own embodiment, enriches any qualitative research project in terms of her/his work and its applications (p.112-113).

Non-Representational aspects of the assemblage

Space is not something which is entirely representational. Non-representational aspects are often neglected – non-representational theory acknowledges that subjects think, dream and fantasise and these acts have an enormous impact on the space of hospitality. Capturing this non-representation is a daunting practice. Thinking and dreaming among other non-representational actions is a part of embodiment and the embodiment of space.

Nigel Thrift, a post-structuralist thinker and one of the initiators of non-representational theory, focuses on subjectivity, representation identity and practice. Non-representational theory moves away from contemplative models of thought and action to those based on practice. Together with Amin, his work Cities: Reimagining the Urban (2002), attempts to loosen the social sciences and humanities out of a representative and interpretative paradigm. Representation in space covers the 'realness' of space. Non-representational theory questions whether all aspects of space are always on the surface and moreover, whether these aspects are represented as true and real for everyone. Within a cultural laboratory, the realness is an issue since not everything is visible, however real.

According to Dewsbury (2003), one of the main consequences of the predominance of representational understanding is that there is totalisation of thought in the very artifice through which we present that which we are attempting to understand. In earlier work by Jean-Francois Lyotard, he used the term of dispositive or a 'theatrical setup' to critique the representational system. According to this metaphor, the representational system operates like the theatrical machinery that lies hidden from the spectator, off-stage. In this case the presentation of ideas is trapped within the structure that it is trying to critique. This brings us to the representational system where the underlying point is representational theory: the belief that the representational structure is able to give account of everything. According to Dewsbury, representational theory implies the excavation of the empty space between the lines of representational meaning in order to see what is also possible. The representational system is flawed; it offers the belief of complete understanding...."(p.1911). From another non-representational viewpoint i.e. non representational theory, there is a danger of getting carried away with an absolute critique of representations. The representational system, its structure and regulation of meaning, is not complete – it needs constant maintenance, loyalty and faith from those who practice it. According to Dewsbury, "The

non representative argument comes into its own in asking us to revisit the performative space of representation in a manner that is more attuned to its fragile constitution."

This small introduction into non-representation is followed by some examples of scholars who embraced non-representational theory in their work. The work of Thrift refers in many instances to the work of Deleuze and Simmel. Simmel draws attention to the embodiment of the space as shown in the following example. According to Frisby and Featherstone (1997), Simmel's early investigation of the senses draws attention to the neglected role of bodies and their senses in social interaction. Over time, cultural variations in modes of sensing others have received more attention. Accordingly, the theme of sensory distance and proximity is clearly relevant to themes in other works, especially the study of space (p.5).

The ideas from Dewsbury are based on the work of Thrift (1996, p.7) who is critical of theories which claim to 're-present some naturally present reality'. Thrift's (1996) ideas are founded on a post-structuralist understanding of the world, one which denies the validity of the structuralist method (which includes binaries, representation, interpretation and construction of the world). Thrift calls his theory non-representational and claims that this non-representational theory addresses the 'unprocessual' nature of much social and cultural theory. Major themes within non-representational theory include subjectification, space as a verb, technologies of being, embodiment, and play and excess.

From a different perspective other than that of representation, Dewsbury (2003) approaches social interaction in an unusual way; he looks at the spaces between individual "… to seek responses beyond the lived perceptions or affections; and to make our perspectives vibrate in order to rend the percept from perceptions and the affect from affections". This is also in line with the thinking of Deleuze and Guattari (p.1914). According to Dewsbury (2003), the Deleuzian conceptualisation of affection and perception breaks down all the common signifying associations that script representational communication. It breaks down the sensation into the brute, felt, building blocks – to that of affects and percepts. In speaking neither of a subject nor object, nor you or that which is seemingly affecting you, it speaks of that which is between, the relation itself, the immanence of the world, a virtuality, an influence. It is then that intangibility in the world appears (p.1914).

Laurier and Philo (2006) point to the rise of non-representational theory and issues of how researchers 'represent' what they encounter in their fieldwork. They propose that in the efforts towards representation of certain events which are difficult to be retold, close descriptions "can still be offered of particular encounters, attending in the process to the situated, embodied sensemaking work being (unavoidably) undertaken by the peoples involved that makes those encounters what they are". Laurier and Philo (2006) question the impossibility within the task of representation. They insist that there are things that humans can feel, sense and express which are unspeakable, unsayable and unwrite-able. Laurier and Philo appreciate that there is a diversity of encounters: with friends, with acquaintances, with neighbours, strangers and staff. According to them, "There is an ordinal logic to encounters, they have qualities according to whether they are for the first time, where their first time status is a special characteristic, a second time, a third, and that this declines" (p.356). Cafés, sometimes quiet, sometimes buzzing and sometimes empty are investigated by them because events happen there, encounters happen there day-in, day-out (p.5).

Laurier and Philo conducted observations in cafes to generate a picture of encounters. According to Laurier and Philo, it is already evident that even those most closely associated with non-representational theory offer a variety of moves – influenced by different strengths of phenomenology, by Derridian post-structuralism, by experimental writing, geophilosophical vitalism, by the new life sciences, etc. – and that diverse topics and issues, from space, movement and landscape to ethics, affect, bodies and all manner of remainders, have entered into the picture for reconsideration or consideration anew (2006, p.353-354). Laurier and Philo distinguish between the positioning of encounters. They argue that there comes a point where encounters positioned in a sequence fall away from relevance for participants. They also distinguish between arranged encounters and chance encounters. They argue that each possible formulation and categorisation of an encounter comes with different consequences and expectations. They ask the question as to how any person could go about working out the kind of encounter they are having at the time of having it (Laurier and Philo, 2006, p.358).

Through his work 'Performing ethnography: Irish traditional music sessions and new methodological spaces', Frances Morton (2005) aims to illustrate how to get at the spaces which are made through the practice of performance, and its negligence from a conventional research point of view. Morton (2005) proposes non-representational theory as a supplementary rather than a prescriptive approach to methodology, and as a means to reworking conventional methods such as ethnography. According to Morton, such an approach opens up methodological spaces of

access and knowledge/communication by drawing attention to different ways of 'knowing'. Morton (2005) wanted to get a sense of 'now' in traditional Irish music pub sessions and went on further to point out its contextual importance within the setting of a musical performance, where behaviour is impromptu and speculative such as musical improvisation, and the accompanying communication, embodiment, emotion and expression (pp.661-662). Morton gave an idea of what it was like to carry out performance-based research, which took place in spaces and times which were ephemeral and irretrievable. Through performance-based research, attention is drawn to the active engagement with social practices (p.662).

Morton (2005) uses 'performance ethnography', which is different from other methods in the sense that other conventional methods do not include the intricacies of social practice or performance (p.663). Morton draws on the work of Thrift (1996, 1999, 2000, 2004), and a non-representational style of thinking – based on the post-structuralist understanding of the world. He acknowledges that in a post-structuralist style of thinking, the world is constantly in process: excessive, shifting and unstable (p.664). Morton focused on the 'liveness' of the music sessions, and the events within them, in order to understand the practices and the related spaces that opened up during the performances (p.667). He uses ethnography in the actual sessions by using the following techniques: spoken diaries, audio recording, participatory interviews, photography and video. According to Morton, the performance ethnography that he used was, rather than being a set of requirements, a set of 'malleable framings' which could be altered to suit changing circumstances. Moreover it was a pilot to see what could possibly work in music research. The performance ethnography described by him, attempted to record actual events, spaces and times 'in the making', and thus needed fluidity and motion rather than representation. The spoken diaries fulfilled these conditions by moving away from standardised interview questions and researcher authored field notes. Participants were asked to record their session experiences on tape, at a time they felt appropriate, rather than during a set interview time-frame. According to Morton, "I felt this intervention in ethnographic research would highlight the manifold experiences which people had of one actual event." In addition, the spoken diaries, with a lack of pre-given structure accommodated the unexpected nature of performances, which would not have been possible to records using interviews. The unexpected was also accommodated through his own observant participation (see Thrift, 2000) which consisted of performing, talking, witnessing, sensing and listening. The methodology that he used attempted to embody the sense of the performances and to access the spaces of the session in the making. This allowed for improvisation around the events of performance (pp.667-668).

Furthermore, Morton (2005) explains that sensibilities only emerge in the temporary act of performance, and therefore performance-based methodologies are "... a way of getting at, and giving weight to the fleeting spaces created in performance that other methods cannot" (p.672). According to him, performance ethnographies can provide possible access to many emotional and expressive ways of knowing and communicating, which take place in temporary, creative and improvised moments (p.673). In spaces of hospitality which are just like spaces of music performances, always in becoming, the moment of transition should be captured with the method.

Thrift refers in his work to the work of Deleuze as one of the theoretical underpinnings of the study of non-representational theory. I am of the view that non-representational theories have taken up a valuable discussion that people's feelings, dreams, understandings and so on, are neglected in so many studies. Cultural laboratories include both representational and non-representational aspects. To record the non-representational ones, the importance to access non-representational ones is obvious since the cultural laboratory is filled with these and to give an account of a cultural laboratory, recording the yet unheard voices provides new insights in to the experience and the becoming of the experience.

Simmel noted that the eye is a unique sociological achievement. According to Goffman, it is the eye-to-eye look between people that lead to encounters, attentiveness and an evaluation of trust (as cited in Urry, 2007, p.235-237).There are two key features of co-present encounters – the richness of information flow between participants and the ongoing feedback from each other that results from being able to see the face of the other. According to Thrift, the face is the chief site of affect and hence to see the face produces an unmediated access to the affective register of the other person. According to Thrift, affects provide a disposition for a body's actions and these affects depend on relationships. He argues that the view of affect is 'anti-individualistic' and opposes itself to the idea of deep rooted emotional drives. He points out that affects arise out of relationships and these relationships might be what effects affect. According to Thrift, affects is an emergent effect of bodies in relationship with each other, in their distribution across time and space.

The Deleuzian embodiment is described as 'affects'. An important part of Deleuze's ideas about ethics and aesthetics is the concept of 'affect'. This part focuses on the affect which has representational aspects as well as non-representational aspects. The assemblage can only be

known through its consequences that it generates. Hickey-Moody & Malins rework the Deleuzian concept of affect and indicate that by thinking through affects, the sensory capacity of the body is brought to the forefront. It is different from emotion in the sense that it is an 'a-subjective' bodily response to an encounter. Emotion comes later, as a classifying or stratifying of affect (Hickey-Moody & Malins, 2007, p.8). The production of affect has ethical and political implications because it determines the way in which a subject is approached. Referring to A thousand plateaus, Albrecht-Crane and Daryl Slack point out that Deleuze and Guattari maintain a different starting viewpoint towards bodies than post pedagogical models. Instead of asking the question - 'What is a body?', typical Deleuzian questions are – what can a body do? And, of what affects is a body capable? Deleuze and Guattari further explained that we do not know anything about a body until we know what it can do, what its affects are what it can do to the relationship with other affects and bodies; either to destroy the other body or be destroyed by it; either to exchange passions and actions with it or to synthesise a more powerful body (as cited in Albrecht-Crane and Daryl Slack, 2007). Deleuze, in an interpretation of Nietzsche and Philosophy, explains the work of the social world and the lines (or forces) that compose it. In the same interpretation, Deleuze argues by saying, "We will never find the sense of something (of a human, a biological, or even a physical phenomenon) if we do not know the force which appropriates the thing, which exploits it, which takes possession of it or is expressed in it " (1983, p.3).

Concluding the discussion on embodiment, according to Swain, the intersections of researched and researcher bodies are approached, but are hardly looked at as 'sites of knowledge' in tourism research. Swain draws on Pettman (1997), who suggests that most work on tourism remains disembodied. Swain however argues that "the body you are/are in clearly makes an enormous difference - it places you, or me, on one side or the other of boundaries that mark both power relations and entitlements" (Swain, 2004, p.112). According to Swain, an understanding of power dynamics - how bodies interact and influence each other in multiple relationships, creating unequal relations - is needed to move us forward into new solutions. Swain points out that an embodiment approach, most often from a feminist perspective and having potential for praxis, offers tourism studies opportunities to change and adapt to more engaged analysis in terms of our subjects, and our qualitative research methods (Swain, 2004, p.115).

Unexpected movements in the assemblage

This part introduces methods and concepts which take the unexpected seriously. It starts with the work of Steinberg (2007) on Rhizomic Network Analysis (RNA) and continues with the work of Crouch (2003) and Latham (2003) on performativity. RNA is an approach of analysing and diagnosing social networks for their type of knowledge dynamics of innovation. It is developed by Steinberg (2007) and the method is based both post-structuralist and social constructionist assumptions of creation and emergence. RNA holds that an essential condition for the emergence of innovation is that both social constructionist and rhizomic dynamics are present and well intertwined. It focuses analysis on encounters between the dynamics of meaning creation and those of meaning disruption. RNA is different from sociological experimentation in the sense that it ignores the evocative dimension of space but very similar since it acknowledges the need for structure as well as the unexpected, in Steinberg's words 'rhizomic potentialities'.

By combining theories by Deleuze & Guattari on the analogy of the rhizome to better understand the logic of discontinuity and disruption of movement and creation with social representations theory in terms of its dialectic logic of social knowledge construction, it takes a novel analytical view on knowledge dynamics. RNA, according to Steinberg (2007, p.5), offers a new paradigm of understanding the potential of new un-precedented connections, of disruptions and of experience in the emergence of novel concepts. Steinberg (2007, p.5) argues that this insight counters research shaped by a logic of thought that attributes innovation causally to individuals or to the diffusion or transfer of knowledge units between different, artificially separated spheres. Steinberg links this to the negligence of economic theories of innovation to focus on knowledge creation itself, and that these economic theories rather focus on educational measures that reinforce the bridging of theory and practice, cognition and interaction. Steinberg argues against this and states that we need to look at "knowledge creation in social construction and shared experience in communities, in its interplay with disruption by dynamics in the physical world" (Steinberg, 2007 p.29).

Modernity and performativity are related since the performativity predicts the interactions. Ellingson (2009, p.8) indicates that this relates to science, realist thinking in the qualitative continuum which is discussed further in this chapter. The problem with performance thinking is that there is no room for unexpected events and unpredictable outcomes. They are being regarded

as outside the common. Crouch (2003) introduces next to the concept of performance, the term performativity. This has already been discussed in section 5.3.

According to Crouch (1999), "Performance can be considered to include a flow of performativities, gestures, plural and unrelated moments. It may be that simultaneously it is possible to think of performance in terms of nodes, gatherings, moments, collisions along flows where the particular character of performativity is felt significant" (p.1951). Crouch (1999) gives a definition of allotment holding and caravanning in his paper. According to Crouch, these forms of hospitality practice are distinctive and involve leisure practices happening in very distinctive spaces. Plotting takes place predominantly in the 'city', and involves a range of activities from cultivation to moving bulk materials, repairing sheds and plant shelters, maintaining shared spaces such as lanes between plots, talking with other people, collecting up materials and sometimes giving them away (Crouch and Ward, 1997). Crouch (2003) researched allotment gardening and argues that performance and prior contexts are engaged simultaneously in the way a person makes sense of what he/she is doing (p.1953). Caravanning takes place in the 'countryside', typically on the edge of the village or away from the settlement of forming of the country (Crouch, 1999, p.260). Crouch (2003) chose to study caravanning for its interesting aspect of ideas of performativity and their apparent closure of space for opening up the self, going further, and rethinking life. According to Crouch (2003) caravanning and allotment holding incorporate body-performance activities. These performances happen across spaces in relation to the surrounding physical world of objects; and other people, amongst which the individual moves, acts, enacts and responds (p.1950).

Crouch (2003) gave an account and rationale for the methodology that was followed in his research. Crouch chose and investigated caravanning and allotment gardening from an interest in the content of 'doing', and how this may be informative in understanding the way they make encounters with the world, with themselves, and their immediate others, in a process of doing and 'making sense'. Crouch explored what apparently repetitive or mundane was in relation to ideas of becoming; with regard to how we may modulate interpretations of the fluid, open-ended, and generative in terms of becoming, and in relation to the habitual and repetitive (p.1949). Crouch describes how the 'becoming' was recorded and he explained it through an enactment process.

Alan Latham (2003) in his article 'Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diary-photograph, diary-interview method', wants to show through an analysis

of the experiences of people on Ponsonby Road in Auckland, how reframing research as creative, performative practice allows the researcher to address some novel questions about the cultures of everyday urban experience that more conventional, representation-oriented methods fail to address adequately (p.1995) Latham also demonstrates how such a reframing involves a reappraisal of our relationship to our research subjects and the narratives they offer.

Crouch (2003) provides a framework in which spaces of hospitality can be understood. He describes commonalities and the possibilities of these commonalities. However the revolutionary line of flight which might occur in a space of hospitality is rather unacknowledged since the focus is on the performance and how one negotiates the limits of this performance, rather than taking the unexpected into account.

Dialectic thinking and the assemblage

Referring to the advocative and participatory paradigm, this research objects to dialectic thinking since it acknowledges current concepts and current modes of thinking. Dialectical thinking is thinking into categories and hierarchies. Phillimore and Goodson (2004) acknowledge this artificial dichotomy in tourism when they refer to the work of Wearing and Wearing (1996, 2001) who state that a growing number of writers in the past few years have begun to question the subject/object dichotomy which serves as a basis for existing tourism research frameworks. In chapter two a reference is made to Wearing and Wearing in relationship to the subject-object dichotomy.

Directly related to the objectification of the destination, Franklin & Crang (2001), in the article – 'The trouble with tourism and travel theory', identify problems related to travel theory. According to them, "Our understanding of tourism has become fetishised as a thing, a product, a behaviour – but in particular an economic thing". Moreover, Franklin & Crang have problems with the way tourism is framed for studies, and refer to the work of Inglis (2000). Inglis (2000) is of the opinion that studies have been restricted to viewing tourism as a 'series of discrete, localised events, where destinations, seen as bounded localities, are subject to external forces producing impacts'. Tourism in this context was seen as a 'series of discrete, enumerated occurrences of travel, arrival, activity, purchase, departure' and the tourist was seen 'as another grim incarnation of individualised, rational economic man, forever maximising his solid male gains' (p.3).

Crouch (2000) already shifted towards the notion that space is a socio-cultural construction rather than a physical location.

Three requirements for the research design which can understand becomings in spaces of hospitality.

The four challenges, embodiment, non-representation, unexpected events and objection of dialectic thinking inform the three requirements for the sociological experimentational research design. These requirements derive from reflecting on my empirical research.

Requirement 1: A focus on processes which organise space

Since an assemblage is always in a state of becoming and never "is", this research design should focus on processes of organising space, processes of connecting bodies and processes of becoming. These processes are temporal and fleeting as well as fixed. Regarding the temporal and fleeting processes, in order to record details which easily are forgotten, the recording of the connections which form the process and evoked experiences should be as fast to the actual 'connection' as possible.

Requirement 2: An ability to record the non-representational aspects of space

A connection between bodies has a certain intensity. This intensity is connected to the vital life forces which are described in chapters two and three. However these intensities are both representational and non-representational in nature. The research design should be able to record the non-representational aspects of space. Therefore a closeness to space and a willingness and practicality of the subject to express experiences, ideas and emotions is required.

Requirement 3: Able to deal with unexpected events

An assemblage can enter a line of flight, whereby the organisation of the assemblage is (temporary or definitely) suspended. This line of flight is discussed in chapter two. Lines of flight influence the nature of becoming, lines of flight are needed in order for creative becomings to happen. Moving from the virtual to the actual involves creative becoming. During a line of flight

the organisation becomes in a flux and unexpected connections can be made between bodies. Recording unexpected connections are important, for they give insight into processes which enable creative becomings. However the question is which unexpected connection to record, since only afterwards during the analyses the role of the unexpected connection in the creative becoming can be determined.

7.2 DIFFERENT WAYS OF KNOWING SPACES– USING MULTIPLE GENRES OF RESEARCH IN ONE STUDY

Referring to the title of the chapter, ways of knowing can be regarded as epistemology. Epistemology is defined in this work as a theory of knowledge that justifies beliefs and is sometimes referred to as "ways of knowing" with an understanding of what counts as knowledge, and how it can be produced along a continuum (Ellingson, 2009, p.30). I turn to the work of Ellingson (2009) on different ways of knowing the social world; Ellingson terms this crystallisation. Crystallisation provides a path towards pushing or even breaking the generic boundaries (Ellingson, 2009, p.6). This leads from the point that projects that embrace crystallisation offer 'thick descriptions' and 'complex interpretations'. Researchers who employ the concepts of 'crystallisation' need not constrain themselves with the traditional limits of genres in qualitative research. Ellingson (2009, p.4) has developed Richardson's original concept of 'crystallisation', into a framework for qualitative research projects and has developed a detailed set of recommended practices. According to Ellingson (2009), the roots of crystallisation lie deep within the creative and courageous work of feminist methodologists who blasphemed the boundaries of art and science. Avoiding the objectivity/subjectivity dichotomy, feminist researchers have often combined objective approaches with experiential strategies (p.3).

Before going into Ellingson's interpretation of crystallisation, I focus on the work of Richardson partly since she links crystallisation to the work of Deleuze, and I started out with the work of Richardson before the work of Ellingson (2009) had been published. Richardson, author of the essay Writing as a Method of Inquiry (2000), was the first to mention 'crystallisation' as a concept (Richardson and St.Pierre, 2005). Richardson used 'crystallisation' as a capacity for writers to break out of traditional generic constraints (Ellingson, 2009, p.3), and claims that writing and different ways of analysing fit in a post-structural discourse. Richardson (2005, p.962) uses texts from Deleuze, thus achieving this breaking out of a traditional generic constraint. Richardson (2005) points out, on one hand, the role of the individual in producing

knowledge in social studies when she claims that "the individual is both a site and a subject of discursive struggles for identity and remaking memory", and on the other hand, the Deleuzian statement that this individual is subject to multiple and competing discourses in many realms and moreover that one's subjectivity is shifting and contradictory –not stable, fixed and rigid. Richardson concludes that "knowing the self and knowing about the subject are intertwined (p.962). This knowing is based on a co-creation, a co-creation of the self and social science; they are known through each other. This co-creation of social science fits in with post-structural thinking since both reject objective truths. Moreover this co-creation leads to the conclusion that a phenomenon could be studied through more than just one discourse.

Ellingson, Richardson's student, continued with the concept of crystallisation and produced a coherent framework to study the social through different ways of knowing. Ellingson (2009) indicates that "Crystallisation combines multiple forms of analyses and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematises its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them" (2009, p.4).

Ellingson defined epistemology as a theory of knowledge that justifies beliefs and is sometimes referred to as "ways of knowing" with an understanding of what counts as knowledge, and how it can be produced along a continuum (Ellingson, 2009, p.30). According to Ellingson, crystallisation falls within a social constructionist worldview (Creswell, 2007, p.20), offering a valuable way of thinking and creative inquiry to produce knowledge, and to create a 'conceptual analysis' of the data (Charmaz, 2006). Ellingson (2009, p.2) refers to what Richardson (2000) calls 'creative analytical practises' that embody both rigorous data analyses and creative forms of representation. This meant the end of the desire to utilise traditional research reporting strategies in their own work. Ellingson (2009) states that crystallisation is meant for scholars who embrace a wide range of methods, practices, and perspectives, and it offers a valuable way of thinking through the links between systematic analyses and creative genres of representation (p.5). Note the word 'genre' used here. Ellingson refers to 'genres' to indicate 'ways of knowing'. She proposes to use different genres within one research project and confront these.

The key 'moments' from Denzin and Lincoln (2005) can locate crystallisation in a research tradition. They described key 'moments' in the history of qualitative research. The first moment

was the traditional period. This period was in the early 1900s when qualitative researchers aspired to 'objective' positivist accounts of field experiences. The second moment was the modernist phase. This was after the war to the 1970s, and was concerned with making qualitative research as rigorous as its quantitative counterpart. The third moment, which happened between 1970 and 1986, was concerned with the blurring of genres. The fourth moment, in the mid-1980s is characterised by crises of representation and legitimateness. The fifth moment concerns experimental writing and participatory research. Additional stages include the sixth (post-experimental) and seventh (future) moments, where fictional ethnographies and ethnographic poetry become taken for granted.

Sociological experimentation and its crystallisation process relates to the sixth moment of Denzin and Lincoln (2005, p.20). This period of great excitement experiments with novel forms of expressing lived experience including literary, poetic, autobiographical, multivoiced, conversational, critical, visual, performative and co- constructed representations. Crystallisation uses several of these novel forms.

Ellingson presents a continuum in the beginning of her book and this continuum presents genres. Ellingson (2009, p.7) builds this continuum upon Ellis's representation of the two ends of the qualitative continuum and the analytic mapping of the continuum developed in Ellis and Ellingson (2000). This continuum is partly presented in table 7.1, to give reader insight in Ellingson's (2009) interpretation of a genre. The goals, questions posed, methods, writing styles, vocabularies, role of researcher, and criteria for evaluation vary across the continuum as we move from a realist/ positivist social science stance on the far right, through a social constructivist middle ground, to an artistic/interpretive paradigm on the left. Ellingson's (2009, p.7) goal is to move past dualistic partitioning of creative methods into art and science, encouraging conceptual productive blending of the two within a crystallised project. However she admits that moving beyond defining art as "not science" and science as "not art" takes some creative thinking. According to Ellingson (2009), crystallised projects span multiple points on the qualitative continuum in order to maximise the benefits of contrasting approaches to analysis and representation, while also being self-referential to their partiality (p.10). This emerging paradigm of crystallisation is easily linked to grounded theory and other systematic analyses that exist along the continuum from positivism through radical interpretivism (Ellingson, 2009; as cited in Cugno and Thomas, p.112).

Cugno and Thomas (2009, p.112) indicate that typically, researchers triangulate data from within a single methodology. Whereas, crystallisation not only uses traditional triangulation, but embodies two or more genres to further strengthen, improve, and code the data. As in all qualitative research, the ontological assumption is that "authors should be trustworthy to the highest standards of excellence in any genre" (p.182). Based upon Creswell's holistic account of qualitative research, Ellingson's crystallisation methodology fits comfortably under the general characteristics of an emerging design; "that research cannot be tightly prescribed, and that all phases of the process may change or shift after the researchers enter the field and begin to collect data" (Creswell, 2007, p.39). Table 7.1 visualises the methods used over the continuum.

Paradigm	Inductive	Post positivistic	Positivist
Focus	Art/impressionist	Middle ground approaches	Science/realist
Goals	To unravel accepted truth	To construct situated knowledge	To discover objective truth
Questions	How can we cope with life? What is unique about my or another's experience?	How do participants understand their world?	What is the relationship among factors?
Methods	Autoethnography interactive interviewing, visual arts	Grounded theory, focus groups, semi structured interviewing	Surveys, structured interviews
Vocabularies	Inductive, personal, improvisation, experience, creativity	Social constructivist, themes, thick description	Measurements, control, validity and theory driven

Table 7.1 A selection from Ellingson's Qualitative Continuum (2009)

Principles of Crystallisation

Ellingson's crystallised projects are based on five principles. Principle one is about achieving depth. Ellingson argues that crystallisation provides, apart from the presenting of many details, also another way of achieving depth through the compilation of different forms of representing, organising, and analysing. Through this different way of organising data "crystallised projects offer deep, thickly described, complexly rendered interpretations of meanings about a phenomenon or group (Ellingson, 2009, p.10). Principle two is about representing different ways of producing knowledge across multiple points of the qualitative continuum. According to Ellingson (2009), generally at least one (constructivist) middle-ground and one interpretive, artistic, performative, or otherwise creatively analytical approach should be employed to reflect several contrasting ways of knowing (p.10).

Principle three is about the utilisation of different genres. These genres could be represented by the use of writings or use of other mediums such as video, photographs and so on. Principle four covers the reflexive consideration of the researcher's self and roles in the process of research design, data collection and representation (Ellingson, 2009, p.10). The fifth principle underlying crystallisation is the eschewing of positivist claims to objectivity and a singular, discoverable truth; and embraces, reveals and even celebrates knowledge as inevitably situated, partial, constructed, multiple, and embodied (Ellingson, 2009, p.13). Ellingson's principles of crystallisation take shape through "thick descriptions" and "complex interpretations" that at a minimum must include two or more genres that are "interwoven, blended, and thickened" to validate the data (p.10).

Concluding this section on crystallisation, some of its advantages and disadvantages are summarised in table 7.2.

Advantages	Disadvantages
Provides deep, rich, thick descriptions	Not everyone is fluent in multiple genres
Gives the reader multiple ways of understanding	It involves a trade-off between breadth and depth
Reinforces the same experience in different forms	Lack of peer recognition as a viable methodological framework
Pushes the envelope	Researchers must be open minded and willing to appreciate a wide-range of representation
Gives the researcher a deeper level of understanding (p.15-16)	

Table 7.2 Advantages and disadvantages of crystallisation (Cugno and Thomas, 2009)

7.3 SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTATION, FOCUSING ON THREE DIMENSIONS OF HOSPITALITY SPACE

I have chosen the expression 'Sociological Experimentation' since 'sociological' refers to the type of connections the methodology focuses on, namely social connections, connections between bodies, ideas, desires, forces and their combinations. Pløger (2006, p.386) indicates that vitalistic forces react to and are intertwined with the social. The term 'experimentation' refers to the French word 'experience' which both translates into English both as 'experience' and

'experiment'. According to Deleuze and Guattari (1983, p.371) bodies 'experience' when they do not know what the result will be and have no preconceptions concerning what it should be. Baugh (2005) who refers to Deleuze and Guattari describes experimentation as an open-ended process that explores what's new and what's coming rather than something already experienced and known (p.91). Experimentation is inseparable from innovation and discovery.

Sociological experimentation can be seen in the light of an advocacy and participative research paradigm. This position arose during the 1980s and 1990s from individuals who felt that the post-positivistic assumptions imposed structural laws and theories that did not fit marginalised individuals in the society or issues of social justice that needed to be addressed (Creswell, 2009, p.9). Research in the eyes of the researchers with an advocacy and participative paradigm needs to be intertwined with politics and a political agenda. Creswell states that the research contains an action agenda for reform that may change the lives of the participants, the institutions in which individuals work and live, and the researcher's life (2009, p.9). This research has to be placed into this critical tradition. This researcher is both critical towards managers/organisers of spaces of hospitality (both commercial and non commercial) and researchers who study hospitality spaces. By implying and studying processes to control space, such as revenue management processes or HRM management processes without knowing what the space does, organisers and researchers lose connection with becomings and life itself. Creative becomings are necessary since they enable minority voices to be heard and prevent the future being a reproduction of the past.

Sociological Experimentation is also informed by the methodology developed by Lynch (2003, 2005), referred to as 'Sociological Impressionism'. Lynch uses the process of impression generation in a hospitality setting, which according to Lynch "reflects the process albeit usually more subliminal, by which guests construct the homestay product" (2003, p.161). Lynch indicates that "impressions are based on a response from the 'stranger' to the experience of the world such that it is unique to the individual" (2003, p.162).

Ellingson (2009) encourages authors to adapt crystallisation to their needs and goals (Ellingson (2009, p.4). Through the work of Ellingson on crystallisation and the above mentioned criteria, I propose three different ways of knowing spaces of hospitality which are adopted here:– the evocative, which focuses on feelings; the commonalities, which focus on the construction of hospitality space; and the becomings which focuses on intensities and new becomings based on a

Deleuzian-Guattarian vocabulary. In this case, I apply crystallisation to understand the dynamics of spaces of hospitality from a host-guest perspective. It is suggested that by a threefold focus on the assemblage as a representative concept of the space of hospitality, a comprehensive account of the nature of its dynamics can be given.

These different ways of knowing also have consequences for research questions, writing styles, analyses and vocabularies. The threefold focus corresponds to different ways of knowing and are labelled, as Ellingson (2009) suggested, "Genres". Table 7.3 shows the three genres in combination with the methodological aspects and the research questions.

Three different ways of knowing hospitality space			
Genre	**Genre 1 Evocative dimension**	**Genre 2 Performative dimension**	**Genre 3 Dimension of becomings**
Description Focuses on the potentialities	Focuses on the affects produced by the assemblage	Focuses on the performativities of the assemblage, relates to the (temporary) structural aspects of the assemblage	Focuses on the potentialities of becoming, which processes underlie creative becomings and how these lead to new connections and sensations.
Link to concepts in the literature review	Affect (Deleuze and Guattari,1987) Chapter 1 of this thesis	Performativity (Crouch, 2003) Section 5.2 of this thesis	Becoming, Intensities, Vital Life Forces and Desire Chapter 1 of this thesis
Research goals for the genre	To explore how home exchange space is experienced	To generate description and understanding of the organisation of home exchange space	Identify processes of becoming in home exchange space
Research question for the genre	Which feelings are evoked by the home exchange space?	What are the commonalities in connections and what are the potentialities of these connections?	Which processes underlie spaces of hospitality?
Research strategy	Ethnographic research	Ethnographic research	Ethnographic research
Data collection	Evocative auto-ethnographic writing based on field notes	Autoethnographic writing, participative interviews, observations, interviews, and documents	Ethnographic, recording of interactions
Analysis	The story speaks for itself	Interpretive analytical autoethnography, discourse analyses	Interpretive analytical autoethnography
Writing style	Personal reflections (Chapter 10)	Use "snippets" of participant's and author's words (Chapter 11)	Use "snippets" of participant's and author's words (Chapter 12)
Vocabularies	Personal and evocative experience	Themes and domains	Assemblages, lines of flights, stratifications, intensities

Table 7.3 Different ways of knowing hospitality, research methodology and data analysis

This chapter continues with a theoretical description of the auto ethnographic research strategy, its critique and the movement towards analytical autoethnography. The following chapter, chapter eight 'Footsteps in the sand" builds upon this theoretical discussion and focuses on the actual research into the home exchange experience and describes practices, such as the practicalities of data collection and analyses. The chapter concludes with a short summary of all three genres.

7.4 AN INTRODUCTION INTO AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AND ANALYTICAL AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

All three genres to access the space of hospitality are based on an ethnographic methodology. Ethnography is generally thought of as "primarily a process that attempts to describe and interpret social expressions between people and groups" (Berg, 2007, p.134; cited in Ellingson, 2009). This part focuses on the development of autoethnography, evocative autoethnography and analytical autoethnography.

Within the ethnographic tradition this study utilises the autoethnographic research tradition method. Autoethnography as epistemology fits in an 'advocacy and participatory' paradigm, Creswell describes how this paradigm historically developed within a Marxist's school and was later on elaborated on by other social critical scholars in the late 20th century. Elaborating on this, Creswell states that these kind of 'advocacy and participatory' worldview implicates that the research necessarily needs to be connected with "politics and a political agenda" (2009, p.9). This research presents such an agenda in the discussion chapter. This paradigm fits well with the revolutionairy potential destructive concepts from Deleuze and Guatarri, with the idea that people who claim absolute truth and the representation of the other should be questioned. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) argue that a new epistemology, like autoethnography, allows for a reduced risk in representing 'others'. It also allows for the advancement and production of knowledge by a researcher who is unique with a unique perspective; in addition to increasing small-scale knowledge that can inform specific problems and situations. Tierney "confronts dominant forms of representation and power in an attempt to reclaim, through self-reflective response, representational spaces that have marginalised those of us at the borders" (1998, p.66).

According to Sparkes (2000), the methods of autoethnography and personal narratives, have been debated and critiqued for a long time, and their status as scientific research, has been questioned (p.22; as cited in Walls, 2006, p.8). Furthermore, expert knowledge is socially accepted in a way

different than that of common sense or personal knowledge (as cited in Wall, 2006, p.8). Wall is of the opinion that, although postmodern thought has progressed, academic conventions are too powerful and have provided resistance to the upcoming of autobiographical approaches to research (p.8). Wall (2006, p.8) points out, through Atkinson (1997) and Sparkes (2000), that the use of 'subjective self' has led to criticisms and perceptions of autoethnography to be 'self-indulgent', 'narcissistic', 'introspective', and 'individualised'. Wall (2006) acknowledges, with reference to autoethnography and personal narrative acknowledge, that methodological issues are presented. She argues that a lack of 'systematicity' and methodological rigor is perceived to be a barrier to the acceptance of autoethnography as a technique (p.8).

According to Ellis and Bochner (2000), the word autoethnography comes from writing (graphy), culture (ethnos), or self (auto). Collinson (2008, p.40) indicates that autobiography seeks to analyse events and experiences within the researcher's life that aim to illuminate wider cultural or sub cultural aspects and processes, such as the opening and closing processes of hospitality spaces. Duncan explains that autoethnographies are case studies that follow the tradition of ethnographic research (2003, p.3). Reed-Danahay defines autoethnography as a genre of writing and research that connects the personal to the cultural, placing the self within a social context (Reed-Danahay, 1997). Whatever the specific focus, authors use their own experiences in a culture reflexively to look more deeply at self-other interactions. Autoethnography enables this researcher to tap into the various assemblage becomings and report from within.

Contemporary autoethnographers such as Ellis and Bochner (2000) confront traditional ethnographic approaches with a postmodern critique of realist viewpoints and ways of representing. The desire to discover and make room for the worldview of others suits a postmodern sensitivity, in which no one right form of knowledge exists and multiple viewpoints are acknowledged and valued. Denzin and Lincoln indicate that autoethnography as a rather new epistemology removes the risks inherent in the representation of others, allow for the production of new knowledge by a unique and uniquely situated researcher, and offer small-scale knowledge that can inform specific problems and specific situations (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994). Furthermore, Richardson (1995) indicates that the development of autoethnography may have liberated some researchers from the constraints of the dominant realist representations of empirical ethnography. Bochner put forth a difference one has to make in methodology when it comes to analysing or not analysing. Bochner indicates that it is suggested that rigorous methodology and generalisability are not necessarily that which we should attain. According to

Bochner (2001), "Think of the life being expressed [in a narrative] not merely as data to be analysed and categorised but as a story to be respected and engaged . . . we shouldn't prematurely brush aside the particulars to get to the general" (p.132).

According to Sparkes (2000), "Autoethnographies are highly personalised accounts that draw upon the experience of the author/researcher for the purposes of extending sociological understanding." (p.21). Pelias (2003) describes autoethnography as something that "lets you use yourself to get to culture" (p.372). Furthermore, Ellis and Bochner (Ellis, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000) also point out that the term 'autoethnography', originated by Hayano (1979), has been in use for more than 20 years, and has become the term of choice in describing studies of a personal nature. In her understanding of what autoethnography is, Wall (2006) refers to Ellis and Bochner (2000). To guide an understanding into the autobiographical method, Ellis and Bochner listed terms that are comparable under this type of research and argue that autobiographical methods can appropriately include, broadly, similar terms such as 'personal narratives', 'lived experience', 'critical autobiography', 'evocative narratives', 'reflexive ethnography', 'ethnographic autobiography', 'autobiographical ethnography', 'personal sociology', 'autoanthropology' and so on" (p.739-740). Wall (2006) makes a call to authors for deciding on and unifying the various terms used in autoethnographic research. Sparkes (1996, 2000) for example, began personal narratives not referring to it as an autoethnography; Ellis and Bochner (2000) used the term 'autoethnography'. From her personal viewpoint, Wall sees autoethnography, "... as a research method that is part of, but delineated from, the broader realm of autobiography" (p.11). Sparkes (2000) also argues that autoethnography is based on different epistemological and ontological assumptions and therefore not useful to be judged on basis of traditional criteria.

Wall refers to and highlights three terms that have been labelled as autoethnography – heuristic inquiry, autoethnography (itself) and personal narratives. She introduces Moustakas (1990), who referred to autoethnography as a 'heuristic enquiry', recalls Ellis and Bochner (2000), who popularised the term 'autoethnography', and other authors who refer to their work as 'personal narratives' (Wall, 2006, p.4). In the following paragraphs, this thesis introduces the work of Moustakas (1990) who does some work into 'heuristic enquiry', the work of Ellis and Bochner (2000), and lastly, the work of Bochner (2000).

The method of heuristic inquiry rose from the phenomenological tradition, and has its starting point as a personal challenge as identified by the researcher. Wall (2006) draws on the work of

Douglass and Moustakas (1985) who state, "The aim is to awaken and inspire researchers to make contact with and respect their own questions and problems, to suggest a process that affirms imagination, intuition, self-reflection, and the tacit dimension as valid ways in the search for knowledge and understanding" (p.40; as cited in Wall, 2006). She refers to Moustakas (1990), who further suggests that the basic design of a heuristic project involves six steps: initial engagement, immersion, incubation, illumination, explication, and culmination in a creative synthesis. Moustakas describes these steps in detail. Initial engagement occurs when the researcher discovers a research topic that is both interesting and passionate, one that has personal meaning as well as broad social implications; and one that leads to a process of introspection. Immersion into the question allows for complete concentration and sustained focus regarding the topic, in addition to an exploration of the researcher's tacit knowledge on the subject. Wall (2006) describes the incubation phase as a 'period of retreat from thought' related to the question. At this stage unrelated things and other distractions are brought to the forefront and new ideas may be formed during this period. In the phase of illumination, according to Moustakas, something completely new may possibly be discovered in something familiar, which results from genuine openness to unique possibilities. The researcher now is in a position to depict the core themes and reflect on major components through self reflection and conversations with others (Moustakas, 1990, p.42). Finally, a phase of creative synthesis takes place, where the researcher presents the data in the form of a narrative, a poem, drawing, painting or another creative form.

Wall (2006) refers to these phases, as described by Moustakas, as idealistic and abstract, although Moustakas (1990, p.42) acknowledges their contribution in non-traditional forms of study that "... engages one's total self and evokes a personal and passionate involvement and active participation in the [research] process." He further goes on and points out usable techniques and indicates that a heuristic enquiry involves open methods with the research process unfolding in its own way (p.43). He indicated the need for rigour and systematicity in the research process using a method such as heuristic inquiry. Moustakas further suggests the combined working of researchers within differing fields and with the research participants in order that the personal topic at hand can be viewed from several dimensions. Ellis and Bochner (2000), in their work, also suggest the use of autoethnography alongside other well known qualitative research methods. Moustakas (1990) points out that heuristic research, in comparison with other qualitative methods, is similar due to the shared focus on meaning and experiences, data sets and techniques; and yet more personal and introspective, deep and rigorous. Moustakas suggests data analysis to go through the phases he discussed until themes and meanings emerge. Furthermore,

he suggests sources of data to be inclusive of personal documents such as notes or journals, interview notes and transcripts, poems, and/or artwork.

Ellis and Bochner (2000) encouraged and promoted the use of the term 'autoethnography', as an autobiographical research method. Following in the line of heuristic research, which is personal and reflects on postmodern thinking, autoethnography goes a step further in acknowledging that a 'general truth' does not exist. Deleuze also does not believe in one single truth and tends to describe truth subjectively. Wall (2006) refers to postmodernism by, "... infusing social science with the emotions and person of the researcher" (p.5). Wall (2006, p.5), however, points out the difficulties in the discussion of this method, referring to several authors (Moustakas, 2006; Ellis and Bochner, 1999, 2000; Ellis, 1994), whose discussions of this method are very philosophical and abstract, and lacking to some extent in concrete information about how to proceed with it. Ellis (2004), draws on the work of Ellis and Bochner (2000), and acknowledges the non-linear nature of writing up an autoethnography, its complex nature and compared it to being, "... sent into the woods without a compass" (p.120). Furthermore, she encourages autoethnographers to navigate through uncertainty involved with this technique, in order to take time out to explore options and ideas, "... wander around a bit and get the lay of the land" (p.120). Ellis and Bochner (2000), through an account of the methods presented in an example of a story involving autoethnographic writing; point out that autoethnography was performed, "... through the use of personal writing and reflection, the stories of others (gathered through a series of highly interactive and even therapeutic interviews with individuals and groups), personal poetry, and an understanding of the relevant literature (especially knowledge of the gaps in the literature that can be answered only through personally focused inquiry)" (quoted in Wall, 2006). Ellis and Bochner (2000) also advocate the use of approaches, in the line of qualitative research, such as short stories, fiction, novels, photographic essays, personal essays, journals, fragmented and layered writing, and social science prose (p.739). Wall (2006) refers to Muncey (2005), who in a similar fashion as Ellis and Bochner, advocates the use of snapshots, artefacts, documents, metaphors, and psychological and literal journeys; in order to capture the feelings, experiences, emotions and behaviours that give a more holistic view of life (p.10).

Bochner (2000) is interested in new and interesting ways of alternative ethnography, and does not dwell on questions that seek to verify information or search for criteria. For subjects such as social sciences where the research process can get 'messy, complicated, uncertain, and soft',

Bochner acknowledges that there is a risk of the methods qualifying as 'unscholarly' or 'unscientific'. According to Bochner (2000),

> We seem uncommonly neurotic in our fear of having our little secret discovered, so we hide behind the terminology of the academic language games we've learned to play, gaining some advantage by knowing when and how to say "validity," "reliability," "grounded," and the like. Traditionally, we have worried much more about how we are judged as "scientists" by other scientists than about whether our work is useful, insightful, or meaningful—and to whom. We get preoccupied with rigor, but are neglectful of imagination. We hold on to the illusion that eventually we will unanimously agree on the culture-free standards to which all evidence must appeal, so that we won't have to rely on our own "subjectivity" to decide (p.267).

Wall (2006) refers to personal narratives as a method largely incorporating the use of 'self'. A personal narrative, according to Wall, forms a method by itself; and is interchangeably used with the term autoethnography as well (p.6). Wall refers to Ellis and Bochner (2000) and Richardson (2000) who give opinions on the goals of personal narratives. Their ideas are to connect form with content; and the literary with the scientific, thus creating a 'social scientific art form', which considers the position of the researcher explicitly, rather than 'constructing his or her absence'. According to Richardson (2000), "Autoethnographically-based personal narratives are highly personalised, revealing texts in which authors tell stories about their own lived experience, relating the personal to the cultural . . . In telling the story, the writer calls upon . . . fiction-writing techniques. Through these techniques, the writing constructs a sequence of events . . . holding back on interpretation, asking the reader to emotionally "relive" the events with the writer" (p.11).

Table 7.4 gives a selection of research done through autoethnography, and shows the wide variety of topics and methods used.

Author	Description of topic	Type of research	Methods used
		Phenomenology (Literary and evocative)	Essay, poetry
Paulette (1993)	Story of a parent who resolved a dilemma about her child's future	Narrative (Literary and evocative)	Essay
Sparkes (1996)	Personal journey that changes an elite athlete to a man, whose life is changed due to a disease	Autoethnography (Personal and theoretically supportive)	Essay and journal keeping
Holt (2001)	Becoming a graduate teaching assistant in a university	Autoethnography (Personal and theoretically supportive)	Two year reflective log-book
Pelias (2003)	A look into the daily habits and demands of academic life	Autoethnography (Personal and theoretically supportive)	Log book
Duncan (2004)	Evaluation and improvement of practice of multimedia/hypermedia designer	Autoethnography (Conservative, methodologically rigorous)	Participant observation, reflective journal, interviewing, documents and artefacts such as e-mails, memos and letters, storyboard and graphic sketches, computer screen images, notes to self and from others, government documents, technical logs
Lynch (2005)	Guest experience in a commercial home setting	Autoethnography	Photographs and grounded theory. Experienental observation, researcher diary

Table 7.4: Overview of autoethnographic research

According to Ellis (1991), "The emergence of autoethnography as a method of inquiry moves researchers' use of self-observation as part of the situation studied to self-introspection or self-ethnography as a legitimate focus of study in and of itself" (p.30). Reflecting on the method of autoethnography, Wall (2006) states that learning outcomes from autoethnography vary, from the highly introspective, through more familiar approaches connected to qualitative research, to somewhat experimental literary methods (p.6). Wall (2006) acknowledges that autoethnography, in spite of being perceived to be unconventional, has the power to address unanswered questions and includes the views and unique ideas of the researcher (p.4).

As autoethnography challenges established notions about knowing, it received criticisms from various accounts, in spite of which Collinson (2008, p.38) states that autoethnography has gained more widespread usage and acceptance within sociological and anthropological communities. Critics argue against the self-indulging character, celebrating the subject, therapeutic and lack of rigour. Sparkes (2002) discusses the charge that autoethnographies and other personal narratives have a self-indulgent nature with its use of self as a source of data. Though he acknowledges these forms of representation can become self-indulgent, he does not think that self-indulgence is characteristic of the genre. Rather, he believes the genre is exemplified by self-knowing, self-luminous writing that celebrates concrete experience and intimate detail. That the researcher includes oneself in a vulnerable, emotional way does not automatically mean the work is an exercise in self-indulgence (Sparkes, 2002). Atkinson challenges Ellis's (2000) claim that autoethnography has a therapeutic value for the researcher and potentially for readers. According to Atkinson, research has nothing to do with therapy. Atkinson (1997) does not specifically write about autoethnography but does address the subject of researchers who use narratives in their research. Atkinson considers narratives valuable insights, although he is critical of narratives as "celebrations of the individual subject" (Atkinson, p.335).

