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‘Wherever I go, there you are’: The mobility/mooring paradigm in travel journalism.

Andrew Duffy (2018) “Wherever I Go, There You Are”

Abstract

An article reveals a journalist’s agenda as well as their preconceptions about the audience. Based on schema theory, the mobility/mooring paradigm demonstrates how travel journalists create interplay between the challenge of the unknown and the reassurance of the known. First, this interplay reveals how a journalist forms their identity and imagines an audience, and makes assumptions about their world-view. Content analysis of newspaper travel journalism finds that mobility of travel and ideas is expressed as novelty, exotica and adventure; and that these are moored in presumed audience schemata of social identification, cultural similarity, and a shared awareness of tourist behaviour. Second, the interplay between mobility and mooring reveals presumed, accepted and established structures of power, representing a host country via the cultural frameworks of the writer’s nation.

Key words

Schema, mobility/mooring, travel, journalism

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This is a mobile era. Information, goods, services and people are in a state of flow, aided by infrastructure, technological advances and digital communication devices so that “the contemporary global condition is perhaps best understood through metaphors of scapes, flux, flow, mobility and liquidity” (Germann-Molz and Gibson 2007, 1). A ‘mobilities turn’ was highlighted by Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) in the inaugural issue of the journal *Mobilities* to examine these flows. For mobility to have any meaning, however, it must be distinct from something else, and there is a dialectic between mobility and its obverse condition, mooring (Urry 2003, Tuvikene 2014). Yet amid the studies on mobility, the subject of mooring has been largely neglected (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006). Accordingly, this paper expands the ‘mobilities turn’ and proposes the mobility/mooring paradigm to interpret travel journalism for issues of identity and power.

As a “rich repository for changing ideas about mobility and mediation” (Good 2013), travel journalism is a topical starting point to evaluate the phenomenon, as narrative strategies are used by journalists to connect the unfamiliar with the familiar. While travel journalism has in the past been dismissed as a frivolous topic (Fürsich 2012), it has also been identified as a valid site for research into hegemonic ideologies of how imaginings of foreign places and people are constructed (Fürsich and Kavoori 2001).

Travel involves physical mobility alongside figurative mooring in schemata which are used to help make sense of the newness and difference of travel: “Travelers are temporary strangers—strangers who have chosen to enter geographically, personally, socially, and culturally unfamiliar territory and who confront problems of making it sufficiently familiar to them that it can be managed” (Greenblat and Gagnon 1983, 91). Travel journalists must explore on behalf of their readers to find the familiar among the unfamiliar. Thus although travellers’ hope is frequently to encounter something authentic (MacCannell, 1976), they balance this with reference points that boundary the new experience within their own lives.

To evaluate how this is done, this paper adds the concept of mooring to the ‘mobilities turn’. It uses both concepts figuratively as metaphors for change and stasis, risk and certainty, difference and conformity, the exotic and the familiar, which interact with each other in situations where an individual assimilates new information. The mobility/mooring paradigm interrogates how a piece of journalism is created as a monologue which contains an implied dialogue around the journalist’s projected identity and their assumptions about the audience. This idea of an ‘implied reader’ (Ljungberg 2012, 118) is a concept from literary

studies and is distinct from the researched reader or target audience which is a marketing construct: the latter is defined by empirical research; the former emerges from interpretation of a text. The concept has been applied to a TV travel show audience which “is not openly stated but needs to be located by interrogating the assumptions of the text” (Fürsich, 2002a). Implied readers impact on the writing as people adapt their behaviour (in this case journalism) based on how they imagine an audience will react (Schlenker 1980, Fridlund 1991).

Any new ideas that the journalist brings—mobility—must be fitted in—moored—to the audience’s personal schemata (Piaget 1926, Bruner 1991, Emmott and Alexander 2014) or risk cognitive dissonance (Festinger 1957). This has been observed by scholars who have noted that travel texts are “limited by the discourse and socio-cultural beliefs of the community in which they are produced” (Santos 2004, 393). An additional factor is that texts constructed to appeal to the dominant ideologies of the reader will also find favour with advertisers (Ljungberg, 2012). Further, it is used to reconfirm their own social and cultural ideologies and impose them on the world as they see it through travel. Santos (2006, 638) deconstructed the 26 stories in *The Best American Travel Writing 2001* collection to observe how the relationship between writer and indigenous Others was characterised, observing that “both writing and editorial choices ... provide insight into the power relations present in communication because they serve to locate dominant cultural and ideological meanings.” This paper looks at how newspaper travel journalists describe the new and exotic by linking them to schemata that make them accessible to an audience, and its impact in terms of structures of power and identity.