As a reaction to the critique of autoethnography, Anderson (2006) objected to the evocative, less-analytical aspects of autoethnography and introduced the concept of analytical autoethnography. I use evocative autoethnography for the first genre with a focus on an 'evocative dimension of spaces of hospitality'. I apply the analytical autoethnography to the second and third genre with a focus on processes such as 'performativity' and 'dimensions of becomings'. Referring to table 7.3, I move to an explanation of analytical autoethnography as described by Anderson. The acceptance of either one type of autoethnography has consequences for the research design.

Anderson (2006) an advocate of the more theory oriented approach proposes the term analytic autoethnography to refer to research in which the researcher includes an extensive analytical process to the research design. Anderson (2006) gives an account of analytical autoethnography, as a part of autoethnography, a popular form of qualitative research. Anderson refers to the current discourse on this genre of research as 'evocative autoethnography', "that draws upon postmodern sensibilities and whose advocates distance themselves from realist and analytic ethnographic traditions". He argues that the dominance of evocative autoethnography has obscured recognition of the compatibility of autoethnographic research with more traditional ethnographic practices. Anderson (2006) argues that autoethnography "has been linked, explicitly and implicitly by different authors, to various 'turns' in the social sciences and humanities: the turn toward blurred genres of writing, a heightened self-reflexivity in ethnographic research, an increased focus on emotion in the social sciences, and the postmodern scepticism regarding generalisation of knowledge claims" (p.374).

Anderson (2006) is concerned that impressions of 'evocative or emotional autoethnography" (Ellis, 1997, 2004) may limit other visions of what autoethnography can be and hide the ways in which it may fit productively in other traditions of social inquiry. The goal of Anderson's research is to clarify the potential practice and promise of an alternative to evocative autoethnography consistent with qualitative inquiry rooted in traditional symbolic interactionism. According to Anderson (2006), "Analytic autoethnography refers to ethnographic work in which the researcher is (1) A full member in the research group or setting, (2) Visible as such a member in the researcher's published texts, and (3) Committed to an analytic research agenda focused on improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena" (p.375).

Anderson (2006, p.376) proposes five key features of analytic autoethnography

1. Complete member researcher (CMR) status
2. Analytic reflexivity
3. Narrative visibility of the researcher's self
4. Dialogue with informants beyond the self
5. Commitment to theoretical analysis

According to Anderson (2006), regarding the CMR status, "Being a complete member typically confers the most compelling kind of 'being there' on the ethnographer" (p.379). Anderson argues that the autoethnographer is someone who helps to form and reform the constructs that she or he

studies. Furthermore, the autoethnographer is a more analytic and self-conscious participant in the conversation than is the typical group member, who is less analytical or introspective of the conversation and activities. According to Anderson (2006), "The autoethnographer's understandings, both as a member and as a researcher, emerge not from detached discovery but from engaged dialogue" (p.382). According to Anderson, reflexivity involves an awareness of reciprocal influence between ethnographers and their settings and informants. It involves self-conscious introspection which stems from a desire to understand the self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those of others (p.382). Anderson states however that not all traditional ethnographic research involves significant self-reflection during the research process or visible presence of the researcher (especially as more than a detached observer) in ethnographic texts (p.384).

Anderson (2006) accounts for a central feature of autoethnography, which is that the researcher is a highly visible social actor within the written text. He argues that the researcher's own feelings and experiences are incorporated into the story and considered as important data for understanding the social world being observed. Anderson points out the autoethnographer's dual role - as a member in the social world under study and as a researcher of that world. This dual role demands enhanced textual visibility of the researcher's self which demonstrates the researcher's personal engagement in the social world under study. Anderson argues that autoethnographers should illustrate analytic insights through recounting their own experiences and thoughts as well as those of others. He further states that they should openly discuss changes in their beliefs and relationships over the course of fieldwork, thus revealing themselves as people getting around issues, which is characterised by the 'fluid' rather than the 'static' social worlds (p.384). Anderson (2006) states, in relation to dialogue with informants beyond the self, "Unlike evocative autoethnography, which seeks narrative fidelity only to the researcher's subjective experience, analytic autoethnography is grounded in self-experience but reaches beyond it as well" (p.386).

The final characteristic of analytic autoethnography, according to Anderson (2006), is its commitment to an analytic agenda, where its purpose is not to simply document personal experience or evoke an emotional response from the reader but rather "to use empirical data to gain insight into some broader set of social phenomena than those provided by the data themselves". Anderson refers to traditional symbolic interactionist´s ethnography and argues about its uneven focus on sustained theoretical development. Anderson (2006) points out that all

of these scholars call for using empirical evidence to formulate and refine theoretical understandings of social processes, Anderson understands analysis as "much more precise and based on the observation that not all ethnographic writing is explicitly or self-consciously analytic or committed to addressing general theoretical issues" (p.386). Anderson uses the term 'analytic' to point to a broad set of data-transcending practices that are directed toward theoretical development, refinement, and extension. Regarding the distinction between analytic ethnography from evocative ethnography, Anderson goes on to argue that analytic ethnographers are not content with accomplishing the representational task of capturing 'what is going on' in an individual life or social environment (p.387).

7.5 A METHODOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE THREE GENRES

This part introduces the autoethnographical approaches which the three genres adopt. It is the theoretical application of autoethnography.

The evocative dimension of hospitality space

The first genre accounts for the evocative dimension of spaces of hospitality. It reflects on the work of Ellis and Bochner (2000). An evocative approach claims that the writing has so much power in itself that an analysis can be disregarded while the analytical autoethnographers include an extensive analysis and present theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena. Ellis and Bochner (2000) point out that autoethnography is an autobiographical genre of writing and research, displaying multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. The analysis is thus already integrated in the writing itself. This process of analysing within the text is explained below.

> Back and forth autoethnographic gaze, first through an ethnographic wide-angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract and resist cultural interpretations (...). As they zoom backward and forward, inward and outward, distinctions between the personal and cultural become blurred, sometimes beyond distinct recognition (Ellis and Bochner, 2000, p.739).

Ellis is a feminist scholar who has been publishing about autoethnography since 1991. During the literature review it became clear that many other researchers used her work extensively. The following quote from Ellis (1991) expresses this nicely when she states, "Who would make a better subject than a researcher consumed by wanting to figure it all out?" (p.30).

Ellis and Bochner (1991) are strong advocates of an emotion-based, autobiographical inquiry. Bochner (2001), in this respect argues that stringent methodology and generalisability are not necessarily those which we should attain. According to Bochner, "Think of the life being expressed [in a narrative] not merely as data to be analysed and categorised but as a story to be respected and engaged we should not prematurely brush aside the particulars to get to the general" (2001, p.132). Chapter ten of this thesis covers the evocative dimension.

The performative dimension of hospitality space

This dimension describes how spaces of hospitality are organised and how this organisation influences the experience. This genre follows the analytical autoethnographical angle from Anderson (2006), in combination with an interpretative approach, and this is adapted as methodology for knowing the common dimensions of the hospitality space in question. The guiding research question included is on how hosts and guests co-construct spaces of hospitality. The genre follows an interpretative grounded process. Collection of the data, discovery of literature and analysis of the data were a congruent "responsive interactional" process. This interpretative process relates to grounded theory as adopted by Charmaz (2005). According to Charmaz (2005), the term 'grounded theory' refers both to a method of inquiry and to the product of inquiry (p.507). Essentially, grounded theory methods are a set of flexible analytic guidelines that enable researchers to focus their data. Charmaz explains that a grounded theory approach allows for researchers to remain close to what they study and to develop theoretical concepts from empirical materials, 'that not only synthesise and interpret them but also show processual relationships' (p.508).

Charmaz (2000) and Strauss and Corbin (1990) include in the analysis, coding data, developing inductive categories, revising the categories, writing memos to explore preliminary ideas, continually comparing parts of the data to other parts to literature, collecting more data, fitting it into categories, noting where new data does not fit and revising the categories and continually refining the typological constants using comparative analysis. Chapter eleven of this thesis covers

the performative dimension, and at the end of chapter eleven the grounded process is accounted for.

Dimensions of becoming with a focus on process

The third dimension also follows the work of Anderson (2006) on analytical autoethnography but applies a different analytical framework towards space. Whereas the second dimension follows a constructivist angle towards the organisation of space, the third dimension stresses the becoming of space. Deleuze and Guattari (1987) make several references to analyses of becomings. They continuously invented new terms to refer to this analysis such as rhizomatics, strato analyses, schizo analyses, nomadology, micro politics, pragmatics and the science of multiplicities. In their writings these analyses are covered in fragments and not always coherent, they all share a common feature that is revealing the flux of vital forces and the becoming. The term schizo analysis is perhaps the best one described by Deleuze and Guattari. The schizo analysis is discussed in their combined work Anti Oedipus (1972), where the central idea is that the subject must follow his/her 'natural' course toward disintegration - meaning the internal disconnection in relation to pyramidal 'stratification' (Del Bufalo, Deleuze, & Laruelle, 2003, p.1). The subject's movement must be toward the creation and exploitation of new potentialities with the acknowledgement that everything is in constant flux. The analyses focus on the dynamics of hospitality space, what different becomings are possible in the hospitality configuration of bodies. What aspect of space block, enable or catalyse becoming other.

This genre combines autoethnography with an analysis which focuses on the deconstructive nature of space. The writing technique of this approach is the use of snippets of autoethnographical recordings.

The process of crystallisation

The last stage is the confrontation of the genres: how are the evocative, performative and becoming dimension of hospitality space crystallised? What types of processes are possible in particular organisations of hospitality space and what feelings do these processes evoke? Steinberg (2007) presents a research method which has similarities with sociological experimentation. It also includes a constructive angle as well as a becoming angle. Her research area is innovation in social networks and is termed Rhizomic Network Analyses (RNA). This

method is based on post-structuralist, space and social constructionist assumptions with regard to the nature of new knowledge creation. More specifically it examines the dynamic conditions for the emergence of new concepts in a social network (Steinberg, 2007, p.5).

7.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the theoretical foundations for the research into the dynamics of hospitality space are laid. A three-fold approach is presented which is called sociological experimentation. This method is based in the principles of crystallisation laid out by Ellingson (2009). The three fold approach focuses on the evocative, performative and becoming aspect of hospitality space. Two methodological forms of ethnographic research are employed to access hospitality space, which are evocative autoethnography (Ellis and Bochner, 2000) and analytical autoethnography (Anderson, 2006). The latter has the advantage to combine with different other methods. Analytical autoethnography methods in sociological experimentation are used in combination with grounded analyses (Chamaz, 2000) and schizo analyses (Deleuze, and Guattari, 1972).

PART 4: COOKING AND SERVING, REPRESENTING HOME EXCHANGE SPACE

This part presents five chapters on the different genres to understand home exchange space of which chapter 10, 11 and 12 account for the three different genres or ways of knowing hospitality space.

Chapter 8 Footsteps in the sand

Chapter 9 The home exchange phenomenon and research sites

Chapter 10 Accounts for the evocative dimension.

Chapter 11 The construction of the home exchange

Chapter 12 Focuses on the process of becoming.

Chapter 13 Is about engaging in crystallisation.

CHAPTER 8 FOOTSTEPS IN THE SAND

This chapter presents an application of sociological experimentation as described in the previous chapter, gives a reflexive insight into the emergent research design. The chapter has four parts; the first two parts give an account of the empirical research and covers data collection procedures, ethical considerations and data analyses and representation. The third part covers the emergent research design, this part includes an overview of the stages which lead to the final research design, describes a shift towards vitalist thinking and an engagement in crystallisation. The fourth part covers the reflexive process.

8.1 DATA COLLECTION, AND ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This part introduces the fieldwork; the sites which were included are introduced in Chapter Nine. The recording of this study is conducted in four types of "real life" spaces. The spaces represent a certain sequence and follow the home exchange intermediation process. The first space is the virtual social space provided by the Home Exchange organization and telephone, where the organisation and the negotiating of the home exchange happens. In this space, the home exchangers present themselves and start communication regarding possibilities for the home exchange. I used the home exchange organization Homelink International since it is established, large and internationally oriented. The virtual social space enables interactions and presents the house, lifestyle and desires for travel dates. The second space is the house setting, where one is either a guest in the host's home or a host receiving the guest. The third space is the wider area of the house, such as the neighbourhood or city. Finally, the fourth space comes after the home exchange. This space is where the home exchanges are remembered, retold, evaluated and followed upon.

The selection of the sites considers the researcher's vacation plans, but is ultimately selected for research purposes. The selection of home exchanges included uncertain aspects such as luck and opportunity. Home exchanges are dependent on whether the other home exchanger wants to trade homes. In some instances, the home exchanger s had contacted the researcher because they reacted on our web presence. I conducted and participated in a total of twenty one home exchanges; ten times as a guest and twelve times as the host. The home exchanges lasted between

one weekend and a full month between 2004 and 2008. I recorded home exchange experiences in all four spaces.

During the fieldwork, I recorded interactions and made field notes. This section details those recordings and notes. Firstly, the note taking is covered and secondly, the recording of the events. I followed Richardson's (1994, p.525) suggestion to keep four types of field notes and apply creative writing. Moreover, Richardson stressed that field notes have a private and intimate character; one can innovate, make false starts, and flare up with emotions without feeling an anonymous audience at one's shoulder (1994, p.525). I used three of her categories and replace the observational notes by an 'event recording research method'. I followed Richardson's method (1994, p.525) when she indicates that she tried to stay close to her observation and she tried to be as comprehensive as possible. I was inspired by the expression from Richardson which stressed letting the imagination roam around the event and to search for patterns and larger chains of significance (1994, p.525).

What worked for me, following Richardson (1994, p.525), was to give different labels to different content. Richardson built on Glaser and Strauss's (1967) work and divided her field notes into four categories. I used three of her categories:

- Methodological notes: These were notes I made for myself, concerning the process of research.

- Theoretical notes: These are remarks about the literature I was reading, and about falsification of existing theories. These notes also include alternative interpretations of what I was doing/thinking/seeing.

- Personal notes: These were personal feelings and statements about the research.

Richardson (1994, p.525) has a fourth category - observational notes. However, I replaced this with event recording. These recordings were made during the actual research in the different home exchange spaces as mentioned above. These note areas are concrete and as detailed as I could possibly make them, and were focused on events. Next I elaborate on the form of these notes/recordings.

The focus of the data recording was on events. An event is one moment in time and space in which a connection is made in the assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). A number of these events together become something like a movie. This flow of events represents the home exchange. The question then arises as to which events are worth recording. In a movie, the director controls the selection of the scenes. In a museum, the curator is in charge of creating an experience. But which measures should I keep for recording the event? How can I know which events are important? But in an open-ended planned space of hospitality, who decides on the selection of events? I decided to focus on decision making processes and interactions in which the house setting was actively involved. In the second space, the home exchange site, I decided to focus on the moments of leaving and arriving at the house, the interactions with the host, and the interactions with the neighbours. I would record the decision making process for deciding the day programme. Moreover, I would record my personal tours through the setting. Since some of the home exchanges lasted for longer periods, I reduced the number of recordings due to the repetitive nature. An example being when boarding a ski lift several times, I would just mention that I took the ski lift eight times instead of recording each individual trip. However, interactions which occurred afterwards were recorded. Recording events can be seen as drawing a sociological impressionistic picture. Lynch (2005, p.530) refers in this in respect to sociological impressionism (Frisby 1992), which is concerned with immediate perceptions that acquire permanency. Lynch refers to the work of Simmel and indicates, "These are based on a response from the 'stranger' to the experience of the world unique to the individual" (2005, p.530).

The following section covers the form of the recording of the event. This was done with the help of an observation model. In order to record my first home exchange in Boulder, I was in need of an initial method to record the experiences. I reworked the method developed at the leisure department at *InHolland University* in Amsterdam to evaluate leisure activities using an observation sheet. This model was based on two theories, which are discussed in the second part of the research. These are the Experience Economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) and the Interactive Experience Model (Falk and Dierking, 2000). The idea was that the home exchanger would express his expectation towards the activity and later record this experience. The concept of a "personal agenda" (Falk and Dierking, 2000), in which the subject expresses his desires towards the event, proved to be very effective in student work. The actualisation of the desire into an experience was recorded as an event. For this recording, the focus on senses in the experience economy from Pine and Gilmore (1999) was used. At the leisure department, students were also using this method for their bachelor dissertations. This method proved to be very solid, and adapted itself to various situations. This triangle shaped observational model can be regarded as a momentary freezing of a connection.

I recorded what I saw, heard, felt and tasted. Parts of these notes were also photographs. During my research I made this memoir as an adjunct to my notes. An event in this respect is translated as a connection in time and space. In the context of this research, this connection was always a combination of me as subject, as well as the people, settings, artefacts or ideas. The particularities of these events were recorded with the help of the triangle shaped observational model which is presented in table 8.1 and 8.2. This model assured that all connections were recorded in the same fashion, and enabled the opportunity to observe patterns when a number of events, indicated as triangles, were combined. Moreover, the relationship between the events could be assessed.

The triangle shape observation model has the form of a triangle since it focuses on three aspects of the event. These three aspects include a description of the event, feelings about the event, and expectations towards the following event. The description about the event includes an attention to the history of the event. The feelings are the evocative thoughts about the event, and the expectations indicate a potentiality towards the future. Table 8.1 shows the three angles of the recording of the event. The table accounts for the questions I asked myself concerning expectations towards the following event, my feelings towards the event and a description of the event. In appendix 2, the actual observation sheet is included and appendix 3 shows a sample recording

	Desires *Expectations towards the following event*	**Evocative** *Feelings towards the event*	**Agents** *Description of the event*
Questions	What are my expectations towards the following event?	What do I feel? How do I feel about the event? What else is happening at the same time?	What do I see? What do I hear? What do I touch? What do I Smell What is connected? How is it connected? How came the event into being? Which agents are involved?

Table 8.1 The three angles of the recording of the event

I recorded what I saw, heard, felt and tasted. As previously stated, this photographic memoir was made as an adjunct to the notes. The events together form a certain sequence, since one follows the other. I call this an emerging pattern. By combining the events, I could analyse the becoming and identify processes. Table 8.2 shows a combination of events and emerging patterns. On the top half the observational model is visualised, which is places in a series of events and in the bottom half, an example from the research. The example is used as an illustration to get an insight into the data recording and analysing process. This example shows that I became a 'temporary local' through the agency of a mountain lion. During the rest of the thesis this becoming will become clearer.

Event 1	Event 2	Event 3
Expectations / Agents / Evocative	Expectations / Agents / Evocative	Expectations / Agents / Evocative
Emerging Pattern		

Hearing about Mountain lion	Socialising with people	Socialising with X family
Thinking and talking about Mountain lion / Mountain lion / Exitement and fear	Talking about mountain lion / co-park enjoyers / feeling part of the club	sharing the food / BBQ / Happy, satisfied no stranger
An emerging pattern of becoming local		

Table 8.2 A combination of events and emerging patters

In 2008, Fan Ding, a master student I supervised at Stenden University in Leeuwarden, had used a similar research method to analyse movies which were about home exchanges. She used actual screenshots and identified emerging patterns. In appendix 4 an example of her work is shown. In conclusion, the research had an emergent design and the data recording technique remained the same during the research. Analysing methods were replaced but this triangle remained.

Ensuring the recording of a natural flow
To ensure natural flow, I would not engage in activities strictly meant for research purposes, and I would follow the natural family patterns. I would have my usual role in deciding the daily programs and in participating in all the activities. In this part I discuss five issues related to this. The first one is a thirty nine year old white male home owner, father and husband, working in education. The second is regarding revealing the position of the researcher. The third issue concerns the influencing of the natural flow of the researchers thoughts. The fourth is the recording influencing the natural flow, and the fifth one being ethical to my friends.

Issue 1: Being a thirty nine year old, white male home owner, father and husband, working in education

I realise that my natural flow will be different from someone with different characteristics. The fact that I have a family and I owned homes made it possible for us to exchange homes. The fact that both my wife and I work in education made it possible to have long vacations. The fact that I have a daughter made it possible to interact more freely with other families. The fact that I had enough money made it possible to travel. Being a white male, I realise that many spaces are still gendered and racially influenced. I realised that so much that I started to dislike the term 'natural flow'. Because for whom is it a natural? Only for the thirty nine year old, white male home owner, father and husband, working in education? I'm sure it is. However the findings do apply to larger audiences and have relevance in a wider context, and give insights into the process of opening up spaces of hospitality to difference. For clarity reasons I stick to the term 'natural flow'. At the end of this chapter, a more elaborate introduction of me as the researcher is given. To ensure a maximum natural flow and representation, covert participative research data collection was the most appropriate since I was part of the natural scene. However, covert participative research has ethical considerations since others do not know that they become a part of a research process and were represented in it. This also became an issue during my research.

Issue 2: Revealing the position of the researcher

Part of the first space, the organising of the home exchange was the online introduction of our family to the other party. I would say that I was a tourist, leisure scholar, and lecturer interested in informal spaces of hospitality and self-organising forms of hospitality. Moreover, I indicated that I was engaged in researching home exchanges and home exchange developments. I mentioned that I kept diaries of my experiences with my family during the home exchange, and that I would not present private data. In meeting people, other than the host, I would always reveal myself as a person doing research into home exchange. During the entire research project I always protected the privacy of people involved. I refrained from showing pictures in research material and presentations, and made the descriptions as impersonalised as possible. During the research this never became an issue since the focus was not so much on representing the other, but rather on processes in spaces of hospitality and my feelings about this space. I would like to compare my methodology with that of Li (2008) for reflexive purposes. Li studied female gamblers in casinos

by going undercover. She focused on "the other" and was representing the other. She entered the female gamblers space and participated as one of them. On the other hand, I was studying the home exchange experience by being an integral part of the experience. I studied the evolution of the experiences from within. I could, for example, record how my expectations shifted and developed in time and space. In contrast with Li, I could focus on my relationship with the setting. My issue of revealing or not revealing myself was not that great, since I was a vacationer and at the same time reporting from within. This was partly because other vacationers also recorded their experiences by taking pictures and keeping diaries. I was performing natural behaviour as a vacationer.

Issue 3: Influencing of the natural flow by the researchers thoughts

My concern was that by expressing my thoughts, I would influence the natural flow of the experience. Recording my thoughts during data collection was quite confrontational. I suddenly realised at times what I was thinking all day about the kinds of patterns I was engaged with, and the relationship with my family members and myself. I found out what I appreciated and expected from people. By speaking about experiences and expectations, they became manifested. This process of manifestation influences the data collection process and the natural flow of activities. Issues which otherwise would have been forgotten suddenly move to the foreground. I noticed that by recording my voice on the MP3 player instead of writing my thoughts, I could reduce the influence on the natural flow of the home exchange experience. This is because after making the recording I could forget the thought. It also helped maintain the natural flow because it was inconspicuous - speaking into a small recorder looks like talking on a mobile phone. I also reflected on my thoughts through personal notes. Others also influenced my thoughts about home exchanges. I was out in the field with my wife, my daughter, friends and relatives. My daughter was six months old when the research started in Boulder 1 and was five years old when the fieldwork ended. When I was out in the field my daughter asked a lot of fundamental questions - Why do we go somewhere? What do the people do here? Can I use their peanut butter? With which toys can I play? In order to answer these questions, I had to think about the issue as well.

Issue 4: The recording influencing the natural flow

My concern was that recording the event would influence the events. Both Li (2008) and Lynch (2003) followed the same procedure in their respective researches. Li researched gambling

experiences and participated as a female researcher, participating in women's gambling activities. Lynch researched commercial home experiences. Both refrained from taking field notes on the spot in order to ensure a naturalistic scene. Li recorded what she saw and heard when she was alone, and condensed or expanded them depending on the relevance of the situation at hand. During my research, it appeared that taking pictures was not intrusive, since that is what people do during their vacations. However, event recording with the MP3 recorder was done outside the sight of others. Even in a family setting, I tried to separate the MP3 recording and family life as much as possible to secure the vacation atmosphere, as well as not influence the line of activities.

Issue 5: Being ethical to my friends

The Deleuzian-Guattarian concept of the dividual (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) inspired me and helped me with the research. The concept of a dividual is a Deleuzian attack on the individual as a whole unifying being. The individual accounts for only one, while the dividual accounts for many. It opposes the idea of a single identity. This meant that I 'am many, a multiplicity. The "I" becomes we. I could, for example, become a father, a wine snob in Paris, a researcher, and a Picasso imitator. The idea of a multiplicity also enabled me to become friends with people I met. Therefore, I was not simply a researcher recording events, but a friend. These friendships were genuine in nature, despite the fact that I was doing research.

In the following example of one of the issues, I revealed my role as researcher and this influenced the natural flow. During the last home exchange in Twente, I was with friends from Boulder, who we met during another home exchange in Boulder. They came over to see us in the Netherlands and we went to visit a common friend and stay the home exchange way. They had a four month old baby and two girls aged eight and ten. Something went wrong with the host family and we ended up in the host's camping site. We arrived at the camping site at 19.55h. I recorded that we were on time and that I was happy about this fact because the camping site would not allow cars on the grounds after 20.00h. However, the keeper of the camping site was tapping beer and talking to other guests, so we had to wait till 20.05h to get his attention. When we spoke with the man, we mentioned that we would like to take the cars into the camping site. The man raised his voice and said that we were not permitted to do so, since all cars were restricted after 20.00h. We asked if we could bring the mother and the four month old baby into the camping site with his golf cart, but he refused because he had to manage the pub. The hardest thing was that I had to explain this to my American friends. They did not understand and in their anger, they thought

about driving through the fence, stealing the golf cart, or attacking the host. When tempers cooled, the plan became to bring the baby into the pub and hope that the host would open his heart and decide to open the gate. The host's heart did not open and the gate remained closed. At the end, we decided to walk. Our friends became upset with us, and also with the Netherlands as a whole. During this experience, I was in the phase of rewriting the chapter of my literature review on vital life forces. This experience reinforced what was meant by the power of a host and how it feels not to be recognised.

I told the guard that I was a hospitality scholar. I told him that if there would have been a 'hospitality police', he would have been in jail for life, that he was a disgrace to represent the Netherlands, and that he should consider another job. Moreover, he violated the laws of hospitality. The next morning the keeper visited us during the coffee and asked about the laws of hospitality.

8.2 DATA ANALYSIS AND REPRESENTATION

In Chapter Seven, I indicated that this research follows an emergent research design. The following section on data analyses and representation gives an insight into the data analysis process and the becoming of a conceptual framework. The sub-sections account for moving towards crystallisation as a conceptual framework, engaging in crystallisation and getting entangled.

Moving towards conceptual frameworks

The fieldwork resulted in events recordings and three types of notes. The event recordings can be regarded as autoethnographic writing, which has been analysed through analytical autoethnography (Anderson, 2006). This sub-section discusses the analyses of the descriptive data. As indicated above, I used observation sheets to represent the events. One observation sheet would cover one event, and it often included a printed picture. This observation sheet was put into a plastic folder, and these folders were then compiled into a larger folder. Depending on the type of day, I would end up with anywhere from four to fifteen events observation sheets per day. Days in which many interactions took place, such as being welcomed in the home, I would record a relatively high number of events.

After the vacation, I would review the recordings and field notes to further the research process. Through an inductive ethnographical analysis approach, whereby "ethnographers achieve intimate familiarity with their data by rereading it many times, making notes on emergent trends, and then constructing themes or patterns concerning aspects of culture" (Ellingson, 2009, p.54). I discovered during the first 6 home exchanges four domains and a number of subcomponents within the domains which represent the commonalities for a home exchange experience and can be regarded as construction of the home exchange experience. This construction is inspired by the work of Lynch (2005) and it involves generating categories of information. The construction of the home exchange experience has been adapted after each home exchange in order to incorporate the new data. The current representation of the construction of the home exchange experience reached saturation. This construction of the home exchange experience is represented by Domain and subcomponents in table 11.1 on page 195. The experience of being a guest appeared to be a returning theme in the data. However the performative dimension focus is always related to being a guest since it is the performance in a hospitality context.
During my stay in Montana, inspired by the work of Simmel and Deleuze and Guattari I recognised the importance of the vital aspect and the evocative and I moved beyond the construction of the home exchange experience and started asking the question, what does the home exchange do?

This new perspective led to a rethinking of the existing conceptual framework, the development of an additional conceptual framework and separate evocative stories. The first conceptual

framework was an extension on the original one which was developed during the first 6 home exchanges and this was extended with the column "Issues". The second conceptual framework is focused on the becoming of space and called "Movements within home exchange space" and is presented in chapter 12 page 214. Thirdly I wrote evocative stories based on field notes.

To return to the first conceptual framework, here were Issues added. In total there were 9 issues which were incorporated and matched with in the already established four domains which made up the home exchange experience. The issues deal with the processes which influence the experience of the domain. These 9 issues are developed and revisited during home exchange 6 to 12. After each home exchange the categories of issues were readjusted. After home exchange number 12 the issues were established and the framework is used to analyse all twelve home exchanges in retrospect. The development of a second conceptual framework also followed an inductive approach. It is developed during home exchange 6 to 12 and later applied in retrospect.

Engaging in crystallisation

I had already decided to separate the data in different ways of knowing, but missed a 'theoretical' underpinning. Crystallisation more or less gave me a licence to divide the data in three ways of knowing space, and I analysed my data through this.

The performative dimension is the one which focuses on the hospitality space, this dimension analyses the construction of the space and how such a space is possible.
Table 8.3 shows the result of the rethinking and its relation to the question posed at the data.

		Question posed	Uses the aspects from the observation sheet	Resulting in
The Evocative	Comprehensive story based on the events, written afterwards	What is experienced during the home exchange?	All	A holistic account, including all three aspects (Chapter 10)
The performative	Looks for commonalities in the interactions	What is happening and how does that relate to the home exchange space?	Relations between the descriptions of the event	The construction of space (Chapter 11)
The becoming	Focuses on the disruptions, where do events happen which were not planned? How do these events come into being?	What does the home exchange space do?	Expectations towards the following event in combination with the description of the events	The becoming of space (Chapter 12)
Crystallisation Process This combines all three dimensions How does the organisation of hospitality space influence its becomings and which processes lead to difference (Chapter 13)				

Table 8.3 Engaging in the process of crystallisation

The evocative autographic stories were written afterwards based on the personal and descriptive notes. The becoming looks at processes of becoming other and identifies the intensity of the events. This was done through looking at personal notes and events. The process of crystallisation looks at the findings from the three approaches and advocates confrontation. This led to a combined framework 13.1 on page 224. This concludes the application of sociological experimentation in a home exchange setting. The following part 'Getting entangled' covers the reflexive path towards crystallisation.

Getting entangled

The second part reflects on the emergent research design and the development of the research methodology sociological experimentation. As shown in the previous section, sociological experimentation has two elements, data collection through (auto)ethnographic research, and analysing and representation through crystallisation. The process of data collection which focused on the event and recorded the event with photographs and autoethnographic accounts throughout the research remained stable. It proved to be very helpful and reliable. It steered the search for theoretical underpinning. One can say that the data forced me to look for more dynamic models. This finding of an explanatory model or in other words sensemaking, was a reflexive process. The sensemaking process very much reflects the research process. Ateljevic et al. (2005) describe the process of getting entangled. They argue that in order to be reflexive, critical tourism researchers must go through a process of 'getting entangled'. This process could, according to Ateljevic et al., "... be a dynamic, unpredictable and often messy process" (2005, p.10). I particularly had an uneasy feeling that although I discovered a construction of a home exchange experience, I still could not express what a home exchange does. Too many aspects were being left unaddressed, such as the friendships and the expressed desire "to become other". They appeared to be an integral part of my research, and thus needed to be addressed.

My process of being entangled is expressed in table 8.1. Finding an explorative framework (reflecting the inductive nature of the work), to stay in line with the metaphor of cooking, different recipes are tried, different ingredients are used and different cooking techniques are used to find the right taste and presentation. At this point, I was looking for a manner to analyse my data in order to answer the research question 'What is the nature of a home exchange experience?' The initial models such as the Experience Economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) were not equipped to handle the task at hand. The experience economy method was not suited to analyse my research because certain aspects needed to be acknowledged and addressed. The unexpected experiences, such as the friendships, for example, as well as the expressed desire "to become something else" appeared to be an integral part of my research, and thus needed to be addressed.

Table 8.4 Evolution of the research process

1. Focus of study	2. Issues	3. Reference to literature review	4. Literature	5. Piloted research strategies	6. Research strategy and data collection method	7. Development of conceptual framework	8. Limitations, contributions that emerged from the analyses	9. Ideas which contributed to the study
Tourism intermediaries and creative cities	Home exchange as cultural broker	Cultural intermediaries and space	Smith & Brent (2001)	Time budget analyses		A variation on Smith & Brent (2001)	Neglects power issues and individual motivations	Home exchange as connector
Mobility studies	Movement Inclusion, exclusion practises power	Mobilities	Tourism, Mobilities (Urry, 2001, 2009) Stranger and adventurer (Simmel, 1912, 1987, 1992)		Sociological immersion into the data, diaries, photographs, documents	Global/local focus, centre periphery, time budget analyses	Too much stress on representations, limited body focus, the unexpected is not accounted for	Power issues play a role in home exchanges, space matters, attention for movement in time and space, the play form of society "adventure" informed the cultural laboratory
Performance	Home exchange as performance	Performance	Performance (Latham, 2003),	Interviews, discourse analyses	Sociological immersion into the data, diaries, photographs, documents	Construction of home exchange space. Represented by the *domain* and *subcomponents* of table 11.1(p.195)	Less focussed on the unexpected, the daily experiences did not reflect the performance	Shared commonalities in home exchanges
Embodiment and performativity	Embodiment, daily life, experience,	Embodying spaces of hospitality	Veijola and Jokinen (1994) Performativity	Visual ethnography, video diaries	Sociological immersion into the data, diaries,	Event thinking, represented by the *issues* of table 11.1	Difficulties with generalising	A focus on non representation and sticky spaces

1. Focus of study	2. Issues	3. Reference to literature review	4. Literature	5. Piloted research strategies	6. Research strategy and data collection method	7. Development of conceptual framework	8. Limitations, contributions that emerged from the analyses	9. Ideas which contributed to the study
	commonalities		(Crouch, 2003)		photographs, documents	(p.195)		
Vitality	Predictability, vital space, nonlinearity, multiplicities	Vital space	Post-structural literature (Pløger, 2006)		Sociological immersion into the data, diaries, photographs, documents	Movements within Home exchange space figure 12.2 (p.216)	Negligence of the narratives	A focus on life rather than on structures, attention to becomings
Narratives and becoming	Processes of becoming and narratives	Cultural laboratory as metaphor to understand spaces of hospitality	Deconstruction of the cultural laboratory (Löfgren, 1999)		Sociological experimentation with a focus on the becoming and desire	Home exchange as a cultural laboratory Evocative stories Chapter 11 (p.193)	Difficulties with generalising	Serendipitous hospitality and the importance of the X thing
Crystallisation	Different ways of knowing	Sociological experimentation	Ellingson (2009)		All strategies mentioned above	Crystallisation of the setting and the context of the organisation of space and becoming (see table 13.2 on page 232)		Theme 1 Creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space Theme 2 Creative becomings and the need for X-things Theme 3 The involvement of personal reflexivity

Table 8.4 gives an insight into the evolution of the research process. It shows a shift from a rather positivistic view to an interpretive view. This movement was a reflexive process and at the end of this part, I focus on this reflexive aspect. The first column refers to the theoretical perspective from which the home exchange experience is approached. It moves from tourism intermediaries and creative cities to crystallisation. However, it should be noted that although this evolution process may appear chronological and linear, in 'reality' it is not so clear cut. It remains a model which is intended to give an insight into the methodological process and theoretical development. The second column refers to the issues which are addressed by the theoretical angle. The third column refers to the theory, and the fourth column to where the literature can be found in this thesis. The fifth column shows the methodological development and the pilots I initiated. The sixth column refers to the adopted research strategy and the methods for data collection in use. The seventh column 'conceptual framework' includes the temporal conceptual frameworks to understand the home exchange experience. The eighth column indicates what the limitations were and the contributions of the particular theoretical focus. The ninth column refers to the ideas which were relevant and are accounted for in the findings.

From the start onwards I conducted participative research into home exchanges. This research took place during the vacations. I wanted to follow the home exchange experience in a natural environment and follow the natural flow of the events and report from within. During the research I also experimented with other data collecting methods such as video diaries and blogs. I piloted the study with handing out video cameras to home exchangers. I placed an advertisement at the home exchange site, looking for home exchangers who would be willing to record their experiences. I found two home exchangers who participated. I sent them a camera and received it back by mail. The results were rather disappointing since I only received performances which gave very little insight into the becoming of the home exchange. For example, I would receive a lady who pointed to the garden and said – "Look at the garden - everyday at three o'clock we have tea." Appendix 7 shows the request which was posted on the Home Hols Website. .

The greatest impact on the research methodology was the acceptance that the unanticipated and unexpected movements needed to be addressed in order to reveal the nature of home exchange space. This led to a post-structural approach towards analysing and representing the home exchange experience.

During my literature review in 2006, I was busy with the experience economy, creative city, and the mobility studies from Urry. This work hardly connected to the experiences I had during home exchanges. However, the concept of vital life forces did. I found an article from Pløger (2006) about the Urban Vitalis in the social sciences database while searching for an article by Simmel, concerning experiences and the city. Reading the article by Pløger was very inspiring. Table 8.2 refers to "vitalistic", the way Pløger described the vital life forces in the city context, as well as the influence on urban planning processes. In looking at the data, I realised that during the home exchanges I became upset that I was being captured and defined as something.

A model which focuses on processes was needed. After discussions with my supervisor Paul Lynch, and my colleague in film science at the Montana State University, Simon Dixon, I turned in the direction of Deleuze and Guattari. Thereafter I became acquainted with the work of Deleuze and Guattari and other related authors. After reading their work, my attention shifted towards theories of becoming. I embraced the concept of an assemblage, and the notion that I had to focus on the 'becoming' question. It becomes necessary to focus on what an event does, rather than what it is. It made me smile, to approach the research with this ontological angle because things began to make sense. I started making conceptual and analytical maps.

To get a better insight into the process of serendipity in hospitality spaces, together with Marco ten Hoor, general manager of the Stenden University Hotel, I initiated a Serendipity Table. This was a time of great excitement which really pushed my research further. In the home exchange data I had discovered serendipitous processes and this finding created a lot of creative flux in me. In appendix 5 there is a newspaper article about this project. Together with hospitality management students, I also created a 'Serendipity scan' for hotels in the Netherlands. Students would enter the hotel as mystery guests and through sociological experimentation explore the 'serendipitous value of hotel space'. The research made me more reflective towards vital life forces of others; more sensitive, so as not to destroy others' vital forces. I involved many students in the research. The students helped my research to become stronger. They more or less forced me to write down the research methodology, which helped to sharpen my thinking. They encouraged me to work with the metaphor of the cultural laboratory. Since the students' research was on the dynamics of hotel spaces and not on the home exchange space, I had to find an overarching principle which would apply to all spaces of hospitality. The concept of a cultural laboratory proved to be powerful in this respect. However, "hospitality management students" are not trained for "out-of-the-box" thinking. Nevertheless, many hotels in the

Netherlands have been assessed for their "serendipitous potential". For me, this was a time of great excitement, especially after I identified serendipitous patterns within the data. However, after analysing, I ended up with three types of data which didn't seem hard to match. At the end of my research, I found out about the work of Ellingson (2009); I could separate findings into three different ways of knowing, and make new combinations.

8.3 PROGRESS IN RESEARCH AND PERSONAL REFLECTION

This part connects the progress in research and the reflexive process. Personal reflection has two main points. First it gives an insight into the way I constructed the life world in order to write about it. Second it reveals my social and cultural background as a researcher, which helps to explain how I perceive and construct the social settings contained in the study. According to Mayernoff and Ruby (1982), reflexivity is the process by which the researcher understands how her/his social background influences and shapes her beliefs and how this self awareness pertains to what and how she/he observes, attributes meanings, and interprets the action dialogue with the informants. This is in line with the current, contemporary discussion on reflexivity and voice. The research community is coming to terms with reflexivity, in which "... the researcher pauses for a moment to think about how his or her presence, standpoint, or characteristics might have influenced the outcome of the research process" (Wall, 2006, p.3). Wall goes on further to argue that 'new methods' such as autoethnography, originally a postmodern idea, "... challenge the value of token reflection that is often included as a paragraph in an otherwise neutral and objectively presented manuscript" (2006, p.9). The discourse on reflexivity began in the mid 1980s. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) refer to the call for reflexivity as the 'crisis of representation' (p.10), where traditional notions of science are being questioned. Wall agrees with Denzin and Lincoln (1994), who point out that in this time of 'crisis', it has become increasingly apparent that the studied world can be captured only from the perspective of the researcher (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Wall (2006, p.9) refers to Reed-Danahay (1997) to prove a point that those who support autobiographical inquiry, argue that autoethnography is something authentic, in comparison to traditional approaches; one that calls upon the researcher to use the self and voice, thus reflecting a more true voice in comparison to the outsider (researched).

My name is Alexander Grit and I'm a white male born in 1970 in Emmen, a small city of around 100,000 inhabitants in The Netherlands. I have a brother and a younger sister. I grew up in a pillarised society of Emmen, within a Calvinistic pillar within a small city of around

100,000 inhabitants. I'm married to Maaike and have a six year old daughter Myrthe. I currently work as Academic Dean at Stenden University in Qatar. I conducted my BA in Leeuwarden in Leisure studies where I met Maaike. In the third year I moved to Brussels to study at the Vrije Universiteit Brussels, and during the fourth year I moved to Branson, Missouri, USA for an internship. I conducted my Master degree in European Leisure Studies (PELS) and I moved to Brussels, Tilburg, Loughborough and Bilbao. During this study I became interested in critical studies, more in particular, in the ideas of third cultures; these were cultures with transcendent national borders, and in which people spoke the 'same' language. For my thesis I applied this third culture theory to European Zoos. I developed a model in which, by analysing the zoo's infrastructure, an analyst would be able to make a statement about the development of the "society" concerning the people's relationship with each other, the zoo institution and the relationship with the animals (Grit, 1994); the infrastructure which facilitates and steers the organisation of the interactions between visitors with other people, and people and animals. I consider myself as an open minded thinker. This has consequences for the research since I prefer difference over stasis and follow an ethics of change. I'm intrigued by the dividual and the concept of becoming.

After our studies, Maaike and I decided that we wanted to live where the action was and we lived in Brussels, Arnhem and Amsterdam, and travelled (backpacked) particularly to India. In 1997 we stayed backpacking in India for one year. During this time of travelling and working, I worked as trainer for several institutions. I became excited when the internet started to develop in the second half of the nineties and the possibilities it opened up. I worked for the research and development department of Elsevier to combine publishing professional magazines with training through the internet. I wanted to be part of the internet boom when it started and transferred to Ernst and Young where I worked as a consultant. In 2001, I started working as a lecturer in leisure and tourism management at the Hogeschool InHolland in Amsterdam/Diemen. At this institute there was a movement from a strong focus on the management side of leisure and tourism studies towards a more experience-based creative focus. The work which was influential at this time was 'The Experience Economy' by Pine and Gilmore (1998), which showed the bodily side of the experience. Consequently, I became responsible for the bachelor dissertations.

In 2004 I joined the InHolland kenniskring – 'Creative Cities and Leisure' from the lector Stephen Hodes. During my membership I became interested in creative cities and cultural

mediators for their potential to connect the unconnected, which in my understanding is essential for 'performing a creative city'. We initiated research into 'Amsterdam as a gay destination', 'leisure preference of the creative classes in Amsterdam', 'slow movement in Amsterdam', and 'the emergence of creative tourist intermediators in Amsterdam'. Through this membership I became acquainted with the ideas from Richard Florida, and became enthusiastic about the theory. I became a member of the creative commons in Amsterdam, which was a cross cultural group of people. In appendix 7, I include an example of the explorative research into visitors to Amsterdam which was conducted during this period.

In the project 'creative cultural mediators', students and I started researching alternatives of the beaten track tourism mediators. We used several methods such as interviewing, panel discussions, radio broadcasting and participative studies. In Amsterdam we studied three different mediators, home exchangers, couch surfers, and we analysed the project initiative – 'Live like a local'. The research was based on the ideas from Valene Smith & Maryann Brent (2001) expressed in the book - Hosts and guest revisited: Tourism issues in the 21st century. I presented the findings at the ATLAS conference on Tourism, Creativity and Development held in Barcelona in November 2005. This is where I met Paul Lynch and Allison Morrison who later became my PhD supervisors. I have always been attracted to the idea of doing a PhD for the sole reason of experiencing a different connection to the world. Therefore I have always worked with different people to test my knowledge and ideas. Especially in the beginning of my research I always enjoyed talking with people about my research, and tested and reflected on my ideas. I spoke with many especially about the idea of opening up spaces of hospitality to difference. Later my enthusiasms became less since the study became complex in nature and it took me too much time to explain everything. With respect to this collaborative reflexivity Ateljevic et al. (2005) state that it provides the potential for more open and collaborative tourism knowledge (p.19). In 2006, I left the Hogeschool InHolland and followed Maaike to the Montana State University in Bozeman, Montana, USA, where she was researching Native American perceptions in museum settings. During this period, and based on the work of Simmel, I became fascinated with the idea of a salon. I liked the idea of inviting people to discuss issues such as a leisure and scholarly activity. During my research with others, I reconstructed a number of salons as well. The main reason for these salons was to keep me connected with other scholars and to train myself in argument building. In 2006, I conducted a Salon in the sociology department of the Montana State University. In 2008 and 2009, when I started working at the Hotel Management School in Leeuwarden, Sjoerd Gehrels and I

organised, together with students, two editions of Salon de Wyswert. We invited international scholars on service research and discussed innovative research methods. I also reconstructed an interpretation of Simmel's salon in our family house in Hungary.

During the research, I had the opportunity to meet people with whom I could have a salon-like experience. I had salons with such people as Dr. Simon Dixon, who sharpened my Deleuzian thinking; Pek van Andel, who introduced me to the concept of serendipity, as well as Dr. Tijana Rakiç, with whom I discussed my research methodologies. Dr. Senija Čausević introduced me to the concept of tourism as a state of mind. Sabrina Lindemann discussed critical art with me, and finally, Dr. Paul Lynch, Maaike de Jong, and Anand Mishra, guided me with concept development.

In order to enlarge the collaborative knowledge (Ateljevic et al., 2005, p.19), I stayed in close contact with two large home exchange organisations. They interact with members on a daily basis and know their market. They gave me the opportunity to access their members. Through the site of Home for Exchange I could post a request for recording home exchange experiences. Home Holidays also reports about my research findings. These contacts were very important for me because I could 'test' my ideas and see whether they were recognised by others. During the biannual assembly of all country representatives of HomeLink in 2008, I gave a presentation called "Serendipitous movements in home exchange space". This presentation was received very well by the country representatives and I am busy writing an article about this with Homelink's French country representative. I also had frequent informal contact with Homelink's Dutch country representative to talk about the research and its results.

I also presented papers at specific hospitality conferences and university colloquiums, and consequently received valuable feedback and met people who helped me further in my thinking. Table 8.5 gives an account of the conferences I took part in and the titles of the papers that I had presented.

Conference	Date	Title
International Hospitality and Tourism Virtual Conference / IHTVC	March 2007	Home exchanges, the making of connections in local territories
PhD-conference in Leeds	June 2007	post-structural understanding of home exchanges
EuroChrie Dubai,	October, 2008	An Analysis of the Development of Home Exchange Organisations
CHME in Glasgow, 2008	June 2008	Conceptualising spaces in which home exchanges happen
3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference Zadar	June 2009	Hotel Transvaal & Molar lines as a tool to open up spaces of hospitality

Table 8.5 Work and conferences

This concludes the chapter 'Footsteps in the sand', where I introduced the data collection and data analyses. Moreover I showed the reflexive process of finding a way to analyse and represent the findings. I expect that this thesis will help further the creation of hospitality spaces in which vital life forces are recognised, where people would greet the stranger and ask, "Who would you like to be today?" and the stranger would answer, "For today, just anything, but a guest".

CHAPTER 9 INTRODUCTION INTO THE HOME EXCHANGE PHENOMENON

The goal of this chapter is to introduce the home exchange phenomenon and to introduce the research sites. Home exchange is characterised as a manner of organising space, a series of transactions which organise and govern accommodation space based on reciprocity and whereby the mediation process is organised through a kernel organisation. The nature of the decentralised transaction includes both tangible and intangible aspects, the relationship between participants is non-commercial and the host is not physically present during the stay.

Although the home exchanges phenomenon started in the 1950's, the concept has rarely been covered academically. This is probably because it is more of a hidden process which uses existing facilities for accommodation and is, therefore, a rather unrecognised phenomenon. In 2006 a search was performed in academic databases to search for previous instances of research into home exchanges; the databases were: Omnifile, Cambridge Scientific Abstracts, International Bibliography of Social Sciences, and Geobase and the search terms used were: home exchange and home swap and the international equivalence such as, huisuitwisselingen and intercambio de casa. The results were 126 different instances of popular articles in newspapers and magazines. The articles included the experiences of the home exchangers and usually a description of the home exchange process and the financial advantages. I found only one instance of academic interest through a search outside the academics' databases.

In the World Travel Market (WTM) Global Trends Report 2008, the trend "home exchange - live like a local" was listed as one of the European trends. It had reported that the number of consumers interested in the home exchange concept has increased dramatically over the last few years. Accordingly the World Travel Market, (WTM, 2008, p.13) travellers are turning towards direct forms of interaction between others in search of more authentic travel experiences and connections. Accordingly the WTM, through hospitality tourism and home exchanges, travellers are able to see how locals live, discovering a new country and its culture from an insider's perspective. Conversely, locals that offer free hospitality have the opportunity to meet people from different cultures and exchange their views and experiences (2008, p.15).

This trend has benefited from the popularity of online booking and travel-focused websites alongside travellers' desire to blend in with the locals. Moreover, the report assumed that in the case of home exchange, the money-saving element plays a more important role than in hospitality tourism, yet "the desire to enjoy an authentic experience is equal".

In 2006, two master students, Arente and Kiiski (2006), wrote about home exchanges in their dissertation entitled: "Tourist Identity Expression through Postmodern Consumption: A Focus on the Home-Exchange Phenomenon". Arente and Kiiski (2006) examined the home exchange phenomenon using the concepts of motivation, lifestyle and identity from a tourism perspective. In-depth interviews with home exchange participants provided the empirical data for their research. Their findings indicate that the home exchange phenomenon, to some extent, could be understood as an expression of liberation from the traditional tourist image, and as such home exchange plays a role in constructing the identity of post-modern travellers.

In 2009, Ding conducted her master's degree research under the supervision of me into home exchanges and their representations through the media. After conducting the data analysis of two thematic narrative films as the representation of the home exchange phenomenon, it was noticed by Ding that the home exchange as assemblage escapes the control of the hosts and takes on its own logic. Furthermore, her findings also illustrated that hospitality is not necessarily provided by a host physically. Powerful engagements can be built up while the host is absent, as long as the space of hospitality is created through agents connected with the host in the context of an assemblage.

9.1 LOCATING THE HOME EXCHANGE AS A FORM OF HOSPITALITY IN A HOME SETTING

I would like to call attention to the nature of the home exchange by focusing on related hospitality practices within a home setting. Other forms of hospitality in the home setting display many similar traits. Hospitality in a home setting is different than hospitality offered in a hotel setting. Douglas (1991) distinguishes between the private home spaces and hotel space. A hotel is designed for efficiency, calculable activity, and justification in commercial goals, whereas she discusses the private home as hospitality space as opposite of commercial organisation with limited privacy and based on a gift economy (Douglas, 1991). Douglas describes a home as "the reflection of ideas" (Douglas 1991, p.290) and as a home having aesthetic and moral dimensions (Douglas, 1991, p.289). Lynch (2005) describes a continuum with the hotel on one side and the private home on the other side; he places the commercial home in the middle. Home exchanges are usually conducted in the private home of the host. Although the host is absent, the home still reflects the everyday life routines of the host and is limited in separating guests from the host. Lynch (2004, p.339) identifies 5 factors determining the social and spatial control strategies of hosts namely spatial configuration, spatial size of unit, commercial orientation, presence of host children, and presence or absence of hosts.

Deleuze and Guattari disconnect home from the physical house and thereby problematise the concept of "home". In this respect, they (1987) write about home as an experience. They clarify this with the example of an airplane chair becoming home when the child sleeps on it with a doll. Therefore, the term "house" will be used to refer to the home setting.

Home exchanges can be seen as a non-commercial form of hospitality within the home setting distinct from the self-catered hospitality types. Self-catering refers to the guest staying in a home setting whereby the host is absent. Self-catering is included in the concept of the commercial home, even though the host is absent. The commercial home is a "paid for" accommodation provided in a property that also functions as a private home. It embraces a range of accommodation types including some (small) hotels, bed and breakfasts (B&Bs), and host family accommodation which simultaneously span private, commercial and social settings (Lynch, 2005).

Home exchanges can be seen as "Do It Yourself (DIY) hospitality networks". For clarifying reasons I will remain with the concept of non-commercial hospitality networks. These networks are more or less self-organising, specifically with regards to the role of the members in the creation of the hospitality "product". The development of the internet provided the structure for intermediate organisations to develop advanced intermediation opportunities, and enabled potential massive growth. The most relevant aspects of non-commercial network hospitality are its non-commercial nature, the home setting, and the fact that the details of the hospitality are negotiated rather than given. Two different types of non-commercial hospitality networks can be distinguished: the home exchange where the host is predominantly absent and the hospitality stay where the host is present.

Self-organisation has the potential to escape the performative scripts and roles described by Goffman (1959) who uses the metaphor of performance to analyse hospitality transactions. Urry (1990, p.7) writes that home exchange provides modern tourists with the extraordinary opportunity to avoid the solicitude of tourism's 'surrogate parents', i.e. travel agents, carriers, and hotel managers. The self-organising nature can be seen as a form of consumer emancipation (2002, p.22). In Kozinets' article titled "Can Consumers Escape the Market?: Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man", Kozinets writes that consumer emancipation can be considered as a constantly evolving process of confrontation: '...to enthrone the disorderly, chaotic, anarchic, creative, risk-taking, and innovative forces of human nature against its orderly, planned, pre-programmed, boring and imitative aspects'(p.22). Kozinets further sees a clear development towards decommodification, sacralising and enhancing community (2002, p.27) as reaction towards a further commodification. Concerning the self-organising nature in hospitality networks, the self-organising nature is maintained by laws which are directives defined by the hospitality network organisation but executed and negotiated by the members themselves.

The organisation of the hospitality network is provided by so called intermediate bodies. These bodies are usually based on an underlying belief on how members should participate within the network. A good example of an intermediate body with a strong viewpoint on how members should interact during hospitality stays is the organisation "CouchSurfing", which grew from 7 to 520,094 members in just 9 years (their own figures, retrieved June 2008). The CouchSurfing organisation states on the site that the organisation wants to change not only the way we travel, but how we relate to the world!" (http://www.couchsurfing.com). These claims of non-

commercial hospitality networks are rather far reaching and ask for a critique. A critique can be informed by Hand et al. (2002, p.197) who questions the technological fetishism surrounding the internet. "The fetishism of the internet involves fusions of political values and ideals with new techniques of information production and dissemination, creating both increasingly fragmented, pluralised, aleatory futures, and novel forms of citizenship, democratic internationalism and planetary governance".

This technological fetishism can easily relate to the claims of non-commercial hospitality networks such as CouchSurfing, which assign themselves transformational powers. Hand et al (2002, p.197) conclude that these form of organisations combine Anglo-American models of democratic reform and governance with laudatory accounts of the libertarian possibilities of the new communication technologies and will irresistibly expand to embrace communities and societies hitherto 'undemocratised'. Molz (2007, p.65) conducted research into informal hospitality networks such as CouchSurfing and Global Freeloaders, forms of non commercial hospitality networks and found a cosmopolitan desire for and openness to difference by the participants. However, she is very critical towards hospitality networks claiming almost absolute hospitality as defined by Derrida (2002) while in practice a strict 'door policy' is conducted by its members. Home exchanges can also be critiqued on the same criteria of access.

9.2 HISTORY

Prior to the development of the internet, the home exchange organisations relied on catalogues. The members' details and requirements were collected by country representatives and these were responsible for printing and distributing the catalogues. Two traditional home exchange organisations are Intervac and Homelink International. Both started home exchanging in its current form in the 1950s. Intervac was started by teaching unions in Europe, as they began to work together and to co-operate for the improvement of conditions, but more especially to improve understanding between people from different cultures and backgrounds. They could benefit from their extended holidays if they could find a more economical way of travelling to other countries. Both organisations work on a national level and provide a travel insurance system. Country representatives appoint an international board from among the other country representatives. This board organises a meeting every year with all country representatives. The power, however, is at a national level, resulting in a rather decentralised structure with control mechanisms at a country level to control growth and trust.

An interesting fact is that home exchange intermediation was once employed by the multinational company, IKEA, as a marketing tool. At the end of the 1980s, IKEA provided a home exchange service in partnership with Homelink International. This service was provided in the 7 countries where IKEA was active, and available for so called "IKEA family" members. Customers could fill out a form in IKEA stores, which were then processed at the head office in Sweden and printed in a separate catalogue. The idea was that customers could participate in home exchanges within the setting of the IKEA family membership network, whose members got the opportunity to live in a global home. However, after only two years this network became part of the Homelink International directory. The service was discontinued (according to Homelink International) because the administration in Sweden could not handle all the different forms and addresses.

Many people were introduced to home exchange while watching the Hollywood movie about a Los Angeles-London swap in "The Holiday" (2006). "Tara Road" (2005) is another well-known movie based on the home exchange theme. Both films present stories where a person starts living in another's home, sharing neighbours, friends and life; even falling in love and so on. However, the motivation for participating in a home exchange in both movies is to flee from personal problems and environment. Both of the home swaps facilitated some sort of life paradigm shifts for the participants. Both films represented the participants' encounters during their home exchanges, by living in someone else's life. They realised eventually that a change of address temporally had changed their lives.

The development of the internet enabled a more efficient form of home exchange intermediation. It provides an increasingly centralised organisation, with more peer-oriented control mechanisms and search facilities. The figures in table 2 show the growth in home exchange organisations. This clearly shows a relatively large growth in the number of organisations starting up between the year 2000 and 2006 (more than 50%). This development can be explained by advantages provided by a database system and online possibilities.

According to the World Travel Market (WTM, 2008, p.13), travellers are turning towards direct forms of interaction between others in search of more authentic travel experiences and connections. The WTM argues that the evolution of the "Travel 2.0" concept and travel networking is behind the rapid development in recent years of innovative forms of travel, such as hospitality tourism and home exchanges (2008, p.14). The "Travel 2.0" concept refers to

online travel communities and forums. These sites were uniquely driven by travellers interested in the opinions of fellow travellers instead of professional travel companies or guidebooks (2008, p.18).

During the beginning of the 21st century, online systems, which Leadbeater (1999) describes as kernels, were initiated. Kernels are centralised digital systems which allow members to market and negotiate transactions. The provider is facilitating transactions and interactions through a kernel between members and, thus, providing a platform for self organisation. The WTM (2008, p.13) describes this as the Web 2.0 phenomenon, which is characterised by increased online interaction and user-generated content on the internet, a segment specifically geared towards travel has grown exponentially over the past few years. The WTM acknowledge (2008, p.14) that the growth of the home exchange phenomenon was fuelled by the development of the web which enabled the infrastructure for interactions. People can instantly change the availability of the home and can interactively search for suitable exchanges. Moreover, the kernels provide communication opportunities between the members. Several home exchange organisations, such as Intervac and Digsville, offer facilities which include extensive narrative approach, with lifestyle, family characteristics and photographs. Kernels also facilitate rating systems whereby the home exchangers rate each other's experiences, all home exchangers can see these ratings. Other kernels which facilitate self organisation are for example "CouchSurfing", Facebook", "MySpace" and "LinkedIn". These kernels focus on community building and enhance community building between the members. The use of kernels lowered the threshold for entry as a facilitator of a non-commercial hospitality network. For the home exchange market, this is clearly the case since expensive production and distribution processes are not needed (e.g. provision of catalogues). The non-commercial nature is not apparent in the fact that the facilitating body does not make a profit, but that the members do not place a monetary value on their hospitality transactions. The facilitating body can have a commercial intention such as collecting membership fees and sponsoring money. Appendix 8 shows an overview of the home exchange organisations.

	Before 1983	Between 1983-1993	Between 1993-1999	Between 2000-2004	2005	2006	2007	2008
The number of start-ups	2	6	8	14	5	18	5	1
Cumulative number	2	8	16	30	35	53	58	59

Table 9.1: The number of start-up home exchange organisations in combination with the total amount of home exchange organisations.

I aim to distinguish four types of home exchange organisations. Firstly, the traditional home exchange organisation with country representatives that formerly predominately depended on catalogues and in small numbers still prints catalogues (Intervac). These organisations have relatively the largest databases which allow members extensive choice. Secondly, the kernel, as described by Leadbeater, allowed for the development of the second type of home exchange intermediary service without country representatives. The country representatives were historically needed to gather and publish data about the home exchange participants. This new organisation is centrally led and hosted and members can, regardless of their physical representation, participate in negotiating home exchanges. A third type of home exchange organisations is not offering exclusively home exchange services, but offering home exchanges services as part of a wider group of offerings. The offering usually targets special interest groups such as homosexuals, dog lovers or horse lovers. A fourth type of home exchange organisation are the bulletin boards without memberships like Craig's List where visitors leave messages for one another to promote a transaction concerning cars, bicycles, jobs, relationships and also home exchanges. The third type of home exchange intermediary is not included in the following tables since they do not form a unifying entity nor do they include codes of conduct concerning home exchanges and these systems lack security.

Home exchange organisations are on one hand diversifying their offerings and on the other hand specialising their offering. They are diversifying in the sense that they have started offering a wide range of services such as second house rentals, home rentals, babysitting, au pair services, hitchhiking services and hotel bookings. Such development shows that the organisations can use the membership database for many service related transactions. They are specialising in the sense that some organisations only cater for special niche markets, for

example, the members of the Dutch reformed protestant church like to exchange within their own group. This ensures that they will not be confronted with, perhaps, thought-provoking books on the bookshelves of their hosts homes. Indeed, within the Netherlands, this group has their own organisation called the "Interkerkelijke Uitwisselingsorganisatie". Further research into this organisation indicated that the matching of the members and their homes is executed by the organisation based on the member's preferences and lifestyles. Table 9.2 shows the different Home exchange organisations with Specialisations.

Home exchange organisations with Specialisation	Number
Luxury	5
Gay & Lesbian	2
Religious	3
Academic	3
Disabled	2
Eco-Tourism	1
Seniors	1
Realtors	1
Country Specific	3

Table 9.2 The number of home exchange organisations with specialisation

The number of intermediaries for home exchanges has grown enormously in the past ten years. KnowYourTrade.com is a directory of home exchange organisations. The services provided include listing and reviews of clubs, home swappers' forum, feedback, club rating, and home exchange tips. By June 2008, there were 62 online home exchange clubs listed, according to the website. The following tables (table 1—5) 1 are gathered from the site to show an overview of worldwide home exchange intermediaries from different perspectives.

---

[1] Tables are created based on the information from http://www.knowyourtrade.com/review.htm

Nr. of Listing	Over 10000	5000-9999	1000-4999	500-999	200-500	100-200	10 or less
Nr. of Clubs	3	2	26	15	8	3	4

Table 9.3 Numbers of Clubs Based on Numbers of Home Exchange Listings

The top 3 home exchange listing clubs are: HomeExchange.com, HomeForExchange.com and Homelink.com. Table 9.3 also indicates that most organisations supply between 1,000 to 5,000 home exchange listings with a growing space for potentials.

	Pre 1983	1983-1993	1993-1999	2000-2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Un-known
Founding	2	7	8	13	5	18	5	2	2
Cumulative	2	9	17	30	35	52	57	59	62

Table 9.4 Years of Founding of Home Exchange organisation

The oldest home exchange concept intermediaries are Intervac (founded in early 1950's) and Homelink (founded in 1953). Table 9.4 shows the continuous development in numbers of newly founded home exchange organisations, especially starting at the end of the 1990s, when internet usage was spread all over the globe. As seen in the table, the cumulative numbers have grown significantly; the peak year of intermediaries' founding was concentrated in 2006.

Always Free	Free for Limited Time	Open Clubs	Under 50$	50—100$	Over 100$	Various
10	12	6*	16	18	3	2

Table 9.5 Numbers of Home Exchange Clubs Based on the Costs of Membership Yearly

*Home exchange organisations charge fees to post a listing, but supply "open network" for both members and non-members to share information

From free to over $100, home exchange intermediaries charge various membership fees on a yearly basis; many of them offer a free membership for the second year, if there is no successful match in the first year. Most of the clubs charge $50--100 membership fee, for participants to post listings.

9.3 SITES FOR FIELDWORK

The following sites were selected for the research:

Note for the reader: The host refers to the other party. Two types of settings appear in the descriptions, second homes and private homes. Moreover in this research the Deleuzian definition of home is used, so the definition is of home as an assemblage, which can be entirely deterritorialised from the setting of house. In this part the general term 'home setting' is used to refer to house.

The following part focuses on the research sites where the fieldwork is conducted. These exchanges were done from 2004 till 2008. To ensure privacy, the sites are referred to as the location and when the location is visited more often, a location and number. M refers to researcher's wife and M1 refers to the researcher's daughter.

Boulder 1

Boulder 1 involved a private home in the suburbs of a town 10 miles south of Boulder CO. The exchange was a three week exchange in the summer and included a car exchange. The home setting had two sleeping rooms, kitchen, bathroom and a media room. The host had provided two bikes with child seats to facilitate my family. The exchange was simultaneous. The family had one daughter who already had left home. Before the exchange, I had never personally met the home exchange family before or during the exchange. Only two years after, I met the family during Boulder 2. For both families, this was their first home exchange. Our home was located in Amsterdam West. The itinerary included a ticket to a baseball match and a meeting with neighbour John.

The following three home exchanges were all hosted by my family and me on the Amsterdam Eastern Docklands.

Sydney

Sydney involves a private home in the suburbs of Sydney, about 30 miles north of downtown Sydney. The home setting included five sleeping rooms and three bathrooms. The exchange in the months of January and February (summer in Australia) included a car exchange. The host family was visiting the Netherlands for four months and they arranged their stay in the Netherlands through a series of four home exchanges. We had contact with the family before the exchange. The host´s four home exchanges were planned in the Eastern Docklands area in Amsterdam, since their daughter lived there. Our family visited the Sydney host family in the Netherlands during their first home exchange in the Eastern Docklands. Moreover, the host's family visited our family setting as well. The itinerary included a couple of maps about Sydney, some contacts for emergencies and a list of duties regarding the garden, pool and kitchen. At the end of the home exchange, the condition of the setting was checked by a friend of the host with a check list. After the exchange, we received a letter which was addressed to all four families who stayed in the home about who is going to pay for a higher than normal water bill, a broken pan and the cleaning of the oven. I consulted the home exchange organisation regarding this letter and the reply was that home exchanges were not meant as accommodation, but rather as a personal vacation and those four home exchanges in a row are not within the guidelines.

Paris 1

Paris 1 involves a non-simultaneous exchange to a private setting the Marais in Paris during the summer for four weeks. The host family used our setting in October for a week. The car was not included, since both families used their own cars. During the exchange 6 of our friends of us stayed with us in Paris. The setting was located in an old apartment building from the 16th century and included a kitchen, living room, second living room, four bedrooms and a bathroom. The car garage was at a distance. The itinerary included maps, detailed descriptions of the area and a list of contact persons. During the exchange, the host family's sixteen year old son appeared unexpectedly in the home setting. However, the host couple was very welcoming and became 'French grandfather and grandmother' to M1.

Boulder 2

Boulder 2 involved a four week simultaneous exchange in the summer holiday. The exchange involved the use of cars. The setting was a private home setting located miles west of Boulder. The family included a 45 year old man, a 45 year old woman and a teenage son. This son re-visited my family for a week three years later. The jobs of both hosts were architects. The itinerary included maps, detailed descriptions of the area, a series of set up appointments with neighbours and a list of contact persons. During the exchange, there was frequent contact between us and the home exchange family. We exchanged pictures and experiences.

Big Sky 1

Big Sky1 involved a one sided home stay, meaning I did not provide his own setting. The stay included a four week use of a ski condo in the winter ski season in a ski resort in Big Sky Montana. The ski condo included three rooms and a mountain view. The condo was managed by a hotel organisation/ operating company. The itinerary was provided by this organisation. During the four week use, we only visited the condo three times, due to work obligations. The host lived two miles from this our daily residence, a University town in Montana. We met the host four times. She was around 60 years old in age and still corresponds with us.

Big Sky 2

Big Sky 2 involved a non-simultaneous exchange in a condo overlooking the mountains. The condo, a villa with 7 rooms, garage, ski storage and jacuzzi, was managed by a hotel organisation/ operating company. The family who owned the condo lived in the southern part of the USA. During the three week use of the apartment, we invited local friends and friends from the Netherlands to the condo. The family will probably in the future stay in our second home in Pécs, Hungary.

Boulder 3

Boulder 3 involved a non-simultaneous stay from 2 weeks in a setting 1 mile of downtown Boulder. The cars were not included. The host visited this our second home in the vicinity of Pécs, Hungary after wards. The setting included five rooms, a small classroom for creative

thinking sessions and an outside Jacuzzi. The itinerary included a detailed description of the setting, contact persons and a set up with a retired tourism professor. The host was a woman in her mid-fifties. After our stay, the host indicated that we could return any time to use the setting.

Pécs 1

This was a one sided exchange, whereby we acted as host. We provided a second home setting on the country side in Hungary, close to the city of Pécs. The stay lasted two weeks with a British family of four. This guest family had been involved in home exchanges 24 times. The itinerary involved a description of the neighbourhood and local contact persons

Pécs 2

This was a one sided exchange, whereby we acted as host. We provided a second home setting in the country side in Hungary, close to the city of Pécs. The stay lasted three weeks and involved an American couple in their sixties from the state of Colorado. They were on a home exchange trip involving 3 home exchanges. The itinerary involved a description of the neighbourhood and local contact persons. I visited the family in Colorado for an informal interview and lunch.

Budapest

Budapest included a simultaneous exchange, excluding cars with two second homes. We invited the family for lunch in Pécs, after lunch exchanged keys and we drove to Budapest. In Hungary, there are four home exchangers listed with the home link organisation. The host's family lived in Amsterdam just as us. We both had a second home in Hungary and were about the same age – late thirties. The host apartment had two rooms, a kitchen and a bathroom. The apartment was located on the Pest site of the Danube in an old apartment building in the old part of the city. The host itinerary included a detailed description on how to take care of the home and contact persons. The host family and us are still in contact and meet on an annual base.

Paris 2

Paris 2 included a simultaneous 10 day exchange, excluding cars. We exchanged with the private setting in Leeuwarden. The host setting was a private setting located in the northern part of Paris and included a 3 room apartment in a modern apartment building with parking space. The itinerary included maps from Paris and contact persons. Both the male and female host were in their mid-thirties.

Twente

Twente is located in the eastern part of the Netherlands. Twente includes a non-simultaneous four day exchange at a second home in a mobile home park. The host family will stay in our setting in Hungary at a later date. The park is managed by a mobile home management organisation. We participated in the exchange with friends met during home exchange Boulder 2. There was no itinerary, apart from some brochures which could be found by the management organisation. During the second day, the host family appeared shortly.

9.4 CONCLUSION

This chapter introduced the home exchange phenomenon and presented the research sites. The first part shows that the development of the internet changed the process of home exchange interaction, from static catalogues to powerful interactive platforms. This presented the opportunity for a high number of commercial-oriented home exchange organisations to start up. Home exchanges are organised around a kernel which facilitates interactions, once the kernel is established and becomes popular, it can result in a large membership base, as the CouchSurfing example shows. Moreover, it enables easy start-up and possible a large return on investments. Current developments include processes of specialisation, diversification and integration. Specialisation into the provision of home exchanges for particular groups such as, long-term exchanges, villa exchanges, exchanges for the handicapped, exchanges for homosexuals, exchanges for Jewish groups, exchanges for students and teacher exchanges.

Diversification processes are also visible among the home exchange organisations. The membership organisation can cater apart from home exchanges by also offering taxi services, hospitality exchanges, vacation house rentals or other services like babysitting. The processes of integration occur when different kernels are combined. For instance, when visible tourist information such as the weather, events and festivals, attractions are combined with home

exchange regions. Although, options for integration of the home exchange databases with other services are rather unexplored. Connections with other kernels such as "Facebook" or "LinkedIn" or flight reservation systems are already theoretically possible, but not yet realised. The second part shows all the home exchanges sites for the empirical research.

CHAPTER 10: THE EVOCATIVE DIMENSION

This chapter focuses on the affects which happen during home exchanges. It is autoethnographic work as discussed in chapter seven and is based on data collected during home exchanges. This process is described in chapter eight. The stories include the experience of 'being a host' as well as 'being a guest'. This chapter illuminates the non-representational aspects of the crystallisation process. The stories go beyond the aspect of organising; they also focus on motives and embodied subjective experiences. Moreover, the stories show that Home Exchanges are an integral part of life. The experiences are an interpretation and representation of the field notes. For privacy purposes, the names are fictitious. Figure 10.1 situates the evocative dimension in relation to the other dimensions.
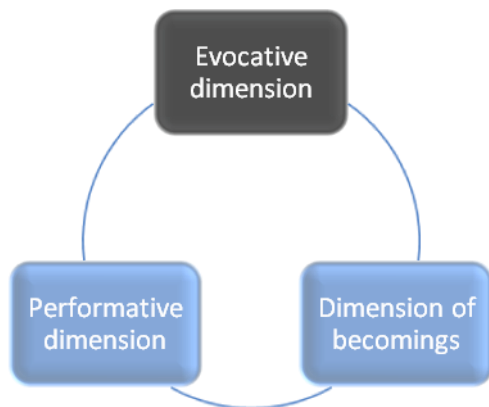

Figure 10.1 Scheme which shows the evocative dimension together with other dimensions.

10.1 STORY 1: PREPARING THE HOME EXCHANGE

Preparing the home for guests

Jane, a third year Leisure Management student, in my "leisure policy and the city" lecture raises her hand and asks "Mr. Grit, How is it to live in a small creative city like Boulder?" I can hear myself answering "I'm sorry Jane, but I have no idea." The theory from Richard Florida concerning the *creative class* is not really clear about this. The creative class is attracted to cities because of their attractive lifestyle. But how it feels on a daily base I have no idea.

Today is Tuesday. M. has the car and will pick up one year old daughter M2 from the day care centre. I will take the bicycle. It is five o'clock in *Amsterdam Bijlmer* and a cold, drizzling March rain has taken over the city. As I cycle back home, my head is stormy, words are bouncing around in my mind. The trip will help to calm my thoughts. I decide to take the bicycling path along a long stretched canal, the *Weespertrekvaart*, though a longer route. It allows me to think. Here is where I prepare my classes and reorganise my thinking. The canal is my favourite part of the 10 kilometre ride. However, today the canal is already passed and the words are still there. They become a poem.

"How is it to live in Boulder?" I replace this with "How is it to live in Amsterdam?" Amsterdam is also known as an attractive city…

During my bicycle ride home, I tried to formulate an answer, and for this raining Tuesday in March my answer was clear - raising a one year old daughter with two working parents in a new apartment in Amsterdam West felt like a gigantic logistic exercise. Perhaps I am a member of the creative class, but my daily creativity is used to organise processes, such as going to the day-care, going shopping, going to work. By crossing the *Amstel* River by the *Berlagebrug* with the bicycle, I picked up the idea that it would be nice to organise a home exchange with people in Boulder. M and I were members of Homelink, but never had participated in a home exchange. By living in a home in Boulder, we could experience "How it is to live in Boulder".

By crossing the highway A10, I painfully realised that the answer to the question "how is it to live in Amsterdam?" was not complete yet. The mundane logistic exercise had become a far more complicated experience since we moved to our new apartment. Even playing outside with

my daughter became a complicated process. In the old apartment building I could park my bike in front of the house and play outside with daughter M2. The new apartment was spacious and luxurious with a parking garage and a small playground outside. However, a juvenile group of mainly boys, also referred to as the "welcoming committee", had occupied the entrance and the playground. M and I had to take our daughter elsewhere by bike or car. This "welcoming committee" of 20 youngsters was neither mentioned by the marketing department of the developing association nor drawn by the architect, but nevertheless formed a distinct aspect of the building. The group was made up of local youths between 10 and 24 years in age who gathered just outside the main entrance. They met every afternoon and hung around until 10 o'clock. For me, passing the "welcoming committee" was mostly a silent act. Making matters worse, the "welcoming committee" was the talk of the day for the new inhabitants of the apartment building. I cannot be sure which I disliked more, the "welcoming committee" or the talking about the "welcoming committee".

During the last kilometre of my bike ride, I decided to post our new apartment on the Homelink site, so I could answer the question "How is it to live in Boulder?" At dinner, I spoke with M about the plans to visit Boulder, about updating the site and sending out requests to all people in Boulder who were members of Homelink. M. liked the idea and after M2 went to bed we worked on updating the site. Updating the site is like writing a marketing advertisement for your home and the city. The description of Amsterdam was still fine, but we realised we didn't have any pictures of the new apartment. Moreover, finding the words to describe the neighbourhood was difficult. In the end, the description of the home and neighbourhood stated: "Spacious luxurious apartment in Amsterdam with own parking place, close to airport public transportation and shops in multicultural area."

The mail we sent to all 21 people in Boulder sounded like:

"We, two teachers of Leisure management and a 1 year old daughter, would like to experience life in Boulder. We offer a spacious apartment in sizzling Amsterdam. We would like to exchange somewhere from July 1st to August 15th. We would like to exchange cars as well." After sending the mail, we sat down and had wine and talked about our life in sizzling Amsterdam and how we could make our lives sizzling again.

During a special meeting of the home owners committee, neighbourhood planners and the neighbourhood police about the welcoming committee, I became introduced in a world I did not know about. A world of a divided neighbourhood and our flat was somewhere in the middle. Our welcoming committee was just like the flat and the residence also new in the neighbourhood; their old neighbourhood was subject to a regeneration project. During the meeting a procedure was presented about how to deal with the uninvited "welcoming committee". The committee was even given a name by the local policy, our group was called 'group C'. We developed a list of guidelines. As residents, we should greet the committee, but not look them in the eyes and not challenge them. Additionally, members of the "welcoming committee" should never be able to enter the building. So, residents had to make sure the front door was closed entirely. Not only should the front door be closed, but also the electronic garage. Everyone needed to watch the door until it was entirely closed. After the meeting, I walked back home and realised I was walking on a battlefield. Suddenly I felt sadness, I live and work in a large creative city called Amsterdam, but somewhere I have lost touch and thought: Amsterdam is a creative city but where can I start being creative? What is creative city anyway and how is it to live in Boulder?

10.2 STORY 2: ARRIVING IN PARIS

We left the Netherlands with rain and are now in the northern suburbs of Paris heading to the Péripherique. I love the Péripherique in Paris, especially the story where you have to close your eyes while driving on it, which is a strategy to avoid accidents. Three more kilometres towards the Péripherique... and I can't wait to arrive. I have the right tool and the right attitude to be French. Paris for me is Van Gogh, who wanted to get away from everything and leave Drenthe, just like me. I'm thinking about his painting style and I close my eyes and I see 200 different colour cars making one nice picture. There is the Péripherique, a monument for 20th century modernity.

The home is close to Porte de Péripherique and I love it. Perhaps I can tap into Van Gogh's world, that world of painting and suffering, being unacknowledged. I want to breathe in the atmosphere of the movie Moulin Rouge - the roughness of it all. Porte de Clignancourt is coming up and I feel excited. How will this home exchange work out? The people will be waiting for us with wine, I guess. We are in France – this is so much different than Friesland. Here, they will have wine, good food and good conversations. I have been here before. Life can start. I love the Péripherique, I love Van Gogh.

M tells me to take the exit. And I'm ready. After 10 minutes, we are in front of the building. The descriptions were very helpful. We are standing here on the street where we are not supposed to stand still. We make the phone call, and I feel like someone out of the 'Sopranos' television series, waiting for action. After five minutes of waiting, we are welcomed by a lovely English-speaking lady and two young girls with cookies for the guests! I love this, every inch of it. M2 gets excited and I'm happy because she wasn't happy going to Paris. The only thing what could make her happy is the idea of Winnie the Pooh in Eurodisney. Two years ago, we missed Winnie since the show was over. At that time, I was lecturer at InHolland and I had to manage all my students. One of them missed the bus that morning and I had to wait for him at the entrance, and eventually my daughter missed Winnie the Pooh. At that time, I told her that Winnie the Pooh was sleeping. This time I told her that Winnie the Pooh would be awake and happy to see her. So, I was happy with the cookies and looking forward to the wine. They opened the parking garage and I drove into a black hole. I parked the car, being guided by the female host. M and M2 followed them. We went up together to the elevator and went to the third floor. This is all concrete; did Van Gogh experience concrete as well? Or was concrete something else back then? Perhaps concrete is just poorness and absolutely comparable. So, I can still have my Van Gogh experience. The doors open and a man is in the doorway. He looks very much stressed and is ready to go. Their suitcases are already in the hallway and the kids are dressed to go. He indicates, in French, that he made arrangements with the neighbour to park his car on their parking space. He was very happy about it and I was happy that I could speak French. However, he did not make any remark about this. The lady came in and was very friendly towards M2 and indicated that the kids should show their rooms to M2. M2 loved it; in Dutch she indicated that she found friends and truly enjoyed being walked around. The man followed me and gave me keys and showed me how to open all the doors. In the home, the only movies we could find were kids' movies and the only books we could find were kids' books. It was hard to imagine how people could spend their days here. We said goodbye and we were alone in the house.

10.3 STORY 3: SEARCHING FOR A CHILD BIKE SEAT, FINDING FRIENDS AND STARTING A COMPANY

This story stretches over a four year period and relates to three home exchanges.

It is a sunny Thursday afternoon; this particular mention of the day may look a detail to the reader, but it is not. Every Thursday night in Boulder is the crazy Thursday bike ride; this bike ride is tolerated by the local government, but is in fact illegal. People bike in funny dresses and the route develops during the event. It being illegal adds pleasure for me. I watched the bikers the week before and I liked the event for its positive energy and social nature. However doing crazy things for me is a social event, so I wanted to bike with M and M2. Two mountain bikes were available in the home, but no option for transporting a child. So on this particular Thursday afternoon, I was looking for a thing to carry my daughter during the ride. In the park, I saw a family of four and the youngest child was sitting in a two-seated child car for bikes. I decided to have a chat with this family. The chat lasted two hours, the week later we biked the Thursday bike ride together and M2 and family Z's daughter X shared the child car. During the home exchange vacation, we became house friends and spent a lot of time in each other's houses. For me, this was the first time to be in the position of a house friend. A relationship where lives somehow become integrated and one becomes part of the other one's logistics. Suddenly you know someone else's agenda for the day -to eat together, to take the kids to the sports clubs, meet their friends and parents. Our new friends owned companies and I learned a lot about the staff members and about taking risks. We let the dogs out and ate pizza at eleven o'clock at night and were present when the au pair was picked up by her boy friend for an evening out. Our family became somehow integrated with the other family, however this never was talked about. M and the female friend A shared a special interest in finding second hand children's clothing at garage sales. Later, she and M became business partners.

In 2006, we were living in the U.S. We drove 1100 miles to spend the American holiday Thanksgiving together in their log cabin in the Rocky Mountains. During this week, we, by accident met A, the Dutch neighbouring boy of B from 26 years ago. B had been in the Netherlands on a youth exchange when he was 13 years old. While I was in the hot spring, I happened to talk to A. A became part of the integrated families as well. We toasted the unexpected pregnancy of G. For me, "Thanksgiving" had a different dimension - home was where our families were shared.

In May 2006, during our third home exchange in Boulder, we became part of the birth process of family Z's third daughter. She gave birth in the hospital. During this time M and I worked hard, took over the entire household, brought the kids to school and put them to bed.

In April 2007, the family Z visits us in Leeuwarden and together we participate in a home exchange in the east of the Netherlands to celebrate A's birthday. This home exchange had a different becoming, we had agreed on exchanging the rather large looking house in A's home town. But, ended up in a mobile home 30 miles north, since the son of the host family wanted to stay home.

In 2008, I visited the family Z in Boulder during a visit to my internship students in Boulder. In August 2009, I intended to visit family Z again, however the family was not together anymore, they separated in June 2009. I spend the afternoon in August walking and talking through the streets of Boulder with the female part of the 'couple'. I felt a deep sadness.

10.4 STORY 4: BECOMING A WINE DRINKING PARIS SNOB

This home exchange started because we got a request from Mr. X in Paris. He had friends in Amsterdam and in the autumn he and his wife wanted to visit Amsterdam for three weeks. He was attracted to our home since it was located in a nice architectural setting which he wanted to visit. We initially wanted to go to Provence in France for the summer and we did some requests to home exchangers, but received no reactions. Friends told us that Paris was not nice in the middle of the summer because of the heat and the fact that all residents leave the city and a large numbers of tourists come in. Our home exchanger mentioned in his writing that he and his wife would move to their second house in the Dordogne and that the cat would stay home and we had the responsibility to take care of it. The reason that we said yes to the offer is that we knew the Marais already a bit. M and I both worked at the In Holland leisure studies department and each year we make a trip to Paris with 120 students. The programme usually includes Euro Disney and Paris attractions. On the last day, the students had free time to move around in the city and a colleague, who had lived in Paris for some years, mentioned that the teacher group should go to her favourite part of the Marais neighbourhood. This area of the city at that time had everything I like in the city. Namely, sitting outside on a too small terrace with a glass of wine and watching the city pass by. It feels like me in the role of Tijl Uilenspiegel who just performed a trick and now could rest with a nice meal. The trick I just performed was organising a Euro Disney trip.

This feeling of a Tijl Uilenspiegel led me to say yes to the offer. I also had this idea when I moved to Amsterdam. However living in Amsterdam started to become a drag; the traffic, parking the car, having a child, bringing it to the crèche. Living in a modern world had little to do with resting after work with a glass of wine on a small square and watching the world pass by. I sometimes called my life A10, the large ring road around Amsterdam since there I could stand rather lonely in the traffic and watch my life pass by.

We decided to travel by car to Paris since the host family rented a parking place in the direct area and we could use that parking space. The car was packed with child stuff and we stayed in a *Formula One* hotel on the way. We planned to meet at 12 for a lunch with the family. After the lunch, the hosts would leave by plane for their second home. We found the narrow street in the middle of the Marais and M and I looked at each other with excitement. This was going to

be great. This is what we needed after one year of living a two job life in a large city. We entered a strange situation since we had a car in a small one way street and there were cars behind me honking. M decided to go out with 2 year old M2 and I would find a parking space. This was rather difficult since there were no parking spaces. Moreover, it took me 40 minutes to find the street back, since M. took the directions. On arriving back at the street, there was a tall man standing and waving at me. When I pulled over, he opened the door and greeted me with a large handshake and a cheerful welcome in French. It felt like I was sitting next to an old friend I haven't seen in years. We exchanged our appreciations and he mentioned that we had to unpack the car hastily and then park the car. His wife was waiting upstairs with coffee and a lunch. I opened the trunk and we collected the suitcases and all the kids stuff, stroller, toys etc. He opened a small door in a bigger door and after opening I followed him in. I saw what I always wanted to see in my life, a large inside patio and on the ground level were people sitting and having simple lunches together and having a wine bottle on the table. We placed all the luggage on the large patio and it felt like with my stuff I was breaking the picture. Big blue plastic bags were lying on the ground of the large patio. Nobody seemed to notice this aspect of the intrusion and they cheerfully laughed at me. After the lunch, we returned to the car and we both stepped into the car. He gave me directions to drive and mentioned that he would drive me around and introduce me in the neighbourhood. He showed me the bakery where he would buy bread and the theatres where he always went, the good restaurants where all the civil worker employees could buy lunch for 7 Euros, the Picasso museum which was around the corner, and talked about all the attractions in the street. He used long sentences in fast French language and I could not understand everything completely, but I thought if I asked him to talk more slowly I would ruin the moment. He truly seemed to like me driving around in the car. At a certain moment, we stopped before a large old-seeming building and he pushed at a button on a remote control. The door opened and a large parking garage showed up. We parked the car deeply in the car parking and used an elevator to exit the building. When exiting the elevator, he gently touched my shoulder to indicate that I could leave the elevator. We walked back to the apartment building where the house was; this was about 500 metres. He talked about the old building and mentioned that they were palaces from the 17th century and that they were now converted into apartment buildings. The 19th century city planner Haussmann had left this area from the city untouched and not converted it into a Parisian boulevard. This new converting had created this specific neighbourhood with winding streets and outside cafe and old houses. In total, we had spent one hour together. We entered the door and the neighbours enthusiastically welcomed us and said they had had a good time playing with all the kids stuff. We laughed and

collected what we could carry and started ascending a long old stairway. We had to go to the third floor and he opened a large door that granted access to the hallway. Although I had never been here, I recognised the home from something. M2 was sitting on the lap of the host and mentioned with full enthusiasm that she had new grandparents. She greeted her new granddad with a kiss. M2 was having tea and homemade cake and talked to the hostess as if they knew each other for years. The windows were wide open and noise from the terrace outside filled the home. Fresh cake was made for us. M2 was playing with toys that belonged to the hosts. The host mentioned that he would give me a tour around the home and kindly touched my shoulder. M2 had already taken the tour. On the tour, I noticed nothing in the home seemed straight and the walls were all cracked. The host showed me the room next to the living room where he kept books and his music collection. He mentioned that I could use all the audio visuals. He also indicated that he and his wife were both Freudian psychotherapeutics, but their practices were located somewhere else in the city. He showed a large number of books regarding psychology. M2 appeared and instead of saying 'daddy, she said 'hi granddad' grandpéré (granddad) and gave him a hand. I felt a bit guilty that M2 saw so little of her 'other' grandparents. The three of us finished the tour together. The host showed us the rest of the home which was filled with paintings, large old-fashioned beds and old rugs. They also organised a small bed for M2. He started to hand over all the materials he had collected for us. He said he was a beginner home exchanger and that he would like to test it out. We told him this was already our third home exchange. After the tour, the whole family moved to the kitchen and we had lunch and wine together. They said that they were a bit fed up with their vacation country home in France, especially with all the stress of construction and cost involved. They would like to go somewhere else, but said they would still be happy when they got there. They also said we could stay in their vacation home whenever they were not there.

This chapter presented 4 evocative stories; these stories are drawn from the researchers' notes and event recordings.

CHAPTER 11 THE ORGANISATION OF HOME EXCHANGE SPACE

The second genre is concerned with the organisation of hospitality space, and focuses on the organisational aspects of the assemblage. It relates to the (temporary) structural aspects of the assemblage, where the starting point is the experience of the subject within the assemblage. These experiences which emerge from connections pertain to a certain commonality and potentiality. Therefore, this chapter asks the following two questions: what are the commonalities in the connections? and what are the potentialities of these connections?
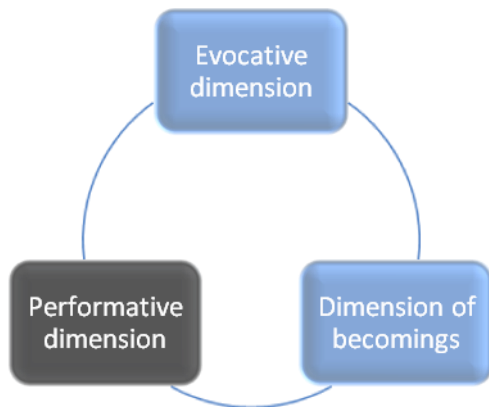
Figure 11.1 Scheme which shows the performative dimension together with other dimensions.

This chapter is the second chapter of the analyses phase. It focuses on the organisation of space dimension. Figure 11.1 shows the relationship to the other two dimensions. Chapter 10 focuses on the evocative, whereas chapter twelve focuses on the dimensions of becoming. This chapter has two parts; the first presents the conceptual framework, and the second part delivers the details of the conceptual framework.

11.1 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

During the analyses nine issues emerged. These nine issues were placed in the following four domains: setting, social context, trust and reciprocity, and home exchange space. This chapter is organised around those four domains. Figure 11.2 shows the four domains in the form of a Venn diagram. It shows the interconnected relationships between the domains. Three domains form together to create the fourth domain, which is the home exchange space, located in the middle. These four domains include nine issues, and can be considered the conceptual

framework. By looking at the figure, it should be noted that the Venn diagram is three dimensional; this is not for aesthetic reasons, but reflects the time aspect. This time aspect is covered in chapter twelve.
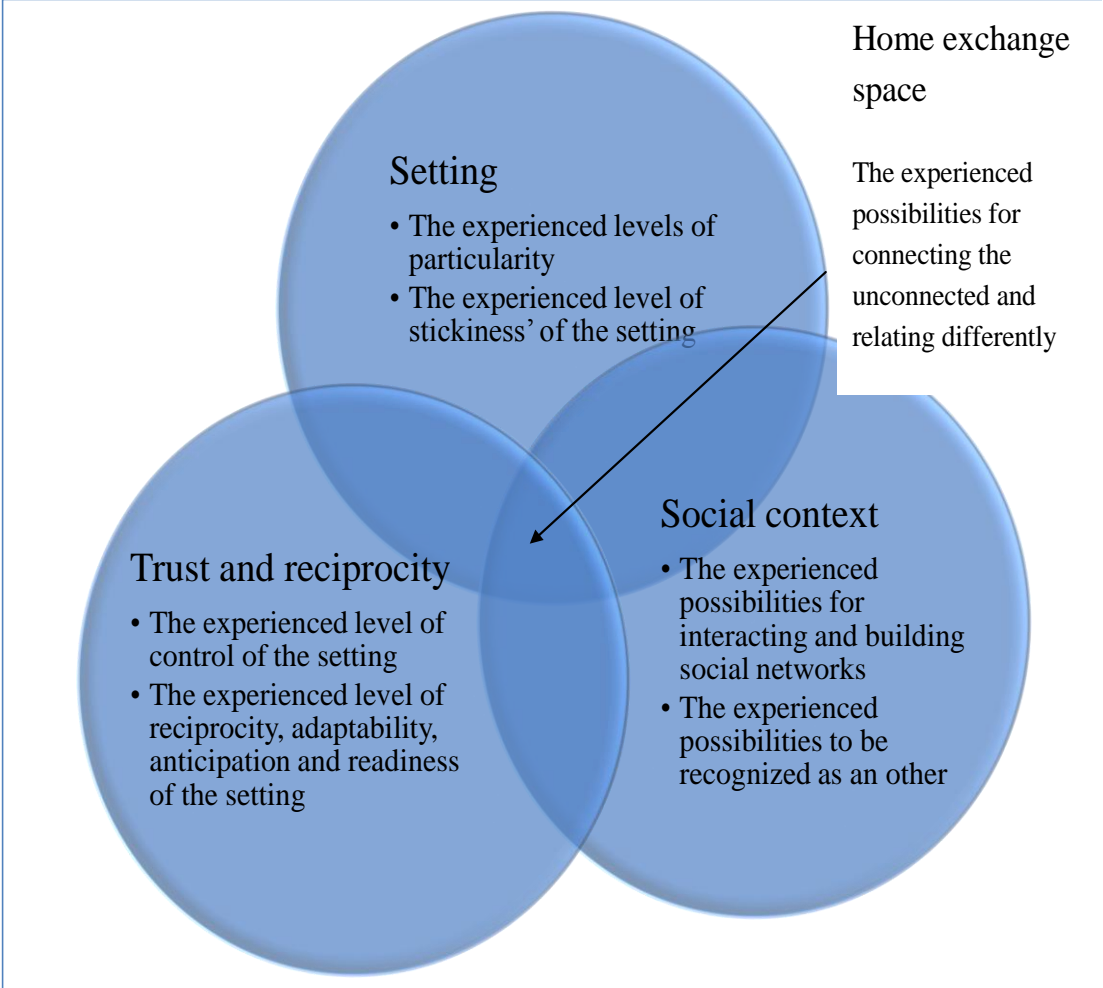

Figure 11.2 Conceptual framework for commonalities and potentialities of home exchange space

The domains and issues in Figure 11.1 are presented in more detail in table 11.1. In the second column, the sub-components of the elements which make up the domain are shown, and the third column shows the related issue.

Domain	Sub-components	Issues
Setting The surroundings in which something is set' (Collins English Dictionary, 2000 p.1407).	House Artifacts Anything man-made (Collins English Dictionary, 2000 p.84). Transportation Cars and bikes Wider area of the house Including the neighbourhood	The experienced levels of particularity What is meant here is how distinctive the setting is, settings whether it is a private home where people live on a day to day base, a private second home, an institutional second home or a private home which is prepared for home exchanges. The experienced level of stickiness' of the setting What is meant here is how well the lifestyle particularities of the home embrace the home exchanger.
Trust and reciprocity	Negotiated agreement underlying the home exchange. Itinerary Introduction into the setting organised by the host. Various ways of control The control of space	Experienced level of control What is meant here is how the host controls the hospitality space. The experienced level of reciprocity, adaptability, anticipation and readiness of the setting What is meant here is whether the experience is adapted to the guest. Due to the self organising nature, the experience can be altered instead of mass produced. It refers to the experienced levels of readiness and messiness of the setting e.g. how much work do the owners invest in preparing the setting for the anticipated guest?
Social context	The host The receiving party The guest The visiting party The neighbourhood including the network of the host Friends Both existing and new	The experienced possibilities for being recognised as another What is meant here is how the home exchanger is recognised and acknowledged by the other. The experienced possibilities for interacting and building social networks What is meant here is how the social networks provide meaning to the experience.
Home exchange space	Space The unlimited three-dimensional expanse in which all objects are located (Collins English Dictionary, 2000, p.1471).	The experienced possibilities for connecting the unconnected and relating differently

Table 11.1 Conceptual framework for home exchange spaces

In the next section, the four domains and the related issues are covered.