Mobility, mooring and schemata

This study takes a constructivist approach based on initial observations that travel journalism often alternates exploration and newness with reassuring tropes of familiarity. These are framed as ‘mobility’ and ‘mooring’ respectively. The exotic (mobile) becomes manageable through connection to the familiar (mooring). In this example from the *New York Times*, the danger of a volcano is yoked to the confidence-inspiring numbers of tourists and the gentle activities they enjoy:

Hell’s mouth has become heavenly over the last 20 years. When Mount Pinutabo erupted in June 1991, it spewed out more than 5 cubic kilometers, or 1.2 cubic miles, of magma, and sent an ash cloud 35 kilometers, or 22 miles,

into the air... Today, more than 3,000 tourists a month climb the lake, whether to swim in its gemlike caldera lake or simply to enjoy its beauty.

This interplay between mobile and moored gives insights into the journalist in two ways. First, the mobility/mooring paradigm identifies a writer's choice to take a mobile approach—which can be associated with freedom, change, restlessness and inconsistency; or a moored approach—which can be associated with safety, retreat, boredom and imprisonment. The paradigm is inherently suited to consider travel texts, so this paper asks a first research question: What are the characteristics of mobility and mooring in travel journalism? Second, the paradigm is a tool to analyse how journalists write to correspond with what they believe is their audience's world-view, in order to make the message more effective. Interpretation of how the two conditions are juxtaposed to show a ratio of mobile to moored also indicates the attitudes of a writer towards an imagined audience (Litt 2012, Ljungberg 2012). This directed the second research question: which mobility or mooring tactics are used most frequently, and what does that suggest about journalists' assumptions about their audience's world-view?

This paper first considers travel journalism's relationship of power with the countries on which it reports; followed by schema theory as a foundation of the mobility/mooring paradigm. Third, it describes the 'mobilities turn' which was the starting point for the paradigm. It then considers mobilities and mooring intrinsic to tourism, followed by two studies of travel journalism to show how the paradigm can demonstrate patterns in communication, and their significance. Finally, it suggests how the paradigm extends to other forms of journalism.

Travel Journalism

Travel journalism is defined here as a report from a destination which purports to be a factual account of a writer's experiences and observations. With fewer international news bureaux, it is becoming a significant media window on the world (Hanusch 2010, 2014). And, like international news, "travel journalism also has a long history of representing 'other' peoples and 'other' places to its readers, viewers and listeners" (Cocking 2009, 57). This makes it a germane locus to examine the ideological values around media representations of foreign people and places, and to move lifestyle journalism off the "backburner of journalism studies" (Fürsich 2012, 12). A further motivation is that lifestyle journalists do not just report, but also evaluate and criticise what they see (Fürsich 2012): this places their relationship with people and places as judgmental, offering guidance and advice to readers. As a directive as

much as descriptive form of journalism, it demands scrutiny. By the same token, lifestyle journalism operates at a personal level. Rather than a broad overview of society's problems, it frames them in personal terms (Costera Meijer 2001) which may give it greater impact on the individual (Hogg and Grieve 1999, Soo and Hilligoss 2008).

Comparison with news reporting is instructive, as both face the challenge of reporting the Other (Fürsich 2002b). Among eight enduring news values, Gans (1979) noted ethnocentrism—the phenomenon that coverage of peoples considered culturally similar to the readers differs from coverage of peoples who might be considered Other, which has the effect of pushing the latter out of the public sphere. Galtung and Ruge (1965, 64) have a similar concept of cultural proximity, based on a hierarchy of relationships between nations which leads to different coverage for those which are more distant so that “the lower the rank of the nation or person, the more negative the news will have to be in order to be reported domestically”. Looking at travel journalism, Hanusch (2010) found that cultural proximity was once again an influencing factor on choice of nation to write about. Given the limitations of travel journalism boundaried by these conventions, Hanusch (2012) argues that practitioners should work harder to critically appraise a destination and to understand other cultures, rather than their usual concern with leisure and pleasure—being open to competing ideologies rather than subscribing to hegemonic principles of tourism.