11.2 DETAILED REPRESENTATION OF THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In this part the issues are presented and organised in domains. The issue is made lucid by presenting the data on a continuum which shows the 'extremes' of the issue. The issue emerges after a 'connection' within the home exchange assemblage. The nature of the connection is also represented. Each issue, which is placed on a continuum, is supported by snippets of data. This data has two sources: interview data with home exchange organisation representatives and (auto) ethnographical recordings. The data collection procedure is covered in chapter eight of this thesis.

SETTING OF THE ASSEMBLAGE

The first domain is the setting, and can be regarded as the physical elements of the home exchange in relationship with the subject. The natures of these connections have three characteristics which appeared in the data: messiness, stickiness and the levels of particularity. These characteristics say something about the nature of the connections within the home exchange assemblage. Specifically, it addresses the connections between the physical elements and the subject.

The experienced level of stickiness' of the setting

The experience of the home setting has consequences for inside as well as outside the setting. This issue focuses on the consequence of the inside experience while being outside the setting. However, how far the consequence extends is variable. The word stickiness is chosen to indicate the lasting consequence; the host setting sticks to the guest. This stickiness has two dimensions: a concrete, and a mental. The concrete dimension includes the represented in the sense that it is observable, and becomes relevant when the guests physically takes something from the host setting and takes it into a different setting such as a tent, car or CD. The mental dimension is non-represented, or in other words, is not visible from the outside. Roughly, it can be described as "the ghost of the host circling in the head." In this case, the host-in-absence influences the guest's experience outside the house setting. However, the intensity of this influence is variable. The term 'stickiness' is used to describe this influence; the host setting sticks to the experience. The following recordings were taken by the guest researcher on visits during the home exchange outside the house. A continuum can be drawn

with on one end of the continuum "non sticky setting" and on the other end of the continuum "very sticky setting". In case of "a non sticky setting", no references towards the host's setting were made while recording visits outside the host setting. In the case of a "very sticky setting", many references towards the hosts setting are made by the guest researcher during visits outside the host's setting. One can say that in very sticky settings, the host setting fuels the thought of the guest and not only fuels the thoughts, but also steers action. The following includes recordings which were made during home exchanges; the "non sticky settings" located on the left of the continuum are covered first and "sticky settings" located right on the continuum are covered second.

The experiences of the houses in the Big Sky ski resorts have very little influence outside the house setting. During the ski days on the mountains, when the guest researcher is outside the house, but still in the ski resort, discussions and thoughts are about the skiing, the weather, the condition of the snow and where to eat during the day. The guest researcher also left the ski resort frequently during the stays in the houses and returned to the job at the university and visited sites. These sites include the old mining ghost towns in Montana and Saint Patrick's Day in Butte Montana. However, hardly any references to the host's settings were made during these visits outside the resort.

The home exchanges Sydney, Paris 1, Paris 2 and Boulder 2 are experiences where the guest researcher is occupied with the life of the host. This connection is not always considered equally pleasant by the guest researcher. The home exchanges experiences of Sydney and Paris 2 are cases of confronting experiences. Paris 1 and Boulder 2 are cases of inspiring experiences and something new.

Paris 1, the guest researcher stayed four weeks in an old apartment in the middle of the Marais in Paris.

The host couple worked as psychoanalysts. For one day, the hosts introduced the guest researcher and his family extensively into the setting, neighbours, neighbourhood and the setting. Moreover during the introduction, the host offered to become the French grandpa and French grandma to the three year old daughter of the guest researcher. During the exchange, six friends from the Netherlands came to Paris to visit the guest researcher and his family. In more than 20% of all the recordings outside the setting of the host, the guest researcher was busy with the life of the host. Daughter M2 was occupied with her new grandparents.

The following recording was made during a visit to the "Beach Paris Plage" along the river Seine.

> *M2 is playing on the beach she told me that she misses her French Grandpa, she would like to show him her sand castle and she asked. When is Grandpa coming back?*

The visiting guests from the Netherlands needed an introduction into the setting as well. With these friends, the guest researcher and the family started to visit the cafés and restaurants recommended by the host family. I recorded the following.

> *This is already the third time that I told the story about the time that V.[host] was a student and that he visited this café and that in this café he decided to stay in Paris.*

The following is a fragment of a recorded event during Paris 1 on the second day of the stay in the Marais. It is raining and daughter M2 is cold and about to cry. The following is recorded on the toilet of the café 15 minutes after the guest researcher entered the café.

> *Here we are in a plush setting, three wet strangers in the middle of Paris. I'm glad I'm in a warm environment, good that we decided to enter this café. I think J. and V. [the hosts] would have done the same in this situation. M and I spoke about them and said they would have entered this local café and ordered a glass of wine and probably start reading the newspaper and that's probably the best we can do as well, just like them, let's go in and have a drink.*

The following is another recording from Paris 1 made inside the house just after visiting the local 'patisserie'.

> *While I was waiting in the 'patisserie' I was wondering which bread J. and V. would have bought, I decided to buy the banquette. This was the healthy choice; they probably would have done the same.*

While the stickiness of the host environment in Paris 1 was rather pleasant and uplifting, the sticky presence of the host in absence during Paris 2 and Sydney was depressing.

The hosts in Sydney were visiting Amsterdam in the Netherlands for six months, since their daughter lived there. They were a Dutch couple in their late seventies who had emigrated to Australia.

They organised a number of home exchanges in a row to make life financially affordable in the Netherlands. We visited the hosts during their first home exchange 1 mile away from our house. From that moment onwards the host never left the guest researcher's "head". The following fragment was recorded just before travelling to Sydney.

I hope that we will have a good time in Sydney and hope very much that Mr. C. lives an exciting life, however I doubt this. Why did we continue with this exchange? I still remember where he complained about in the house, the location of the light switch. The only reason they are in this exchange is because of the costs. I'm glad my first stop is in Bangkok. Somehow, I always have problems with accountants and more in particular with Dutch accountants, they are way too reserved.

The following recording is made during the [host's] car ride, returning from Bondi Beach. The house appears to be in the far out suburbs of Sydney about a 90 minute drive to the centre of Sydney.

How can I enjoy Bondi beach with these towels, how can I lie on the towel without thinking about 'happy days who are over now', I still remember her [the host] talking about the happy days who are over now and how happy he was with being an accountant. The only thing I can do is sit in the local play ground, feed the ducks and be utterly alone.

The following recording is made when the guest researcher left the home earlier than planned, to move north to visit his old colleague from Amsterdam.

This is one of the best days in my life; I escaped boredom, dullness and most of everything the ghost of the host. This ghost never seems to leave me, he is always watching what I'm doing and follows all the rules which are written in the book. Hopefully, the swimming pool won't turn green since I switched off the filter. What do I know about swimming pools anyway?

The following recording is made during Paris 2, this guest researcher revisits the café in the Marais from Paris 1. The recording is made after the visit to the café. Two hosts [Paris 1 and Paris 2] in absence are both present.

Our host A. [male host] would never go to this café, I wonder if he has ever been in this part of town. But why do I spent my time on thinking about him, I like this café, the noise the coffee and the warmth. But now, I just want to go, somewhere else, just not here. Too bad that V. [host Paris 1] is not in town, I would have liked to visit him.

The following recording is made in Boulder 2, while driving in the car of the host, this car was included in the home exchange and had a ski box installed.

> *This car runs great in the mountains, I like the handling and it shifts automatically, I just blend in nicely with the rest of these people here. K. [host] mentioned that he always visited the Farmers Market on Saturdays. Today is Saturday; we are on the way to this Farmers Market. K. Told us to go for the homemade strawberry jam. Yesterday, we finished the jam. Hopefully we will be able to find it. Where do I park?*

The following recordings are made during the Budapest home exchange after the guest researcher just parked his car. He listens to a Compact Disk from "Queen" and playing in a portable CD player which he found in the home. It shows the influence of an experience outside the host setting. The quote seems quite confusing because the recording is made during a walk while the researcher is expressing his thoughts. These thoughts are also influenced by the music and the decoration on the wall inside the house.

> *Today I just love the day, I wonder what we are going to do. I just want to hang around, somehow it is a kind of magic. What would it be to live here? I would just teach here around the corner. Those posters in the home drive me nuts, they are from the seventies in Budapest and seem simply so appealing. T. [host] grandfather collected them and now they appear in such a nice manner, it is almost magic. What about these building, would they be there as well. I mean in the seventies when grandfather was collecting his posters, was grandfather dreaming about going somewhere else or was he just happy, something like me.*

The experienced level of stickiness' of the setting	
←--→	
Not sticky	Very sticky
The host's setting does not influence the experiences outside the setting	The host's setting influences the experiences outside the setting

Table 11.2 The experienced level of stickiness' of the setting

The experienced levels of particularity

The amount of access to the particularities of the host is directly related to the purpose of the setting. The particularities are the private representation of life which is particular for the

person, family or region. In an institutional-sized managed setting, such as a condo hotel, these particularities are hardly experienced or become institutionalised which untie them from the context. In more privately owned settings, particularities of the hosts are experienced.

The levels of particularity can also be explained as the degree of access the guest has to enter the host's life, what is meant here is how far does the setting give the guest the opportunity to engage with facets of the life of the owners? This engagement can become an ethnographic adventure, experiencing the life of the host as leisure.

The following recording is made during Boulder 3. It provides an insight into daily rhythms of the host since their calendar was marked on a large blackboard.

> *Tuesday's she takes care of Roy and Jan, probably someone else's children. On Thursday she had a birthday ... Most of the days she attends yoga classes. Somehow this woman amazes me. How does she ever manage to run such a busy company, do voluntary work, clean the house, drive a classic car, enjoy her jacuzzi, listen to her Madonna CD collection, attend to all her friends, run a marathon...? Would she ever have time to sleep in her fantastic sleeping room with a view on the mountains? I expect that I will meet these type of people in Boulder. What kind of teacher, manager would this person be? Somehow I would like to meet her, and discuss these things.*

The following is from a home exchange with couple F. from Denver, an experienced home exchange couple, who had engaged in 25 home exchanges. The couple stayed in the researcher's setting in Hungary for three weeks. It appeared that they had organised their setting for the purpose of home exchanges. This report is made after a short visit to the United States when the researcher visited the F couple. They are very proud of their home, which has been tailored to facilitate home exchanges.

> *It struck me that they are so organised. The lady always bakes the same cake for her guests. I love this! Within their family and friend circles they will look for suitable "dates". They could talk hours about the beautiful meeting which they facilitated and the results of it. They even facilitated indirectly a home exchange marriage, this*

meaning the people met each other during a meeting which they set up. They also indicated they functions of the furniture and rooms. I never realised how powerful and full of love these home exchanges can be prepared. They indicated a cabinet which was especially for home exchangers, it had its own library of travel books, has children's toys and a children's bed. They also have empty closets and a system of hiding their own stuff.

Big Sky 1 which was situated in a condominium in a ski resort, it is an example of an institutionalised setting which revealed hardly any particularities of the hosts. A fragment from my notes:

I love this place - look at the mountains, what a spectacular view. What a design with a Rocky Mountain theme, old guns and paintings, look at the pictures on the wall, a beautiful Native American with an Eagle theme. But how out of place. The Indians do not even live here anymore; they have been chased out by multi billon homes and ski lifts.

The following quote is not from the guest researcher but originates from the experiences from Redfern (2004), a blog writer for the - Connecting Solo Travel Network, who reports on her home exchange experiences. This quote is included since it shows the particularity of the host.

"Nothing looked amiss to my untrained eye. The place had the lived-in look of a love-filled family home. Piano, scattered books, framed photos, needlework sayings and symbols of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saint. Religion, it appeared, is central in the Ferris household. No surprise there. Salt Lake City is, after all, the heart of Mormon country."

The experienced levels of particularity	
←--→	
No access to particulars	Access to particulars

Table 11.3 The experienced levels of particularity

This concludes the setting domain, the access, particularities and stickiness of a setting.

Trust and reciprocity

Trust and reciprocity is the second domain, it represents the experience of hospitality. It includes two issues: namely control and reciprocity, adaptation and anticipation.

Experienced level of control

The first issue is the experienced level of control. The particularities, such as exchange periods and what is included in the home exchange are negotiated by the parties. This negotiated agreement is the basis for the home exchange and home exchange organisations provide concepts for agreements. These negotiations are based on reciprocity principles; one home exchanger trusts and expects more or less that his/her energy investment into the transactional relationship will somehow be returned in one form or another.

The experienced control of the setting, during the home exchange can have an impact on the immanent possibilities for organising one's own space within a particular setting. Locked rooms and locked cupboards have a direct negative influence on the experience. It makes the setting feel incomplete and closed off. A neighbour who comes and checks the home turns from a neighbour into a controller. When the host leaves bookwork with rules, this host absentia returns into the setting as a ghost.

During the home exchange in Sydney the host had produced a large book with rules and procedures; moreover the host had organised a network of relatives to check upon the setting. The host also called us by phone to inform us about the procedure for cleaning the baking pans;

the host had found evidence that I use the dishwasher to wash baking pans. The following observation comes from my voice recording in Sydney.

I want to go, this home is spooky, the family is everywhere, and I wonder what they are hiding behind these locked doors. I don't like the curtains; I don't like the glass table; I don't like their holiday pictures; I hate cleaning the pool every day; I hate watering the garden only between six and seven in the morning every other day and the worse thing is this telephone call about their pans in the dishwasher!

Experienced level of control of the setting	
←---→	
High level of control experienced	No control experienced
The host appears as a ghost to check on the guest	The host is absent

Table 11.4 Experienced level of control of the setting

The experienced level of reciprocity, adaptability, anticipation and readiness of the setting

The second issue in the domain thrust and reciprocity is the experienced level of reciprocity, adaptability and anticipation. During the preparations, the home exchanger trusts that the other party will invest equal energy in the transaction. The following quotes derive from the personal notes of the researcher who is preparing a home exchange with Paris 2.

I hope that all the work I do with collecting material about Leeuwarden and Friesland is worth the effort. I am afraid that this family is going to be bored here. What is there to experience during the winter months in Friesland? Why did they ever select us? Why would one ever prefer rainy Holland over France and especially Paris? What am I doing in Leeuwarden? I can't find any meaning; the only attraction I could think of is the casino. I am glad I have two free tickets. But they have children? We don't have a baby-sitter for them. What can I possibly facilitate for them?

An issue is the tailoring of the experience towards the situation of the guest. This is an ongoing process, during the home exchange, on various manners the host can intervene with the guest

experience. The host can adapt the itinerary or organise meetings for the guest with relatives who might be of interest.

This tailoring refers to the amount of work the host invested towards the guest particularities This fragment comes from the communication between the host and guest in Boulder 2.

> *From your description on the site I noticed you are a hospitality management teacher, shall use my network to bring you in contact with staff from the university?*

From the researcher notes from Paris 1

> *I see you bring a two year old daughter, I organised toys for her.*

The following quote comes from the recording made during the second day in Twente. It shows that the manager valued rules above the comfort of the guest during the exchange in Twente in a mobile home on a mobile home park.

> *I feel really bad about this place, I have the idea that I just don't fit that this place is made for others the manager literary said in Dutch: You are not supposed to be here. Your family [our host family] is not very knowledgeable about the rules of the park yet. You are not supposed to be here as renters then you have to pay extra. I indicated that we were no renters but home exchangers. He slowly said I don't know what that is. I explained him what home exchanges were and about the growth of the phenomenon. He just said: it is not possible to be in this park to be on a home exchange base, you are either a normal guest or a normal visitor of the guest..*

> *And when you are a visitor of the guest you have to pay extra for use of the facilities' was not alone, X was with me and I did not dare translate it into English. I asked him [the manager] very friendly whether the facilities also included a much trained professional host. He just stared at me. But we had to pay the extra fees, after paying I had the stupid idea that I was going to witness the re-birth of the host but I waited in vain.*

Another consideration is the experienced levels of anticipation it relates to two aspects the intentions of the exchange and the compatibility of lifestyles of the host and guest. Regarding the intentions one can see whether home exchanges are a goal in itself or more or less the goal towards something else. This concerns the compatibility of lifestyles of the exchangers. Whether both host and guest share the same type opinion about keeping a household. During a number of conversations with the county representative from HomeLink in the Netherlands and presenting during a gathering of country representatives this issue became clearer. The following recording was made after the conversation and after the presentation.

During the diner with country representative X from HomeLink in the Netherlands I asked her about the most frequent negative feedback she would receive from home exchangers. She said that by looking at feedback from home exchangers that many relate back to a misunderstanding about the intentions of the exchange. She indicated that older experienced home exchangers can be disappointed by the seemingly lesser amount of preparations taken by a younger generation of home exchangers. At the other hand, she indicated, looking at feedback the younger generation can feel very unsettled and uneasy in a meticulously prepared home. She indicated that it refers to how clean and organised are the keepers of the home, how much work do they put in the home and how much work do they in preparing the home exchange. The last fifthly years we have seen a generation of home exchangers who regarded home exchanging as a way of life, as a goal by itself and to find satisfaction in the home exchange itself. The joy was in writing long letters, careful introductions into the homes and showing a level of care into making sure the guest was taken care off. This generation is becoming smaller and now we see a movement towards a newer generation, who are involved in home exchanges with a different motivation and also do not want to invest time to prepare the exchanges in detail. These generations are very recognisable and the tensions are especially on the level of care the first category prepares home exchanges carefully and cleans the entire house. The newer generation cares as well about cleanness but usually a bit less. This leads to tensions.

Nevertheless, this attention for the guest is not always regarded as pleasant by me. This above conversation put things into perspective.

The following quote was taken by a voice recording during the exchange in Sydney.

Everything is so clean and so organised, decorated. I almost have to take pictures to make sure I return everything in its original order; I hope M1 won't do too much damage. M indicates, lets close this much decorated living room, it gives me the creeps and live in the kitchen.

The following was taken from a voice recording done by the researcher in Boulder 3.

This office is a mess, look she even left her check book on the desk and the used coffee cups are still on the table, what an inspiring place, she even can use this space for her creative classes. It looks like she is still here in this place.

The experienced level of adaptability and anticipation and readiness of the setting	
←--→	
Not adapted towards the particularities of the guest	Very adapted towards the particularities of the guest
No acknowledgement of the guest	The space is organised towards to particularities of the guest
No tailoring towards the guest	Recognition of the guest
Home exchange as means to something else	Home exchange as purpose in itself
Care of the guest as a part of the deal	Care of the guest as purpose
Setting is not adapted to the guest	

Table 11.5 Experienced levels of adaptability and anticipation

This concludes the experienced level of reciprocity, adaptability and anticipation context, it can be seen as experiencing hospitality. It includes three experiences, control, access and care.

Social Context Domain

The social context includes the interactions between human beings during a home exchange, the issues of being recognised as another and the possibilities for building a meaningful assemblage in the social context played a role in the home exchange experience. I start with the experienced possibilities for being recognised as an other.

The experienced possibilities for being recognised as an other

During home exchanges, the guest more or less can escape the experience of being guest and become recognised as someone else. A constant acknowledgement as a guest leads to less intense experiences, experiences as being not entirely part of something. The following is a quote from my notes during Big Sky 1. It shows the experience of signs.

I don't like all these signs throughout the apartment who tell me what to do and what not to do. Signs of punishment, they make me feel uneasy, the idea that someone can always come in and say something like you did not clean the refrigerator or you walked into the room with your ski boots. All the time I'm reminded of the idea of being a guest, in this ski village everyone is guest. I heard that during the summer it's all empty.

During Budapest I enjoyed being recognised as a local, the researcher notes

When I returned to the house this morning with grapes and French bread, our breakfast, the neighbour who had just left the apartment recognised me, came back and opened the large wooden door for me with his key and an enormous smile said good day. Standing there in the large door opening the newspaper delivery person gave me a newspaper. This all made me feel like I was part of something larger, a story of being in the city, a story of belonging and acceptance.

During Boulder 2, I drove a car with a large ski box and a bike carrier at the back of the car. The field notes on the voice recorder said

Today we went hiking, one of the best parts was parking the car and returning to the car. On return we had to look for the car since it looked like all other cars. Somehow I can blend in here, I have the same four wheel drive car and I although I cannot even open the ski box and it is in the middle of the summer. I like it, also when I see another ski box on someone else's car.

The following quote is taken from Guardian Unlimited Travel (2005 June 29, p.4) and shows the becoming of a friendship

The reality, however, was almost better than the dream. What we'd forgotten in all the last-minute apprehension is that no one would do a swap with people they didn't like. There'd been so much emailing and last-minute telephoning that Val and I were starting to become friends and recognise each other's approach to life.

The experienced possibilities to be recognised as an other	
←--→	
The role of the guest is unavoidable, everywhere the role of guest is acknowledged	The home exchanger gets recognised as 'other'

Table 11.6 The experienced possibilities to be recognised as an other

The experienced possibilities for interacting and building social networks

Home exchanges are more or less social events; they provide access to social networks which were hidden before, although, not all networks are that attractive.

During the three home exchanges in Boulder, we built up an extensive social network, although these networks were sometimes indirect results from the home exchanges, the home exchanges provided the "things" to build and sustain the networks such as the cars and the setting. A good example of such a thing is the mountain lion during Boulder 2. The host 'provided' an unplanned "mountain lion" in the garden. While I never observed the mountain lion, the mountain lion was an ice breaker to get in touch with people and dominated other vacations. This issue reappeared in the data, the desire to relate a certain manner with others

This quote is made during Boulder 2

> *Today we visited the farmer market in Boulder centre, I liked the atmosphere, it seems like all enjoy being here. It is almost like one of these movies made about Woodstock festival. By walking on the marked, I thought how can I fit in how can I be part of this. By buying a piece of organic cheese? M2 found a stuffed mountain lion which was on display by the local police department booth. Finding this animal made us talk to the volunteer for two hours with a cup of tea sitting on the stairs. He instructed M2 how to avoid encounters with mountain lions. Moreover he pointed us to his favourite hikes in the area and he spoke about his personal experiences on these hikes. I always like this since by walking the hikes they become different.*

During an informal interview with a Dutch home exchange home exchanger X, this person told me the following experience. [The I voice is the voice of the respondent]

> *I was on a home exchange in Calgary in Canada, during this home exchange I found by coincidence while I was at the gas station that in this neighbourhood in Calgary many Dutch people live from Hoogeveen, a Dutch village in which quite a large number of people supported the Germans forces during the Second World War when the Netherlands was occupied by the German forces. I wasn't born yet but my father who was born in Hoogeveen told me many stories about them. During my youth I lived in Hoogeveen. After the war many families left Hoogeveen since they were obvious not very popular. Suddenly I'm here in Calgary and I meet them. That was fascinating for me, since I wanted to meet these people and find out how they organised their lives and how they look at the world. I have organised a barbeque for three of them in the home exchange home. They were already quite old and were*

happy to hear that I grew up in Hoogeveen."After the BBQ, I had the feeling that I completed something.

The following quote is from the autoethnographical account including pictures from Fisher (2009) titled It's Time For Vacation: Your House or Mine? in The Orange County Register - I quote from the account since it stresses the social aspect of home exchanges and the potentiality of home exchanges.

> *The most fun people I ever met, with whom I am still in touch today, were a couple from Milan, Italy, named Stefano and Roberta. At the time, both of them worked for Microsoft and travelled around the world doing home exchanges. They stayed with my roommate Barb and me on a hospitality exchange, years ago.*
>
> *We had such a ball together that, the following year, they invited me to come and stay with them in a gorgeous villa in Baja which they had acquired free through an exchange. The villa had four bedrooms, three fireplaces, two barbecues, a hot tub, golf course and a nearby community swimming pool, so we weren't too miserable spending a long weekend there.*
>
> *When my friend Barb got married the following year, she and her new husband spent their honeymoon in various homes owned by Stefano and Roberta's family, including a vineyard house in Treviso, outside of Venice and a villa in Verona, the town of Romeo and Juliet.*
>
> *Even though it had been years and years since I first met them, and Stefano and Roberta had broken up and married other people, I finally made good last year on my threat to go to Italy. I went to visit Roberta and her husband, Fabrizio and their kids at their urban apartment in Milan. Roberta lent us their vacant upstairs studio apartment that they usually save for in-laws.*

Another quote from Fisher (2009) indicates that home exchanges space is not limited to the territory of the house but also is remembered afterwards. Moreover, it shows that people like to talk about the experience of building a social network. It is the experience of constructing and dwelling in the new networks, not as a guest, but as a producer who after building can 'dwell in' the network.

> *....we met a really fun family from Copenhagen, Denmark, who called me up at the last minute and said their home exchange had fallen through and was mine available?*
>
> *Well, I wasn't leaving my house, but I had an empty back house available for them if they were desperate enough. Yes, they said they were. So shortly afterward, six people from Denmark showed up on my doorstep and were promptly deposited in my back house, complete with air mattresses to sleep on.*

One of the six visitors was a tall, stunningly gorgeous black man named Gigi, a high-fashion model who worked mostly in the European fashion capital of Milan. Gigi was also the son of the late king of the African nation of Burundi. His mother had been Danish, so after his father was assassinated, he moved to Denmark. His partner Rikki liked to say he was still the crown prince of Burundi.

Here comes the part where the I person elaborates on his experience.

I liked to say that, too, and I enjoyed telling people that the crown prince of Burundi was sleeping on my floor. The entire family was so much fun to be around that I ended up taking them to Rosarito Beach, so they could experience a day in Mexico. We parted reluctantly, with many promises to meet again. I've never made it to Denmark, but I still hope that someday we will."

The following quote is taken from my notes during Paris 1. It shows the potentiality for connecting the social during home exchanges. During Paris 1 we invited our Dutch friends to come over for visits.

It is evening now and we have had a nice evening, M had invited Z and I had invited Y and V to Paris. This evening they were all here. Tomorrow Y and V will leave again. Our guests did not know each other before but it went very nice Y and V had prepared the dinner and we enjoyed their lentil soup very much. Z had provided the dessert and had made fresh fruit salad. At the end of the evening we all parted as friends.

This closes the social domain. It showed two issues which arise during home exchanges. First, objection to the guest label since it limits the potential of the assemblage and second, the possibilities for interacting and building own networks.

Home exchange Space

The following recording is made in August 2009 when I was visiting Boulder. The recording is made in between two visits. It shows my experience of Boulder after 4 year of home exchange research.

This place is like home for me, I know so many people here, I know the streets and have memories about many spots. Here, we had ice creams after the Crazy Friday Night Skate. I had a bike ride this morning with people who visited us three days ago in our family home in Hungary for 10 days. I have lunch with people who visited us for a week in Leeuwarden. I have an open invitation to have dinner with people who

send their son the Netherlands for three days to visit us. By the way during his visit he recorded everything about his visit as a blog on the internet. Tonight, I will hand over the keys from our house in Hungary to the people of Boulder 3.

The following is a part of a newspaper article titled Holiday in High Wycombe, Anyone? (Moorhead, 2007, p.4).

House swapping isn't just about moving into someone else's home: in many cases, you move into their lives, even bonding with their friends and relatives. "My parents became really good friends with Liz and Jeff," says Becky. "And we had a day out to Liz's sister's cottage by a lake – it was beautiful. Another plus was that they left us a long list of friends and neighbours we could call for advice: so when we wanted to know how to get somewhere, or any local information, it was all on hand."
The most novel bit of the experience, for both families, was when the Leitelmayers – who returned to the UK the day before the Rabinovitches flew home – were entertained to dinner in their own home by the other family. "It was really strange", says Becky, "to go into your own home and have someone else there getting out the cutlery and serving you a meal from your own barbecue. But we loved meeting them and talking about our respective holidays." And while the two families had only met briefly before, they felt they knew each other rather well, having inhabited their space for a fortnight. "You do get a real sense for who those people are who live in the house," says Liz. "You see their things, you read their books, and you get to know their likes and dislikes."

In both families, the children enjoyed playing with one another's toys and games. "Some days Karl and I just chilled around the house because the boys were having so much fun – there's nothing so exciting for kids as the chance to play with other children's toys," says Becky. For Daniel Rabinovitch, the best bit was how informal the holiday was. "Hotels are too fancy, and there's so little to do. We had loads to do in Northhamptonshire." For his older brother, Matt, the space that another family's home offered was a crucial element in why he agreed to go along at all. "When you're 17, holidays with your family can be claustrophobic," he says. "Being in another family's real home meant we weren't on top of one another. I liked the fields, and I liked going to the English pubs. And their grandfather Robert was a great guy – we all got on really well with him.

The following quote is taken from Guardian Unlimited Travel (2005 June 29, p.4). I include it since its shows the experience of a temporary local.

Which is what a house swap is really about? It's not merely a holiday, at least not if you're staying an appreciable length of time. You don't feel the need to see as much as possible because, what the hell, you're a local - you'll come across Federation Square on a walk, discover the beauty of the Yarra Valley when you're out hunting for local wine or get on a tram because you want to go somewhere.

The experienced possibilities for connecting the unconnected
←--→

No connection of the unconnected	Connecting the unconnected.

Table 11.7 The experienced possibilities for finding meaning in social networks

This concludes chapter 11, in this chapter three domains were presented which give an insight in the construction of home exchange space. These domains include: setting, thrust and reciprocity, and social context. In the middle, they make up home exchange space. The following chapter looks at the data from a becoming angle.

CHAPTER 12 THE PROCESS OF BECOMING

This chapter presents a genre of analyses and representation of data, which concentrates on processes of becomings which happen during home exchanges. This chapter is the third chapter of the analyses phase. It focuses on the dimension of becoming. Figure 12.1 shows the relationship to the other two dimensions. Specifically, this chapter focuses on the potentialities of becoming and asks which processes underlie creative becomings and how these lead to new connections and sensations. The level of creativeness of the becoming and the level of intensity are covered in the first part of this chapter. The second part shows that X-things initiate creative becomings.
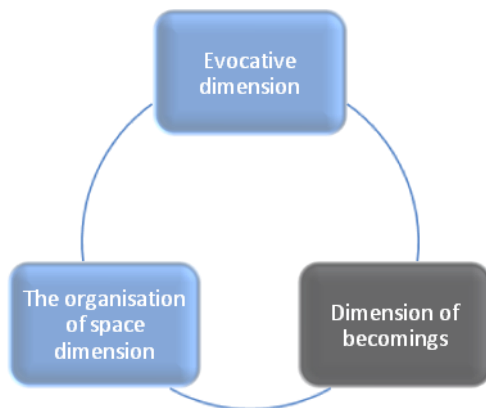

Figure 12.1 Scheme which shows the dimension of becoming together with other dimensions.

A model is presented with four different movements within home exchanges; one movement is the movement towards a position of a 'temporary local'. This temporary local is a concept that refers to a becoming of intensive and diverse connections within home exchange space. The findings presented indicate that the home exchanger can move to become a 'temporary other' rather than a guest. Findings indicate that this becoming 'temporary other' complicates the hospitality space and leads to creative becomings. This process of creative becoming involves the mixing of ideas, assemblages and bodies.

12.1 THEORISING THE HOME EXCHANGE AS ALWAYS IN A STATE OF BECOMING

This chapter entails the genre 'becoming' and is based on inductive analyses through vital Deleuzian vocabulary. The analyses follow the becoming and outline aspects which block, enable, or transform intensities and becomings.

The practice of home exchange itself is always viewed as a state of becoming. During a home exchange, a configuration of bodies and intensities can move in four different directions, represented in figure 12.2. These directions are temporary compositions of bodies within a time-space configuration. It is important to remember that these are movements and not continuous states of being. A movement may last only a minute or could unfold over a three week period. The four directions are derived by inductive analysis conducted while living through home exchange experiences.

There are two variables which make up the scheme: 'intensity of the connection' and the 'nature of the connection'. The intensity is the force of the productive energy that flows between bodies within the assemblages. High intensity indicates that the speed and intensity of flow between bodies in the assemblage is extensive. Low intensity indicates the speed and velocity between the bodies is minimal.

The state of becoming may have a creative nature or a planned habitual nature. In the case of a creative nature, the composition of the bodies and assemblages during the home exchange changes due to a series of lines of flights. This leads to unpredictable events. In the case of a planned or habitual nature, the bodies and assemblages are rather stable leading toward more predictable events.

Home exchange experiences constitute spaces of hospitality. However, home exchange space, as shown in the introduction of this third part, has one feature which makes it distinct from other spaces of hospitality - the absence of the host while the guests stays in a more or less private space. Figure 12.2, "the becoming and intensity of the home exchange configuration", shows a grid with two variables and four different directions where the home exchange composition can move. The starting point is not fixed, one movement can directly follow another movement and movements can also overlap. Linearity in time and space, which is at the heart of modernist thinking, is not applicable to this model. Thus, a movement of stratifying the home exchange

configuration can at the same time also lead to a low intensity becoming configuration. By taking control, a host can at the same time disintegrate the home exchange configuration by the loss of commitment and interest by the home exchanger. This is can be seen in a scenario, such as explaining the rules for handling the pans.
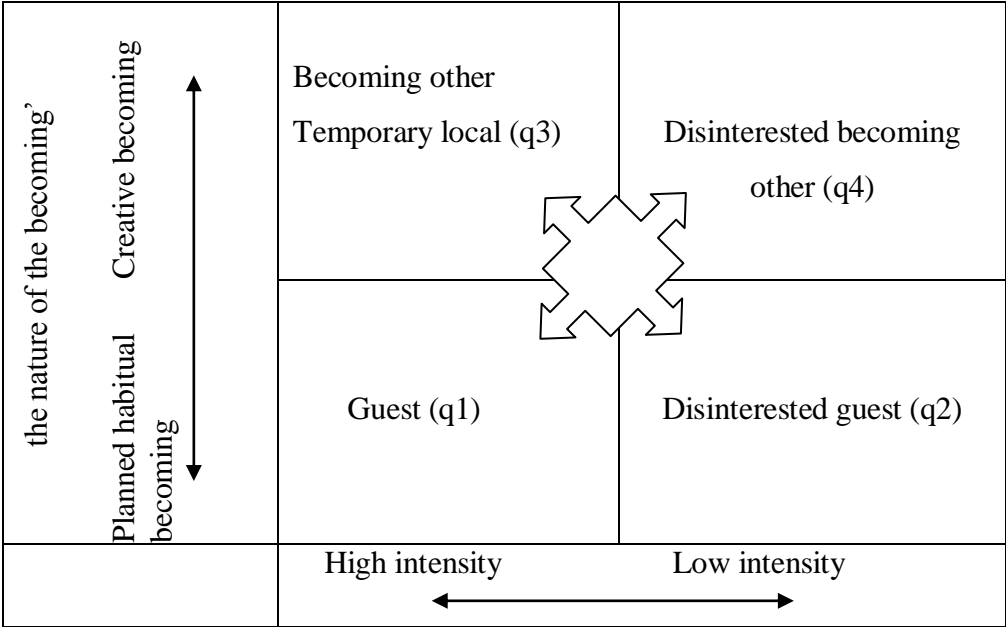

Figure 12.2 Movements within home exchange space

The horizontal axis represents the level of intensity. The nature of the becoming is on the vertical axis with the "creative becoming" at the top. In the model, a configuration of bodies is in transition from one state of composition into another state of composition. This becoming different is a temporal state. The original composition recurs after the rotation, but sometimes with a permanent difference. Sometimes this becoming can also move into a 'revolutionary becoming'. A 'revolutionary becoming' transforms a single body or a system, without return into their original state. A 'revolutionary becoming' within a home exchange indicates that the organisation of the home exchange fell apart and the home exchange ceased to exist.

The framework presents four quadrants which all include different becomings and intensities:

- Quadrant 1 - High intensity planned habitual becomings
- Quadrant 2 - Low intensity planned habitual becomings
- Quadrant 3 - High intensity and creative becomings
- Quadrant 4 - Low intensity and creative becomings

Quadrant 1, Guest

Quadrant 1 is represented by ski resorts such as Big Sky 1 and Big Sky 2, where the space more or less dictates the becoming. The options for engagements other than skiing are limited. The resort caters to skiing, while the set up caters to an efficient delivery. However, the intensity of the energy flow between the bodies and assemblages in the ski resort is high. The following recording is made by the guest-researcher just after a ski day during Big Sky1:

> *I have been skiing all day, it was marvellous. I like skiing through the forest and that I'm here. M2 was in the skiing class this afternoon. M and I saw her in the ski lift. M2 was sitting there between other skiers. What a sight, I hope that those people will take good care of her. After the class, they will bring her to the play area in the hotel where she will get hot chocolate milk and cookies. That is very handy. M and I will have a beer in the sun and then we will go get her. This morning, I heard that M2 is going to race on Friday. They do that every week. A ski resort like this is just like a movie that repeats itself every week.*

Quadrant 2, disinterested guest

Quadrant 2 is represented by trips to Sydney, Twente and Paris 2. I experienced many movements towards quadrant two where the space was rather defined and the intensity low. The following quote was taken during Paris 2.

> *I think I have seen the Toy Story movie seven times. I have read all the magazines. With M2, we have looked at all the windows around us to see whether there are people in sight. M2 is bored and full of unrest. I have been outside with her to a local play field. However, this play field was occupied by other kids and I did not find another play field. We also went to the local shop to buy seedless grapes. I'm in Paris, where is Paris anyway. Paris is probably also in this house where. M is reading a magazine. Tomorrow, we are going to the Marais, I hope it will be a good day.*

The following quote is made during Sydney.

> *This morning we drove to the local shopping mall. The shopping mall belongs to the neighbourhood. It is easy to find and it is handy to park to car. Inside the mall I almost had an argument with a man who was about sixty years old. It looks like he lives in the mall. He more or less forced me to listen to his story and he was making remarks about the things we bought. It was hard to say that I just wanted to shop. Today, after the heat we are also going to check out a small trail in the area.*

This morning a strange feeling reappeared which I did not have in a long time. After breakfast when the table was cleared, I would stare through the window and think cynically. Another day in paradise. All is there to apparently have a nice day but all is just not appealing.

These quotes stress a contact with the mundane of the setting. The problem does not come so much from the home settings, but rather from the evoked lifestyles, which are not very exciting or appealing. The idea of being stuck in a place is very apparent. The moment I go to city centres or beaches I become a guest or tourist. The becomings are pretty much defined, the becoming of a local neighbour father and the becoming of a tourist at the beach.

Quadrant 3, becoming other

Following Deleuze, quadrant 3 represents movements towards the ethical becoming: a becoming different, a manner of relating to the outside which changes the inside. Some becomings, characterised by quadrant 3, that happened during the home exchange include:

- Becoming a student in Boulder (Boulder 2)
- Becoming a sixties, New Yorker in Boulder (Boulder 2)
- Becoming a wine drinking Paris snob (Paris 1)
- Becoming an invited guest to a zoo (Boulder 1)
- Becoming a friend (Boulder 2)
- Becoming a local watchman for mountain lions (Boulder 2)
- Becoming a babysitter (Boulder 3)
- Becoming a Ward habitant (Boulder 2)
- Becoming a Queen listening cultural urban activist in Budapest (Budapest)

I followed an ethics of change and therefore favoured creative becomings. Based on the data, three aspects which support creative becomings are discussed below.

The becoming other has an almost endless number of representations. Becoming a 'temporary neighbour' and becoming a 'temporary local' appeared in a number of different home exchanges. However, each was different in nature. The following is a short reproduction from the field notes, followed by an analysis which focuses on becomings.

During Boulder 3, I approached the neighbour who was washing his car outside on the driveway. This neighbour knew that there were home exchangers in the neighbour's home. However, I (and my family) and the neighbour had never met.

> I had a very nice experience today, I found a true neighbour. We meet in the driveway and smiled at each other. I walked towards him and introduced myself as the vacation neighbour. He recognised me and said he knew I was there and was looking forward to seeing me. He was like a neighbour from the movies, the one who is always there. It felt so comforting, like it was supposed to be this way. After introducing each other on the driveway, I was invited for coffee at his home. I spent about two hour in the home. I felt a bit guilty towards M. because I stayed rather long. After this coffee, our family was invited for dinner and daughter M2 was hooked up with a play date in the area.

This is an analysis of the process of meeting with the neighbour which focuses on the becoming.

I find the neighbour washing a car outside on his driveway. This finding, in itself, is not special or extraordinary. It happens on a daily basis. However, in a home exchange setting, this 'finding' can mark the beginning of a trajectory (a movement) which (temporarily) changes the composition of several assemblages and leads to new sensations. The neighbour washing the car outside on the driveway in a mundane situation would mean 'a person' washing his car outside. This person holds no moral obligation to talk to an unknown person. In a home exchange setting, though, a home exchanger is not an unknown person. He holds a special position, in this case, something like 'a temporary neighbour'. This position as position of temporary neighbour is a state of mind.

In this position as 'a temporary neighbour' the home exchanger has the opportunity to approach the neighbour since the home exchanger is somehow 'licensed to approach' by his position as 'a temporary neighbour' or 'guest of the neighbour'. When the 'car washing neighbour' acknowledges and recognises this position both the home exchanger and the 'car washing neighbour' suddenly evolved into 'temporary neighbours' and are 'licensed' to play with this new becoming and can search for new intensities. In this case, the recognition and acknowledgement by the 'car washing neighbour' of the home exchanger as a 'temporary

neighbour' is key to a process of creative becoming. So the 'car washing neighbour' recognises and acknowledges somehow the state of mind of the home exchanger.

I introduce the term 'x-thing' as a thing which triggered the process of interaction. Due to the position of the home exchanger, the x-thing became available, almost as a key to unlock connections with other assemblages. The x thing in this case, is not so much the 'neighbour washing the car on the drive way', but rather 'a neighbour washing the car on the drive way, who recognises and acknowledges the home exchanger as 'temporary neighbour'' (perhaps in another case just watching 'a neighbour washing the car on the drive way' is the x-thing). The creative becoming is the search for the meaning of this newly formed 'assemblage' which I call a 'temporary neighbours becoming'. This creative process of giving meaning to the new temporary assemblage can lead to unpredictable situations and new becomings. In this case, I, M and the neighbour shared a taste for single malt Scottish whiskeys. Moreover, M1 found a local friend to play with.

In order to move to quadrant 3, which means enter a path of becoming another, the home exchange assemblage needs x-things. X-things are yet undefined and can be anything as long as it creates difference within the assemblage. In other words it disrupts the composition and enters a line of flight. This line of flight creates different becomings and other (often unexpected) connections.

The following series of quotes was recorded during Boulder 2, where the home setting was located outside the city. A mountain lion was active in the neighbourhood. This evoked the becoming of a mountain lion spotter.

> *As soon as we entered the beautiful house we saw a note on the table which indicated that we had to start with watching a video tape. After finding out how the video worked we saw the host appearing in a local news show. He told a whole story about human entering the natural habitat of the mountain lion and that mountain lions were roaming through the creek on the property. He told the police that they set up a mountain lion watch in the neighbourhood and that mountain lions were dangerous, especially for young children. The host also left a letter in which he described all procedures how to handle a mountain lion. Don't run in the garden; don't use the outside terra; take care when coming home by car since there might be a mountain lion around the house. My first reaction was fear for the family and anger.*

This is the second quote recorded in Boulder 2.

The mountain lion became the subject for discussion on the table. M2 enjoys the stories about mountain lions and spends long time watching into the garden. We also talked to members of the mountain lion watch team in the neighbourhood. They made M2 into a special member of the team. I noticed that I like to be involved in this process. Somehow it gives me a lot of energy.

This is the third quote recorded in Boulder 2.

Today we met one of our neighbours in the town centre, I knew her because she is a member of the mountain lion watch. She greeted us and we had a small talk about the weather and town centre. I noticed that I enjoyed the fact that she knew us. She invited us over to have coffee and cookies.

This is a fourth quote recorded in Boulder 2

An hour ago I had a long chat with M2 about the mountain lion. She asked me whether I would fight the lion when she [M2] was caught by the lion. I told her that I would run towards the lion, remove M2 from the claws, grab its tail and swing the lion around and release. M2 told me that this was a very brave thing to do.

The x-thing in the case of the four quotes above is the mountain lion. The mountain lion enters the hospitality assemblage and reorganises all roles. Suddenly I experienced a couple of 'becoming others' such as a 'becoming hero' in the eyes of M2, a 'becoming mountain lion watcher and a 'becoming a local in Boulder'. These becomings led to creative becomings.

Quadrant 4, disinterest becoming other

During quadrant 4 the assemblage enters a line of flight, however a very strange and distant one. It is the undoing of the guest into something else which was not planned and anticipated for. Almost as the subject of it, quadrant 4 is represented by movements during the home exchanges in Sydney, Paris 2 and Twente.

Quadrant four is represented by movements during Twente Sydney and Paris 2. These were home exchanges into settings which were very less appealing. The option of engaging with elements from the life style of the host was not appealing and the home exchanges experiences just happen. The following becomings were observed.

Becoming a suburb (Sydney)

Becoming a stuck Parisian family (Paris 2)

Becoming a paranoid (Paris 2)

Becoming a glossy reading beer drinking card playing cursing bloke

The following recording was made during Twente.

> *I'm recording my experience with disgust since this is what is possible here and happened to me... Princess Maxima volunteers at the elementary school of her daughters. Suddenly I found myself sitting next to a mobile home, in a plastic camping chair reading a glossy and car magazines having a beer in my hand and it is not even sunny.*
> *This reminds me of visiting relatives on the camping site when I was young, the same utter boredom. I see traces of a combination of cards, beer, cheap scandal press magazines and cigarettes and this combination is also visible on the table of the neighbours. This morning I met the neighbour in the wash facility, he said hello and I said hello and looked in the mirror. I'm trapped like a goose in the prison.*

These quotes are taken from the home exchange in Paris 2.

> *Why do I have to open 4 doors with 7 different keys, I have problems with this home, it makes me feel uneasy, why do have to go through these safety valves. Something must be wrong here. It ruins my Paris feelings. Paris as a place, for the lost ones, like Vincent van Gogh. What about even Paris becomes a place to flee from.*

In Sydney, becoming a suburb resulted in a revolutionary becoming, which means that the old composition (that of the guest in a home exchange configuration) is terminated. I and my family terminated the home exchange due to a lack of interest, boredom and the existence of ghosts. The following quote is recorded in Sydney.

> *This morning I noticed that the pool has turned green, this happened overnight. I feel a bit stupid because we have such a large manual to handle this old pool. However the manual didn't say anything about turning green. I'm a useless gardener and pool watcher and I have more than enough of this home exchange. I thought I would be happy in a large villa in Sydney with swimming pool but I just have enough of it.*

I just left the mall where I had to check out the internet about what to do with a green pool. We need chemicals and we already bought them. I also wrote our friends in New Zealand that we are in Sydney and ready to come over. The airline tickets are reasonably priced.

I put the chemicals in the pool and decided I will never use this pool again. What a warning on the bottle, how can someone swim in this stuff. I also checked my mail and our friends are very happy to have us over in W Ellingson. So we are going to New Zealand.

In the above mentioned quotes, the x-thing is the whole situation, but more in particular the 'green pool'. This green pool led to an escape from boredom from being a stuck home exchanger. I became something like the 'unbecoming of the house sitter' and a becoming of a traveller to New Zealand.

12.1 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the becoming of the home exchange experiences is analysed. With the help of figure 12.2, the movements of a home exchange assemblage are represented. On first sight, this appears logical since I focused on the home exchange experience. However, it is only part of the story. A Deleuzian assemblage also always runs within another Deleuzian assemblage. As an example, the home exchanger can have a coffee assemblage. The hand and arm make a connection between the cup, mouth, tongue and warm coffee which can evoke a temporary elevation of the senses, an intensity where the caffeine enters the body. This composition can run within another composition where the home exchange body sits with the neighbour on a couch, where connections can also vary in intensity.

X-things in home exchanges are findings which are unexpected. They confront the guest with a new situation. Spaces of hospitality and, more in particular, home exchange spaces in private settings are typical spaces where the guest can find x-things. There are two reasons for this. First, the absence of the host suspends control over the experiences. Second, in the case of a private setting, the private life of the host is the setting for the vacations and this private life offers x-things. By finding an unexpected unanticipated datum, this experience can be the start of a creative becoming trajectory and become the occasion for further development. The finding is surprising, or seems inconsistent with other experiences. An experience of observing an unanticipated event can become the occasion for further development.

CHAPTER 13 ENGAGING IN CRYSTALLISATION

This part crystallises the findings from different ways of knowing and concludes the findings part. Three ways of knowing are presented in Chapter 10, 11 and 12. This chapter seeks confrontations between the three ways of knowing and identifies common ground. This is found in three themes which in turn inform the discussion in Chapter 14 where the themes are connected with the concepts from the literature review.

A graphical representation of the crystallisation process is presented graphically in figure 13.1. The polygon is in the middle to symbolise the process of crystallisation. The home exchange is understood as an assemblage whose nature can be accessed by confronting three dimensions. Ellingson (2009) refers to dimensions as genres.
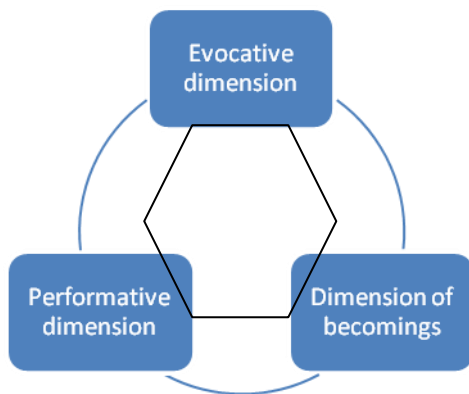

Figure 13.1 Graphical representation of the crystallisation process

The strengths and weaknesses of the genres/dimensions are presented in table 13.1. It shows the ways of knowing the nature of the home exchange experience.

	Strengths	**Weaknesses**
Evocative dimension (Ch 10)	Bodily recording of affects in context Acknowledges complexity	Subjective nature problematises the objectification process
Performative dimension (Ch 11)	Presents structure, high transformability to other spaces of hospitality	Reduces the complexity cannot think outside the hospitality framework. The role of the host guest relationship is over emphasised
Dimensions of becomings (Ch 12)	Identifies desires and its becoming in space. Can think in terms other then host and guest. Provides insights into patterns	Unique becomings in time and space have a low transformability to other spaces

Table 13.1 Strengths and weaknesses of the genres

The starting point of the crystallisation process is the finding that assemblages apart from having a nature of becoming can grow and shrink. This growing and shrinking insight only becomes clear by confrontation of all three dimensions with each other. Moreover this growing and shrinking of the home exchange assemblage seen from a Deleuzian ontological perspective can move from the possible to the real and from the virtual to the actual. When the home exchange assemblage is able to grow, it means that it outgrows its hospitality construction. It then moves in other directions and enters a line of flight. This move in other directions can be regarded as moving from the virtual to the actual and suggests a creative becoming. The first part of this chapter elaborates on the processes of growing and shrinking and in the second part introduces three themes which emerged during the crystallisation.

In Chapter 9 the introduction of the home exchange phenomenon stated that home exchange practise can be understood as an assemblage. This assemblage can be organised 'on top of other' spaces. An assessment of the assemblage from three different dimensions is represented in the Chapters 10, 11 and 12. A central idea which emerged during the crystallisation process and has not been noticed before was the insight that home exchange assemblage could grow and shrink in connections. Every dimension however shows a different perspective on this growing

and shrinking. The organisation of space dimension presented in Chapter 11 shows through its central theme 'connecting the unconnected' that home exchanges lead to new configuration of bodies and evoke sensations by combining the social domain with the house setting domain through applying a hospitality framework. The experience of 'connecting the unconnected' is the experience of the combination of the three domains in Chapter 11. By 'connecting the unconnected' inevitably the home exchange assemblage grows and the issues which are identified give an insight into the nature of the becoming of the connections.

However this insight into the home exchange assemblage does not provide an insight into the intensity nor gives an insight into the underlying motivations nor can find explanations outside the model of connecting bodies through a hospitality framework. The becoming of the home exchange experience which is presented in Chapter 12 can, in contrast to Chapter 11, explain the shrinking movement of the assemblage through the principle of intensity. The shrinking of the assemblage happens when existing connections lose their intensity. So formally the connection is still there but the energy stream through the connections of the assemblage is low. This can be explained by the concept of desire. By freezing and identifying the non representational desire to connect in hospitality space and following its becoming. Processes which block, transform and transmit the desire can be identified.

The evocative aspect in Chapter 10, based on a focus on feelings, illuminate the motivations of interactions. It moreover highlights the non representational bodily aspects of the assemblage. The evocative highlighted the stressful and personal nature of the home exchange experiences. The contrast between the welcome into the setting of Paris 1 in comparison to Paris 2 was large and this had its consequences for the rest of the experience. The evocative dimension showed the importance of an introduction by the host into the home and neighbourhood. An introduction such as by the host in Paris 1 as represented in story four of Chapter 10 created so many connections and started emotional energising of these connections. Not only from the host to the guest but also vice versa. The host became the 'French Grandpa' of M2 and started acting so. This is a very personal link the host is making. For M2 this connection was also important since we lived in grandpa's home. She became a French granddaughter over laden with presents and attention. The example of Paris 2 shows that assemblage also can shrink, de-energising its connections and limiting the assemblage. The introduction by the host was so less connected to life and more towards security that it reduced the number of potentialities. This is in contrast to

Paris 1, where the introduction by the host led to new connections to many evocative aspects of life itself.

The performative aspect in Chapter 11 also illuminates aspects of this growing and shrinking of the assemblage. The issue 'stickiness of the setting' expands the host's home to other aspects in life, the particularities of the house relate the number of areas the host's setting refers to. The social domain illuminates the potential growth of the social network.

The becoming aspect also focussed on this growing and shrinking by becoming other and creating lines of flight. Through becoming other, the guest could become and the ability to (temporarily) escape the guest role and create new configurations of bodies and sensations. The potentialities of the assemblage would shrink every time when the hospitality aspect of the assemblage is enforced. Since then the subject is pushed back into the role of guest. The intensity of the becoming appeared to be important. The becoming dimension focuses more on the self organisational aspect of becoming, meaning the relevance outside the hospitality setting.

The organisation of home exchange space in Chapter 11 indicates that home exchanges are negotiated and based on this negotiation, a home exchanger uses space. This is unique for home exchanges. With the help of intermediator bodies which are discussed in Chapter 9, the home exchangers become connected and the home exchangers become tour guides of their own setting. By providing an itinerary and guidelines and personal meetings the host initiates the guest into the setting. The evocative stories reveal that the initiations by the host into the space are important. The guest becomes immersed in the host space and they become home exchange assemblage. The home exchange assemblage can be connected or disconnected with many aspects, can become large by making powerful ties, or de energised by weak and controlled ties. Meaningful connections transmit energy and creating flows. Connections within the assemblage during Paris 1 and Boulder 2 are examples of meaningful connections, while connections in the assemblage Twente, Paris 2 and Sydney are examples of less meaningful connections, lines of death, in Deleuzian terms 'black holes'. Moreover, the evocative stories from Chapter 10 also indicate that being a home exchange host can be stressful. This stress is acknowledged by the issue of 'The experienced level of reciprocity, adaptability, and anticipation and readiness of the setting' which is part of the domain trust and reciprocity and which in turn is part of the performative dimension. During the crystallisation phase this issue was hard to integrate in the

three themes; it seemed more a question of taste and personal preference towards certain social settings.

In order to further the discussion, three crystallisations are presented through themes. The idea behind the themes is to represent the home exchange assemblage in a complex and contextualised manner which allows for objectification. The angle of the themes is to enthrone difference and creative becomings.

Theme 1 Creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space

This first theme refers to the way home exchanges are organised, how hospitality space is controlled and how the guest is welcomed and how this related to the nature of becoming and the growth of the hospitality assemblage. Chapter 8 indicates that home exchanges happen in several spaces. In this theme two spaces are highlighted in relationship to creative becomings. The hospitality experience is prepared for in the internet and telephone space through communication. The interactions during this preparation phase are anticipated and include planning and coordination. This planning for hospitality is on the one hand rather stressful and includes rejections, 'no matches', 'almost matches' and 'matches'. On the other hand, this planning phase creates rather exciting and personalised experiences since it includes searching for a temporary lifestyle. This planning includes a joy of creating; and talking about the anticipated experience is already stirring as the evocative story "Preparing the home change" in Chapter 10 on page 5 shows.

The organisation of home exchanges in Chapter 11 through the domain trust and reciprocity informs that the open organisation is possible through a certain control of the hospitality space with the help of a negotiated agreement. Moreover Chapter 11 shows that an open organisation of hospitality space becomes possible through control of space and the guests experiences levels of reciprocity, adaptability, anticipation and readiness of the setting. The second space presented in Chapter 8 is the house setting. The experience of Sydney shows that too much experienced control by the host and setting does not by itself lead to a creative becoming, however it can ultimately trigger a revolutionary line of flight. The evocative dimension findings indicate that initiations into the host space do lead to creative becomings.

The two 'arriving in Paris' stories in Chapter 10 show the importance of introducing the guest into the space and how this introduction into space influences the home exchange experience. The introduction into home exchange Paris 1 appeared to be sticky and initiated several creative becomings. While on the other hand, the introduction into Paris 2 whereby the host left not such an inspirational space that it led to boredom. These introductions into the homes and neighbourhood can be understood as initiations. Theme 1 also stresses the planned nature of the home exchange experiences. Although they are not so planned as in objectified spaces, they are still prepared and anticipated for experiences, the resultant of negations.

Theme 2 Creative becomings and the need for X-things

Central to theme 2 are the unanticipated for, the unplanned events. Both performative and becoming genres indicate a need for finding something which triggers attention in spaces of hospitality in order to move to creative becomings. Something inspirational should be available in the home exchange space - something for the guest to play with, relate with and experiment with. In this thesis, these things are called X-things, since they cannot be identified from the beginning and they are revealed in time and space configurations. In spaces of hospitality which are very controlled, such as Big Sky 1 and 2, X-things are therefore rarer since controlling space signifies eliminating and controlling X-things. Moreover, planned becomings hardly allow the guest to become other such as a temporary local. X- things also occur through social configurations which happen as the guest can break out of the guest role. The cases of becoming in Quadrant 3 in Figure 12.2 represent high intensity and creative becomings. The number of connections of the home exchange assemblage grows. But not so much towards a hospitality assemblage but rather to relate differently to space in a direction yet unspecified. An example of assemblages which hardly did grow nor shrink is the Big Sky 1 and 2. The ski resorts, these happened in territories which were made for hospitality purposes, allowing a controlled number of particularities to enter, therefore closed itself off to growth into other areas and by doing so, controlled the number of lines of flights. This is in contrast to Budapest and Boulder. The Budapest setting provided so many X-things and many more X-things 'became live' by the task of parking the car. The building and the neighbours became part of the assemblage. Moreover the books and the music enriched and enlarged the experience in Budapest. In Budapest, after the event the X-things 'returned' relatively unaffected to their original assemblages, while the experiences in Boulder affected the X-things as well. Some of the X-things represented people and they became friends in Boulder. When X-things are connected to the evocative, it appears

that they trigger and are the beginning of creative becomings. X-things can be small and become available since the host is absent and the setting is left more or less uncontrolled by the host and this means unexpected and unanticipated events can happen. The home exchange space as space of hospitality is more or less rather undefined yet. The home exchange space is more or less not smoothed out yet for the guest. The host initiates the guest in the home exchange space and this introduction leads more or less to X-things.

Theme 3 The involvement of personal reflexivity

Home exchange space has a potential tendency to become reflexive for both host and guest. The assemblage with someone else's private space and lives can evoke strong emotions and moreover allows for experimentation. At the start of this chapter, it was stated that home exchange space can grow and shrink in connections, related to reflexivity home exchange assemblages can become active lifestyle testing and fitting sites, whereby both host and guest connect intensively both representational as well as non-representational to the home exchange space. The host connects in the sense that the house setting must be transformed into a home exchange space and the guest connects in the sense that the home exchange space must be appreciated as a temporary life assemblage. However when the social context and the setting regard the subject constantly as a guest and the subject experiences life as a guest, then this reduces the number of potential connections and thus creative becomings.

The host to be experiences this evocative aspect of creative becomings. In the evocative approach towards the home exchange, emotions and stress go alongside the home exchange experience. Turning one's own setting into a space of hospitality involves hard work and is a process that is emotionally challenging. Experimentation is a 'play' whereby the home exchanger connects to bodies and settings and asks how is it to have these connections? How do they feel? The host has to consider which aspects in life are worth for a guest to appreciate and how to 'wrap' these up. The wrapping up is preparing the setting and making an itinerary for the guest. This can be a very confronting evaluation of the own life world. The evocative examples of preparing the homes for Boulder 1 and preparing the home in Leeuwarden are examples whereby the host became reflexive about their own life.

The guest can also become reflexive, however this is not a passive assemblage but as data shows it involves an active role. This active lifestyle testing is termed in this thesis as

'experimentation' lifestyle, in this respect not just some label attached to a combination of variables. It is an interactive alive world, which can only be discovered involving and attaching their own subjective. However by connecting their own subject already becomes 'contaminated'. The interactive life world involves neighbours, cars, photographs hanging on the wall, fragments of stories, sporting goods. Lifestyle is thus something that must be experienced actively, in order to be become. Experimentation involves putting yourself in a circumstance and experiencing the outcome. The subject can ask the question "how does it feel to live in a Paris apartment, walk out the squeaking door, greet neighbours, walk to the café the host recommended and order a coffee". Or prepare for a hike in Boulder, walking the route, pet the borrowed dog and drive off in a four wheel drive car with a ski box on top. Two performative issues play a role in the involvement of personal reflexivity: the experienced possibilities to be recognised as another and the experienced level of stickiness of the setting. The stickiness of space expresses how long the connection holds and the connections influences other spaces.

The growing of an assemblage means that it causes lines of flights in other assemblages. These causes can have a temporal nature or a revolutionary nature. In other words the assemblage moves into creative becomings and on the other hand cause creative becomings, during this the level of reflexivity increases. Evocative, performative and becoming dimensions stress the importance of a need for initiations by the host and/or 'dealing with the particularities' in order to move to creative becomings. Moreover crystallisation makes it possible to connect the organisation of space and the experience of this organisation of space to becomings.

Conclusion

In this chapter three themes have been introduced which emerged after a process of crystallisation. Figure 13.2 reflects and combines the qualities of the setting with creative becomings. The first part indicates the performativity and the second part indicates the likelihood of a creative becoming. I refer to the top and middle part of table 13.2, which indicates the relationship between the hospitality space, the home exchange space and the guest experience. The bottom part of the table 13.2 refers to the possibility and likeability of a creative becoming. As an example, no stickiness would result in a low chance for creative becomings to happen. However sticky spaces do not necessarily lead to attractive, creative becomings.

From the possible to the Real — Low chance of creative becomings; Anticipated and planned for becomings; Fixed host and guest roles		From the virtual to the actual — High chance of creative becomings; Becoming other; Creative trajectories; Experimentation
	The experienced levels of particularity (X-things)	
	Hardly any access to particulars	Access to particulars
	The experienced level of stickiness' of the setting	
	Not sticky The host's setting does not influence the experiences outside the setting	Very sticky The host's setting influences the experiences outside the setting
	Experienced level of control of the setting	
	High level of control experienced The host appears as a ghost to check on the guest	No control experienced The host is absent The host appears as a ghost to guide the home exchanger
	The experienced possibilities to be recognised as an other	
	The role of the guest is unavoidable, everywhere the role of guest is acknowledged	The home exchanger gets recognised as 'other'
	The experienced possibilities for interacting and building social networks	
	No possibilities for creating a social network	Possibilities for creating a social network
	The experienced possibilities for connecting the unconnected	
	No connection of the unconnected	Connecting the unconnected.
	Personal reflexivity	
	No reflexion	Intensive reflexion

Shrinking assemblage	Growing assemblage entering lines of flight

◄──────────────►

Table 13.2 Crystallisation of the setting and the context of the organisation of space and becoming

PART 5 PRESENTING THE BILL

This part consists of two chapters and concludes the thesis:

Chapter 14 Discussion

Chapter 15 Conclusion

CHAPTER 14 DISCUSSION

Although the practise of home exchanges is a relative marginal phenomenon, it can teach an important lesson namely that the hospitality, when it is understood as a Deleuzian Guattarian assemblage (1987) can grow and shrink. This growing can be explained through the constructive nature which is recognised by Simmel (1997b) and Pløger (2006) in urban vital life forces. Findings indicated that initiations to space, the finding of X-things and personal reflection make the assemblage grow into unexpected movements and initiate creative becomings. The growing of the assemblage is not only a theme in home exchange space but also in other spaces of hospitality, however the attention has been on the rather passive experience nature of the vital life forces which resulted in controlling the space through themes and procedures; and by doing so neglecting and perhaps unknowingly limiting future potentialities. The growing of the hospitality assemblage can be regarded as a post-structural understanding of the process of opening up spaces of hospitality as suggested by Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004) who both reference the work of Derrida (2000).

Accessing the current curricula of Hospitality Management Studies, a lot of attention is paid towards creating spaces for the guest, through the work of Pine and Gilmore and others, students are told that hospitality spaces should be designed, themed, controlled and scripted. However, hardly any attention is given to the possibility that spaces of hospitality can be spaces which create a difference. While in daily hospitality practise they do, people meet other people become inspired, invent new things. Andreas Wittel in his article on Network Sociality (2001, p.56) acknowledges that networking happens in spaces of hospitality such as pubs. However this is not recognised by the designers of curriculums. The experience of the guest in the curriculums remains in the realms of rules, procedures, policy and etiquettes. In current hospitality management literature, the experience of the guest is something that should be controlled by management measures at all times. This raises questions in how far hospitality spaces have become spaces which prevent unforeseen configurations to happen. Perhaps even worse contemporary hospitality students are trained to design hospitality spaces without considering what space does or realising the value of a serendipitous experience. In home exchange practices, the self organising and constructive nature of vital life forces in spaces of hospitality is more visible. Therefore their becoming is the starting point of this discussion.

This discussion chapter is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the connection of the findings of the empirical research after the crystallisation process with the concepts and ideas from the literature review from part one and two of the thesis. The three themes of the findings inform three arguments which are presented at the end of the first part. These three arguments are founded on the main argument that the constructive forces in spaces of hospitality are undervalued by planners, researchers and educators. The second part intends to elevate the discussion beyond home exchange space. Findings in home exchange space indicate that valuable creative becomings and processes are found to be possible under certain conditions. These creative becomings have the potential to open up the space of hospitality to difference. The question then is - Can these creative becomings take place in other spaces of hospitality? In other words - Are these transferable? Assuming a positive reply, what then should the conditions be to enable such a space of hospitality and how can researchers and authors recognise these conditions within hospitality space? To use a Deleuzian Guattarian vocabulary the second part poses the suggestion that serendipitous lines of flights evoked by initiations, x-things and reflexion which happen under certain conditions in home exchanges space also (but in a different becoming) can happen in other spaces of hospitality when conditions are met. The third part discusses the relevance of understanding 'hospitality' as a 'hospitality assemblage', which temporarily assigns host and guest positions to bodies and transfers space into a space of hospitality; and the implications for hospitality studies and operators of spaces of hospitality.

14.1 COMBINING THE FINDINGS OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH WITH CONCEPTS FROM THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Three themes emerged during the sociological experimentation research into the home exchange experience. From the findings three themes emerged, which form the different parts of this sub-chapter:

(a) Creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space

(b) Creative becomings and the need for X-things

(c) Personal reflexivity which is evoked by the home exchange

Together with the features which emerged from the literature review (Part 1 and 2 of this thesis) which are expressed below, four arguments are presented:

(1) A post-structural understanding of space and spaces of hospitality

(2) Open-ended planning processes, whereby planners acknowledge vital life forces

(3) An ethics towards opening up spaces of hospitality to difference

(4) The predictability of space of hospitality

Table 14.1 shows how the themes that emerged from the findings and the concepts connect and relate to each other, following which a discussion of each theme is presented.

Themes for discussion	Themes from the findings	Argument for discussion	Description of the finding	Links to literature	Link to hospitality art	Contradicting concept
Theme 1: An open ended organisation of hospitality space, initiations and urban vitalis	Creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space	The constitutive vital life forces are neglected by hospitality space planners	The guest is a life Home exchanges space can give rise to the development of an own meaningful assemblage. .	The constitutive nature of Vital Life Forces, Urban Vitalis, Open ended planning processes (Pløger, 2006), Molecular lines of organisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)	Hotel Transvaal (Sabrina Lindeman)	Current hospitality management curricula which focus on controlling space.
Theme 2 Serendipitous movements, X-things and enlargement of the hospitality assemblage	Creative becomings and the need for X-things	Relatively small events can have large influence for the entire experience	Home exchanges lead to creative becomings due to the involvement of X-things and the absence of the host.	Serendipity (Andel, 1994), The creative process (Maslow, 1963) , Lines of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)	Hotel Transvaal (Sabrina Lindeman)	The experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999) McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1996)
Theme 3 Experimentation, reflexion and cultural laboratories	The involvement of personal reflexivity	Part of the experience is an attraction to a particular state of mind, rather than a 'traditional' gazing experience	Home exchanges are mentally challenging, due to the involvement of imminences of other life. How it could have been…	Flux (Urry, 2000), cultural laboratory (Löfgren, 1999), Phoenix tourism (Čaušević, 2008) , Non-representational theory (Thrift, 2000)	The road not taken (Robert Frost)	Serial reproduction and placelessness (Richards and Wilson, 2005), the tourist gaze (Urry, 1990)

Table 14.1 Linking themes and concepts

Theme 1 An open ended organisation of hospitality space, initiations and urban vitalis

The practice of home exchanging can be considered as a form of open-ended planning processes. Pløger (2006) describes and advocates open-ended planning processes in a city planning context (p.393) which is covered in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Pløger indicates that the planning process must open itself up to provisional solutions that participants agree on, without closing the decision process at that point. The described open-ended planning process by Pløger can be understood as "not defined yet". During home exchanges, depending on the configuration, most interactions are "not defined yet". Referring to the lines of organisation which are defined by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) in A Thousand Plateaus, the practice of home exchange can generally be regarded as organising space through molecular lines of organisation. These lines organise space in a subtle way, interlacing segments in a non-hierarchical way. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). The private setting is handed to the guest, the distinctions between the host and guest are in place, however, not explicitly acknowledged and defined yet. Before the actual exchange, during the negotiations when the exchange is planned, basic agreements are made about the practicalities such as start date and end date, car use, and so on, where the guest is initiated by the host. However, which connections and with what intensity a guest becomes involved in assemblages is not yet clear - this leads to the open ended planning character of the home exchange experience. This is what makes the home exchange experience complex in nature. From the literature review it appeared that the work on open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality is a rather undeveloped field. The practice of home exchanges is built on an open-ended planning process. Within home exchanges; the parameters for the control of space are negotiated, the host prepares the setting accordingly and initiates the guest into the space, and the host becomes a 'host in absence'. This can be seen in contrast to molar lines of organisation (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), these molar lines make a very clear distinction between host and guest.

For city planning this answer is already formulated by Pløger, in the third chapter of the thesis. Pløger questions how urban space can be planned with respect to an acknowledgement of vital forces. Vital forces have both the capacity to construct configurations and to flow within configurations. When a vital force such as 'an ongoing striving for meaning' (Pløger, 2006, p.386) can vibrate within the home exchange configuration, then the connection is considered to be meaningful. Pløger formulates an agenda and suggests an approach of open-ended planning where the planners plan for eventuality. Pløger suggests that planners have to work in the midst

of flows, relations, and chance, meaning that the unforeseeable, contingent possibilities and possible constellations of situations and interactions should be recognised (p.392). The skills of the planners themselves should in practice have dialogical, analytical and negotiating skills. This is according to Pløger's thinking, because situations of contingency and eventuality occur in meetings among people that create becomings and possibilities not foreseen or predicted. I acknowledge the importance of the planner's skill, and the planner to be in the midst. However for spaces of hospitality, I suggest that the planner designs a space in which the dichotomies between host and guest disappear after the initiation of the guest. This allows for the space to lead to creative becomings, since the power of the host is temporarily suspended. In Deleuzian terms the hospitality space enters a line of flight and becomes deterritorialised after the creative becoming; the space re-stratifies, enters and becomes a space of hospitality again. For example, the public library in Amsterdam was erected in 2007, and welcomes both, residents as well as 'non-residents'. This space itself offers possibilities for blending. However the library remains the host who dictates the rules about the possible discourses.

In Hotel Transvaal, the roles of host and guest are appointed by the artist but not enforced at a local/private level. At that level the discourse of hospitality becomes negotiated. The art is the confusion between the roles and dichotomies. The concept of 'the hospitality lens' (Lashley et al., 2007) as discussed in Chapter Four becomes relevant in regards to the analysis of the content of the discourse of hospitality. Pløger indicates that the discourse in the 1970s in urban planning was to plan space in such a way that the space between buildings should invite people to a place that is opened up to countless possibilities of spontaneous meetings and gatherings (2006, p.391). This is an example of a deterritorialisation process which remains deterritorialised, without a reterritorialisation. This process of reterritorialisation means going back to the original state. The space between buildings, which Pløger refers to, can be regarded as a space of hospitality whereby the city becomes a host and provides space to humans, animals and invitees. However what is missing is an initial hospitality framework which sets the boundaries which initiates the first interactions. This initial hospitality framework would create an open-ended space of hospitality.

Pløger (2006, p.383), who draws on Simmel and Deleuze and Guattari, states that urban vital life forces hold both constitutive forces as well as experimental forces. On the other hand the guest experience in spaces of hospitality is over emphasised by both planners and curriculum developers in hospitality studies. However, that does not mean that these constitutive forces are

not present or expressed in spaces of hospitality. On the contrary, the number of people interested in home exchanges, hospitality exchanges (such as couch surfing) and interactive travel sites in Western Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand is growing. This growth is fuelled by the development of the internet. The growth of interactive sites is termed 'Tourism 2.0', which is based on the idea of Web 2.0. According to the World Travel Market (2008, p.12) report "Travellers are turning towards direct forms of interaction between others in search of more authentic travel experiences and connections" (2008, p.12). These authentic travel experiences and connections are less 'readymade'. What is meant here is that the readymade or (seemingly) pre-produced hospitality experiences are given more attention by industry and education institutions than hospitality interactions. These hospitality interactions, which are more undefined and less pre-produced, have a much higher chance to lead to more original and unique outcomes.

Hospitality space becomes a space for negotiating - negotiating meaning and bringing the personal to the foreground. An example of people who bring the personal to the foreground happens on the site http://www.livelikealocal.nl. This is a site where people, who live in Amsterdam and Barcelona, offer 'local experiences' for money. Artists who are involved in art through hospitality showed that by applying a hospitality framework to mundane settings, unexpected and unanticipated interactions may appear. This applying of a hospitality framework to the mundane is good starting point to rethink hospitality space.

Theme 2 Linking serendipity with X-things and creative becomings

This theme covers the unplanned growing of the assemblage; through the crystallisation it became clear that home exchanges through X-things move towards a line of flight (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). Chia (1999, p.210) advises that for most of us, our deeply ingrained habits of thought surreptitiously work to elevate notions of order, stability, discreteness, simple location, identity and permanence over disorder, flux, interpenetration, dispersal, difference and change. The creative becomings are considered, by me, to be valuable since they open the space to an ethics of change - the future is not already foreseen in the past. The argument starts with the sensation of creativity. Then it refers to the creative process found during home exchanges and links this to literature about the concept serendipity.

There is no universally agreed upon definition of creativity- any more than there is of intelligence. In general, according to Getzels and Madaus (1969), the most widely applied conceptualisations are of three sorts, depending on the relative emphasis given to the product, the process, or the experience. The subjective experience is inspired and immanent. Maslow (1963), for one, insists on the importance of the flash of insight, the transcendent sensation itself, without reference to whether it will ever result in anything tangible (Getzels, 2007, p.328). Crewe and Gregson (1997, p.46) in their research into the car boot sale indicated that vendors are also buyers, and buyers in turn are also browsers, sightseers, momentary tourists. This is a space for quasi-fun, quasi-leisure, quasi-work activities; an arena in which conventional boundaries are blurred and/or transgressed. A moveable feast, whose affinities with the fair, the carnival and the theatre of exchange in previous centuries is unmistakable; the car boot sale provides a consumption experience characterised by excitement, anticipation, risk and unpredictability. This example can easily be linked to the process of creative becoming.

The findings indicate that X-things play an important role in the creative becomings to happen. The process of finding an X-thing and continuing to work with it can be defined as serendipitous. The guest, during the home exchange, encounters X-things and can decide to relate to this X-thing in a number of ways. However, the guest can also decide to leave the X-thing for what it is. This decision to do something with the X-thing or to leave the X-thing perhaps looks a bit artificial, but for the argument it is important, since this relates to the essence of the concept of serendipity. Relating this to literature on serendipity results in the creative becoming being seen as a creative serendipitous process. The main idea of serendipity as understood in this argument is to "find something and continue relating to this finding". Merton, (1957) offers the following description of a serendipitous experience - a person observes an inconsistency in space caused by a finding and this seeming inconsistency provokes curiosity, stimulating the investigator to 'make sense of the datum' and to fit it into a broader frame of knowledge. So in other words he relates it to previous knowledge, finding a solution or an unresolved issue.

When the guest decides to make sense of the datum, which I understand as "continuing with the X-thing", the concept of serendipity comes into question. The guest does something with the X-thing; the guest tries to relate to the X-thing. It very much relates to the concept of serendipity as described by Andel (1994). Andel (1994) defines true serendipity as the art of making an 'unsought finding' (p.643). This is followed by a process of abduction. This process of abduction

can be explained as "… the process of forming an explanatory hypothesis". Andel argues that that is the only logical operation which introduces any new idea: "for induction does nothing but determine a value, and deduction merely evolves the necessary consequences of a pure hypothesis" (1994). Andel means, with a 'finding', that two or more elements (observations, hypotheses, ideas, facts, relations or insights) are combined originally, for the finder or anybody, to something new and true (science), new and useful (technology), or new and fascinating (arts). Andel argues that the 'unsought' is related to the finder or anybody, and does not exclude that the finder sought something else when he found the 'unsought' finding (Andel, 1994, p.643).

For a serendipitous 'expression', two aspects are important, the finding and the process of abduction. Let us focus on the processes 'finding' and 'abduction' in more depth and zoom in on a home exchange setting. The finding has to be unexpected and unanticipated for. This means new in a particular configuration. Perhaps the X-thing is known in another setting but not in the current. When the finder finds the thing, and decides to ignore the finding, the finding does not become serendipitous but remains a 'finding'. However when the finder recognises the finding to be of interest in another setting, this finding becomes serendipitous and a process of abduction starts. During the analysis of the data, it appeared that in home exchange settings, especially in private settings, the home exchanger researcher encountered unanticipated and unexpected things, which Andel would call serendipitous. These could have been ignored, but could also become a part of creative becomings. I argue that serendipitous experiences in a home exchange setting create difference (Deleuze. 1987) and flux (Urry, 2000; Lash, 2006).

During the analysis, I decided to avoid the formal science term 'explanatory hypothesis' for the 'abduction' process and instead uses the post-structural term 'creative becomings' to point to the abduction process since 'creative becomings' include the subjective and the bodily affects. Creative becomings involve sensations and intensities, while 'explanatory hypotheses' tend more towards a distant objective reasoning. The concept of an assemblage (Deleuze, 1987) helps to understand this subjective aspect in the process of 'abduction'. The terms 'meshwork' and 'hierarchy', which are developed by DeLanda (1998), are developed through the ideas of Deleuzian ontological thinking, and can help understand the process of opening up spaces of hospitality to creative becomings. It is an application of Deleuzian theory to space and informs us about two different ways of organising space.

According to DeLanda (1998) the world has a need for more meshworks, "... to release and reorganise the intelligences that are currently blocked by silos of 'articulated homogeneities'". However DeLanda (1998) argues that one must resist the temptation "to make hierarchies into villains and meshworks into heroes, not only because they are constantly turning into one another, but because in real life we find only mixtures and hybrids, and the properties of these cannot be established through theory alone but demand concrete experimentation". Creative becomings can only reside in a combination of hierarchy and meshworks, since there is constantly a linking to a higher order and a larger story, the hierarchies, and dealing with it at a lower level, the meshwork.

The home exchanger then searches for meaning and in the act of doing so the X-thing becomes part of the actual assemblage (Deleuze, 1987). As indicated in chapter Two, this assemblage is always in a state of becoming. This can involve large consequences, since the composition of the bodies within the assemblage changes and the intensities between the bodies in the assemblage alters, and in turn evokes affects and new becomings.

I recall from Chapter Eleven the example of the finding of a mountain lion in the garden in Boulder 2. This finding was unexpected and unanticipated. I had the option to ignore 'the mountain lion' as something what is not relevant, and too far outside the anticipated for vacation experience. In the course of events I had to find out about the danger, precautions and so on concerning the mountain lion. However, apart from this finding the 'mountain lion' became a theme for the stay. It enabled me to become 'other', overcoming the status of a stranger who was close in proximity but yet kept at a distance, and becoming some sort of interpretation of a temporary local, since a local has local knowledge. The connection with the setting altered, knowing the danger, reading about the danger, telling M1 about the danger, sitting for hours with M1 at the window watching for the danger. Running towards the car to avoid the mountain lion, sharing this danger with others which led to intense friendships, connecting on a different level with neighbours and bringing it up in conversations with others became interesting. I dealt with the idea of the mountain lion and somehow made it part of 'the own vacation in a house setting assemblage', just to give it a name. Another example of an X-thing is the finding of an 'in-house creative thinking company' in Boulder 3, or the unexpected return of the teenage son during Paris 1.

Creative becomings can be considered as states of minds. Čaušević's (2008) research employed the term phoenix tourism, "as an umbrella term in defining the process of tourism development after long-term political conflict attributable to the energy involved in rebuilding and re-energising, and then, coming back to normality" (p.239). Her research defines phoenix tourism as a process of destination regeneration, rehabilitation, re-imaging and revitalisation in a post-conflict context. Čaušević is very particular in describing the experience of phoenix tourism (p.351). For Čaušević, the story, the connection, the link, and the process give meaning to the experience. This is comparable with creative becomings in the sense that the guest needs knowledge about the setting, the story behind the setting, the linkages and so on. This can be seen as an acknowledgement that part of the experience is a state of mind - a particular way of relating to the setting. An experience of becoming other, a constructive experience directly related to the constructive nature of vital life forces. However these experiences are leaning more towards flux, rather than flow.

14.1.1 Linking personal reflexivity with vital life forces, cultural laboratory and play forms of society

The metaphor of the cultural laboratory (Löfgren, 1999) was on the one hand problematic and on the other hand illuminating. The metaphor of the cultural laboratory is problematic since it pre-supposes a clear difference between the mundane and the luminal, whereby the mundane refers to routines and the luminal represents the extraordinary. From the analysis, the process of 'making home' involves routines, but also extraordinary since it involves X-things. Findings, which were analysed from a 'becoming' perspective, indicated that the artificial difference between non-home exchange space and home exchange space were obscure. Even the much objectified ski resorts Big Sky 1 and Big Sky 2 became interwoven in the private life. McCabe and Stokoe (2009, p.488) also questions whether this distinction signals a shift in thinking about the tourist experience from the extra ordinary towards the mundane. McCabe and Stokoe (2009, p.488) argue that holidays always have been categorised in terms of their distinctiveness from everyday life, comprising of 'peak' experiences or special moments in which ordinary social roles can be reversed, inverted or challenged. However, according to McCabe and Stokoe (2009, p.488), recent theorising has emphasised the repetitive, ritualised or routinised aspects of tourist behaviour.

The metaphor of the cultural laboratory appeared illuminating, since the metaphor of the laboratory involves mixing and testing which refers to the process of creative becoming. The X-thing represents the unknown - what needs to be tested. What new becomings can be envisioned through the X-thing? What is the space capable of? The cultural laboratory is not so much a given, such as a 'building' or a 'clear setting' but rather an assemblage, a configuration of bodies. Planned and serendipitous experiences, constructing a cultural laboratory, become the nature of the home exchange experience. This mixing of the personal leads to flux rather than flow (Urry, 2000). This mixing and testing of the stranger have consequences, since the category of the stranger breaks open the from the inside established categories and stereotypes of the local world (Beck, 1998, p.125).

The reflexive nature of home exchange space is expressed well by Robert Frost in his poem - The Road Not Taken (1915). I use this poem since this poem introduces present roads through forests as lives to live.

Two roads diverged in a yellow wood,
And sorry I could not travel both
And be one traveller, long I stood
And looked down one as far as I could
To where it bent in the undergrowth.

Then took the other, as just as fair,
And having perhaps the better claim,
Because it was grassy and wanted wear;
Though as for that the passing there
Had worn them really about the same.

And both that morning equally lay
In leaves no step had trodden black.
Oh, I kept the first for another day!
Yet knowing how way leads on to way,
I doubted if I should ever come back.

I shall be telling this with a sigh
Somewhere ages and ages hence:

Two roads diverged in a wood, and I--
I took the one less travelled by,
And that has made all the difference.

Social experimentation can be regarded as a play form of human interaction. Henricks (2006 p.203) defines four forms of human interaction which are presented in the graph 5.1 on page 75. Sociological experimentation becomes a contestive and unpredictable activity.

Concluding this part, the three arguments of this discussion are as follows:

The first argument of this discussion is that the constitutive vital life forces within spaces of hospitality are a neglected area in the planning phase of spaces of hospitality. Rather than controlling the experience from beginning to end as suggested by Pine and Gilmore (1999), the host and guest should negotiate hospitality terms and initiate the guest into the space and leave.

The second argument is that providers of hospitality space and hospitality curricula should pay more attention to the dynamics which describe spaces of hospitality. Findings from this research indicate that relatively small events can have a large influence for the whole experience. Moreover, these events are 'picked up' and become relevant in another context. Rather than introducing an all comprehensive theme as suggested by Pine and Gilmore (1999) or package the city for marketing tourism purposes into "preproduced" experiences. The hospitality space should become spaces of discovery which rather than eliminating particularities or complexities should welcome their becoming since they can initiate line of flights.

The third argument is that 'the personal' moves to the foreground during the hospitality experience. Rather than being attracted to a visual or bodily experience, which is described in the tourism and hospitality literature, the subject, the personal, moves to the foreground which can be attributed to an attraction towards a particular state of mind. Findings from this research also show the importance of the social context on the experience of space. The influence from the researcher-guest family was significant on the space of hospitality. By bringing the personal to the foreground the experience moves from flow towards flux. This argument is informed by the cultural laboratory.

14.2 AN UNDERSTANDING OF SPACES OF HOSPITALITY BOTH AS STARTING POINTS AND AS SPACES OF CREATIVE BECOMING

I acknowledge the stress and amount of work involved in a home exchange and assume that the practice will grow further in the future. Findings in this thesis reported valuable and evoked creative becomings. The question then for the discussion is: What conditions are needed in spaces of hospitality to evoke (serendipitous) creative becomings? I suggest that serendipitous findings are also possible in settings other than home exchanges, under certain conditions. My argument is that spaces of hospitality should, apart from providing housing, recreation and food, be regarded as starting points for processes of creative becomings. By entering the process of a creative becoming, the space of hospitality is temporarily suspended and enters a line of flight where the guest becomes other.

The line of flight deterritorialises (restructures) the asymmetrical social relation of host and guest within the space of hospitality. This asymmetric social relationship appeared due to the desire to honour the guest and keep him/her at a distance at the same time (Gotman, 1997, p.7; quoted in Dikeç, 2002). Furthermore, Dikeç (2002) also argued that the existence of the space of hospitality is not always desirable. Dikeç (2002) and Friese (2004) already state the undesirable position of both host and guest. Recalling the words of Dikeç, whose research is also addressed in Chapter Four, "Hospitality is, perhaps, not always liberating and emancipatory" (2002, p.258). Dikeç, argues that the act of hospitality may conceal an "oppressive aspect beneath its welcoming surface" (2002, p.258).

After the creative becoming, the original space of hospitality becomes restored and reterritorialised. In other words, the space of hospitality enters a complex cycle of de- and re-territorialisations. During home exchange experiences these processes of de- and re-territorialisations are visible. An example of a line of flight happened after the invitation of the hosts into the setting. As soon as the host family left their apartment (setting) during the home exchange in Paris 1, the space of hospitality entered a line of flight into a new becoming for me - in this case some sort of 'temporary local home space'. When the (home owner) family unexpectedly reappeared since they missed their flight; even though they were the owner and original hosts, they had become our guests, which led to a humorous situation.

Pløger indicates that the planning process must open itself up to provisional solutions that participants agree on, without closing the decision process at that point. The described open ended planning process by Pløger can be understood as "not defined yet". During home exchanges, depending on the configuration, most interactions are "not defined yet". Before the actual exchange during the negotiations when the exchange is planned, basic agreements are made about the practicalities such as start date and end date, car use and so on.

The following conditions are suggested by this thesis to plan for open-ended spaces of hospitality and for creative becomings to happen. After the welcoming, this space should have possibilities for further exploration in order to unleash the potentialities for constructing a personally meaningful assemblage. To ensure this occurs, the space must contain a certain meshiness which assures the availability of X-things. The meshiness is defined in this sense, not that the space is untidy, but many assemblages should be present. The space itself should serve multiple purposes and not a single purpose. This means that the space for example should not be designed for tourist interactions, such as is the case in the experience economy (Pine and Gilmore, 1999).

14.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR HOSPITALITY STUDIES AND SPACES

The findings of this thesis have implications for hospitality studies and spaces of hospitality which are 'organised'. The following two sections present discussions in this regard.

14.3.1 Hospitality studies

Assessing the current curricula of hospitality management studies, much attention is paid towards creating spaces for the guest. Through the work of Pine and Gilmore, and others, students are taught that hospitality spaces should be designed, themed, controlled and scripted. However, hardly any attention is given to the possibility that spaces of hospitality can be spaces which create difference. While in daily hospitality practice they do: people meet other people, become inspired, and invent new things. However, this is not recognised by the designers of curricula. The experience of the guest in the curricula remains in the realms of rules, procedures, policy and etiquettes. In current hospitality literature, the experience of the guest is something that should be controlled by management measures at all times. Students are taught to organise hospitality through molar lines (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987). This view on controlling hospitality space neglects a desire for difference; it neglects the constructive nature

of vital life forces and it neglects an acknowledgement of complexity. Even controlled, scripted and managed spaces have the potential to create difference, but this is hardly acknowledged by the current discourses.

Apart from thinking about structure and performances within hospitality studies, a focus on the forces which constitute and energise hospitality space, and how the organisation of hospitality space influences the becoming of these forces, is relevant. The necessity to focus on processes which block, enable or transform desires of the guest within spaces of hospitality becomes relevant, especially when spaces of hospitality are conceptualised as "spaces which are organised in a manner such that it enables a temporary possibility for bodies to connect". The focus of the study is then not only on the organisation or performance of space but also on how this organisation of hospitality space influences new becomings.

14.3.2 Implications for organisers of Hospitality spaces

Providers of hospitality spaces should, apart from their role as providing a space for lodging and food, consider their role as providers of spaces to possibly connect the unconnected. The organisation of space should then allow for difference to happen, in other words, allow events to happen which are unforeseen and unanticipated. Moreover, providers have to reflect on the importance of imperfections. In other words they have to consider how X-things can enter space.

I add two other examples of different organisations of hospitality space which aim to disorganise the hospitality space. These are the artists who are discussed in the second part of this thesis. I showed how artists play with hospitality and the organisation of hospitality space in order to provoke intense experience and resist contemporary society. For Deleuze, resistance is possible only through a creative act: "Whenever one creates, one resists. Artists, filmmakers, musicians, mathematicians, philosophers, all resist" (Deleuze, 1988, p.1). Referring to the literature review and researching the experience, Hotel Transvaal and P Reizen surely resisted.

The other initiative is an initiative of mine to experiment with open-ended planning of hospitality space. However, it falls outside the scope of this thesis. I briefly introduce the project in order to discuss a possible direction for future research into the organisation of hospitality spaces. I set up a 'Serendipity table' in the Stenden University Hotel, Leeuwarden. The Serendipity tables are

identifiable tables within the hotel where a sign indicates "Serendipity tables - expect the unexpected". The tables are an initiative to criticise closed spaces of hospitality where encounters are scripted, predefined and predictable. The table serves three purposes:

(a) To introduce students to the idea of a differently organised hospitality space
(b) In the light of creating new horizons for minority groups and unheard voices, new hospitality spaces which could offer difference need to be produced
(c) To test new research methods to analyse spaces of hospitality.

The Serendipity table is a project which possibly produces such a space. The main characteristic of the space is that the space itself is relatively undefined. First year hospitality students are instructed by second year hospitality management students on how to work at the Serendipity table. The only instructions the second year students have to give the first year students is a definition of the word "serendipity", and that the first year students have to evoke serendipitous experiences at the table. The first year students who work at the table and the second year students who instruct the first year students both record their experiences.

> Just for today
> I want to become we
> Just for today
> We want to connect different
> Just for today
> We would enter a house
> Just for today
> And this house would become home
> Just for today
> Home would host many becomings
>
> Grit, August 2009

CHAPTER 15 CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this conclusion is to provide an overview of the research, drawing together the main line of argument, outlining the method of study, describing some of the principal findings, issues of discussion, contribution of knowledge and stating recommendations for future research. The chapter refers back to the aim and objectives formulated in Chapter One.

This study set out to investigate the nature of the home exchange experience. Specifically, the study sought to understand home exchanges as a complex phenomenon. The study has aimed to contribute to exploring the dynamics of open ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality in order to reflect upon how to open up spaces of hospitality to difference and which processes in spaces of hospitality potentially open up hospitality space. A Deleuzian Guattarian vitalistic understanding of space forms the philosophical grounding for the research. This understanding is combined with the acknowledgement of the constructive nature of urban vital life forces which are addressed by Simmel (Simmel, Frisby and Featherstone, 1997b) and reworked by Pløger (2006). An assessment of open ended planning in hospitality space and in particular the academic understanding of home exchanges was identified as largely neglected in the published literature.

The main aim of the research posed at the outset of the study was to analyse the nature of the home exchange experience in order to contribute to the discussions of open-ended planning processes in spaces of hospitality and opening up spaces of hospitality. The starting point was the understanding that home exchange space could be assessed from a host guest perspective, analysing the home exchange experience as a whole. It was understood that in describing processes it would offer insight into the dynamics of creative becomings in spaces of hospitality. The thesis has been divided into five distinct parts. These parts have been written simultaneously, however, for reading and logic purposes they have been separated. The two first parts make up the literature review and during this the cultural laboratory (Löfgren, 1999) has been reworked as an assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987), deconstructed and envisioned. The third part sought to find a research methodology to access the cultural laboratory, this deconstructed cultural laboratory poses challenges for the researcher since it objects dialectic thinking. Moreover it should respect unexpected events, record non-representational aspects and respect embodiment. I propose sociological experimentation as a suitable research methodology. This methodology uses the concept of crystallisation (Ellingson,

2009) which suggests different ways of knowing. The fourth part represents the three types of findings and these findings are crystallised in Chapter Thirteen into three themes. The fifth part discusses the relevance of these three themes and connects them to current discussions. This conclusion takes the research objectives which are stated in Chapter One as a structuring element and concludes the research.

Research objective one sets out to review literature explaining the dynamics of hospitality space, in this respect I have deconstructed the Cultural Laboratory (Löfgren, 1999) in four chapters. The starting point in chapter two was to approach the laboratory as "complex", thus objecting object and subject approaches and mechanical relationships in tourism and hospitality studies and move from one dimension towards multidimensional relationships between the tourist and the destination and host and guest. Authors who have brought to bear a significant perspective on object and subject approaches in tourism and stress a multidimensional relationship were reviewed. Notably, the concept of chora and chorister of Wearing and Wearing (2006), focusing on the individual experience and interaction, the issue of human subject and production discussed by Castells (1996), the issue of tourist (bodies) and sensescapes as discussed by Urry (1996), and Baerenholdt's et al (2004) transforming places of the humdrum and ordinary into the apparently spectacular and exotic were studied. However, I dispute whether including this second dimension is adequate to understand contemporary practices in the 'cultural laboratory'. In the second dimension, although less rigid than the first dimension, there is still a mechanical relationship between object and subject. To find alternatives to the mechanical relationship, the concepts provided by Deleuze and Guattari (1987) are assessed for their merits to explore the dynamics of hospitality space. The second chapter presents the concept of the assemblage. Deleuze and Guattari (1987), who object to the idea of structure and enthrone a focus on becoming of space, provide the concept of an assemblage. This concept forces the researcher to focus on the becoming and to focus on what space does rather than what space is. It draws the attention of the researcher away from structure and steers it towards a focus on movement and temporary structures. Although it recognises (temporary) structures, it focuses on the movements which stabilize or destabilize temporary structures.

Thrift (2006, 2007), Pløger (2006) and DeLanda (1994, 1998, 2006a and 2006b) furthered thinking with the work of Deleuze and Guattari and provide their own interpretations of becoming of spaces. DeLanda (1994) focuses on meshworking and hierarchy and Thrift (2007) on non-representational theory in Social Geography. Pløger (2006) reworks Simmel's concept

of vital life forces into urban vitalis. I accepted the assemblage as concept throughout the rest of the literature review; the cultural laboratory is understood as an assemblage and metaphor to represent open ended planning processes in hospitality space.

The literature then drew upon open ended planning processes, a relatively neglected area of literature in hospitality. It forced me to draw upon the body of knowledge of another field, that of urban studies. In particular, urban scholars drawing upon Simmel's work regarding life forces drew my attention. I recognised urban vital life forces as a critical part of understanding hospitality spaces, especially the vital life force 'recognition as a human being' reworked by Pløger (2006). This conceptualisation is relevant in the context of hospitality space since it stresses the desire of guests to be recognised as a human being rather than a subject of an interaction, implying recognition. Reflecting upon the hospitality space through the metaphor of a cultural laboratory I draw attention to the ethics of hospitality space. In literature this is expressed by Friese (2004) and Dikeç, (2002) who argue to open up spaces of hospitality through the work of Derrida (2000). I, through the work of Deleuze, translate and conceptualise this 'open up spaces of hospitality'' into opening up spaces of hospitality to difference. This means opening up space of hospitality towards something which is not predefined yet, however always in becoming.