Schema Theory

These norms or conventions that guide journalism are comparable to heuristics, or mental shortcuts which help information processing, and which are known as schema (plural ‘schemata’). Schemata are patterns of thought or behaviour, or frameworks based on prior experience which are utilised by the individual to make new information about an aspect of the world easier to process (Minsky 1975). Individuals create schemata about the world to guide behaviour, and to make it easier to accommodate new information (Ghosh and Gilboa 2014). Incoming information is fitted in to schemata—mooring the mobile. Such a dialectic has been observed previously: Bruner (1991) speaks of ‘canonicity’ and ‘breach’; Semino (1997) of challenging beliefs or conforming to them; while Cook (1994) speaks of forms of discourse, including journalism, that are ‘schema refreshing’ (ie destroying) or ‘schema preserving’. Schema studies have looked at how information is gathered, stored, and accessed (Li 2014). To date, though, they have not looked at how journalists construct texts to correspond with an audience's presumed schemata—and their assumptions about the audience that are so revealed.

Based on Kant's philosophical ideas of the structures people create to interpret the world (Ajideh 2003), via Gestalt theory in psychology (Piaget 1952), schema theory emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (Emmott and Alexander 2014). The value of schemata is that most things an individual encounters can be swiftly understood according to these frames (Yule 1996). Thus two people who encounter a dog will either advance or withdraw depending on whether their experience of dogs—internalised into a schema—has been positive or negative. Schemata are not fixed; they are constantly managed to accommodate new information (Rumelhart 1980). They affect how an individual interprets experiences that may agree with or depart from what is known (Piaget 1926, 1952). Individuals accommodate new information either by expanding a schema to assimilate it if it is concordant, or by developing and adapting a schema if it is discordant (Ajideh 2003). Smith (1994, 8) gives a fine description of how they work:

Everything we know and believe is organized in a theory of what the world is like, a theory that is the basis of all our perceptions and understanding of the world, the root of all learning, the source of hopes and fears, motive and expectancies, reasoning and creativity. And this theory is all we have. If we make sense of the world at all, it is by interpreting our interactions with the world in the light of our theory.

Schemata usually represent the world view and experience of an individual from a specific culture, and are collective stores of knowledge representing a prototypical group experience (Emmott and Alexander 2014). This can lead to stereotyping, and prejudices implicit in schemata; new information that could break these down may instead be fitted into a schema to support them. This led to a third research question: How are cultural norms or schemata used to moor the mobility inherent in travel journalism, and what does that reveal about the writer's projected identity with relation to travel and the destination?

The mobilities turn

The mobilities turn in scholarship considers that flows of capital, people, goods, ideas and information define the modern world. Urry was among the first to look at how global flows are rooted in relatively static infrastructures (2003), and Hannam, Sheller and Urry (2006) show how mobility depends on immobilities of road, rail, airport, port and warehouse,

anchored in systems of regulation, safety and information. By and large, therefore, mobility has been seen in concrete terms as befits its foundation in transport studies.

This article departs from such a literal approach, however, to use mobilities and mooring figuratively as a metaphor in communication. Germann-Molz and Gibson similarly write about “the double and contradictory processes of movement and stillness embodied by the ship” (2007, 14), a seafaring metaphor that reveals how the mobility/mooring paradigm works: each is interpreted in relation to each other. If a safe haven is sought, then mobility becomes undesirable; if in prison, mobility is to be preferred. Each has power because each has the potential for the other: “immobility is an integral part of mobility, as it is related to it dialectically” (Tuvikene 2014, 105).

Mobility is tied up with power. Duncan and Gregory (1999, 2) observed that “travel and its cultural practices have been located within larger formations in which the inscriptions of power and privilege are made clearly visible” while travel texts themselves “provide insight into the power relations present in communication because they serve to locate dominant cultural and ideological meanings” (Santos 2006, 638). This drove a fourth research question: What systems of power and privilege are suggested by the maintenance or challenging of schemata of touristic behaviour? To examine the mobility/mooring paradigm, this study considered how travel journalism uses mooring to anchor the novelty and adventure of travel in the audience’s presumed schemata (Study 1); and observed the interplay between the two conditions (Study 2).