A more detailed approach was then taken by focusing upon aspects which influenced the predictability of the spaces of hospitality and could illuminate the forces in play. The conceptual work of Simmel (Frisby & Featherstone, 1997), regarding objective and subjective culture, granted valuable insights into the relationship between the rigidity of forms and individual experience of these forms. Therefore, the work of Simmel is taken as a starting point to understand hospitality space. The following themes became apparent: commercialisation, play (Henricks, 2006), performance and performativity (Crouch, 2003). These themes were discussed as follows. Commercialisation leads to an objectification of the hospitality space, an exponent of this is the movement into the Experience Economy (Pine & Gilmore, 1999) and the process of McDonaldization (Ritzer, 1996). Play stresses the creative and social movements and experiences in space. Performance and performativity (Crouch, 2003) focus on the repetitive character and the range of this repetitive character of the interactions.

The concept of the assemblage in this research has been liberating for me. It illuminated the unique processes which make informal spaces of hospitality and, more particularly, home exchange space different from other spaces of hospitality. Moreover, assemblages force the researcher to take the unexpected seriously. Through assemblage thinking, the unexpected should not be eliminated since it does not comply with the standard but should be drawing the attention of the researcher, since the 'unexpected' can be regarded as a line of flight. An analysis through the assemblage from Deleuze and Guattari highlights issues largely unaddressed by contemporary authors in the field of hospitality, that of non representation and vital life forces. Hospitality space is understood both as facilitator of difference and at the same time problematic for its uneven power distribution. Dikeç acknowledges this uneven power distribution and states that "hospitality is, perhaps, not always liberating and emancipator" (2002, p.258).

The case of Hotel Transvaal illustrates how the creators of Hotel Transvaal use the concept of hospitality to create art. In a quest to understand hospitality as a form of interaction, I turned towards art. The artist Sabrina Lindemann and the art project Hotel Transvaal provided valuable insights to understand the multiplicity of hospitality space. Hotel Transvaal shows that hospitality space can be conceptualised as a Deleuzian assemblage and moreover as an embodiment of the cultural laboratory, informing and deconstructing the hospitality space. The case of Hotel Transvaal teaches that a 'hospitality assemblage' can be regarded as a form of organisation of space. This 'hospitality assemblage' can be placed upon other spaces; in the case of Hotel Transvaal, the space on which a 'hospitality assemblage' is placed was a neighbourhood in transition. Hotel Transvaal proved to be important for me since it allowed me to conceptually separate the hospitality assemblage from space. Hospitality became an experience, a construct which is placed (spaced) on space. This construct causes line of flights, temporary disruptions of the organisation of space by enforcing a host guest relationship upon space; thus creating new connections and sensations.

The concept of the assemblage also informed the research methodology "sociological experimentation" in the sense that it focuses on organisation of space, events and becomings. Research objective three refers to the methodology and asks to consider the most appropriate method for exploring and describing the dynamics of spaces of hospitality. The processes of methodological development, gaining theoretical insights and conducting fieldwork have been an interactive iterative process. However the recording of the experiences has been conducted in a

consistent manner. The fully developed "final version" of Sociological Experimentation, such as presented in chapter seven including its three analytical dimensions, has been applied to the data towards the end of the research project. This led to the integrated crystallized conceptual frame work and its derived three themes which is presented in chapter 13.

The process of finding an explorative methodology has been complicated by the acceptance that spaces of hospitality are complex spaces in nature a methodology which can handle the recording of unexpected, bodily and non representational events is needed. By using methodologies, which are based upon modernist thinking stressing linearity, objectivity and control, the space itself already is structured and defined. Such an approach would contradict with (A) the basic idea underlying urban vitalis (Pløger, 2006) that life itself can construct its own structure; a modernistic approach, which identifies a predefined (positivistic) structure, cannot handle being replaced by another becoming structure. (B) The concept of the assemblage (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987) focuses on what space does, rather than what space is.

The methodology sociological experimentation has been developed through an analysis of the methodology used by Lynch (2004, 2005) to study home stays described as Sociological Impressionism and the Deleuzian Guattarian concept of the assemblage (1987). The challenge of developing a methodology was, on the one hand, to respect the qualities of the assemblage and, on the other, to present a coherent methodology which allows evaluating the findings of home exchanges in other contexts. The challenges include the embodiment, non-representational aspects, unexpected movements and an objection to dialectic thinking. In order to address these challenges, I defined three requirements to which the methodology had to comply The three requirements are: (1) a focus on processes which organise space, (2) an ability to record the non-representational aspects of space and (3) able to deal with unexpected events.

The result of the interactive and iterative process was that: sociological experimentation has 'the event' as a starting point and participative auto ethnographic data collection methods as a base. Experimentation refers in the French language both to the experiment and to experience. The basic idea is to immerse oneself into hospitality space and record the events. For analysis and representation the concept of crystallisation (Ellingson, 2009) is used, it refers to the mixing of genres within one research project. Grounded on the principles of 'crystallisation' sociological experimentation assessed the hospitality assemblage and thus hospitality space from three

perspectives. These three perspectives are: the 'evocative', which focuses on the feelings; the 'performative' which focuses on the organisation of space; and the 'becoming' which focuses on the nature and intensity of the connections. The methodology has been extensively tested, explained and further developed by Hospitality Management and Tourism Management students at InHolland University and Stenden University for six years.

The methodology complies with the following three criteria, which "come automatically" and are stated in chapter 7. These include (a) a focus on processes which organise space, (b) an ability to record the non- representational aspects of space and (c) an ability to deal with unexpected events.

This approach resulted in sociological experimentation which was used to explore the nature of home exchange experiences. Home exchanges are understood as hospitality assemblages whereby a hospitality framework is placed upon a house setting. The fieldwork included that my family and I participated as guests in home exchanges and hosted home exchanges as well over a five year period. Moreover I connected with home exchange organisations and presented at Home Exchange organisation conferences. Observations were made of the family as guest and host during home exchanges. Autoethnography (Ellis & Bochner, 2000) and analytical autoethnography (Anderson, 2006) have been employed to represent and analyse the data. Following this analysis and processes of crystallisation, a conceptual framework was produced. The framework addresses the processes of becoming during home exchanges and the facets which influence this becoming. It acknowledges the evocative and regards unexpected events not as a deviation of the norm, but as valuable object of study since it provides insight into the potentiality of space.

Research objective four calls for an outline and elaboration on the practical implications of the findings. This thesis sought for the aspects which influence the potential for creative becomings to happen during home exchanges. These creative becomings are directly related to Urban Vitalis (Pløger, 2006) whereby life itself expresses itself in potential new configurations. In the introduction of the study, I state that I critique predictable futures, futures which are more or less reproductions of the past where experiences are pre-produced and culture is presented as a given. I favour an ethic of creative becomings and follow the words from Rajchman who states "The aim of the game… is to find conditions under which something new may be created" (1998, p.33). The conceptual framework which is presented in Chapter 13 identifies five key

facets which influence the creative becoming of the home exchange. These include the experienced levels of particularity, the experienced level of stickiness' of the setting, the experienced level of control, the experienced levels for being recognised as another, the experienced possibilities for interacting and building social networks. By analysing home exchange assemblages from three dimensions, new combinations were identified through the process of crystallisations. The feelings, organisations and becomings could be confronted. This confrontation led to three themes which are multidimensional, holistic and complex in nature. The themes include. (1) Creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space; (2) Creative becomings and the need for X-things; (3) the involvement of personal reflexivity.

These themes are linked in Chapter 14, the discussion, to concepts discussed in the literature review. The discussion encourages educators, policymakers and scholars to rethink contemporary hospitality management discourses which automatically adopt an object –subject divide stance and almost as a natural outcome of this stance focus on the control and management of hospitality space without considering what space does.

The first theme creative becomings, initiations into space and an open organisation of hospitality space, links with the managerial concept of open planned urban spaces (Pløger 2006). The theme stresses that the hospitality space should not be a "given", it should not be represented by a performance which stresses the status quo and reflects and reaffirms existing power relations. Hospitality space itself is rather a cultural laboratory where the guest is initiated in space and is able to escape and abandon the role of guest and experiment with new becomings. Therefore, space should always be considered as a process, a becoming, and not the outcome of an already closed and finished project.

The second theme links in with the concept of a line of flight and serendipitous findings. A serendipitous finding can be understood as an unsought finding (Andel, 1994). The theme underlines the idea that hospitality spaces should contain X-things as part of the assemblage. Modern management techniques have the tendency to eliminate these "yet unknown things" by rules, scripts, procedures and regulations. These X-things include own initiative, spontaneous staff members, uncontrolled narratives, mistakes and misunderstandings. This research shows that X-things work as initiators for serendipitous interactions which enhance difference. Exploration itself has a serendipitous nature, since the outcome beforehand is unknown.

The third theme links to the concept of flux initiated by Simmel and further developed by Lash (2006). By a growing hospitality assemblage, connecting more unconnected things, this research indicated that the personal also moves to the foreground and hospitality space becomes more reflexive space and the experience moves from flow towards flux, increasing in uncertainty and complexity.

These three themes share the central idea of connecting the unconnected and by doing so create difference. However, findings indicated through the evocative stories that some home exchanges cannot always be regarded as pleasant and possibly can lead to stressful situations, whereas Boulder 2 and Paris 1 show that home exchange experiences have the potential to influence future becomings. However other cases show that connecting the unconnected will not necessarily lead to pleasurable experiences. The concept of the assemblage and its growing and shrinking nature shows the impact of the home exchange way of organisation (assemblage) space.

This thesis contributes to knowledge in a number of ways. These are described in this section and include new concepts, new methodology and new insights. The main contribution is to provide insights to (hospitality) space managers, scholars and designers on how home exchange practises potentially can open up spaces of hospitality to difference through open ended planning processes. The thesis provides concepts for addressing difference in hospitality space and aims to refocus and criticise the management of hospitality spaces. Many of the educational designers produce material which follows the capitalistic credo of controlling and managing space without much consideration what the space does, apart from producing money.

The thesis suggests understanding spaces of hospitality both as starting points, as spaces of creative becomings and spaces connecting the unconnected. These understandings acknowledge urban vitalis and stress that hospitality space can be understood as a cultural laboratory. The conceptual framework which is presented at page 232 presents the qualities which potentially could lead to difference in home exchange space.

This thesis includes contribution towards knowledge regarding methodology in studying hospitality space. This includes (a) the development of the research methodology "Sociological Experimentation" to account for the dynamics of hospitality space and (b) an application of crystallization (Ellingson, 2009) in hospitality space. Moreover, (c) it provides an application of a sixth moment research methodology (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005) in the field of hospitality.

This thesis also provides hospitality space scholars with sociological experimentation as methodology and a deconstructed cultural laboratory metaphor as tools, which both are based on the concept of assemblage, to address and understand difference in hospitality space. The findings show that through the methodology and metaphor, both intensity of the assemblage connections and the assemblage ability to connect the unconnected can be addressed which make assemblage a powerful concept for analysing the nature of hospitality space.

This thesis introduces new concepts. Deleuze and Guattari indicate that new concepts need to be developed in order to understand and describe movements and process. This research produced and "employed" existing concepts in different contexts. These include: serendipitous hospitality to describe that hospitality space can (and should) facilitate unexpected findings; X-things to address a yet unknown 'finding', which initiated the serendipitous experience; the understanding of hospitality as an initiation into space, which enables and encourages hospitality providers and scholars to rethink hospitality space.

Moreover, this thesis elaborates on the nature of the home exchange experiences. Home exchange organizations can profit from these insights by addressing benefits to new and existing members. They can stress the playful nature and the serendipitous potential of home exchanges. Moreover, they can add as a selection criteria the energy investment dimension. This dimension relates to how much energy a member wants to invest in the home exchange. This can be done in a combination of lifestyle matching tools.

Recommendations for future research

Four areas for future research can be identified such as serendipitous movements in other spaces of hospitality; the application of sociological experimentation methodology in other fields of social research; the linking of creative cities and home exchange 'economics' and the becomings of vital life forces in non-western contexts. The second area is serendipitous

movements in other spaces of hospitality; it would be fascinating to see how other spaces of hospitality facilitate serendipitous movement and which aspects play a role. Future research can also be done through the sociological experimentation methodology. This research is not limited to the field of hospitality but can be extended towards the care sector and education. Both care and education have measurements in place to control space. Through a focus on the evocative, organisation of space and the becoming the space can be analysed for its potential to host difference. An area I came across which is related to the home exchange and can give insight in future tourism development is what I term home exchange economics. These are the popular home exchange destinations and how these relate to the creative city index from Richard Florida (2003). How urban vital life forces become is a western concept. An interesting question is how vital life forces and their becoming can be understood and described in other rapidly emerging urban areas, such as Doha, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates.

Finally I'm truly interested in which line of flights this thesis may evoke, how it can serve as an X thing and which serendipitous experiences it will trigger.

REFERENCES

Adey, P. (2006). If Mobility is Everything Then it is Nothing: Towards a Relational Politics of (Im)mobilities. *Mobilities, 1*, 75-94.

Albrecht-Crane, C., & Slack, J. D. (2007). Toward a Pedagogy of Affect. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 99-110). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Aldridge, T., Tooke, J., Lee, R., Leyshon, A., Thrift, N., & & Williams, C. (2001). Recasting Work: the Example of Local Exchange Trading Schemes. *Work, Employment & Society, 15*, 565-579.

Allard, G. (2003). Brokers and bricoleurs: entrepreneurship in Wales' online music scene. *AI and Soc, 17*, 12-24.

Allen Collinson, J. (2005). Emotions, interaction and the injured sporting body. Retrieved October 1, 2009, from http://eric.exeter.ac.uk/exeter/bitstream/10036/18435/2/Emotions.pdf

Allen, J. (2000). On Georg Simmel: Proximity, distance and movement. In M. Crang & N. J. Thrift (Eds.), *Thinking Space*. London; New York: Routledge.

Alsop, C. K. (2002). Home and Away: Self-Reflexive Auto-/Ethnography (Vol. 3).

Alund, A. (1995). Alterity in modernity. *Arte Sociologica, 38*, 322.

Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2000). What kind of economic theory for what kind of economic geography. *Antipode, 32*, 4-9.

Amin, A., & Thrift, N. (2002). *Cities: reimagining the urban.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Amorim, A. C., & Ryan, C. (2005). Deleuze, action research and rhizomatic growth. *Educational Action Research, 13*, 581 - 594.

Andel, P. (1994). Anatomy of the Unsought Finding Serendipity: Origin, History, Domains, Traditions, Appearances, Patterns and Programmability. *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science, 45*, 631-648.

Andereck, K., Bricker, K. S., Kerstetter, D., & Nickerson, N. P. (2006). Connecting Experiences to Quality: Understanding the Meanings Behind Visitors' Experiences. In G. Jennings & N. P. Nickerson (Eds.), *Quality Tourism Experiences* (pp. 81-98). Burlington, MA: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Anderson, L. (2006). Analytic Ethnography. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 35*(4), 373-395.

Andersson Cederholm, E. (2004). The Use of Photo-elicitation in Tourism Research. *Scandinavian journal of hospitality and tourism, 4*, 225-241.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Arente, H., & Kiiski, V. (2006). *Tourist Identity Expression through Postmodern Consumption - A Focus on the Home-Exchange Phenomenon.* Göteborg University.

Ateljevic, I. (2008). Transmodernity - remaking our (tourism and hospitality) world? In J. Tribe (Ed.), *Philosophical Issues of Tourism*.

Ateljevic, I., Harris, C., Wilson, E., & Collins, F. L. (2005). Getting 'Entangled': Reflexivity and the 'Critical Turn' in Tourism Studies. *Tourism Recreation Research, 30*(2), 9-21.

Ateljevic, I., Pritchard, A., Morgan, N. (2007). The Critical Turn in Tourism Studies: Innovative Research Methodologies. Oxford, Elsevier.

Atkinson, A. (1997). Narrative Turn or Blind Alley? *Qualitative Health Research, 7*, 325-344.

Atkinson, P., Coffey, A., & Delamont, S. (2001). Handbook of Ethnography. In J. L. a. L. Lofland (Ed.): Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.

Baerenholdt, J. O., Haldrup, H., Larsen, J., & Urry, J. (2004). *Performing Tourist Places*: Ashgate Publishing.

Banks, E. (1998). Social Policy. *Summer '98, 28*, 10-14.

Barabâasi, A. (2002). *Linked the new science of networks*. Cambridge, Mass: Perseus Pub.

Baugh, B. (2005). Experimentation. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 91–85). NY: Columbia Univ Press.

Bauman, Z. (1995). Forms of Togetherness, The Stranger Revisited-and Revisiting, Violence, Postmodern *Life in fragments essays in postmodern morality* (pp. 35-138). Cambridge Mass: Blackwell.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid modernity*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Bauman, Z., Kilminster, R., & I., R. (1995). Three aspects of modernity in Simmel's philosophie des Geldes - Its epiphanic significance, the centrality of money and the prevalence of alienation *Culture, modernity, and revolution essays in honour of Zygmunt Bauman* (pp. 41-65). New York: Routledge.

Beaverstock, J. V., & Bostock, R. A. M. (2007). Expatriate Communities in Asia-Pacific Financial Centres: The Case of Singapore Retrieved 1/3, 2007, from http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc/rb/rb27.html

Bech, H. (1999). *Fritidsverden: Studier i mandighed, homoseksualitet og modernitet - Leisure world: Studies in maleness, homosexuality, and modernity*. Copenhagen,Denmark: Forlaget Sociologi.

Bechtel, W., & Richardson, R. (1998). Vitalism. In E. Craig (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. London: Routledge.

Bechtel, W., & Richardson, R. C. (1992). Emergent phenomena and complex systems. In A. Beckermann, H. Flohr & J. Kim (Eds.), *Emergence or Reduction? Essays on the prospects of nonreductive physicalism* (pp. 257-288). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Ver lag.

Behar, R. (1996). The Vulnerable Observer: Anthropology That Breaks Your Heart: Beacon Press.

Bell, D. (2007). The hospitable city: social relations in commercial spaces. *Progress in human geography, 31*(1), 7-22.

Bell, D., Holloway, S., & Jayne, M. a. V., G. (2007). Pleasure and leisure. In Short. In P. J.R. and Hubbard (Ed.), *Compendium of urban studies*. London: Sage.

Belsky, J. (2004). Contributions of qualitative research to understanding the politics of community ecotourism. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), Qualitative research in tourism: ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies (pp. 273-291). New York: Routledge.

Bernstein, J., & Awe, S. C. (1999). "Wired travelers": travel and tourism Web sites. *Reference Service Review, 27*, 364-375.

Best, S., & Kellner, D. (1991a). Deleuze and Guattari: Schizos, Nomads, Rhizomes *Postmodern theory critical interrogations* (pp. 76-109). New York: Guilford Press.

Best, S., & Kellner, D. (1991b). *Postmodern theory critical interrogations*. New York: Guilford Press.

Bistis, M. (2005). Simmel and Bergson: The theorist and the exemplar of the 'blase person'. *Journal of European Studies, 35*, 395-418.

Blegvad, M. (1989). A Simmel Renaissance. *Acta Sociologica, 2*, 203-209.

Bleicher, J. (2003). Leben. *Theory, Culture and Society, 23*, 343-345.

Bochner, A. P. (2000a). Criteria against ourselves. *Qualitative Inquiry, 6*(2), 266-272.

Bochner, A. P. (2000b). Narrative's Virtues. *Qualitative Inquiry, 7*(2), 131-157.

Bogard, W. (2000). Simmel in cyberspace: strangeness and distance in postmodern. *Space and Culture, 4*, 23-46.

Bolton, J. R. (2002). The New Strategic Framework: A Response to 21st Century Threats. *U.S. Foreign Policy Agenda, 7*(2- July), 5-6.

Bonta, M., & Protevi, J. (2004). *Deleuze and geographilosophy: a guide and glossary*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Borja, J., Castells, M., Belil, M., & Benner, C. (1997). *Local and global the management of cities in the information age*. London: Earthscan Publications.

Bouchet, D. Information Technology, the Social Bond and the City: Georg Simmel Updated: About the Changing Relationship between Identity and the City. *Built Environment, 24*, 104-133.

Boundas, C. (2006). *Deleuze and Philosophy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction*: Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.

Bowring, F. (2000). Andre Gorz: Autonomy and equity in the post-industrial age *Andre Gorz and the Sartrean legacy arguments for a person-centered social theory* (pp. 134-147). New York: St. Martin's Press.

Brown, A. (1998). Vacation home exchange: How to cut your travel expenses by staying in someone's home. *Black Enterprise, 28*, 334.

Bucher, I. B. (2000). How to Exchange a Home and Live Irish. *Transitions Abroad Magazine*.

Burkitt, I. (1999). *Bodies of Thought: Embodiment, Identity and Modernity*: Sage, London.

Bμrenholdt, J. O. (2004). *Performing tourist place*. Burlington, VT, USA: Ashgate.

Campbell, J. (1949). *The hero's journey*. New York: Bollingen.

Carl, D., Kindon, S., & Smith, K. (2007). Tourists' Experiences of Film Locations: New Zealand as 'Middle-Earth'. *Tourism Geographies, 9*, 49-63.

Carver, B. (2003 Saturday, Dec. 27). Trading Spaces, *Ottawa Citizen,* pp. 4-6.

Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.

Čaušević, S. (2008). *Post-Conflict Tourism Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina: the Concept of Phoenix Tourism.*

Čaušević, S., & Lynch, P. (2009). *Addressing social relationships through tourism in a post-conflict setting.* Paper presented at the 3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference Connecting Academies of Hope - Critical actions and Creative vistas.

Chan, W. F. (1995). A gift of a pagoda, the presence of a prominent citizen, and the possibilities of hospitality. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 23*, 11–28.

Chaney, D. (2002). The power of metaphors in tourism theory *Tourism: Between Place and Performance* (pp. 193-205). New York, NY: Berghahn Books.

Charmaz, K. (2005). Grounded Theory: Objectivist and Constructivist Methods. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *A Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 507-536). London: Sage.

Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide Through Qualitative Analysis*: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Chen, A. (2005). Take My Second Home, Please, *The New York Times,* p. 2.

Chia, J. (1999). *Challenges for Public Relations Educators in a Global Communications Environment*. Paper presented at the PRIA Educators Conference, Marriott Hotel.

Christaller, W. (1963). Some Considerations of Tourism Location in Europe: The Peripheral Regions – Under-developed Countries – Recreation Areas. *Regional Science Association Papers, 12*, 103.

Clandinin, D. J., & Connelly, F. M. (1994). Personal experience methods. In N. K. D. Y. S. Lincoln (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 413-427). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Clark, J. B. (2001). Trading places. *Kiplinger's Personal Finance, 55*, 107.

Clarke, M. (1992). Memories of breathing: a phenomenological dialogue: Asthma as a way of becoming. In J. Morse (Ed.), *Qualitative health research*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Clifford, J. (1997). *Routes travel and translation in the late twentieth century*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Cloke, P., & Perkins, H. C. (2002). Commodification and Adventure in New. *Current Issues in Tourism, 5*, 521-548.

Cohen, E., (1979). A Phenomenology of Tourist Experiences. *Sociology*, 13(2), 179-201.

Cole, S. (2004). Shared benefits: longitudinal research in eastern Indonesia. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 292-310). New York: Routledge.

Colebrook, C. (2002). *Gilles Deleuze*. London; New York: Routledge.

Coleman. (2005). Affect. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 11-15). NY: Columbia University Press.

Coleman, S., & Crang, M. (2002a). Grounded Tourists, travelling theory. In S. Coleman & M. Crang (Eds.), *Tourism between place and performance* (pp. 1-17). New York: Berghahn Books.

Coleman, S., & Crang, M. (2002b). Surrounded by Place: Embodied Encounters. In S. Coleman & M. Crang (Eds.), *Tourism between place and performance* (pp. 207-219). New York: Berghahn Books.

Colin Ward, D. C. (1995). *The Allotment Its Landscape and Culture*: Five Leaves Publications.

Collier, S. J. (2003). Global Assemblages. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 399-401.

Colman, F. (2005). Rhizome. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 231-233). New York: Columbia University Press.

Conley, T. (2005). Space. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 257-259). New York: Columbia University Press.

Connell, P. (2003 Feb. 2). Home-exchanges let thrifty travellers swap till they drop. *Los Angeles Times*, 2. Retrieved from

Conran, M. (2006). Commentary: Beyond Authenticity: Exploring Intimacy in the Touristic Encounter in Thailand. *Tourism Geographies, 8*(3), 274-285.

Cooper, M. J. (2002). Flexible Labour Markets, Ethnicity and Tourism-related Migration in Australia and New Zealand. In C. M. Hall & A. M. William (Eds.), *Tourism and Migration: New Relationships between Production and Consumption* (pp. 73-86). Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Coppola, N. W., & Elliot, N. (2005). Big Science or Bricolage: An Alternative Model for Research in Technical Communication. *IEEE Transactions On Professional Communication, 48*, 261-268.

Cornelissen, S. (2005). *The global tourism system governance, development, and lessons from South Africa*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Coyne, R. (2008). The net effect: Design, the rhizome, and complex philosophy. *Futures: The Journal of Policy, Planning and Futures Studies, 40*(6), 552-561.

Craigie, J. (2003). Home away. *Money,* 42-45.

Crang, M., & Cook, I. (2007). *Doing Ethnographies*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Crang, M., & Franklin, A. (2001). The Trouble with Tourism and Travel Theory? *Tourist Studies, 1*, 5-22.

Crang, M., & Thrift, N. J. (2000). Introduction. In M. Crang & N. J. Thrift (Eds.), *Thinking space*. New York: Routledge.

Crang, M. (2003). Qualitative methods: touchy, feely, look-see? Progress in Human *Geography, 27*(4), 494-504.

Cresswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed-method approaches /3rd edition*: Sage.

Cresswell, T. (2002). Theorizing Place. *Thamyris/Intersecting, 9*, 11-32.

Crewe, L., & Gregson, N. (1997). *Tales of the unexpected: exploring car boot sales as marginal spaces of contemporary Consumption.*

Crewe, L., & Gregson, N. (2004). Tales of the unexpected: exploring car boot sales as marginal spaces of contemporary consumption. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, 23*(1), 39-53.

Crossley, N. (1995). Merleau-Ponty, the elusory body and carnal. *Sociology Body and Society 1*.

Crouch, D. (1999). *Leisure/tourism geographies practices and geographical knowledge*. New York: Routledge.

Crouch, D. (2000). Places around us: embodied lay geographies in leisure and tourism. *Leisure Studies, 19*, 63-76.

Crouch, D. (2003). Spacing, performing, and becoming: tangles in the mundane. *Environment and Planning A, 35*, 1945 - 1960.

Crouch, D., Aronsson, L., & Wahlstrôm, L. (2001). Tourist Encounters. *Tourist Studies, 1*, 253-270.

Csordas, T. J. (1994). *Embodiment and Experience*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Cubitt, S. (2006). Analogue and Digital. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*.

Cugno, R. J., & Thomas, K. (2009). A Book Review of Laura Ellingson's Engaging Crystallisation in Qualitative Research: An Introduction. *The Weekly Qualitative Report, 2*(19; May/ June), 111-115.

Cunha, M. P. E. (2005). *Serendipity: Why Some Organizations are Luckier Than Others.* University Nova de Lisboa, Lisboa.

Cuthill, V. (2004). Little England's global conference center: Harrogate. In M. Sheller & J. Urry (Eds.), *Tourism mobilities places to play, places in play* (pp. 55-66). New York: Routledge.

Czarniawska, B. (2004). *Narratives in Social Science Research.* London: Sage.

D'andrea, A. (2007). Osho International Meditation Resort (Pune,2000s): An Anthropological Analysis of Sannyasin Therapies and the Rajneesh Legacy. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 47-91.

Dalmiya, V., & Alcoff, L. (1993). Are old wives tales justified? In L. A. a. E. Potter (Ed.), *Feminist Epistemologies* (pp. 217-244). New York: Routledge Press.

David, B. (2007). The hospitable city: social relations in commercial spaces. *Progress in Human Geography*, 7–22.

Davies, M., & Niemann, M. (2002). The Everyday Spaces of Global Politics: Work, Leisure, Family. *New political Science, 24*, 557-577.

Davis, M. S. (1997). Georg Simmel and Erving Goffman: Legitimators of the Sociological Investigation of Human Experience. *Qualitative Sociology, 20*, 369-388.

Decrop, A. (2004). Trustworthiness in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 156-169). New York: Routledge.

Deegan, J., & Dineen, D. A. (1997). *Tourism policy and performance: the Irish experience* (1st ed.). London; Boston: International Thomson Business Press.

Del Bufalo, E., Deleuze, & Laruelle. (2003). de la Schizo-analyse à la Non-philosophie Retrieved June 2008, from http://209.85.229.132/search?q=cache:FBD1tgZ-qkUJ:www.latephilosophers.com/schizo.html+%60the+internal+disconnection+in+relation+to+pyramidal%60&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&gl=qa

DeLanda, M. (1994). Homes: Meshwork or Hierarchy? Presented at Doors of Perception 2 @ Home Conference, Netherlands Design Institute, Amsterdam, Holland, 05.11.94 http://museum.doorsofperception.com/doors2/transcripts/deland.html

DeLanda, M. (1998). Deleuze and the open-ended becoming of the world. New York.

DeLanda, M. (2006a). The Importance of Imperfections. *Domus*, No 888, pp. 136-37

DeLanda, M. (2006b). *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity*: Continuum International Publishing Group.

Deleuze, G. (1990). *The Logic of Sense*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G. (1991). *Empiricism and subjectivity: an essay on Hume's theory of human nature*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G. (1994). *Difference and repetition*. London: Athlone Press.

Deleuze, G. (1995). L'Immanence: Une Vie (pp. 3-7): Hachette Littératures, Editions de Minuit, Presses Universitaires de France.

Deleuze, G. (1997a). Immanence: A Life. *Theory, Culture & Society, 14*, 3-7.

Deleuze, G. (1997b). *Negotiations 1972-1990*. Columbia: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1977). *Anti-Oedipus : capitalism and schizophrenia*. New York: Viking Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1983). *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, G. (1983) *Nietzsche and Philosophy*. trans. H. Tomlinson. New York: Columbia University Press.

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1986). *Nomadology the war machine*. New York, NY, USA: Semiotext(e).

Deleuze, G., & Guattari, F. (1987). *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (B. Massumi, Trans.). London: University of Minnesota Press.

Deleuze, G., Guattari, F., & Massumi, B. (1988). *A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia*. London: Continuum.

Deleuze, G., & Parnet, C. (2002). *Dialogues II (English)* (H. Tomlinson, B. Habberjam & E. R. Albert, Trans.): Columbia University Press.

Denzin, N. (1970). Strategies of multiple triangulation. In McGraw-Hill (Ed.), *The Research Act in Sociology: A Theoretical Introduction to Sociological Method* (pp. pp.297-313). New York.

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (2005). Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3 ed., pp. 23).

Denzin, N., & Lincoln, Y. (Eds.). (1998). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Derrida, J. (1999a). *Adieu to Emmanuel Levinas*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Derrida, J. (1999b). Hostipitalité. In F. K. a. Ö. Sözer (Ed.), *Pera Peras Poros: atelier interdisciplinaire avec et autour de Jacques Derrida* (pp. 17–44). Istanbul: YKY.

Derrida, J. (2000). Hospitality. *Angelaki Journal of the Theoretical Humanities, 5*, 3-18.

Derrida, J., & Dufourmantelle, A. (2002). *Exchange Phenomenon*. Stanford University.

Dewsbury, J. D. (2003). Witnessing space: knowledge without contemplation. *Environment and Planning A, 35*, 1907 - 1932.

Di Domenico, M., & Lynch, P. (2007). Commercial home enterprises: Identity, home and setting. In P. Lynch & A. Morrison (Eds.), *Hospitality: A Social Lens* (pp. 117-128). Oxford: Elsevier.

Dicks, B. (2003). *Culture on Display: The Production of Contemporary Visitability*. London: Open University Press.

Dikec, M. (2002). Pera Peras Poros-Longings for Spaces of Hospitality. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*, 227-247.

Doel, M. (1999). *Poststructuralist Geographies*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Doel, M. (2000). Un-glunking Geography: Spatial Science Dr. Seuss and Gilles Deleuze. In M. a. T. Crang, N. (Ed.), *Thinking Space* (pp. 117-135). NY: Routledge.

Doel, M. A. (1994). Deconstruction on the move: from libidinal economy to liminal materialism. *Environment and Planning A, A26*, 1041-1059.

Doel, M. A. (1996). A hundred thousand lines of flight: a machinic introduction to the nomad thought and scrumpled geography of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. *Environment and Planning D, 14*, 421-439.

Domenico, M. D., & Morrison, A. (2003). Social action research and small hospitality firms. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management, 15*, 268-273.

Domke-Damonte, D. J. K., J. K. (2007). Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: Hospitality Microenterprise as a Reflection of Self. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Administration.*

Douglas, M. (1991). The idea of home: A kind of space. *Social Research, 59*, 287-307.

Douglass, B. G., & Moustakas, C. (1985). Heuristic inquiry: The search to know. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology, 25*(3), 39-54.

Dreyfus., H. L. (1993). *Being-in-the-World. A Commentary on Heidegger's Being and Time*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Duim, v. d. R. (2007). Tourismscapes: An Actor-Network Perspective. *Annals of Tourism Research, 34*(4), 961-976.

Duncan, M. (2004). Autoethnography: Critical appreciation of an emerging art. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 3*(4). Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/3_4/pdf/duncan.pdf

Eastman, J. (2006). Where to go online to trade spaces, *Los Angeles Times,* p. 16.

Edensor, T. (2004). Reconstituting the Taj Mahal: tourist flows and glocalization. In M. Sheller & J. Urry (Eds.), *Tourism mobilities places to play, places in play* (pp. 103-115). New York: Routledge.

Edwards, E. (Ed.). (1992). *Photography and Anthropology 1860-1920.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ellingson, L. (2009). *Engaging Crystallisation in Qualitative Research: An Introduction*. Sage Publications.

Ellis, C. (1991). Sociological introspection and emotional experience. *Symbolic Interaction, 14*(1), 23-50.

Ellis, C. (1995). *Final negotiations*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Ellis, C. (2000). Creating criteria: An ethnographic short story. *Qualitative Inquiry, 6*(2), 273-277.

Ellis, C. (2004). *The Ethnographic I*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (1999). Bringing emotion and personal narrative into medical social science. *Health, 3*(2), 229-237.

Ellis, C., & Bochner, A. P. (2000). Autoethnography, personal narrative, reflexivity. In N. Denzin & L. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Ellis, C., & Ellingson, L. (2000). Qualitative methods. In E. Borgatta & R. J. V. Montgomery (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of sociology* (Vol. 4, pp. 2287-2296). NY: New York: Macmillan Library Reference.

Eriksson, K. (2005). Foucault, Deleuze and the Ontology of Networks. *The European Legacy, 10*, 595-610.

Esperdy, G. (2002). Edible urbanism. *Architectural Design 72*, 44-50.

Falk, J. H., & Dierking, L. D. (2000). *Learning from Museums: Visitor Experiences and the Making of Meaning*: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Fals Borda, O. (2001). Participatory (action) research in social theory: Origins and challenges. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), Handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice (pp. 27–37). London: Sage.

Favell, A. (2001). Migration, mobility and globaloney: metaphors and rhetoric in the sociology of globalization. Global Networks, 1, 389-398.

Featherstone, M. (1991). *Consumer culture and postmodernism*: London: Sage.

Featherstone, M. (2003). Body Image/Body without Image. *Theory, Culture and Society, 23*, 233-236.

Fennell, D. (1999). *Ecotourism: An Introduction*. London: Routledge Press.

Fischer, C. S. (1984). *The Urban Experience* (second edition ed.). Boston: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Fischer, M. J. (2003). Culture and Cultural Analysis. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 360-364.

Fischer, M. J. (2009). House swapping makes for cheap travel. Retrieved August 1, 2009, http://www.smh.com.au/travel/traveller-tips/house-swapping-makes-for-cheap-travel-20090127-7qmb.html.

Flaxman, G. (2007). The Politics of Non-Being. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 27-39). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Florida, R. L. (2004). *The rise of the creative class and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life*. NY: Basic Books.

Florida, R. L. (2005). *Cities and the creative class*. New York: Routledge.

Florida, R. L. (2005). *The flight of the creative class and the global competition for talent*. NY: Harper Business.

Franklin, A., & Crang, M. (2001). The trouble with tourism and travel theory? *Tourist Studies, vol 1*(1), 5–22.

Fraser, M. (2006). Event. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 129-132.

Fraser, M., Kember, S., & Lury, C. (2005). Inventive Life: Approaches to the New Vitalism. *Theory, Culture & Society, 22*, 1-14.

Freitag, B. (2003). Global Cities in Informational Societies. *Diogenes, 50*(1), 71-82.

Friese, H. (2004). Spaces of hospitality. *Journal of Theoretical Humanities*, *9*(2), 67-79

Frisby, D. (1981). *Sociological impressionism a reassessment of Georg Simmel' s social theory*. London: Heinemann.

Frisby, D. (1984). *Georg Simmel*. New York: Tavistock Publications.

Frisby, D. (1992a). *Simmel and since: essays on Georg Simmel's social theory*. New York: Routledge.

Frisby, D. (1992b). *Sociological Impressionism: A Reassessment of Georg Simmel's Social Theory*. London: Routledge.

Frisby, D., and Featherstone M. (ed.). (1997). *Simmel on Culture: Selected Writings*. Sage Publications

Frisby, D. (2001). *Cityscapes of modernity critical explorations*. Malden, MA: Polity Press in association with Blackwell.

Frisby, D. (2002). *Georg Simmel*: London: Routledge.

Fukuyama, F. (1995). *Trust: Social Virtues and the Creation of Prosperity*: NY: Free.

Galani-Moutafi, V. (2000). The self and the other: Traveller, ethnographer, tourist. 27 (1):203-224. *Annals of Tourism Research, 27*(1), 203-224.

Galloway, A. (2002). *Going Anywhere, Being Everywhere: metaphors of mobility for ubiquitous computing*.

Galloway, A. (2004). Intimations of everyday life: Ubiquitous computing and the city. *Cultural Studies, 18*, 384-408.

Galloway, A. (Producer). (2006, November 6a). Receiver Vodafone. Retrieved from http://www.receiver.vodafone.com/archive/index.html

Gane, N. (2006). Posthuman. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 431-434.

Gardiner, M. E. Everyday Knowledge. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 205-207.

Gibbs, L. (Producer). (2006). Great Budget Vacations: Swap Homes - Money-Saving Tactic 1. Retrieved from http://www.parents.com

Gibbs, L. (2006, April). Great Budget Vacations: Swap Homes.

Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: self and society in the late modern age*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Giulianotti, H. (2005). The sociability of sport Scotland Football Supporters as Interpreted through the Sociology of Georg Simmel. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport, 40*, 289-306.

Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*: Aldine Transaction.

Gobbi, M. (2005). Nursing practice as bricoleur activity: a concept explored. *Nursing Inquiry, 12*, 117-125.

Goffman, E. (1959a). Garden City: Doubleday *The presentation of self in everyday life*.

Goffman, E. (1959b). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday.

Goffman, E. (1961). *Encounters: Two studies in the sociology of interaction*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill.

Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor.

Goffman, E. (1971). *Relations in public*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Gogia, N. (2006). Unpacking corporeal mobilities: the global voyages of labour and leisure. *Environment and Planning, 38*, 359-375.

Goodchild, M. F., & Janelle, D. G. (1984). The city around the clock: space - time patterns of urban ecological structure. *Environment and Planning A, 16*(6), 807 – 820.

Goodson, L., & Phillimore, J. (2004). The inquiry paradigm in qualitative tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 30-45). New York: Routledge.

Goodstein, E. (2002). Style as Substance: Georg Simmel's Phenomenology of Culture. *Cultural Critique, 52*, 209-246.

Gotham, K. F. (2005). Theorizing urban spectacles: Festivals, tourism and the transformation of urban space. *CITY, 9*, 226-246.

Greco, M. (2005). On the Vitality of Vitalism. *Theory, Culture & Society, 22*, 15-27.

Green, S., & Jordan, P. W. (2002). *Pleasure with Products: Beyond Usability*. USA: CRC press.

Gregson, N., & Crewe, L. (1997). Possession and performance: rethinking the act of purchase in the space of the car boot sale. *Journal of Material Culture, 2*, 241-263.

Grenier, M. (1998, July 1). Trading Places, *Daily Breeze,* pp. E1-E2.

Griffith, S. (2001, Sept. & Oct.). Planning for a Career Break with a Sabbatical. *Transitions Abroad*.Grit, A., Lynch, P., & Mishra, A. (2009a). Hotel Transvaal and Molar lines as a tool to open up spaces of hospitality. *Critical Tourism*. Zadar.

Grit, A., Lynch, P., & Mishra, A. (2009b). *Hotel Transvaal & Molar lines as a tool to open up spaces of hospitality.* Paper presented at the 3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference : Connecting Academies of Hope Critical actions and Creative vistas.

Grosz, E. (1999). Thinking the new: of futures yet unthought. *Becomings: Explorations in Time, Memory and Futures* (pp. 15-28). NY: Cornel University Press, Ithaca.

Haldrup, M., & Larsen, J. (2006). Material Cultures of Tourism. *Leisure Studies, 25*, 275-289.

Hall, C. M., & Müller, D. K. (2004). Introduction: Second Homes, Curse or Blessing? Revisited. In C. M. Hall & D. K. Müller (Eds.), *Tourism, Mobility and Second Homes: Between Elite Landscape and Common Ground* (pp. 3-14). Clevedon: Cromwell Press.

Hall, M. (2004). Reflexivity and tourism research: situating myself and/with others. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 137-155). New York: Routledge.

Halsey, M. (2007). Molar Ecology: What can the (Full) Body of an Eco-Tourist Do? In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 135-150). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Hand, M., & Sandywell, B. (2002). E-topia as Cosmopolis or Citadel: On the Democratizing Logics of the Internet, or Toward a Critique of the New Technological Fetishism. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*, 197-225.

Hannam, K., Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006). Editorial: Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings. *Mobilities, 1*, 1-22.

Hannerz, U. (1996). *Transnational connections culture, people, places*. London and New York: Routledge.

Hansen, N. G. (1991). Sansernes sociologi/Sociology of the senses *Om Georg Simmel og det moderne / On Georg Simmel and the modern*. Copenhagen, Denmark: Tiderne Skifter.

Harre, R. (1993). *The Discursive Mind*: Polity Press, Cambridge.

Harris, C., & Hal, M. (2007). *The critical turn in tourism studies: promoting an academy of hope?* Croatia: Split.

Harrison, J. (2006). Constructing New Regional Geographies: Territories, Networks and Relational Regions. *GaWC Research Bulletin*, 213.

Harrison, J. D. (2003). *Being a tourist: finding meaning in pleasure travel*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Harrison, S., Thrift, N. J., & Pile, S. (2004). *Patterned Ground: Entanglements of Nature and Culture*. UK: Reaktion Books.

Harvey, D., & Verwijnen, J. (1999). *Public Art and Urban Development*. Paper presented at the Public Art Observatory 1 Conference - Waterfronts of Art: Art for Social Facilitation, Barcelona.

Hayano, D. M. (1979). Auto-ethnography: Paradigms, problems, and prospects. *Human Organization, 38*, 113-120.

Heal, F. (1990). *Hospitality in early modern England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hempel, C. G. (1965). Studies in the Logic of Explanation. In C. G. Hempel (Ed.), *Aspects of Scientific Explanation, and Other Essays in the Philosophy of Science*. NY: Free Press.

Henderson, K. A., Presley, J., & Bialeschki, M. D. (2004). Theory in Recreation and Leisure Research: Reflections from the Editors. *Leisure Sciences, 26*, 411-425.

Henricks, T. S. (2006). *Reconsidered sociological perspectives on human expression*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Hetherington, K. (2003). Spatial textures: place, touch, and praesentia. *Environment and Planning A, 35*, 1933-1944.

Hickey-Moody, A., & Malins, P. (2007). Introduction: Gilles Deleuze and Four Movements in Social Thought. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 1-24). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hiemstra, R. (2005). *Amsterdam as a creative tourist destination: A preliminary study on the development of a creative tourist image of Amsterdam - Master Thesis*.

Highmore, B. (2002). Simmel Fragments of everyday life *Everyday life and cultural theory an introduction* (pp. 34-44). New York: Routledge.

Hillis, K. (2006). A Space for the Trace: Memorable eBay and Narrative Effect. *Space and Culture, 9*, 140-156.

Hodes, S. J. (2005). *De creatieve stad en leisure – Amsterdam een case study*. Lectorale rede Amsterdam/Diemen.

Holliday, A. (2002). *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research*. London: Sage.

Hollinshead, H. (2004a). Ontological craft in tourism studies. The productive mapping of identity and image in tourism setting. In Phillimore.J. & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism. Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies* (pp. 83-101): London & New York: Routledge.

Hollinshead, H. (2004b). Ontological craft in tourism studies: the productive mapping of identity and image in tourism settings. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 83-101). New York: Routledge.

Holmstrom, D., & Monitor., C. S. (1997, March 05). You Stay at My House and I'll Stay at Yours, *USA Today*.

Holt, D. B. (1997). Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity. *Journal of Consumer Research, 3*, 326-350.

Holt, N. L. (2001). Beyond technical reflection: Demonstrating the modification of teaching behaviors using three levels of reflection. *Avante, 7*(2), 66-76.

Honneth, A. (2004). Organized Self-Realization Some Paradoxes of Individualization. *European Journal of Social Theory, 7*, 463-478.

Horovitz, I. (2002). America's Favorite Hometown Business. *INC, 72.*

Hubbard, P. J., Kitchin, R., & Valentine, G. (2004). *Key Thinkers on Space and Place*: Sage Publications.

Huizinga, J. (1938). *Homo Ludens: a study of the play - Element in culture*: Beacon Press.

Humberstone, B. (2004). Standpoint research: multiple version of reality in tourism theorising and research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 119-136). New York: Routledge.

Hägerstrand, T. (1970). What about people in regional science? *Papers of the Regional Science Association, 24*, 7-21.

Inglis, F. (2000). *The Delicious History of the Holiday*. London: Routledge Press.

Ingold, T. (1995). *Building, dwelling, living: how animals and people make themselves at home in the world*: Routledge, London.

Ingold, T. (2000). *The perception of the environment essays on livelihood, dwelling & skill*. New York: Routledge.

Jaakson, R. (1986). Second-Home Domestic Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research, 13*, 367-391.

Jack, G., & Phipps, A. M. (2005). *Tourism and intercultural exchange why tourism matters*. Buffalo: Channel View Publications.

Jamal, T., & Hollinshead, K. (2001). Tourism and the Forbidden Zone: The Underserved Power of Qualitative Inquiry. *Tourism Management, 22*, 63-82.

Janesick, V. J. (1994). The dance of qualitative research design. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 209-219). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Jarlöv, L. (1999). Leisure Lots and Summer Cottages as Places for People's Own Creative Work. In D. Crouch (Ed.), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies* (pp. 231-237). London: Routledge.

Jarvie, G., & Maguire, J. A. (1994). Interpretative sociology: Rationalisation, cultural pessimism and the search for meaning *Sport and leisure in social thought* (pp. 29-44). New York: Routledge.

Jennings, G., & Weiler, B. (2006). Mediating Meaning: Perspectives on Brokering Quality Tourist Experiences. In G. Jennings, Nickerson & N. Polovitz (Eds.), *Quality Tourism Experiences* (pp. 57-78). Burlington, MA: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann.

Jensen, R. (1999). *The dream society*. NY: Random House.

Jobbins, G. (2004). Translators, trust and truth: cross-cultural issues in sustainable tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 311-323). New York: Routledge.

Jokinen, E., & Veijola, S. (1994). Body in Tourism. *Theory, Culture & Society, 11*, 125-151.

Jokinen, E., & Veijola, S. (1997). The disorientated tourist: The figuration of the tourist in contemporary cultural critique. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformation of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.

Jokinen, E., & Veijola, S. (2003). Mountains and Landscapes. Towards Embodied Visualities. In Lφbbren, N. and Crouch, D. (eds.) *Visual Culture and Tourism*. Oxford & New York: Berg Publishers, 259–278

Jordan, F., & Gibson, H. (2004). Let your data do the talking: researching the solo travel experiences of British and American women. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 215-235). New York: Routledge.

Kaern, M. (1994). Georg Simmel's *The bridge and the door. Qualititative Sociology, 17*, 297-313.

Kelly, T. (2004, June 27). Second Homes: Online sites make house swaps even easier for frugal travelers, *Los Angeles Times,* p. K12.

Keohane, K. (2002). The Revitalization of the City and the Demise of Joyce's Utopian Modern Subject. *Theory, Culture & Society, 19*, 29-49.

Kessel, T. (2007). Welcoming the Outside: A Reading of Hospitality and Event in Derrida and Deleuze. *Reconstruction, 7*(4).

Kincheloe, J. L. (2001). Describing the Bricolage: Conceptualizing a New Rigor in Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 7*, 679-692.

Kjølsrød, L. (2003). Adventure Revisited: On Structure and Metaphor in Specialized Play. *Sociology, 37*(NO. 3), 459-476.

Kozinets, R. V. (2002). Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man. *Journal of Consumer Research, 29*(June), 20-39.