Study 1: Moorings

Leisure travel is often concerned with seeking difference (Fürsich 2012). To connect it with the known, travel journalism may be observed to moor new experiences in the audience’s schemata. To study this phenomenon empirically, two researchers initially open-coded for mooring in 25 pieces of travel journalism taken from four English-language newspapers from around the globe: *The Times* of London, the *New York Times*, the *Straits Times* of Singapore, and Malaysia’s *New Straits Times*. This open-coding sample was <10% of a population of over 300 travel articles taken from the newspapers’ websites, and which had been selected to reflect a variety of over 80 countries from Afghanistan to Zimbabwe representing mainstream and alternative tourism destinations according to the UN World Travel Organisation (UNWTO, 2014). All articles were written between 2012 and 2014, representing two full years before the study commenced in early 2015. Travel journalism was defined as a written

report on a journalist's leisure-based experiences in a foreign destination, so promotions, listicles, celebrity first-person pieces and round-ups, for example, were excluded.

The four publications were chosen as leading national newspapers and therefore opinion formers among travellers as well as being concerned with serving the readers' interests. *The Times* touts itself as the UK's premier title for the ABC1 demographic (average daily circulation over 400,000, 2016). The *New York Times* considers itself the chief opinion leader in the US (audience 5,710,000, 2016). The *Straits Times* prides itself on its global coverage, with 20 bureaux around the world (circulation 481,000, 2016); while the *New Straits Times* is the oldest newspaper in Malaysia with an avowed commitment to nation building (readership 261,000, 2016). The four newspapers were also selected to offset concerns that the phenomenon of mooring might be culture-specific; comparative study shows whether a theory can be generalised across cultures (Hanitzsch, 2009).

The aim of this primary-cycle coding of 25 articles (Tracy 2013) was to identify and characterise different ways travel journalism was moored in schemata of an imagined audience. This first level involved constant comparison of codes (Charmaz 2006) and immersion in the data followed by discussion between two researchers, from different cultural backgrounds to counter single-researcher and mono-cultural biases. The articles underwent content analysis as being suited to answering questions of how and why communication is used (Babbie 2011). While it is open to subjective interpretation, content analysis was chosen over interviews because people are not always fully aware of their schemata, and may not be able to describe them (Mandler 1984).

Coding took a sentence as the unit of analysis, and sentences were coded if they illustrated one of three forms of mooring. The first was social, in which the mobility of travel is moored in similarity of 'I am like you and I did this'; or 'I saw people like you and me in this place'; or 'this is like home'. The second was cultural, in which the mobility of travel is moored in shared reference point such as 'it was just like in *The Hobbit*' or 'I had a feeling that we weren't in Kansas anymore'. And the third form of mooring identified in primary coding involved touristic tropes such as 'we relaxed by the hotel pool' or 'our guide explained how the monks would ask for alms'.

This initial sweep of travel 25 articles led to a focused coding manual (Tracy 2013) used for a second level of analysis of 226 travel articles from the four newspapers, covering 73 destination countries. The intention was to see if mooring was a consistent theme across travel journalism in different cultures by observing relative frequencies of each form. The

two researchers each read different articles and their coding was calculated as a mean percentage reported in Table 1.

Study 1 Results

The first research question asked what characterised mooring in travel journalism. The three forms of mooring observed, with examples and percentage frequencies, are described:

Social mooring. This functions as an answer to the implied reader question of ‘why should I go to that place or do that activity?’ Hogg and Grieve (1999) note that social proof is more effective when there is similarity between people, so that individuals are more likely to act if someone like them has acted in a comparable way before. This was the most common among the three forms, occurring 1,817 times and constituting 37.5% of the mooring references in the 226 articles.

The next morning I arrived ... and met my fellow cavers—seven Australian men and women in their mid-20s, some on vacation, some on extended backpacking trips (Vietnam, *New York Times*).

Tourism mooring. Travel media are a source of inspiration of what to do and see in a destination (Banyai and Glover 2012), and tourists have schemata of expected holiday behaviour which include relaxing, eating, drinking, and gazing upon the sights (Urry 1990). Once again, this form of mooring responds to the reader’s unspoken question of ‘why would I go there?’ This was the second most common among the three forms, occurring 1,678 times and constituting 34.75% of all mooring references in the articles.

After the helicopter ride, we drove along Victoria’s famed Great Ocean Road, where the scenery alternated between spectacular ocean views and lush forest inland (Australia, *Straits Times*).

Cultural mooring. Schemata can be culture-specific (Ridley, Chih and Olivera 2000) and are linked to references shared among a group. For a journalist to moor an activity this way shows credibility based on similarity, and relevance based on knowing who the audience is. Often it operates as an answer to the reader’s inferred question of ‘why were you there, doing that?’ Yet, by including cultural reference points in their articles, travel journalists produce and reinforce their own cultural hegemony and Santos (2006, 263) gives the example of ‘all

things American' as a recurrent theme in the US travel writing she analysed, in which "American people, culture, and ways of living serve as a comparative and standard model for discussions and observations regarding the host." Abroad is framed in home schemata. This was the least common among the three forms, occurring 1,310 times and constituting 27.75% of mooring references in the articles.

We'd clambered over huge boulders and past Cobra Hood Cave, where, our guide informed us, they'd filmed part of *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom* (Sri Lanka, *The Times*).

The first study also revealed patterns of attitude, behaviour, and presumed audience schemata. The first observation was of a distinction between East and West, which may be connected to the relative level of sophistication in the travel market in the two hemispheres. Only recently compared to the West has Asia enjoyed the widespread levels of wealth associated with mass leisure travel; in 2014, Asia-Pacific countries still accounted for just 23.7% of global travellers, compared to 67.5% from Europe and the Americas (UNWTO 2015). Asian journalists show destinations for a comparatively inexperienced travel market and so moor their writing in the tourism industry. This may be also associated with attracting advertising revenue, implying a commercial agenda.

Altogether there were 4,805 mooring statements, and percentages frequencies of each form are reported in Table 1. Social mooring was most common form. One benefit of making their articles thus relevant to the readers is that journalists validate their own actions; if they travel and write on behalf of someone else, it vindicates both activities. Social and cultural mooring were more prevalent in Western newspapers. Both hint at tourism as a means of building social capital with a message of 'people like us travel like this', and 'people like us will know what this reference is about'. Tourism mooring was most common in the Asian newspapers, meanwhile, which suggests that these journalists imagine their audience being concerned with conformity to touristic behaviour; the readers' intention may be more to see a place as enjoyed by other tourists so they can share their experience. Asian societies have been seen as more allocentric and motivated by group norms, while Western societies have been labelled idiocentric, in which motivation comes from personal desires (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 2001), and this was borne out in the relative frequencies of types of mooring in the shared experience of tourism.

Table 1: Percentage frequencies of moorings in travel journalism in four newspapers

	The Times	NY Times	Straits Times	NS Times	Mean
Social Mooring	36	42	37	35	37.50
Tourism Mooring	31	25	42	41	34.75
Cultural Mooring	33	33	21	24	27.75

Table 1: Percentage frequencies of moorings in travel journalism in four newspapers

Study 2: Mobilities and Moorings Interact

From this first study emerged the recognition that mooring gained significance when juxtaposed with mobility. This led to a second wave of research, which underwent the same process of constant-comparison coding, data immersion and discussion of 40 travel articles to identify two forms of mobility. This was followed by synthesising primary-cycle descriptive codes into interpretive secondary-cycle coding (Tracy 2013) to identify patterns in the interplay between mobility and mooring.

Two researchers, once again from differing cultural backgrounds, subsequently read 50 travel articles from *The Times* and the *New York Times*. A smaller and less international sample was chosen for closer analysis with secondary-level axial coding (Glaser and Strauss 1967) between sentences coded as ‘mobile’ and ‘moored’, leading to rich description of the interplay. The intention was to count frequencies of the interplay between forms of mobility and forms of mooring in order to answer research question two (Table 2), and to describe their interplay to answer research questions three and four.

Study 2 Results

The two forms of mobility—adventure and novelty—were based on common tropes of difference observed in the first study. Both are described here with an example from the same article on Afghanistan from the *New York Times* for direct comparison.

In **Adventure Mobility**, the journalist is rarely adventurous, but the destination is. The journalist does little more than walk, look, eat and relax; the destination makes these activities adventurous, so that the writer is thrilled to observe a whale shark up close or to dash to safety across a busy street in Hanoi. Alternatively, others are adventurous while the journalist observes rather than joins in. The hazards might make the audience feel courageous, but the dangers are not so great as to harm them. In this example, the landscape

conforms to stereotypes about the country's harsh, embattled terrain, while Urry's tourist gaze becomes a rugged narrowing of the eyes:

An icy wind blasted in our faces as we trudged up a rocky slope on the southern outskirts of Kabul, the war-shattered capital of Afghanistan. Around us rose a moonscape of treeless, dun-colored hills, broken by clusters of mud-walled squatter huts. I squinted into the sunlight, looking east toward the earthen citadel of Bala Hissar, a stronghold from the time of the Silk Road to the post-Soviet wars.