Krecker, M. I. (1995). No Place Like Home: Intergenerational Home Sharing Through Social Exchange. *Social Forces, 73*, 1137-1139.

Kushins, E. (2004). Home Exchanging: How to Save a Bundle While You Travel the World. *The Learning Annex San Diego,* 15.

Ladkin, A. (2004). The life and work history methodology: a discussion of its potential use for tourism and hospitality research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 236-254). New York: Routledge.

Laermans, R. (1999). De Moderniteit Van Georg Simmel. *Tijdschrift Voor Sociologie, 20*, 175-194.

Landry, C. (1996). *The creative city in Britain and Germany*. London: Anglo-German Foundation for the Study of Industrial Society.

Landry, C. (2000). *The creative city : a toolkit for urban innovators*. London: Earthscan Publications.

Landry, C. (2006). Lineages of the Creative Cites Retrieved June 2008, from http://www.charleslandry.com/downloads

Larsen, J., Urry, J., & Axhausen, K. W. (2004). Distance Connection and Face-to-Face Proximities. *Networks and Travel: The social life of tourism*, 1-38.

Larsen, J., Urry, J., & Axhausen, K. W. (2007). Networks and tourism - Mobile social life. *Annals of Tourism Research, 34*(1), 244-262.

Lash, S. (2005). Lebenssoziologie, Georg Simmel in the Information Age. *Theory, Culture & Society, 22*, 1-23.

Lash, S. (2006). Experience. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 335-341.

Lash, S., & Urry, J. (1994). *Economies of signs and space*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Lashley, C. (2000). Towards a Theoretical Understanding. In C. Lashley, Morrison, A. (Ed.), *In Search of Hospitality: Theoretical Perspectives and Debates*. Butterworth-Heinemann, Oxford.

Lashley, C., Lynch, P., & Morrison, A. (2006). Ways of Knowing Hospitality. In C. Lashley, P. Lynch & A. Morrison (Eds.), *Hospitality : A Social Lens* (pp. 173-191). St. Louis: Elsevier Science.

Lashley, C., Lynch, P., & Morrison, A. J. (2006). *Introduction: Hospitality a social lens*. Boston, MA: Elsevier.

Lashley, C., & Morrison, A. (2000). *In search of hospitality: Theoretical perspectives and debates*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Lashley, C., & Morrison, A. J. (2000). Putting up? Gender, hospitality and performance. *In search of hospitality theoretical perspectives and debates*. Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.

Laslett, B. (1999). Personal narratives as sociology. *Contemporary Sociology, 28*(4), 391-401.

Latham, A. (2003). Research, performance, and doing human geography: some reflections on the diaryphotograph, diary-interview method. *Environment and Planning A, 35*, 1993-2017.

Latham, A. (2004). Researching and writing everyday accounts of the city: an introduction to the diary-photo diary-interview method. In C. Knowles & P. Sweetman (Eds.), *Picturing the Social Landscape, Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination* (pp. 117-131). London and New York: Routledge.

Latour, B. (1987). *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers through Society*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Latour , B. (2005). *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Laurier, E., & Philo, C. (2004). Cafes and crowds. Retrieved 19 September, 2009, from http://web2.ges.gla.ac.uk/~elaurier/cafesite/texts/elaurier004.pdf .

Laurier, E., & Philo, C. (2006). Possible geographies: a passing encounter in a cafe. *Area, 38*, 353-363.

Law, C. M. (2002). *Urban Tourism: The visitor economy and growth of large cities*: Trowbridge: Cromwell Press.

Leadbeater, C. (1999a). *Europe's new economy*. London: Centre for European Reform.

Leadbeater, C. (1999b). *Living on Thin Air: The New Economy*. London: Viking.

Lebovits, S. C. (2005). Home loan, *The Boston Globe, Globe West,* pp. 1- 13.

Leevers, J. (2005). Trading Places. *A Place in the Sun,* 80-84.

Lefebvre, H. (1984). *Everyday life in the modern world*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.

Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell Publishers.

Lefebvre, H., Kofman, E., & Lebas, E. (1996). *Writings on cities*. Cambridge ; USA: Blackwell Publishers.

Lewis, J. D. (1985). Trust as a Social Reality. *Social Forces, 63*, 967-985.

Lewis, L. (2003). Swapping Vacations: Home Exchange Can Cost No More than Staying Home, *Transitions Abroad*.

Ley, D. (1994). Spectacle and Text: Landscape metaphors in cultural geography. *Progress in Human Geography, 18*(2), 163-185.

Lincoln, Y., & Guba, E. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), Handbook of Sociological research (pp. 105-117). London: Sage.

Lofland, L. H. (1973). *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space*. Prospect Heights, Illinois: Waveland Press.

Longino, H. (1990). *Science as Social Knowledge: Values and Objectivity in Scientific Inquiry*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Loon, J. V. (2006a). Network. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 307-322.

Loon, J. V. (2006b). Organizational Spaces and Networks. *Space and Culture, 4/5*, 109-112.

Lorraine, T. (2005a). Lines of Flight. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 144-146). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lorraine, T. (2005b). Plateau. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 206-207). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lorraine, T. (2005c). Smooth Space. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 253-254). New York: Columbia University Press.

Lort, R. (Producer). (2000, 8 May, 2002). Incorporeal part II: Fervent machines. Retrieved from http://home.pacific.net.au/~robertl/azimute/deleuze_guattari/ fervent_machines.html

Low, S., & Smith, N. (Eds.). (2005). *The politics of public space*. London: Routledge.

Lugosi, P., 2007. Hospitality Spaces, Hospitable Relationships: Exploring the Entanglement of Social and Commercial Hospitality. *In: Association of Social Anthropologists Annual Conference: Thinking through Tourism, 10-13 April 2007, London Metropolitan University, England*. (Unpublished)

Lugosi, P. (2008a). Hospitality Spaces, Hospitable Moments: Consumer Encounters and effective Experiences in Commercial Settings. *Journal of Foodservice, 19*, 139-149.

Lugosi, P. (2008b). *Queer consumption and bar: operation: Ideological, normative and situational dimensions of hospitable space*. Paper presented at the CHME 2008 Research Conference; May.

Lynch, P. A. (1999). *Attitudes of Hosts to their Interactions with Guests in the Homestay Sector*. Queen Margaret College. Edinburgh.

Lynch, P.A. (2000). Homing in on home hospitality. *The Hospitality Review, 2*, 48-54.

Lynch, P. A. (2003). Conceptual relationships between hospitality and space in the homestay sector. Unpublished PhD thesis

Lynch, P. A., Kozlowska, M., & Ritchie, M. (2004). Polish social firm hotel project: an international voluntary-publish-private sector partnership in action. *Hospitality Management, 23*, 255-271.

Lynch, P. A. (2005). Sociological impressionism in a hospitality context. *Annals of Tourism Research, 32*(3), 527-548.

Lynch, P. A. (2005a). Reflections on the Home Setting in Hospitality. *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management, 12*, 37-49.

Lynch, P. A. (2006). Tribal affairs. *The Hospitality Review*.

Lynch, P. A. (2005b). The commercial home enterprise and host: a United Kingdom perspective. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 24*, 533-553.

Löfgren, O. (2002). *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing*. Los Angeles: University of California.

MacCannel, D., & Young, Y. C. (1979). Predicting the quality of life in the United States. *Social Indicators Research, 6*(1), 23-40.

MacCannell, D. (1979). *The Tourist*. London: MacMillan.

Maccannell, D. (1999). *The tourist a new theory of the leisure class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Macdonald, S. (1997). A People's Story: Heritage, identity and authenticity. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring cultures transformations of travel and theory* (pp. 155-175). New York: Routledge.

Macnaghten, P., & Urry, J. (2001). *Bodies of nature*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: SAGE Publications.

Magg, J. (2000). Home Away from Home: Have a "Second" Home for Price of Planefare. *Transitions Abroad*.

Maitland, R. (2007). Cultural tourism and the development of new tourism areas in London. In G. Richards (Ed.), *Cultural tourism: global and local perspectives.* (pp. 113-129). New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.

Malins, P. (2004). Machinic Assemblages: Deleuze, Guattari and an Ethico-Aesthetics of Drug Use. *Janus Head, 7*, 84-104.

Marcus, G. E., & Saka, E. (2006). Assemblage. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 101-109.

Marks, J. (2005). Representation. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 227-229). New York: Columbia University Press.

Martin, J. (1978). *The wired society*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J: Prentice-Hall.

Massey, D. B. (1994). *Space, place, and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Massumi, B. (1987). Capitalism and Schizophrenia (B. Massumi, Trans.) *A Thousand Plateaus-foreword of Deleuze, G. & Guattari*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.

Massumi, B. (2002). Parables for the Virtual. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Matthews, V. H. (1991). *Old Testament parallels: Laws and stories from the ancient near east*. New York: Paulist Press.

May, J., & Thrift, N. J. (2001). *Time Space geographies of temporality*. New York: Routledge.

Mazanti, B., & Pløger, J. (2003). Community planning-from politicised places to lived spaces. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment, 18*, 309-327.

McCabe, S. (2005). 'Who is a tourist?' A critical review. *Tourist studies, 5*, 85-106.

McCabe, S., & Stokoe, E. (Lecture). "Have you been away?": Holiday talk in ordinary and institutional interaction 3rd Critical Tourism Studies Conference Connecting Academies of Hope: 'Critical actions and Creative vistas' Zadar, Croatia 21-24 June 2009.

McCabe, S., & Marson, D. (2006). Tourist Constructions and Consumptions of Space: Place, Modernity and Meaning. In P. M. Burns & M. Novelli (Eds.), *Tourism and Social Identities: Global Frameworks and Local Realities* (pp. 91-108): Elsevier.

McCorkel, J. A., & Myers, K. (2003). What difference does difference make: Position and privilege in the field. *Qualitative Sociology, 26*(2), 199-231.

McKercher, B., & Cros, D. H. (2002). *Cultural Tourism: The Partnership Between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management*. Binghamton: Haworth Press.

McMenamin, B. (2000). House Swapping, *Forbes Investment Guide,* pp. 236-238.

Mels, T. (2004). Lineage of a Geography of Rhythms. In T. Mels (Ed.), *Reanimating place: a geography of rhythms*. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Merleau-Ponty, M. (1962). *Phenomenology of Perception*: Routledge, London.

Message, K. (2005). Territory. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 274-276). New York: Columbia University Press.

Miller, V. (2006). The Unmappable - Vagueness and Spatial Experience. *Space and Culture, 9*(Nov/Dec), 453-467.

Molz, J. G., & Gibson, S. (2007a). Cosmopolitans on the Couch: Mobile Hospitality and the Internet *Mobilizing hospitality the ethics of social relations in a mobile world* (pp. 65-80). Burlington, VT: Ashgate.

Molz, J. G., & Gibson, S. (2007b). Mobilizing Hospitality - The ethics of social relations in a mobile world. In J. G. Molz & S. Gibson (Eds.), *Mobilizing Hospitality- The ethics of social relations in a mobile world*: Ashgate Publishing Limited, UK.

Mommaas, J.T. (1996). *Leisure research in Europe methods and traditions*. Wallingford: CAB International.

Mommaas, J. T. (2006). Landelijk wonen en waardeketens. In H. d. Hartog (Ed.), Exurbia. Wonen buiten de stad. (pp. 197-203). Rotterdam: Episode.

Moorhead, J. (2007). Holiday in High Wycombe, anyone? *Saturday Guardian,* pp. 4-5.

Morley, D. (2000). *Home territories media, mobility and identity*. New York: Routledge.

Morris, M. (1988). At Henry Parkes Motel. *Cultural studies, 2*, 1-47.

Morrison, A., & O'Gorman, K. (2008). Hospitality Studies and Hospitality Management: A Symbiotic Relationship. *International Journal of Hospitality Management, 27*(2), 214-221.

Morse, J. M. (1994). "Emerging From the Data": The Cognitive Processes of Analyses in Qualitative Inquiry. In J. M. Morse (Ed.), *Critical Issues in Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 23-43). Thousand Oaks.

Morton, F. (2005). Performing ethnography: Irish traditional music sessions and new methodological spaces. *Social & Cultural Geography, 6*(5), 661-676.

Mount, I. (2004). Tricks of the Trade: Home Pro Swaps Places, *The Wall Street Journal,* p. D.1.

Moustakas, C. (1990). *Heuristic research: Design, methodology, and applications*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.

Muncey, T. (2005). Doing autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 4*(3). Retrieved from http://www.ualberta.ca/~iiqm/backissues/4_1/pdf/muncey.pdf

Murdoch, J. (1997). Towards a Geography of Heterogeneous Association. *Progress in Human Geography, 3*, 321-337.

Murphy, K. (2006, June 11). Trading Places, and Saving a Bundle on Vacations. The New York Times, p. 6.

Murphy-Lejeune, E. (2002). *Student mobility and narrative in Europe: The new strangers*. New York: Routledge.

Möllering, G. (2001). The Nature of Trust: From Georg Simmel to a Theory of Expectation, Interpretation and Suspension. *Sociology, 35*, 403-420.

Nash, D. (2004). New wine in old bottle: an adjustment of priorities in the anthropological study of tourism. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 170-184). New York: Routledge.

Neuman, W. L. (1994). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Needham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.

Ngai-Ling, S., & Mei-Chi, S. (2004). The paradox of a tourist center: Hong Kong as a site of play and place of fear. In M. Sheller & J. Urry (Eds.), *Tourism mobilities places to play, places in play* (pp. 119-130). New York: Routledge.

Norwood, G. (1999). We didn't know we'd have to feed the chickens: House Exchanges: Graham Norwood says home swapping, growing ever more popular thanks to e-mail, can be full of surprises, Financial Times, pp. 3, 15.

Norwood, G. (2006, July 5). Free holidays: How to swap your home for a place in the sun. The Independent. Retrieved from http://www.independent.co.uk/life-style/house-and-home/property/free-holidays-how-to-swap-your-home-for-a-place-in-the-sun-406628.html

Nouwen, H. (1976). Reaching Out, The Three Movements of the Spiritual Life. Glasgow: William Collins.

Nystuen, D. (1963). Identification of some fundamental spatial concepts. *The Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters, 48*, 373-384.

O'Connor, D., & Ilcan, S. (2000). Assemblages: space and sociation. *Space and Culture*, 7-9.

O'Gorman, K. (2006). The legacy of monastic hospitality 1- The Rule of Benedict and rise of Western monastic hospitality. *The Hospitality Review*, 35-43.

O'Neill, S. (2004). Mi Casa es Su Casa. *Kiplinger's Personal Finance, 58*, 92-96.

Obrador Pons, P. (2003). Being-on-holiday. *Tourist Studies, 3*, 47-66.

Olma, S., & Koukouzelis, K. (2007). Introduction: Life's (Re-)Emergences. *Theory, Culture & Society, 24*(6), 1-17.

Olma, S. K., Kostas. (2007). Introduction: Life's (Re-) Emergences. *Theory, Culture & Society, 24*(6), 1-17.

Otago, U. o. Tour, Tourism and Mobility. *University of Otago*. Hall, C Michael (2004) *Tourism and mobility*. In: CAUTHE 2004: Creating Tourism Knowledge, 10-13 February 2004, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia, p. 10. (Unpublished)

Parasuraman, A., Zeithaml, V. A., & Berry, L. L. (1988). SERVQUAL: A Multiple-Item Scale for Measuring Customer Perceptions of Service Quality. *Journal of Retailing*, 12-40.

Parrinello, G. L. (2001). The Technological Body in Tourism Research and Praxis. *International Sociology), 16(2)*, 205-219.

Peck, J. (2005). Struggling with the Creative Class. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 29* (December), 740–770.

Pelias, R. J. (2003). The academic tourist: An autoethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry, 9*(3), 369-373.

Pels, D. (1999). Privileged Nomads: On the Strangeness of Intellectuals and the Intellectuality of Strangers. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*, 63-86.

Pettman, J. J. (1997). Body Politics: International Sex Tourism. *Third World* (Quarterly 18-1), 99-108.

Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2004a). From ontology, epistemology and methodology to the field. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 185-194). New York: Routledge.

Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2004b). Progress in qualitative research in tourism: epistemology. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies*. New York: Routledge.

Phillimore, J., & Goodson, L. (2004c). *Qualitative research in tourism ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*. New York: Routledge.

Phillips, J. (2003). Deconstruction. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 194-195.

Phillips, J. (2006). Agencement/Assemblage. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 101-109.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1998). Welcome to the Experience Economy. *Harvard Business Review, 76*(4), 97-105.

Pine, B. J., & Gilmore, J. H. (1999). *The experience economy: Work is theatre & every business a stage*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.

Pink, S. (2001). *Doing Visual Ethnography: Images, Media and Representation I Research*. London: SAGE.

Pink, S. (2004). In and Out of the Academy Video Ethnography of the Home. *Visual Anthropology Review, 20*(1), 82-88.

Pink, S. (2005). *Doing Visual Ethnography*. London: SAGE.

Pink, S., Kürti, L., & Afonso, A. L. (Eds.). (2004). *Working Images: Visual Research and Representation in Ethnography*. London: Routledge Press.

Pløger, J. (2006). Urban Vitalis. *Space and culture, 9*, 382-399.

Pogge, W. T. (1992). Cosmopolitanism and Sovereignty. *Ethics* (103 [October]), 48-75.

Pohl, C. D., & Buck, P. J. (2001). *Study Guide for Making Room: Recovering Hospitality as a Christian Tradition*. Wm. B: Eerdmans Publishing.

Pomfret, G. (2006). Mountaineering adventure tourists: a conceptual framework for research. *Tourism Management, 27*, 113-123.

Pons, P. O. (2003). Being-on-holiday: Tourist dwelling, bodies and place. *Tourist studies, 3*, 47-66.

Poria, Y., Atzaba-Poria, N., & Barrett, M. (2005). Research Note: The Relationship Between Children's Geographical Knowledge and Travel Experience: An Exploratory Study. *Tourism Geographies, 7*(4), 389-397.

Press. (1999). Home-Swap Shops: How to save on lodging this summer. *Consumer Reports Travel Letter,* 18.

Press. (2001). Home exchange - The "Free" Vacation. *Consumer Reports Travel Letter,* 12-16.

Press. (2003a). Homestay Accommodation Sector. *LTSN Hospitality Leisure, Sport & Tourism*, 1-15.

Press. (2003b). Housing-swapping vacationers savor living like the locals, *USA Today,* p. 05d.

Press. (2005a). Holiday Swap Shop. *Renault,* 76.

Press. (2005b). Home and away, *Travel Guardian UK*.

Press. (2005c). Home Exchange is the Newest Travel Option, *RTF Revisions,* pp. 7-9.

Press. (2005d). Home exchange is the Newest Travel Option: Live Like a Local...No Hotel Bills, No Hotel Blues. *Office Pro*.

Press. (2005e). Look beyond hotels for bargain lodging, *USA Today,* p. 05d.

Press. (2006a). Encore (A special Report), *Wall Street Journal,* p. R2.

Press. (2006b). Life in the big. *National Geographic Traveler,* 82-87.

Price, C. (2004). A Cheap Way to Live Abroad. *Transitions Abroad*.

Pries, L. (2005). Configurations of geographic and societal spaces: a sociological proposal between 'methodological nationalism' and the 'spaces of flows'. *Global Networks, 5*, 1470-2266.

Pruijt, H. (2004). Squatters in the Creative City: Rejoinder to Justus Uitermark. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 28*, 699-705.

Pyyhtinen, O. (2009). *Bringing the Social Alive*. University of Turku.

Pyyhtinen, O. (2009). *Bringing the Social Alive: Essays on Georg Simmel's Social Theory*. Doctoral dissertation.

Radley, A. (1995). The elusory body and social constructionist. *Theory Body and Society 1(2),* 3-23.

Raffestin, C. (1997). 'Réinventer l'hospitalité'. *Communications, 65*, 77-165.

Ragland, L. (2006). Home Sweet Swap. *Advocate*.

Rajchman, J., & Virilio, P. (1998). *Constructions*: The MIT Press.

Rakiç, T. (2007). *Researcher with a movie camera: visual ethnography in the field*. Napier University, Edinburgh, UK.

Rapoport, T., & Feder, E. L. (2001). Reflections on Strangeness in Context: The Case of Russian-Jewish Immigrants in the Kibbutz. *Human Sciences Press, Inc. (In press), 24*, 483-506.

Rath, J. (2007). Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City. In G. Richards & J. Wilson (Eds.), *Tourism, Creativity and Development*. London: Routledge.

Reed-Danahay, D. E. (1997). *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the self and the social*. Oxford: Berg.

Regev, Y. (2005). Georg Simmel's Philosophy of Culture: Chronos, Zeus, and Between. *The European Legacy, 10*, 585-593.

Rescher, N. (1996). *Process Metaphysics. An Introduction to Process Philosophy*. NY: State University of New York Press.

Richards, G., & Wilson, J. (2006). Developing creativity in tourist experiences: A solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism Management, 27*, 1209–1223.

Richards, L., & Morse, J. M. (2007). *Readme First for a User's Guide to Qualitative Methods* (2 ed.): SAGE Publications Ltd.

Richardson, L. (2000a). New writing practices in qualitative research. *Sociology of Sport Journal, 17*, 5-20.

Richardson, L. (2000b). Writing: A method of inquiry. In N. D. Y. Lincoln (Ed.), *Handbook of qualitative inquiry (2nd ed.)*: Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Richardson, L., & St. Pierre, E. A. (2005). Writing: A Method of Inquiry. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Ridderstrale, J., & Nordstrom, K. (2000). *Funky Business: Talent Makes Capital Dance*. London: Financial Times/ Prentice Hall.

Rifkin, J. (2000). *The age of access : The new culture of hypercapitalism where all of life is a paid-for experience*: Tarcher/Putman.

Ritzer, G. (1996). *The McDonaldization of society (revised ed.)*. Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press.

Ritzer, G., & Liska, A. (1997). McDisneyization' and 'Post-Tourism: Complementary Perspectives on Contemporary Tourism. In Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures: Transformations In Travel and Theory* (pp. 96–109). London: London: Routledge.

Ritzer, G., & Stillman, T. (2001). The Postmodern Ballpark as a Leisure Setting: Enchantment and Simulated De-Mcdonaldization. *Leisure Sciences, 23*, 99-113.

Robinson, L. & Lynch, P.A. (2007). The Power of Hospitality: A Sociolinguistic Analysis in Lashley, C., Lynch, P.A., & Morison, A. (Eds.). (2006). Hospitality A Social Lens (Advances in Tourism Research). St. Louis: Elsevier Science.

Roffe, J. (2005). Nomos. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 184-186). New York: Columbia University Press.

Roffe, J. (2007). The Revolutionary Dividual. In A. Hickey-Moody & P. Malins (Eds.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 40-49). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rogers, E. M. (1999). Georg Simmel's Concept of the Stranger and Intercultural Communication Research. *Communication Theory, 9*(1), 58-74.

Rojek, C. (1993). *Ways of Escape: Modern Transformations in Leisure and Travel*: Macmillan.

Rojek, C. (1997). Indexing, Dragging and the Social Construction of Tourist Sights. In C. Rojek & J. Urry (Eds.), *Touring Cultures* (pp. 52-74).

Rojek, C., & Urry, J. (1997). The Disoriented Tourist: The figuration of the tourist in contemporary cultural critique *Touring cultures transformations of travel and theory* (pp. 22-51). New York: Routledge.

Rojek, C., & Urry, J. (1997). *Touring cultures: transformations of travel and theory*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Rose, G. (2001). *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials.* London: SAGE.

Rosenbloom, S. (2006). At Home in the World, *New York Times,* p. 1.

Royal, L. E. (2001). Trading places: Home exchange offers great vacation savings. *Black Enterprise,* 146.

Ruyter, K., & Scholl, N. (2004). *Qualitative Market Research: Theory and Practice*. Utrecht: Lemma Publishers.

Saldanha, A. (2005). Trance and visibility at dawn: racial dynamics in Goa's rave scene. *Social & Cultural Geography, 6*, 707-721.

Salehi, S. (2008). Teaching Contingencies: Deleuze, Creativity Discourses, and Art.

Sap, H. A. (2002). *Neo-materialism and urban planning: A contribution to new metaphoric understanding*. Paper presented at the 2nd USO Build Conference: International Research and Design Unit: 1-The post-industrial landscape. Lausanne, Swiss.

Sassatelli, R. (2000). From Value to Consumption. A Socialtheoretical Perspective on Simmel's Philosophie des Geldes. *Acta Sociological*, 207-218.

Sassen, S. (2000). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Pine Forge Press.

Scarles, C. (2004). Mediating landscapes-The processes and practices of image construction in tourist brochures of Scotland. *Tourist Studies, 4*, 43-67.

Schmitt, B. (1999). *Experiential marketing*: Simon & Schuster.

Sebilia, C. D. (2000). Seven Great Reasons to Home Exchange. *Transitions Abroad*.

Selwyn, T. (1996). *The Tourist Image: Myths and Myth Making in Tourism.* Chichester Wiley.

Semetsky, I. (2005). *Educating for 3C: Critical, Clinical, Creative.* The University of Newcastle.

Shapiro, M. J. (1999). *Cinematic Political Thought*. NY: New York University Press.

Shaviro, S. (2009). The Pinocchio theory Retrieved 4 May, 2009, from http://www.shaviro.com/Blog/

Sheller, M. (2003). Demobilizing and remobilizing Caribbean paradise. In M. U. Sheller, J. (Ed.), *Consuming the Caribbean from Arawaks to zombies* (pp. 2-2). New York: Routledge.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2004). On the track of the Vikings *Tourism mobilities places to play, places in play* (pp. 6-8). New York: Routledge.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006a). *Mobile technologies of the city*. New York: Routledge.

Sheller, M., & Urry, J. (2006b). The new mobilities paradigm. *Environment and Planning A, 38*(2), 207-226.

Shields, R. (1996). Surfing: Global space or dwelling in the waves? *Cultures of Internet virtual spaces, real histories, living bodies* (pp. 44-51). Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Shields, R. (2006a). Knowing Space. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 147-149.

Shields, R. (2006b). Virtualities. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 284-286.

Simmel, G. (1950a). *The sociology of Georg Simmel* (K. Wolff, Trans.). New York: Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1950b). The Stranger (K. Wolff, Trans.) *The Sociology of George Simmel* (pp. 402 - 408). NY: Free Press.

Simmel, G. (1971). The Adventurer. In D. N. Levine (Ed.), *George Simmel, On Individuality and Social Forms*: Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Simmel, G. (1994). Bridge and door. *Theory, culture and Society, 11*, 5-10.

Simmel, G. (1997a). *Simmel on culture: Selected writings*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications.

Simmel, G. (1997b). The Concept and the Tragedy of Culture. In D. Frisby & M. Featherstone (Eds.), *Culture*. London: Sage Publications.

Simmel, G. (1997c). The Stranger. In D. Frisby & M. Featherstone (Eds.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (pp. 140-148; 186).

Simmel, G., & Frisby, D. (2004). *The philosophy of money*. New York: Routledge.

Small, J. (2004). Memory-work. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 255-272). New York: Routledge.

Smith, R. G. (2003). World City Actor-Networks. *Progress in Human Geography, 27*, 25-44.

Smith, V. L. B., M. (Ed.). (2001). *Hosts and guests revisited: tourism issues of the 21st century*. New York: Cognizant Communication Corp.

Snel, A. (2003). *Dematerialization of the economy*. University of Amsterdam. Amsterdam. Unpublished PhD thesis

Soci., L. U. (2004). Networks and Travel: The Social Life of Tourism. *Lancaster University Press Release*.

Sofield, T. H. (2006). Border Tourism and Border Communities: An Overview. *Tourism Geographies, 8*, 102-121.

Sparkes, A. C. (1996). The fatal flaw: A narrative of the fragile body-self. *Qualitative Inquiry, 2*(4), 463-494.

Sparkes, A. C. (2000). Autoethnography and narratives of self: reflections on criteria in action. *Sociology of sports Journal, 17*, 21-43.

Sparkes, A. C. (2002). Autoethnography: self-indulgence or something more? In A. P. Bochner & C. Ellis (Eds.), *Ethnographically Speaking: Auto- Ethnography, Literature and Aesthetics* (pp. 209-232). Oxford: Altamira Press.

Speaks, M. (1995). Architecture. In B. Cache (Ed.), *Earth Moves: The Furnishing of Territories*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

St. Pierre, E. A. (2004). Deleuzian Concepts for Education; The Subject Undone. *Educational Philosophy and Theory, 36*, 283-296.

Stagoll, C. (2005). Plane. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 204-206). New York: Columbia University Press.

Stalder, F. (2006). *Manuel Castells the theory of the network society*. Malden, MA: Polity.

Steenhoven, J. v. d. (2005). *Final Report*. Paper presented at the Creative Capital conference ; March 17-18, Felix Meritis Amsterdam.

Stein, J. (2001). Reflections on time, time-space compression and technology on the nineteenth century *Time- space compression* (pp. 106-119). New York: Routledge.

Steinbeck, J. (1948). *A Russian Journal, with pictures by Robert Capa.*

Steinberg, A. (2007). Rhizomic Network Analysis: Towards a better understanding knowledge dynamics innovate in business networks. In F. Zhao (Ed.), *Handbook of Research on Information Technology Entrepreneurshi and Innovation*: Publisher: Idea Group Inc., Hershey, PA, U.S.A.

Stewart, K. (2005). Cultural Poesis: The Generativity of Emergent Things. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3 ed.): SAGE Publications Ltd.

Strain, M. (1998). Towards an economy of lifelong learning: Reconceptualising relations between learning and life. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 46*, 264-277.

Svenson, S. (2004). The cottage and the city: an interpretation of the Canadian second home experience *Tourism, mobility and second homes: between elite landscape and common ground.*

Swain, M. B. (2004). (Dis)embodied experience and power dynamics in tourism research. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 102-118). New York: Routledge.

Szerszynski, B., & Urry, J. (2006). Visuality, mobility and the cosmopolitan. *British Journal of Sociology, 57*, 117-131.

Tabb, S. (2002). Swap homes for great vacation. *Town Crossing,* 1 - 4.

Taylor, P. L. (Producer). (2006). Space and Sustainability: An Exploratory Essay on the Production of Social Spaces through City Work.

Telfer, E. (2000). The philosophy of hospitableness. In C. Lasley, A. Morrison (Eds.), *In search of hospitality: Theoretical perspectives and debates* (pp. 38-55). Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.

Thomas, K. (2004). The research process as a journey: from positivist traditions into the realms of qualitative inquiry. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 197-214). New York: Routledge.

Thrift, N. (1999). The Place of Complexity. *Theory, Culture & Society, 16*, 31-69.

Thrift, N. (2000). Still Life in Nearly Present Time. *Body & Society, 6*, 34-57.

Thrift, N. (2004). Movement-space: the changing domain of thinking resulting from the development of new kinds of spatial awareness. *Economy and Society, 33*, 582-604.

Thrift, N. (2006). Space. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 139-155.

Thrift, N. (2007). *Non-representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect.* London: Routledge.

Thrift, N., & Dewsbury, J. D. (2000). Dead geographies--and how to make them live. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space, 18*, 411-432.

Thrift, N. J. (1996). *Spatial formations*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage.

Tideman, M. C. (1983). External Influence on the Hospitality Industry. In E. Cassee & R. Reuland (Eds.), *The Management of Hospitality*: Pergamon Press.

Tierny, W. G. (1998). Life history's history: Subjects foretold. *Qualitative Inquiry, 4*, 49-70.

Tobe, R. (2006). Frightening and Familiar: David Lynch's Twin Peaks and the North American Suburb. In D. Crouch & N. Lübbren (Eds.), Visual Culture and Tourism. Oxford.

Toffler, A. (1980). The third wave. New York: Morrow.

Toffler, A., & Toffler, H. (2006). Revolutionary wealth. New York: Knopf.

Toiskallio, K. (1994). Simmel Hails a Cab: Fleeting Sociability in the Urban Taxi. Space and Culture, 6, 4-20.

Toscano, A. (2005). Post-Structuralism + Politics. In A. Parr (Ed.), *The Deleuze Dictionary* (pp. 213-215). New York: Columbia University Press.

Tregoning, W. (Producer). (2003, 8 November 2006). It feels like home: hospitality in a postcolonial space. Retrieved from http://arts.monash.edu.au/ publications/ colloquy/archives/issue007/tregoning.html

Tribe, J. (2004). Knowing about tourism: epistemological issues. In J. Phillimore & L. Goodson (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Tourism: Ontologies epistemologies methodologies* (pp. 46-62). New York: Routledge.

Tucker, H., & Lynch, P.A. (2004). Host-Guest Dating: The Potential of Improving the Customer Experience Through Host-Guest Psychographic Matching. *Journal of Quality Assurance in Hospitality & Tourism, 5*, 11-32.

Turner, V. (1969). *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co.

Tőffler, A. (1970). *Future shock*. New York: Random House.

Uriely, N., & Ron, A. (2004). Allotment holding as an eco-leisure practice: the case of the Sataf village. *Leisure Studies, 23*, 127-141.

Urry, J. (1990). *The tourist gaze leisure and travel in contemporary societies*. Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Urry, J. (1995). *Consuming places*. New York: Routledge.

Urry, J. (1999). Sensing Leisure Spaces. In D. Crouch (Ed.), *Leisure/Tourism Geographies* (pp. 34-45). London: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2000a). Mobile Sociology. *British Journal of Sociology, 51*, 185-203.

Urry, J. (2000b). *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century*. New York: Routledge.

Urry, J. (2001). *Globalising the Tourist Gaze*. Paper presented at the Cityscapes Conference Graz.

Urry, J. (2002). Mobility and Proximity. *Sociology, 36*, 255-274.

Urry, J. (2003). Social networks, travel and talk. *British Journal of Sociology, 54*(2), 155-175.

Urry, J. (2004a). Small worlds and the new 'social physics'. *Global Networks, 4*, 109-130.

Urry, J. (2004b). The 'System' of Automobility. *Theory, Culture & Society, 21*, 25-39.

Urry, J. (2005). The Complexities of the Global. *Theory, Culture & Society, 22*, 235-254.

Urry, J. (2006). Complexity. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 111-117.

Urry, J. (2007). *Mobilities*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Urry, J., & Sheller, M. (2004). Places to play, places in play. *Tourism mobilities places to play, places in play* (pp. 3-10). New York: Routledge.

Van Loon, J. (2006). Network. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 307-322.

Venn, C. (2006). A Note on Assemblage. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 107-108.

Vork, J. (2007). *De aantrekkingskracht van Amsterdam, Een onderzoek naar de rol van cultuur & evenementen, restaurants & uitgaan, recreatie & sport op de aantrekkingskracht van Amsterdam voor creatieve kenniswerkers*. www.kenniskringleisure.nl. InHolland. Amsterdam.

Wall, M. (1998). Go foreign and save thousands: Home exchange: Matthew Wall explains how to turn your dreams into reality, *Financial Times,* p. 7.3.

Wall, S. (2006). An Autoethnography on Learning about Autoethnography. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods, 5*(2).

Wallerstein, I. (1996). *Open the social sciences*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

Wang, N. (1999). Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research, 26*(2), 349–370.

Wardle, H. (1999). Jamaican Adventures: Simmel, Subjectivity and Extraterritoriality in the Caribbean. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, 5*, 523-539.

Watier, P. Understanding and everyday life. *SAGE Social Science Collections*.

Wearing, B., & Wearing, S. (1996). Refocussing the tourist experience: the flâneur and the choraster. *Leisure Studies, 15*(4), 229-243.

Webster, R. M. (2002). Home Exchange Tips. *Traditions Abroad Magazine,* 7.

Wellman, B., & Berkowitz, S. D. (1997). *Social structures a network approach*. Greenwich, Conn: JAI Press.

White, E. (2001). The Simpson Boarding House, 1901-1909: Reflecting the Roosevelt Largesse. *Journal of American and Comparative Culture, 24*, 197-205.

Wisdom, P. (2004). 10 Steps to...Swapping your home. *At Home-Scotland on Sunday,* p. 21.

Wittel, A. (2001). Toward a Network Sociality. *Theory, Culture & Society, 18*, 51-76.

Wolff, K. H. (1963). Experience and culture, the philosophy of Georg Simmel. *American Sociological review, 28*, 299-300.

Wong, B. C. T., & Bishop, R. (2006). Junk Space. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 152-155.

Woodward, A. (2007). Deleuze and Suicide. In A. H.-M. P. Malins (Ed.), *Deleuzian Encounters: Studies in Contemporary Social Issues* (pp. 62-75). NY: New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wu, A. (2005). Trading Space: Vacations can be happier-and cheaper-when trusting travelers swap houses. *Democrat & Chronicle*.

World Tourism Marked (2008). Global Trends Report

Yeoh, B. S. Mobility and the City. *Theory, Culture & Society, 23*, 150-152.

Ziel, T. v. d. (2006). Leven zonder drukte.Wat stedelingen waarderen in het platteland. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

Zingerle, A. (2000). Simmel on Happiness. *Journal of Happiness Studies, 1*, 465-477.

Zukin, S. (1982). *Loft living: culture and capital in urban change*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Zuzanek, J. (1980). *Work and leisure in the Soviet Union: A timebudget analysis*. New York: Praeger.

Zwaal, W. (2003). *The Quintessence model - Unpublished paper CHN University*.

PART 6 APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1 ESSAY FROM DELANDA ABOUT DELEUZIAN ONTOLOGY

The essay was given as a lecture by Manuael DeLanda on the Conference: "Chaos/ Control: Complexity", ZiF Bielefeld June 27th, 1998. It is included since itgives a good introduction into Deleuzian ontology.

Deleuze and the Open-ended Becoming of the World.

The distinction between the possible and the real assumes a set of predefined forms (or essences) which acquire physical reality as material forms that resemble them. From the morphogenetic point of view, realizing a possibility does not add anything to a predefined form, except reality. The distinction between the virtual and the actual, on the other hand, does not involve resemblance of any kind (e.g. our example above, in which a topological point becomes a geometrical sphere) and far from constituting the essential identity of a form, intensive processes subvert identity, since now forms as different as spheres and cubes emerge from the same topological point. As Deleuze writes,

Actualization breaks with resemblance as a process no less than it does with identity as a principle. In this sense, actualization or differenciation is always a genuine creation.(1)

Deleuze criticism of nineteenth century thermodynamics should be understood in this context. By concentrating on the final, extensive form achieved once the intensive process is finished, thermodynamics failed to see that, before the differences in intensity are canceled, the final form (or more exactly, its topological counterpart) is already there, guiding (or acting as an attractor for) the morphogenetic process. In other words, seemingly abstract topological attractors have a perfectly real existence, as virtual entities, even before a given geometrical form becomes actual. And this simply emphasizes Deleuze ontological attitude towards the world: he is not only a realist regarding the actual, but also a realist towards the virtual.

With the final mathematization of classical physics in the nineteenth century, a certain picture of the world emerged dominant, one in which clockwork determinism reigned supreme and time played no creative role, so that the future was effectively closed, completely given in the past. Although the set of equations with which 19th-century Irish mathematician William Rowan Hamilton was able to unify all the different fields of classical physics (mechanics, optics, and the elementary theory of electromagnetism) did contain a variable for time, this variable played only an extrinsic role: once the equations were defined for a specific instant, both the past and the future were completely determined, and could be obtained mechanically by simply integrating the equations. To be sure, this static, timeless picture of reality did not go unchallenged within science, since thermodynamics had already introduced an arrow of time which conflicted with the symmetric conception of classical mechanics, where the past and the

future were interchangeable. Nevertheless, as the history of statistical mechanics makes it clear, much scientific effort has been spent in our century to reconcile time asymmetry at the level of large aggregates with the still accepted time symmetry at the level of individual interactions. Thus, it would become the task of philosophers and social scientists to attempt to reconceptualize the world in order to give time and history a creative role, with the vision of an open future that this implies. Although there have been a variety of strategies to achieve this open future, here I would like to concentrate on two contrasting approaches. The first is perhaps best illustrated by the intellectual movement that is today known as "social constructivism", but which roots lie in linguistic and anthropological theories which go back to the turn of the century. At the risk of oversimplifying, we may say that the core of this approach is a neo-Kantian theory of perception, in which individual experience is completely structured by the interplay of concepts and representations, but one in which Kant's transcendental concepts (of space and time) have been replaced by the conventional concepts of a given culture. The guiding image of this strategy may be said to be "each culture lives in its own world", an image central to many theoretical approaches in this century, from the cultural relativism of Margaret Mead and Franz Boas, to the linguistic relativism of Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, to the epistemological relativism of Thomas Kuhn's theory of scientific paradigms. Again, oversimplifying somewhat, the key idea in all these theories is one of "incommensurability" across worlds, each conceptual scheme constructing its own reality so that bridges between worlds are hard, if not impossible, to build. Although these influential schools of thought deserve a more careful characterization, these few remarks will suffice for my purpose here. If indeed every culture and subculture inhabits its own conceptually constructed reality, then the world and the future become open again. Far from being completely given in the past, the future is now unbound, the world itself becoming a text open to innumerable interpretations. The problem is now, of course, that we have made the world open at the expense of giving up its objectivity, in other words, the world becomes open only through human intervention. For some this relativism may not seem like a problem, particularly when the only alternative is believed to be a realism based on a correspondence theory of truth, a realism deeply committed to essentialism and rationalism. Clearly, if the idea of material objects independent of human experience is based on a conception of their genesis in terms of preexisting essences, then we are back in a closed world where all possibilities have been defined in advance by those essences. Similarly, if the world is pictured as a fixed set of beings to which our theories correspond like a reflection or a snapshot, then that world would be hardly capable of an open becoming.

Yet, the work of philosopher Gilles Deleuze makes it clear that a belief in the autonomous existence of the world does not have to based on essentialist or rationalist views. It will be the task of this essay to make a case for what we may call Deleuze's "neo-realist" approach, an approach involving a theory of the genesis of form that does away with essences, as well as a theory of epistemology that does not rely on a view of truth as a faithful reflection of a static world of beings. I would like to begin with a quote from what is, in my view, Deleuze's most important work, "Difference and Repetition". It is traditional since Kant to distinguish between

the world as it appears to us humans, that is, the world of phenomena or appearances, and those aspects of the world existing by themselves and referred to as "noumena". Deleuze writes:

Difference is not diversity. Diversity is given, but difference is that by which the given is given…Difference is not phenomenon but the nuomenon closest to the phenomenon…Every phenomenon refers to an inequality by which it is conditioned…Everything which happens and everything which appears is correlated with orders of differences: differences of level, temperature, pressure, tension, potential, difference of intensity.(2)

There are several things to notice in this quote. First of all, it is clear that for Deleuze noumena are not (as they were for Kant) beyond human knowledge. On the other hand, that which is beyond what is given to us in experience is not a being but a becoming, a difference-driven process by which the given is given. Let me illustrate this idea with a familiar example from thermodynamics. If one creates a container separated into two compartments, and one fills one compartment with cold air and the other with hot air, one thereby creates a system embodying a difference in intensity, the intensity in this case being temperature. If one then opens a small hole in the wall dividing the compartments, the intensity difference causes the onset of a spontaneous flow of air from one side to the other leading to a state of thermodynamical equilibrium. It is in this sense that intensity differences are morphogenetic, giving rise to the phenomena of experience, even if in this case the phenomenon that emerges is too simple. The main idea, however, is much more general: many phenomena, in geology, meteorology, biology and even economics and sociology, emerge spontaneously from the interplay of intensity differences. Indeed, one can build an entire theory of the genesis of form (of geological, biological or cultural forms) on the basis of processes of becoming driven by intensity differences. Unlike essentialism, where matter is viewed as an inert receptacle for forms that come from the outside (transcendental essences), here matter is seen as possessing its own immanent, intensive resources for the generation of form from within. (Deleuze refers to the essentialist model of morphogenesis as the "hylomorphic schema"). However, in the page following the quote above, Deleuze argues that, despite this important insight, nineteenth century thermodynamics cannot provide the foundation he needs for a philosophy of form. Why? Because that branch of physics became obsessed with the final equilibrium forms, at the expense of the difference-driven morphogenetic process which gives rise to those forms. In other words, intensive differences are subordinated to the extensive structures (structures extended in space-time) they give rise to. But as Deleuze argues, most of the important philosophical insights can only be grasped during the process of morphogenesis, that is, before the final form is actualized, before the difference disappears. This shortcoming of nineteenth century thermodynamics, to overlook the role of the intensive and stress only the extensive, to concentrate on the equilibrium form that emerges only once the original difference has been canceled, has today been repaired in the latest version of this branch of physics and chemistry, appropriately labeled "far-from-equilibrium thermodynamics" and most prominently represented by Nobel-awardist Ilya Prigogine. Although Deleuze does not explicitly refer to this new branch of science, it is clear that far-from-equilibrium thermodynamics meets all the objections which he raises against its nineteenth century counterpart. In particular, the systems

studied in this new discipline are continuously traversed by a strong flow of energy and matter, a flow that maintains these differences and keeps them from canceling themselves, that is, a flow which does not allow the intensive process to become hidden underneath the extensive results. It is only in these far-from-equilibrium conditions, only in this singular zone of intensity, that difference-driven morphogenesis comes into its own, and that matter becomes an active material agent, one which does not need form to come and impose itself from the outside. (3)Even at this early stage of my analysis, the contrast with constructivist philosophies should be clear. Although many constructivists declare themselves "anti-essentialist", they share with essentialism a view of matter as an inert material, except that they do not view the form of material entities as coming from a Platonic heaven, or from the mind of God, but from the minds of humans (or from cultural conventions expressed linguistically). The world is amorphous, and we cut it out into forms using language. Nothing could be further from Deleuzian thought than this linguistic relativism which does not break with the hylomorphic schema. For him, the extensive boundaries of individual entities do not exist only in human experience, drawn by the interplay of concepts, but are real, the product of definite, objective processes of individuation. Thus, the extensive boundaries that define living creatures (their skin, but also the folds that define their internal tissues and organs) are the result of complex processes of individuation (or actualization) during embryogenesis. As Deleuze writes:

How does actualization occurr in things themselves?…Beneath the actual qualities and extensities [of things themselves] there are spatio-temporal dynamisms. They must be surveyed in every domain, even though they are ordinarily hidden by the constituted qualities and extensities. Embryology shows that the division of the egg is secondary in relation to more significant morphogenetic movements: the augmentation of free surfaces, stretching of cellular layers, invagination by folding, regional displacement of groups. A whole kinematics of the egg appears which implies a dynamic.(4)

So far I have made a case for a non-essentialist realism, but this by itself does not address the question of an open future. There are at least two lines of argument used by Deleuze to defend the idea that the future is not given in the past. The first one is directly related to his theory of individuation or actualization just mentioned, that is, a theory of intensive processes of becoming involving spontaneous spatio-temporal dynamisms, or as I refer to them, processes of self-organization. The simplest self-organizing processes seem to be those involving "endogenously-generated stable states", such as states of minimal energy acting as "attractors" for a process. The spherical form of a soap bubble, for instance, emerges out of the interactions among its constituent molecules as these are constrained energetically to "seek" the point at which surface tension is minimized. In this case, there is no question of an essence of "soap-bubbleness" somehow imposing itself from the outside (hylomorphic schema), an ideal geometric form (a sphere) shaping an inert collection of molecules. Rather, an endogenous topological form (a point in the space of energetic possibilities for this molecular assemblage) governs the collective behavior of the individual soap molecules, and results in the emergence of a spherical shape. Moreover, the one and the same topological form, the same minimal point,

can guide the processes that generates many other geometrical forms. For example, if instead of molecules of soap we have the atomic components of an ordinary salt crystal, the form that emerges from minimizing energy (bonding energy in this case) is a cube. In other words, one and the same topological form can guide the morphogenesis of a variety of geometrical forms. A similar point applies to other topological forms which inhabit these spaces of energetic possibilities. For example, these spaces may contain closed loops (technically called "limit cycles" or "periodic attractors"). In this case the several possible physical instantiations of this space will all display isomorphic behavior: an endogenously generated tendency to oscillate in a stable way. Whether one is dealing with a socio-technological structure (such as a radio transmitter or a radar machine), a biological one (a cyclic metabolism), or a physical one (a convection cell in the atmosphere), it is one and the same immanent resource that is involved in their different oscillating behavior.Deleuze calls this ability of topological forms to give rise to many different physical instantiations, a process of "divergent actualization", taking the idea from French philosopher Henri Bergson who, at the turn of the century, wrote a series of texts where he criticized the inability of the science of his time to think the new, the truly novel. The first obstacle was, according to Bergson, a mechanical and linear view of causality and the rigid determinism that it implied. Clearly, if all the future is already given in the past, if the future is merely that modality of time where previously determined possibilities become realized, then true innovation is impossible. To avoid this mistake, he thought, we must struggle to model the future as truly open ended, and the past and the present as pregnant not only with possibilities which become real, but with virtualities which become actual. This realm of virtual entities capable of divergent actualization are only one of the several immanent resources which insure the openness of the future. I will discuss in a moment other forms of material creativity behind the open-ended evolution of the world, but before doing that I would like to address one aspect of virtual forms of the attractor type that may seem paradoxical in the context of this discussion. One would think that open-endedness is a concept intrinsically opposed to determinism, and hence that the creative potential of matter derives from a connection with chance. And yet the processes involved in spatio-temporal dynamisms governed by attractors are completely deterministic. Therefore, we may have to go beyond the simple dichotomy between complete determinism and complete indeterminism, and introduce Deleuze and Guattari's notion of "reverse causalities or advanced determinisms" between these two extremes, as they phrase it in their co-authored A Thousand Plateaus. (5)These intermediate forms of determinism, laying between the two extremes of a complete fatalism, based on simple and linear causal relations, and a complete indeterminism, in which causality plays no role, arise in physical interactions involving nonlinear causal relations. The most familiar examples of nonlinear causality are those causal loops known as "feedback loops", which may involve mutually stabilizing causes, as in the negative feedback process exemplified by the thermostat, or mutually intensifying causes, as in the positive feedback process illustrated by explosions or spiraling arms races. These forms of circular causality, in which the effects react back on their causes, in turn, are one condition for the existence of forms of determinism (attractors) which are local and multiple, instead of global and unique. (The other condition is a flow of matter-energy moving in and out of the physical process in question). These "advanced" determinisms may be static (yet multiple

and hence local, since a system can switch between alternative destinies) but also dynamic, allowing for simple stable cycles or for complex forms of quasi-periodic behavior, as in deterministic chaos. (6) Thus, the fact that attractors come in several types, that they occur in groups, and that each group is capable of divergent actualization, explains away the apparent paradox between some degree of determinism and an essentially open future. On the other hand, it is important to emphasize that these deterministic processes are only one resource matter and energy have at their disposal. There is another, less deterministic, process which is even more intimately connected with the emergence of novelty keeping the world from closing: the spontaneous formation of "machinic assemblages" of diverse elements. Deleuze and Guattari introduce the notion of "consistency" (or "self-consistency") to designate this morphogenetic process which generates new structures without homogenizing the components and without submitting them to hierarchical control, or in other words, without imposing on them a hylomorphic model. As they write:

Consistency necessarily occurrs between heterogeneities, not because it is the birth of a differentiation, but because heterogeneities that were formerly content to coexist or succeed one another become bound up with one another through the 'consolidation' of their coexistence or succession…What we term machinic is precisely this synthesis of heterogeneities as such. (7)

Although this remark appears as part of a discussion of the self-assembly of animal territories, it would be a mistake to think that machinic assemblages (or "meshworks" as I call them) occurr only in animals whose behavior is highly "decoded", that is, not rigidly programmed by their genes. To be sure, a flexible behavioral repertoire does increase the ability of particular creatures to enter into complex combinations with heterogeneous elements in their environment (life does involve a gain in consistency, or a "surplus value of destratification" (8)) but meshworks can be formed at all levels of reality, including inorganic materials, as the following quote illustrates:

…what metal and metallurgy bring to light is a life proper to matter, a vital state of matter as such, a material vitalism that doubtless exists everywhere but is ordinarily hidden or covered, rendered unrecognizable, dissociated by the hylomorphic model. Metallurgy is the consciousness or thought of the matter-flow, and metal the correlate of this consciousness. As expressed in panmetallism, metal is coextensive to the whole of matter, and the whole of matter to metallurgy. Even the waters, the grasses and varieties of wood, the animals are populated by salts or mineral elements. Not everything is metal, but metal is everywhere… The machinic phylum is metallurgical, or at least has a metallic head, as its itinerant probe-head or guidance device.(9)

Deleuze and Guattari argue that the hylomorphic model is totally alien to the history of technology up to the 19th century, particularly to that ancient branch known as "metallurgy". For the blacksmith "it is not a question of imposing a form upon matter but of elaborating an increasingly rich and consistent material, the better to tap increasingly intense forces." (10) In

other words, the blacksmith treats metals as active materials, pregnant with morphogenetic capabilities, and his role is that of teasing a form out of them, of guiding, through a series of processes (heating, annealing, quenching, hammering), the emergence of a form, a form in which the materials themselves have a say. His task is less that of realizing previously defined possibilities than actualizing virtualities along divergent lines. But, again, it would be a mistake to think that the relevance of metals for the question of innovation is solely due to human intervention. To see this we need to explain an obscure phrase in the quote above. What does it mean to say that "the machinic phylum has a metallic probe-head"? The key idea here is to think of metals as being the most powerful catalysts in the planet. (The only exception being organic enzymes, but these have been evolved to achieve that potency.) A catalyst is a substance capable of accelerating or decelerating a chemical reaction, without itself being changed in the process. That is, a catalyst intervenes in reality, recognizes specific targets, triggers effects, causes encounters that would not have taken place without it, and yet it is not consumed or permanently changed in these interactions, so that it can go on triggering effects elsewhere. We can imagine our planet, before living creatures appeared on its surface, as populated by metallic particles which catalysed reactions as they flowed through the Earth, in a sense allowing the planet to "explore" a space of possible chemical combinations, that is, allowing the planet to blindly grope its way around this space, eventually stumbling upon proto-living creatures, which as many scientists now agree, were probably autocatalytic loops of materials, that is, proto-metabolisms.(11) A crucial question regarding open-ended evolution is the nature of these "spaces of chemical (or biological, or social) combinations". It is becoming increasingly clear that a crucial ingredient for the emergence of innovation at any level of reality is the "combinatorial productivity" of the elements at the respective sub-level, that is, at the level of the components of the structures in question. Not all components have the same "productivity". For example, elementary particles have a relatively low productivity, yielding only 92 possible atoms in this planet, although we can artificially stabilize a few more trans-uranic elements, beginning with Plutonium in World War II. However, when we move to the next higher level, the assembly of molecules out of atoms, the number of combinations becomes immense, essentially unsurveyable. Similarly, the number of cell types on Earth (nerve, muscle, bone etc.) is relatively small, a couple of hundred types, but the number of organisms that may be built combinatorially out of these elements is, again, immense. As physicist George Kampis has remarked,

the notion of immensity translates as irreducible variety of the component-types … This kind of immensity is an immediately complexity-related property, for it is about variety and heterogeneity, and not simply as numerousness.(12)

The point here is that a key ingredient for combinatorial richness, and hence, for an essentially open future, is heterogeneity of components. Another key element are processes which allow heterogeneous elements to come together, that is, processes which allow the articulation of the diverse as such. Here we can take a clue from another passage in Deleuze and Guattari's A Thousand Plateaus:

It is no longer a question of imposing a form upon a matter but of elaborating an increasingly rich and consistent material, the better to tap increasingly intense forces. What makes a material increasingly rich is the same as what holds heterogeneities together without their ceasing to be heterogeneous. What holds them together in this way are intercallary oscillations, synthesizers with at least two heads.(13)

Meshworks combine heterogeneous elements by meshing them using their functional complementarities. For example, an ecosystem brings together a large variety of distinct species interlocking them into food webs via alimentary complementarities: parasite-host, predator-prey, and others. But often these heterogeneities do not mesh well and special intercallary elements are needed to effect the link, such as symbiotic micro-organisms lining the gut of animals, allowing them to digest their food. Or to take a different example, pre-capitalist marketplaces were meshworks which interconnected buyers and sellers through complementary demands. Barter could indeed effect this meshing, but the chance encounter between two people with exactly matching demands was very rare. In this circumstances money (even primitive money such as cowry shells or salt blocks) could act as an intercallary element allowing complementary demands to find each other at a distance, so to speak. Thus, there are two questions that connect the theory of meshworks or machinic assemblages to the theme of an open-ended future: one is the existence of special combinatorial spaces that are more open than others (for example, the space defined by carbon, an element which thanks to its ability to bond in several ways with itself, has a much higher combinatorial productivity than any other element) and the existence of special intercallary entities that open up possibilities by allowing heterogeneities to mesh with each other (for example, metallic catalysts which insert themselves in between two poorly-meshing chemical substances, recognizing them via a lock-and-key mechanism, to facilitate their interaction.) Philosophically, these two questions boil down to one, the singular nature of either carbon or metallic catalysts (to stick to examples from chemistry). Deleuze tackles this issue in a way that parallels his approach to attractors. As I said above, he proposes to get rid of the distinction between the possible and the real, keeping only the latter but distinguishing in the real between the virtual and the actual. Similarly, he suggests we get rid of the dichotomy between the essential and the accidental, affirming that everything is accidental, but distinguishing in the latter between the ordinary and the singular (or the special, the remarkable, the important.) As he writes:

It will be said that the essence is by nature the most 'important' thing. This, however, is precisely what is at issue: whether notions of importance and non-importance are not precisely notions which concern events or accidents, and are much more 'important' within accidents than the crude opposition between essence and accident itself. The problem of thought is tied not to essences but to the evaluation of what is important and what is not, to the distribution of the singular and regular, distinctive and ordinary points, which takes place entirely within the unessential or within the description of a multiplicity, in relation to the ideal events that constitute the conditions of a problem.(14)

It hardly needs to be added that, as a realist philosopher, Deleuze sees the distributions of the singular and the ordinary as perfectly objective, the world itself exhibiting traits that are more or less important or remarkable regardless of whether there is a human being to carry on these evaluations. Carbon and metallic catalysts are objectively unique in this sense. And so are the topological forms we discussed above, and which Deleuze refers to as "singularities". Attractors are indeed remarkable (states which minimize free energy, for instance, are rare and unique) as are the bifurcations that change one set of attractors into another, such as the special points in intensity (temperature) at which water changes from liquid to solid or from liquid to gas. Yet, as the quote above illustrates, there is a close relation between these objective distributions and the nature of human knowledge ("the problem of thought"). I would like to conclude this essay with a few remarks on Deleuze's special approach to epistemology (an epistemology of problems), an approach that further distinguishes him from older forms of realism that are too closely linked to rationalism.Instead of rejecting the dichotomy between true and false, thus plunging into a form of relativism, Deleuze extends it so that it not only applies to the answers to questions, but to the questions themselves. That is, he makes "truth" a predicate that applies primarily to problems, and only derivatively to their solutions. Yet, problems for him are not a human creation (and problem-solving a human activity) but possess their own objective reality. As he puts it, the concept of the "problematic" does not mean only a particularly important species of subjective acts, but a dimension of objectivity as such that is occupied by these acts.(15)

Problems exist in reality defined by singularities, hence problem-solving is an activity in which all kinds of material assemblages may engage. To illustrate with examples we have already used, a population of interacting physical entities, such as the molecules in a thin layer of soap, may be constrained energetically to adopt a form which minimizes free energy. Here the "problem" (for the population of molecules) is to find this minimal point of energy, a problem solved differently by the molecules in soap bubbles (which collectively minimize surface tension) and by the molecules in crystalline structures (which collectively minimize bonding energy). Given this objectivity of problems and their conditions, what may be peculiarly human is not problem-solving, but problem-posing, an activity that involves distinguishing in reality the distributions of the special and the ordinary, and grasping the objective problems that these distributions condition. Chapter Four of "Difference and Repetition" is a philosophical meditation on the differential and integral calculus (a mathematical tool at the heart of all modern physics) viewed precisely as a "technology" for the framing of true problems. But as the above remarks on metallurgy suggest, Deleuze does not think of representations (even mathematical ones) as the only, or even the most important, means to pose problems. Any kind of learning, even physical, sensual learning, involves an engagement with material assemblages which embody problems and their defining singularities. As he writes:

For learning evolves entirely in the comprehension of problems as such, in the apprehension and condensation of singularities, and in the composition of ideal events and bodies. Learning to

swim or learning a foreign language means composing the singular points of one's own body or one's own language with those of another shape or element which tears us apart but also propels us into a hitherto unknown and unheard-of world of problems.(16)

Clearly, these few remarks cannot do justice to Deleuze complex theory of the problematic. I introduce them here simply to draw one connection between human knowledge and the open-ended evolution of the world. The latter depends, as I said, on divergent actualization, combinatorial productivity, and the synthesis of novel structures out of heterogeneous components. These define the essentially problematic structure of the world. It follows that truth cannot be a correspondence relation between representations and a static, fixed set of beings, but an open-ended relation of isomorphism between problems as actualized in reality and problems as actualized in our bodies and minds. To conclude, unlike social constructivism, which achieves openness by making the world depend on human interpretation, Deleuze achieves it by making the world into a creative, complexifying and problematizing cauldron of becoming. Because of their anthropocentrism, constructivist philosophies remain prisoners of what Foucault called "the episteme of man", while Deleuze plunges ahead into a post-humanist future, in which the world has been enriched by a multiplicity of non-human agencies, of which metallic catalysts, and their acts of recognition and intervention, are only one example. And, in contrast with other realist or materialist philosophies of the past (such as Engel's dialectics of nature), the key non-human agency in Deleuzian philosophy has nothing to do with the negative, with oppositions or contradictions, but with pure, productive, positive difference. It is ultimately this positive difference, and its affirmation in thought, that insures the openness of the world.

References

(1)   Gilles Deleuze: Difference and Repetition. New York: Columbia University Press 1994, 212.

(2)   Ibid., 222.

(3)   Gregoire Nicolis and Ilya Prigogine: Exploring Complexity. New York: W.H. Freeman, 1989.

(4)   Deleuze, op. cit., 214.

(5)   Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari: A Thousand Plateaus.Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, 336.

(6)   Ian Stewart: Does God Play Dice: The Mathematics of Chaos. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989, chapter 6.

(7)   Deleuze/ Guattari, op. cit., 330.

(8)   Ibid., 336.

(9)   Ibid., 411.

(10)   Ibid., 329.

(11)   Stuart Kauffman: The Origins of Order. Self-Organization and Selection in Evolution. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993, ch. 3.

(12)   George Kampis: Self-Modifying Systems in Biology and Cognitive Science. A New Framework for Dynamics, Information and Complexity. Oxford, Engl., 1991, p. 235

(13)   Deleuze, op. cit., 189.

(14)   Ibid., 169.

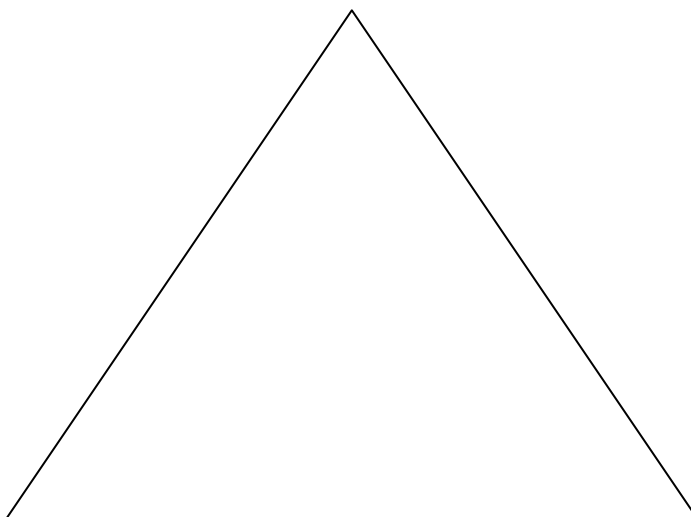(15)   Ibid., 192.

APPENDIX 2   OBSERVATION SHEET USED DURING THE FIELDWORK

Date:.……………………………………………
Time:.……………………………………………
Location:.……………………………………

Expectations

…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………

Agents: Evocative:

……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
……………………………………………   ……………………………………………………………
………………………..   …………………

The following example shows four events which were recorded on an evening and the following day during the 2008 Twente home exchange, two families are combined. We are with our friends from Boulder. The first event is recorded in the car where we talk about expectations traveling to a home exchange address. The second event is in the evening after arriving at the camping site, the third is the host visiting us and the fourth is spending the day at the camping site. Each event has three dimensions namely the expectations, feelings and description of the event. For privacy reasons are the people on the pictures made unrecognizable

Driving in the car	Expectations towards the following event	Feelings towards the event	Description of the event
	We will have some great days; B. [Boulder friend] is going back to his host family from 20 years ago. This is going to be special. Their daughter V. travels with us so M2. They are interested in the royal family so we will drive past a palace.	We will have a great time, everyone is ready and I'm happy to leave Leeuwarden behind. I'm glad M2 has a friend; I love how they get along. I hope this will stay this way.	Daughter V. is in our car, we will arrive 3 hours to the east of the country. I have enough gas. The GPS route planner is on.

Just arrived	Expectations towards the following event	Feelings towards the event	Description of the event
	How do I get through this holiday? What a terrible place is this.	I don't like this, how did I end up here? Something	We just arrived it is already dark I see M2 together with V. playing in a

Tomorrow we will see again perhaps we just book a small hotel.
Moreover I want to leave the Netherlands

must have gone wrong. This is not what I want. I feel like a outcast, the ports were closed to the guest. I also feel stupid towards our visiting family and to all hospitality I received in Boulder.

caravan and I smell a caravan which is moist. We arrived at the camping site at 19.55h. we were on time and However, the keeper of the camping site was tapping beer and talking to other guests, so we had to wait till 20.05h to get his attention. When we spoke with the man, we mentioned that we would like to take the cars into the camping site. The man raised his voice and said that we were not permitted to do so, since all cars were restricted after 20.00h. We asked if we could bring the mother and the four month old baby into the camping site with his golf cart, but he refused because he had to manage the pub. The hardest thing was that I had

			to explain this to B. They did not understand and in their anger, they thought about driving through the fence, stealing the golf cart, or attacking the host. When tempers cooled, the plan became to bring the baby into the pub and hope that the host would open his heart and decide to open the gate. The host's heart did not open and the gate remained closed. At the end, we decided to walk. Our friends became upset with us, and also with the Netherlands as a whole. I told the guard that I was a hospitality scholar. I told him that if there would have been a 'hospitality police', he would have been in jail for life, that he was a disgrace

			to represent the Netherlands, and that he should consider another job. Moreover, he violated the laws of hospitality.

The guard visits us	Expectations towards the following event	Feelings towards the event	Description of the event
	This is a hell, we just have to get out of this place, it feels like a prison. The coming three day will be filled with driving away.	How can people walk around here for pleasure? I'm ashamed of myself. The guard was so happy with him selves and his own stupid rules and ideas about hospitality the only thing I wanted to do was tell him to look for	The guard drives by, he allowed me to make a picture, he spoke about that he did not care about my opinion but that he was interested in the rules of hospitality.

			another job. He seems very happy him selves.

Looking for the children	**Expectations towards the following event**	**Feelings towards the event**	**Description of the event**
	We just have to get out of this place, the only one who likes it here are the young kids. I wonder how the host family looks like.	I feel stupid, I cannot bear this longer, I hope we can leave soon. This reminds me of my uncle's camping site.	The kids are exploring the camping site and found a large playground. We followed them and are sitting between the beer drinking smoking other guests. We ordered drinks and we just heard that our home exchange hosts are going to be here to see us.

APPENDIX 4 EXAMPLE OF SOCIOLOGICAL EXPERIMENTATION

Example of sociological experimentation through the work of Fan Ding (2008) Master student, supervised by me. Fan analysed the becoming of home exchange experienced in the two movies about Home exchanges. The following comes from the movie The Holiday starring Cameron Diaz, Kate Winslet, Jack Black and Jude Law.

Event	Form of			
	Agent	Interaction	Event	
6. Irish discovers Amanda's big house ***Agent:*** The big house, furniture, swimming pool ***Representation:*** Discover the new home ***Affect:*** Iris would not believe she is going to stay in such a big and luxury house, with a outdoor pool, gym, huge TV, and the supper big bed. Definitely exceeded her expectation of the new home.	Property Lifestyle	Play	(F)	
7.a. Iris meets Miles ***Agent:*** Miles and his girl friend ***Representation:*** Miles drove by Amanda's house to pick up the laptop from her ex-boyfriend, Iris asked him to come by the next day for the permission of Amanda. ***Affect:*** The first encounter with Miles was sweet, he helped Iris to remove the sand accidentally blew in her eye with a charm.	People Communica-tion	Play	(A)	
7.b. Miles join the Hayek party at Iris' new home ***Agent:*** The party, Author and 2 other old guys, wine and food at Amanda's house. ***Representation:*** Miles drops by to pick up the laptop again, he is asked to come in and join the Hayek party with the old folks. Both Miles and Iris have a great time talking to each other. Miles leaves with 2 kisses on Iris' cheek. ***Affect:*** They all enjoyed the party and the company, had some good times.	People	Communit as	(A)	

7.c. Iris and Miles visit the video store **Agent:** Video store, films, Miles, Miles' girlfriend with a guy **Representation:** Miles is a movie music track writer, and he picks up different movies, and sings loudly along for Iris in the store. Suddenly, he saw his girlfriend Maggie with another guy through the window, he run out and realized she had been cheated on him. **Affect:** Iris laughed and enjoyed Miles' humor, and Miles enjoyed the company in the store, but he was shocked and sad to see his girlfriend with another guy.	People Local Environment	Play	(F)	
7.d. Iris and Miles talk about their love troubles **Agent:** Iris' new home and drinks **Representation:** Iris tries to comfort Miles with a drink, and they start talking about each other's love troubles. They get to know each other better. They hugs each other and decides to make food and celebrate the Christmas Eve. **Affect:** Iris felt sorry for Miles what happened, and she opened up about her love troubles and she understood how he felt. It is emotional and sad. Miles appreciated the company and understanding from Iris.	People Communica-tion	Play	(A)	
7.e. Miles, Iris, and the music **Agent:** Miles' home and a piano **Representation:** Miles wrote a little music track for Author's tribute, and presents to Iris, and sing together. **Affect:** They were both happy and having fun.	Communica-tion Competency	Play	(C)	
7.f. Lunch at a Japanese restaurant **Agent:** Japanese restaurant, food and drinks **Representation:** Iris and Miles were having Japanese food, and suddenly, Maggie called, and asked to meet Miles, he left Iris alone to meet her. **Affect:** Iris felt a bit sad to see the situation and being left alone in the restaurant.	People	Play	(F)	

8. Iris wakes up with the perfect track ***Agent:*** CD and CD player ***Representation:*** Push the bottom and play. Iris woke up and turn on the CD player, just a perfect song to wake up, made her happy and even dancing in bed, and suppose to cheer her up for the rest of the day. ***Affect:*** She was happy, and has been cheered up by the music.	Property Lifestyle	Play	(E)	
9.a. Iris offers a lift home to Arthur who lost his way home ***Agent:*** Amanda's car, Arthur, his home and belongings ***Representation:*** Arthur lost his way home, luckily he meets Iris on the street, and he takes her offer to have a ride home. Arthur let Iris help open the front door, and she comes inside of the house, seeing all the paper and award winning everywhere. She asks Arthur out for dinner. ***Affect:*** Both parties were happy, and had a great conversation on the way, 'meet cute' was the expression. Iris was impressed and has many respects to this old film writer.	People	Play	(A)	
9.b. Irish has an emotional chat with Arthur at dinner ***Agent:*** Arthur, restaurant, food and drinks ***Representation:*** They both opened up and talked about their lives. ***Affect:*** Iris expressed her troubled love life with tears in eyes, she had been gone to a therapist for 3 years about her love life, Arthur's words really comforted her.	People	Play	(C)	
9.c. Iris visits Arthur and opens a letter of invitation ***Agent:*** Letter from Writers' Skill of American West ***Representation:*** Iris brought the mails to Arthur, but he threw the letter of invitation in the bin right away. Iris asked why not open the letter, and Author explained that the organization wanted to arrange a tribute with him, but he was negative about it, because he thought it was awful to be an old man with a walker on the stage and to face small	People Lifestyle	Play	(F)	

amount of audients. Iris opened the letter and encourage Author to go for it. *Affect:* To visit Author in the morning became her routine, and she truly enjoyed having contact with locals. She felt Author should attend the tribute, but Author felt embarrassed to be such an old man on the stage.				
9.d. Iris tries to get Author in shape *Agent:* Swimming pool and Iris's new home *Representation:* Iris helps Author to practice walking without the walker, they practice in the swimming pool and in the house. She pulls the walker away, and trains him to walk without it. *Affect:* She made effort to train Author, she felt good about being kind. Author gave it a try, and emotionally being touched that suddenly a stranger care about him.	People Property	Play	(A)	
9.e. Iris and Miles help Author select clothes for the tribute *Agent:* Suit store, suite, hat, tie, and Miles *Representation:* Iris and Miles helped Author select clothes for the tribute. *Affect:* They were all happy and excited.	People	Play	(C)	
9.f. Iris picks Author up for the tribute *Agent:* The Hugo Boss suite, a beautiful dress, and a corny flower bracelet *Representation:* They both dressed up for the tribute, and encourage each other towards life. Author gave Iris a corny flower bracelet as the gift of this 'date'. *Affect:* They were both happy and excited about the tribute.	People	Play	(F)	
9.g. At the tribute *Agent:* The tribute hall, audience, music and Miles *Representation:* Iris and Author arrive at the tribute, and realize there are many fans of Author attending. He challenges the stairs and climbs up by himself, while Miles arrives and the music track playing. Author gave a great speech. Miles asked Iris out for new year's eve in London. *Affect:* Author was overwhelmed, excited	People Competency	Play	(F)	

and happy. Iris and Miles kissed for the first time, and happy about the set of the date.				
10. Jasper's surprising visit ***Agent:*** Jasper with a gift, Iris' new home ***Representation:*** Jasper, the ex-date of Iris, flew over from London to meet her, and Iris finally realized this mistake in love, and ended the relationship, and threw him out. ***Affect:*** Iris was really confused, but happy about Jasper's surprise at the beginning, then turn out that she realized that it was the moment to end the relationship, and she finally got the relief from her wrong love.	People	Play	(A)	

This article appeared in Stenden Times July 2009

Finding serendipity in spaces of hospitality

Through looking at hospitality and society from a social and vital perspective, one can critique the existing notions of 'spaces of hospitality', and the creation of predictable, commonplace and calculated settings. Nowadays the application of management theories to study hospitality practice often implies causal mechanical relationships (for example, cost reduction leads to more profit). Alexander Grit, 3rd year IHM team leader at Stenden university, Qatar, argues from a vital perspective; that spaces of hospitality and services are complex with continually shifting forces between its constituents. A term that was once one of the ten most difficult words to explain in Britain, 'serendipity' is suggested to be the act of making an unsought finding; something valuable or delightful which was unintended or unexpected. By accepting multiple realities in complex spaces which are differently organized, it is interesting to know if serendipitous and playful experiences have potential to lead to difference and new power relationships.

Anand Mishra

Spaces of hospitality refer to spaces where 'others' are invited and are spaces where hospitality and service encounters take place. The idea of serendipity calls for the need of an 'X-thing', one that leads to a temporary hypothesis that needs to be playfully tested. To allow for difference and eventual serendipity, there is a need for the X-thing in spaces of hospitality - something 'transformational'. Conversely an X-thing could be identified in spaces that are characterized by the occurrence of serendipitous experiences. Presently, third year open minor bachelor students in hospitality and tourism management are actively looking for hospitality spaces which facilitate serendipity and they are making a global ranking of serendipitous spaces, which is slated to be published in August. This research is to be continued internationally and on site at various Stenden locations.

A part of the research in the hospitality school these days goes on about understanding serendipitous movements in spaces of hospitality. Research through the recorded experiences of both, hosts and guests, at the Stenden university hotel has shown that students adopt an active process of 'experimentation' in research. The Serendipity tables are identifiable tables within the hotel where a sign indicates 'Serendipity tables - expect the unexpected'. The tables are an initiative to criticize closed spaces of hospitality where encounters are scripted, predefined and predictable. In the light of creating new horizons for minority groups and unheard voices, new spaces which could offer difference need to be produced. The serendipity table is a project which produces such a space. The main characteristic of the space is that the space itself is relatively undefined. First year hospitality students are instructed by second year hospitality management students on how to work at the Serendipity table. The only instructions the second year students have to give the first year students is a definition of the word *serendipity*, and that the first year students have to evoke serendipitous experiences at the table. The first year students who work at the table and the second year students who instruct the first year students both record their experiences and look for X-things.

Another example of a case study into spaces of hospitality, leading to difference, is Hotel Transvaal. Hotel Transvaal, unlike any other hotel, is not housed in one single building but is rather spread out over an entire neighbourhood. The neighbourhood houses residents and through the organizing principles of hospitality, Hotel Transvaal turns these residents into hosts and guests. The Transvaal neighbourhood is currently undergoing a large-scale transformation process, where old houses are being demolished and new ones built. The people who live in the houses which will remain in the neighbourhood are experiencing a complete makeover of the urban space. Furthermore, Hotel Transvaal is an initiative of artists and architects, where their originality and work is channelized, and where they are spotlighting social change. The work of the artists also provides a contribution to the ongoing debates about re-housing and inclusion in the Netherlands, and brings creativity into the notion of opening up new spaces of hospitality. Difference is facilitated by evoking unexpected becomings and intensities around the connections formed in the neighbourhood. Through the 'existence' of Hotel Transvaal, it can be seen that there is an intersection of social space and hospitality space. The spaces of hospitality opened up at Hotel Transvaal do not have the same feel and fixed configuration of a commercial hotel, where there are designated areas, procedures, processes, roles and scripts. Students also had a role in describing their experiences at Hotel Transvaal and used visual ethnography to record their data, in attempts to search for the X-thing.

The home exchange phenomenon has been researched by master student, Fan Ding, where she critically looked at the commercial hospitality industry and questioned its standardized processes, central hierarchical control, and easily predictable experiences. Home exchanges have been explored into by contemporary media, but have only been marginally researched in the academia, and even less from a social perspective. She analysed two thematic narrative films for X-things and suggested some theories that indicated the constituents of the home exchange space, and the spatial movement within. Through her research, it was shown that home exchanges are dynamic spaces of hospitality which assume their own logic, and where there is a dissipation of 'host control'. It was also noticed that the host-guest interactions were of play form, and that hospitality and serendipity happened within the space of home exchanges even though the host was not physically present at home.

Hospitality encounters and service encounters can be argued to be synonymous. Presently research is being done into diverse creative industry sectors by master student, Anand Mishra. This research looks critically at service encounters, the constituent forces and the power relations that play a role within. This could possibly explain the role of 'people' as X-things, and could have implications for training and development in human resource management and customer relations management.

APPENDIX 6 EXPLORATIVE PANEL DISCUSSION TEMPORARY LOCAL EXPERIENCE

This is explorative research into the home exchange experience and the experience of being local through a panel method.

Lady F., Sweden, in Amsterdam for 6 months.
Mister N, Sydney, in Amsterdam for one year.
Lady T, Germany, in Amsterdam for 3 months.
Lady Z, Swedish, in Amsterdam for holiday, 3 weeks.

All of the participants are familiar with home exchange, N, and T are in Amsterdam for a longer period, there staying in someone else's house but T. doesn't have anybody staying in his houses. F. and Z. exchanged their houses for 6 months and 3 weeks.

The date of the panel research was the 23th of May 2005. The panel has been created by Lady F. N. is a friend of her and he brought T. who he met. T. brought the Z, who is a friend of hers.

The discussion about the thesis will be given in the following part. The thesis are split up into 5 parts; Home exchange, Amsterdam, The colours of the answers are similar to the participants.

1. Amsterdam offers enough temporary houses

Not really, especially if you don't know for how long you are planning to stay. And I think the rent is really high. There is plenty of housing, it is just very expensive. If you are planning to stay for a couple of months there sure is a lot, but it is very expensive. There are a lot of people who want to change their houses, but you don't want to have everybody in your home, it's nicer to exchange with someone you know. I came her with an organisation and they arranged my place to stay. And the person's house I am staying in, is know staying in my place. We changed our work as well. But if you don't have that, it is quite important to arrange everything from back home, because you can't just come to Amsterdam en try to get an apartment from here.

2. Home exchange is just a cheap way of holiday.

I think it's more than that. It is an other way to see a city or country, because you're living in someone's house. But I don't think you can stay in someone's house and say you're not a tourist, you are not a local for three weeks. Yes, but still I think it is different than when you are staying in just a hotel. I think it is a little bit of both. Because it is a cheap way of holiday, you don't have to pay for a hotel. But if you are in city just for a weekend or a week, you still want to see all the parts of the city, touristy or not.

3. In someone else's home I always feel at home.

Haha! No, first of all it takes some time to know the neighbourhood. If you are in your own flat, you always got your personal belongings around you.
I think it depends on the people who live in that house. For example, if I'm going to a friend's house I'm totally okay with that because I know her and I'm feeling quite at home then. It is all about if you are familiar with the person that makes you feel comfortable or not.

4. During my stay in Amsterdam I daily keep in touch with my family and friends back home.

Wow! Daily? Well, yes, four of five days a week a contact my mom and she phones me as well. I don't contact them that often, it depends. Sometimes it goes two weeks, it depends. I do miss them, I think the more you contact home, the more you miss them. I don't contact them daily, but in the weekend I can contact three or four family members of friends in one day.

5.During my stay in Amsterdam I constantly want to keep in touch with the people who're staying in my place back home.

Well, it's necessary. Because my house owner doesn't know I exchanged my house. It's suppose to be me who is staying there. Other wise they're trying to kick me out. So I contact them and make things up like doing laundry etc. Now there are staying really nice people, so I don't worry that much. I don't, because it's arranged by my company and I trust them.

6. Before taking part of home exchange I first want to meet the person with whom I'm exchanging.

Off course we have some contact, I don't have that much personal stuff in my house, so I totally fine with strangers staying in my house. No, I don't need to meet the persons before the exchange. I took all my personal belonging and brought it to my parents house, now the people can do what ever they want. I don't need to meet them in person, but I prefer to have some information about the people who want to stay in my house.

7. A temporary citizen has other needs and wishes than a tourist.

Definitely! I think we expect different things of people. We don't want to be called tourists. We like to integrate to a circumstance . I don't feel like a tourist, I even might want to stay for a longer time in Amsterdam. Off course I can't say I'm Dutch, but I don't feel like a tourist. For example like a cafe, as a tourist you want to see as many places as possible, but I prefer to go to MY place, that's the place where I go to. As a tourist you have to see all the tourist things in a short period and as a local you have more time and you're more selective. But I've seen all the tourist things, I did caneltour, went to the museums, etc. You do all the tourist things because you want to see all the things of the city. Especially when you have friends from back home coming over. But I have to say that I visit museums back home as well.

8. Temporary citizens are a profit for Amsterdam

We are in way, I am!! Haha! I'm paying the same amount of tax, without the 30 percent rule. A lot of Dutch think that is really horrible. We are a profit, because the time we are spending in Amsterdam, we spent our money here. We don't invest here that much, like investing in a house or real estate, but we do spent our money in bars, restaurants or museums. But also foreigners are very skilled, you get a bunch of really skilled people. As a result it will be a profit for the city. We can afford to be a temporary citizen because we are highly educated and we can work in great companies, where some of the local people won't work in there entire life. A lot of people can immigrate into your economy. So the experts who are coming here, will make the economy grow.

9. Amsterdam offers enough facilities for the temporary citizen.

It's not possible to get a parking place. Because it's really hard to have a car in Amsterdam. In Sweden it's much more easy to get a parking space. I miss the beach, but I wasn't expecting to find it here. I think there are plenty of facilities here.
Yeah, I miss the mountains, forests and lakes to, but I choose to be in a city. Back home we always see the country side, but here we are just staying in the city. If you really want to go you have to leave the city. I love my back. Amsterdam is really small and it's so easy to get around here, you definitely don't need a car. And the public services are absolutely great.

10. Amsterdam offers me everything I expected.

No, it is difficult to integrate, especially with the locals. I don't get in touch with them They seem to be very content with their own social network. I didn't expect it was so hard to meet new local people. The locals are in social circles and there seems to be no more room for new people. In my own friends there a only a few Dutch people. Dutch people are very friendly to tourist, so helpful. But it's just one transaction. I thought they were the friendliest people in the world. I do have a couple of Dutch friends, but that's because I harassed them for months. But still they won't invite me every time, they say they simply forgot. I don't try it that hard, because I'm here with an organisation. It depends on how you got here, on with who you came here. But the way I came here, I feel like I'm stucked to those people, but it is just an easy way to make some contact. There need to be good opportunities to meet other people. And sometimes it's easier to stuck with the others. I think Amsterdam is quite similar to the Swedish people. They're both quite stuck to their own friends. If I make contact most of the people ask me immediately when I'm going back home! They see you as a temporary citizen and they feel like it's useless to spent time in you. The same is it, when you meet a guy, they always say, but you are going away anyhow.

11. Amsterdam is a very tolerant city.

I thought it would be more tolerant. Because I met a lot Dutch people when I worked in Greece. But when you actually come here it was very different. But Amsterdam is tolerant with his red light district en coffee shops and everything is possible here. The mentality of the people is more tolerant then Stockholm. Maybe it's because I expected to meet more local people. I don't think tolerant is the right word. The Dutch have really strong opinions, if you don't agree that's all right, but they don't participate and the will never embrace it. For example a Dutch person wont go to a coffee shop with you because they don't smoke. If they would come with you I would call that tolerant. I think to be tolerant it needs to have more participation. I like the Dutch having their strong opinions, but they're not willing to investigate to change them.

12. Temporary citizens can be part of the creative class of Amsterdam.

I say yes. A thing is that a lot of art things are in English. There are a lot of musicians, comedies like Boom Chicago are in English, you can go to shows every night if you want. So I say yes it's very accessible and that is very attractive to new people. Back home I work in the creative industry, so that makes me part of the creative class. While I'm here in Amsterdam I feel the same, because I really enjoy going to museums and other cultural things. I think it's quite difficult to say that you are part of the creative class when you are visiting Amsterdam for a short period. Like a couple of weeks. Maybe if you stay longer, you can be part of it. But still, I think when you are here in Amsterdam and you use all the facilities of culture and spending money on the theatres and restaurants you can say that you are part of the creative class.

13. I've chosen for Amsterdam because it's a creative city.

Yes, Amsterdam is great. There are a lot of strange people here who are great. There is a lot creative stuff. I have chosen for Amsterdam because I heard great things about it, but the main reason was because I had the opportunity to work here. Not really, For my neither. I just came to Amsterdam because I heard it was great.

14. The creativity is mostly found in one or two parts of the city.

You probably mean the centre. I agree with that. I stay in the Westerpark part of Amsterdam. There is also some creative to be found. If you just look at the museums, art galleries, of stages I should say you find them the most in the centre. But people who artists or musicians, I think they can be anywhere in the city. I went to some festivals in the East en West as well, so I don't really agree with it. I think it's almost everywhere in Amsterdam.

15. During my stay I want to see all the tourist attractions of Amsterdam

Are there so many tourist attraction in Amsterdam. I know that in Amsterdam there are the most museums per square kilometre in the world. I basically saw them all. The canal boat museum, Rijks and Van Gogh and I did a canal cruise.
I don't think it's necessary to do tours or anything because you can get a bike, and just bike around. I think when you just arrived here, it's a good idea to see everything.

16. One of my intentions is to meet local people of Amsterdam

Yes, it's working well but it just takes a lot of afford. I've got some Dutch friends, but if I had any sense of pride I would probably not. Haha! And if I had my pride I wouldn't have any! I just stick to the Swedish> I don't! But there a so many nationalities and I haven't met so many Dutch people at all. It's just so much easier to speak to a foreigner, because you are in the same situation. Sometimes I tell my friends: I met a Dutch person, and they are like: Oh really!? Haha! I haven't met a lot of people, I'm quite busy with work and you just need the good opportunities. But I didn't try that hard. If you go to an other country it's always nice and interesting to meet the local people. That's true, but you are all by yourself and most of the time it's easier to make contact with other foreigners.

17. I don't want to meet any other foreigners of my home country.

I can imagine for you to have some Australian friends here! Haha! But I do! It's nice to have them around, but I don't want them to be the only people to be around. I don't really need to meet them. It's not like when I walk on the street and I hear Swedish I wont say: Hello I Swedish too!
The only positive thing about meeting your own people is to share jokes. Because in other languages you don't get the clue or you don't know how to explain them.

18. I feel comfortable in the place where I'm staying in Amsterdam.

I do feel comfortable. And I also feel very safe on the street, especially at night. I'm not afraid to walk home alone. You can do everything what you want here. I'm very happy in the city, but not so happy with my apartment, it's really small, but I just love the city! In general is Amsterdam a real nice city. If you compare it to other city's they only got big buildings and Amsterdam is compact and low. I was really surprised by a 80 year old man, and he could answer me in English. You can forget about that in Germany. You rarely will find elderly German who speak proper English.

19. There's no big difference between Amsterdam and my hometown.

Besides from the beach and the mountains! Haha!
The atmosphere is different. The people are going out more here. Here you see a 40 or 50 year old going out for a coffee. If you have a boyfriend or a family in Sweden, you just stay at home and you don't go out anymore. I really like it, that a lot people are going to the terraces and going out. It's gives the city a great view. And also all the people go out, even the older ones. It's a big, big difference! Europe is just totally different from Australia. Mentality, looks, everything! For me it's sometimes hard being here. I'm really happy here, but I don't feel at home. Home for me is my family. An other thing is the culture is a really difference. I used to live in Canada for like three months and I felt more at home there, then I feel in Amsterdam now.
I feel really at home, but Amsterdam is such a small city. I feel like I meet the same people over and over again! You can recognise the same faces. I see a little guy with a moustache almost everyday!

APPENDIX 7 THE REQUEST FOR HOME EXCHANGERS TO RECORD EXPERIENCES

This is a request for home exchangers to record their experiences. It was posted on the site of Home Base Holidays on September 09, 2007

Home Exchange PhD: Record Your Home Swap for a Chance to Win an iPodI was approached a few weeks ago by Alexander, a PhD student from Strathclyde University, Glasgow, who needed answers to questions about home exchange for his doctorate. Home exchange has truly come of age now that it is the subject of a PhD thesis!

Alexander now needs volunteer home exchangers willing to record their experiences while taking part in home swaps. He writes:

'I am a PhD student in Hospitality Management and am writing a collection of articles about home exchange experiences. The goal of the articles is to describe and analyse the emergence of self organising forms of hospitality. The home exchange phenomenon has a particular sustainable and self organising nature.

In order to get information about the broad range of actual home exchange experiences, I am asking for volunteers to keep a diary of their experiences during a home exchange. The diaries will all be different, both in content, form and appearance due to personal preferences. Some diaries will take the form of written journals with pictures that cover activities on a day to day basis; others will be videos covering the main events of an exchange, or a blog on the internet, or a podcast.

Moreover, as a scholar, I am interested in your (possible) prior experiences and expectations before the exchange you will be recording and your feedback after the exchange. I would like to have a chat with you by phone before and after the exchange.

The privacy of all participants is guaranteed. All the information will be held in the strictest confidence and treated as research data and not as material which could be shown in public. Names and images will not be published. This is in accordance with the code of ethics of the University of Strathclyde. The research period runs from October 2007 through August 2008. As an incentive and gratitude all participants will receive an Amazon Gift Certificate for $15 and all will be entered in a draw to win one **Apple Ipod (The new iPod Shuffle)** . All participants will also receive a copy of the articles.

Please feel free to contact me through Lois Sealey at Home Base Holidays. My name is Alexander Grit and I am affiliated with the **Strathclyde University in Glasgow** at the Department of Hospitality and Tourism Management and my interest lies in sustainable and self organising forms of hospitality.'

Note: If you are interested in taking part in what must surely be the first academic study into home exchange please <u>send a message to me</u> with **'Home Exchange PhD'** in the subject line. Your message will be forwarded to Alexander who will contact you with more details on taking part in the study.

APPENDIX 8 AN OVERVIEW OF HOME EXCHANGE ORGANISATIONS

This list is last updated on August 2009. It shows the name, founding data and place, number of listings, membership of the Certified Home Exchange Community (CHEC) and the possible speciality of the home exchange organisation. CHEC is a home exchange social network which offers extra security for its members. Such as address verification, mediation services, trip cancellation insurance, damage waiver insurance, english speaking local experts, listings with enticing descriptions and sharp photos, interactive agreement forms and assurance that members meet the highest home exchange ethical standards.

Name	Website	Founding data and place	Listings	CHECtravel Member	Speciality
1st Home Exchange	http://www.1sthomeexchange.com	2005, United States	17103		
Aha Go	http://www.ahago.com/	2000, United States	2700		
Aussie House Swap	http://www.aussiehouseswap.com.au	2004, Australia	1470		Australians
Casaswap	http://www.casaswap.com	2005, Denmark	500		Academic
Christian Home Swap	http://www.christianhomeswap.com/	2007, Australia	350		Christian
Club Intervacaciones	http://www.intervacacionesclub.com/	2001, Spain	2345		
Digsville	http://www.digsville.com/	1999, United States	2840	X	
Easy Home Exchange	http://www.easyhomeexchange.com/index.php	2008, United States	225		
Echangedemaison.com (Another Home)	http://www.echangedemaison.com/	1997, France	4394		
Echangedemaisononline	http://www.homeexchangeforvacations.com/index.php	2006, France	350		
Exchange Holiday Homes	http://www.exchangeholidayhomes.com/index.php	2006, United Kingdom	342		
Echangeimmo	http://www.homeforswaps.com/index.php	1991, France	1758	X	

ExchangeHomes.com	http://www.exchangehomes.com/	1983, United States	636	X	
Exchangeourhouses.com	http://www.exchangeourhouses.com/	2007, France	1500		
Exchange Zones	http://www.exchangezones.com/	2004, Canada	7686		
Exclusive Exchanges	http://www.exclusiveexchanges.com/default.aspx	2007, United States	1686		Luxury
Geenee	http://www.geenee.com/	2006, United Kingdom	12607		
Global	http://www.4homex.com/	2000, Canada	2000	X	
Global Swops	http://www.globalswops.com/	2006, United Kingdom	300	X	
Green Theme International	http://www.gti-home-exchange.com/	1989, United States	2095	X	Eco-Tourism
Guardian home exchange	http://www.guardianhomeexchange.co.uk/	2008, United Kingdom	2095		
HE-international	http://www.he-international.com/index.php?page=home	2008, The Netherlands	731		
Home Around the World	http://www.homearoundtheworld.com/	2004, United Kingdom	503		Gay
HolSwap	http://holswap.com/	2000, United Kingdom	1859		
Home Base Holidays	http://www.homebase-hols.com/	1985, United Kingdom	2095	X	
HomeExchange.com	http://www.homeexchange.com/	1992, United States	25506	X	
Home Exchange Gold	http://www.homeexchangegold.com/	2006, United States	705		Luxury
Home for Home	http://en.homeforhome.com/	2008, Spain	3197		
HomeWelcome	http://www.homewelcome.com/	2006, United States	563	X	

		2006, United Kingdom			
Home Xchange Vacations	http://www.homexchangevacation.com/	2006, United Kingdom	32514		
HomeForExchange	http://www.homeforexchange.com/	2005, The Netherlands	11396	X	
HomeForSwap	http://www.homeforswaps.com/	2007, United States	6065	X	
Homelink	http://www.homelink.org/index.jsp	1953, International Offices	12635	X	
International Home Exchange Network (IHEN)	http://ihen.com/	1995, United States	450		
International Vacation Home Exchange	http://www.ivhe.com/	2003, United Kingdom	600	X	Luxioury
Intervac	http://www.intervacus.com/index.aspx	1953, United States	7398	X	
Invented City	http://www.invented-city.com/	1991, United States	2109		
Itamos	http://www.itamos.com/	2006, Untited States	1845		
JewettStreet	http://www.jewettstreet.com/	2006, Germany	819	X	
Jewish Home Exchange	http://www.jewishhomeswap.com/	2003, United States	185		Jewish
LDS Home Exchange	http://www.ldshomexchange.com/	2006, United States	250		Latter-Day Saint
Livingaway.com	http://www.livingaway.com/uk-en/defaultL.asp	2008, Italy	2162		
Matching Houses	http://www.matchinghouses.com/	2003, United Kingdom	944		Disabled
mi casa su casa	http://www.gayhometrade.com/	2001, United States	300		Gay
Only in America	http://www.exchangehomesoia.com/	2001, United States	4500		Americans

Profvac	http://www.profvac.com/index.php?lg=uk	2001, France	1200		Academic
Ridef	http://www.exchange-of-homes.com/index.php	1996, Switzerland	100		
SabbaticalHomes.com	http://sabbaticalhomes.com/	2000, United States	500	X	Academic
Seniors Home Exchange	http://www.seniorshomeexchange.com/	2000, Canada	3612		Eco-Tourism
Simply Home Exchange	http://www.simplyhomeexchange.com/	2007, United Kingdom	555		
Singles Home Exchange International (SHEI)	http://www.singleshomeexchange.com/	2000, International	1600		Singles
So Simple Holiday Swaps	http://www.sosimpleholidayswaps.com/	1999, Australia	400		
SpaceXchange	https://www.spacexchange.de/english/ie/index.php	2006, Germany	909		
Swapandstay	http://swapandstay.com/	2006, United Kingdom	450		
Swapeo	http://www.swapeo.com/EN/index.php/	2003, France	5093		
SwapYourVacationHome.com	http://www.swapyourvacationhome.com/	2006, United States	254		
SwitcHome.org	http://www.switchome.org/	2007, France	3060		
The Vacation Exchange	http://thevacationexchange.com/	1997, United States	1450		Luxury
Trade to Travel	http://www.tradetotravel.com/	1991, United States	646		Luxury
U-Exchange	http://www.u-exchange.com/homeexchange	2006, United States	Difficult to determine		