In **Novelty Mobility**, tourism goes hand in hand with the exotic. The intention is to show something new which can be a tourist activity or not but the journalist is trying it on behalf of the audience. The assumption is that this would be a novelty for the audience, and it includes presenting the destination as unusual, spectacular and outlandish; or as an indulgent, luxurious sojourn unlike their home life. In this example, marvels are presented as a list of exotica piled up upon exotica to communicate a profusion of novelty:

Shafts of sunlight penetrated serpentine alleys lined by canvas-covered wooden stalls; the harsh light illuminated the bearded faces of Pashtun merchants and their bountiful wares: nuts, spices, dried fruits, tea, slabs of raw meat, live turkeys, blankets, beads of lapis lazuli...

The second research question asked which mobility and mooring tactics are used most frequently, and what that suggests about how the journalist views the audience. Overall, tourism mooring was most common, which implies that journalists see the audience as being interested in touristic behaviour; and the articles were more concerned with novelty than adventure mobility, which was consistent in both publications (Table 2).

	NY Times	The Times	Total
Adventure Mobility	60	68	128
Novelty Mobility	140	191	331
Social Mooring	36	56	92
Cultural Mooring	71	95	166
Tourism Mooring	157	83	240
Adventure Mobility → Social Mooring	1	6	7
Adventure Mobility → Cultural Mooring	5	6	11
Adventure Mobility → Tourism Mooring	17	20	37
Novelty Mobility → Social Mooring	7	15	22
Novelty Mobility → Cultural Mooring	11	30	41
Novelty Mobility → Tourism Mooring	22	26	48
Social Mooring → Adventure Mobility	4	3	7
Cultural Mooring → Adventure Mobility	4	6	10
Tourism Mooring → Adventure Mobility	9	7	16
Social Mooring → Novelty Mobility	6	14	20
Cultural Mooring → Novelty Mobility	9	18	27
Tourism Mooring → Novelty Mobility	16	19	35

Table 2: Relative frequencies of mobilities, moorings and mobility/mooring pairings

The ratio of mobility (coded here 456 times) to mooring (coded 498 times) is noteworthy. An emphasis on tourism mooring over adventure mobility, for example, implies an agenda that the writer assumes the reader is more interested in following a tourist trail than striking out alone; while a focus on novelty mobility and a disregard for cultural mooring implies that the journalist's priority is to demonstrate exotica whether or not the audience connects with it. A bias in favour of mobility or an absence of mooring may be a tactic to make a destination seem more exotic or a journalist more heroic; while repeated mooring references at the expense of mobility keeps the travel firmly within a safe zone.

Mobility/Mooring Interaction

The third research question also asked how schemata are used to moor the mobility inherent in travel journalism, and what that suggested about the journalist's projected identity. Based

on this analysis, journalists see themselves as seekers of novelty, rather than adventurers. Travel is about difference, not risk-taking. The newspapers differed most when it came to mooring: in the *New York Times*, it often referenced tourism infrastructure—hotels, restaurants, car rentals, guides, tour groups—than social similarity or shared cultural references. *The Times*, by contrast, preferred mooring in references to cultural icons. Journalists from neither newspaper, however, were inclined to moor mobility in social similarity.

The most common interplay (coded 48 times) was between **novelty mobility and tourism mooring**, where journalists describe something exotic before connecting it to tourism. They present themselves as good at identifying what is new; and place themselves within the tourism industry even as they aim to be a ‘traveller’ who finds something off the beaten track (Zerva 2015).

What I had expected of Argentina—a country known for its flat savannahs and wispy pampas grasses [social mooring in shared preconceptions—was being contradicted at every turn [mobility of new information]. The skies were bigger, the peaks loftier, the landscapes more eccentric than I thought there could be room for in one continent, let alone one country [novelty mobility of the exotic]. At Estancia Colomé, neat vines—manicured as any you might find in Napa or South Africa [cultural mooring in a shared understanding of wine—were surrounded by utterly wild terrain (the remote farmers of Cafayate are known to trap and eat puma) [novelty mobility of the exotic]. Inside Colomé’s elegant dining room [mooring in tourism infrastructure] we quaffed bracing white Torrontes and carnivorous red Malbec wines while, beyond the estate fringes, Andean mountain cats and ocelots prowled [adventure mobility of the wild]. (*The Times*)

Mooring makes the exoticism of mobility easier by placing it within the audience’s schemata. Here, the journalist moors the wonders of the sea in tourism to render them more accessible:

Fishing is banned within one kilometer of the shore, and diving is limited to 120 visitors a day—a vast improvement in protection, though too meager for environmentalists who fear the island can’t sustain even that procession of tourists... At the aptly named Barracuda Point dive site, whorls of barracuda

chase one another in a huge vortex, a pinch-yourself scene unlikely to be repeated in a lifetime. (Malaysia, *New York Times*)

The obverse—using the safe mooring of tourism to launch into the mobility of the novel—was also frequent (coded 35 times). In this example, the journalist assumes the mantle of the guide, explaining how to access the sight, then describing it in profuse details that emphasise its exoticism which is, presumably, unlike the audience's home life:

Just down the road from the elevated Chow Kit monorail ... head down Jalan Raja Alang and enter the market on your left, opposite Safuan Plaza. Stalls selling exotic fruits greet visitors at the entrance. Rambutan, whose fine spines poking out from its skin help it live up to its name ('hairy' in Malay), dangle from strings above mangos piled up in neat rows. (Malaysia, *New York Times*).

The second most common interplay involved **novelty mobility and cultural mooring** (coded 41 times). Journalists present themselves as travellers who find the extraordinary, and make it relevant by describing it in terms that the audience can access. Once again the obverse, cultural mooring as a launch-pad for novelty mobility, was also common (coded 27 times). The writer's identity is one who travels with the audience's life experience in mind, is similar in outlook and interests, and is therefore a valid guide because "information exchange between two parties works best when they share similar beliefs, values, educational levels and social statuses" (Soo and Hilligoss 2008, 65). In other cases, journalists start from a launch-pad of cultural schemata that allows for mobility of novel experience (coded 27 times), followed by a return to safe mooring:

With much of the trip above 11,500ft, we'd invested in drugs for altitude sickness. "You can expect loss of libido," said Dr Hemmaway, scribbling a prescription in her London surgery [cultural mooring in shared understanding of London doctor, take-off point for ensuing mobility]. "And possibly tingling extremities and penile convulsions." [mobility of novelty]
 "Penile convulsions? Good Lord. Are you sure?"
 "Yep. Enjoy."

So, having traded nausea for impotence, we chug towards Bolivia on the Andean Explorer... at 10am, we're sipping strong pisco sour, enduring thumping panpipe disco and watching a fashion show of local pashminas [exotica and novelty]. You don't get that on the Settle-Carlisle [return to safety, moored in the everyday reference to a local railway line]. (Peru, *The Times*)

Adventure mobility often led to tourism mooring (coded 37 times), too, as journalists do something exciting but return to the comfort of a hotel; or leave home to embark on journeys of otherness, luxury or challenge. Tourism mooring brackets danger which allows journalists (and by association the audience) to depart from safety, have an adventure and then return. The message is that adventure is difficult but rewards the traveller with a view, a hotel, a meal, a place to relax:

The rusty Jeep we rented proved its mettle on the island's roads... which could be astonishingly steep and, on unpaved stretches, impressively rutted. But the payoff of our journey was evident once we set foot on those beaches. Justifiably famous is Playa Flamenco, a curving mile of white sand and turquoise water that draws the biggest crowds... (Puerto Rico, *New York Times*)

Similarly, journalists use tourism infrastructure as a departure point for adventure. Yet they do not describe themselves as adventurous, perhaps because to do so would disrupt their credibility based on social similarity with the audience. Instead, in the example below, they transfer the adventurousness onto others to maintain a connection with the audience, which is reiterated here through mooring in the touristic schema of a two-hour flight and the social identification with "fellow travelers":

Our mid-May voyage had started the day before in Iquitos, a port city on the Amazon that can be reached only by plane (a two-hour flight from Lima) or, for the more adventurous, a river journey. My husband and I had opted for the former, meeting most of our fellow travelers at the Iquitos airport before embarking by bus to the ship. The roads in Iquitos were jammed with three-

wheel conveyances called motocarros, and were muddy, still swamped from the record high tide during the rainy season. (Peru, *New York Times*)

Further, mooring can make mobility appear more adventurous or novel either to enhance the image of the destination or the identity of the journalist. Here, contrast with the mundane heightens the appeal of the destination:

My parents' kitchen in Bournemouth with a third glass of red wine [social mooring] ... Illetes Beach, Formentera, lying on the same blanket I packed last year ... There are places I know I'll always return to—these are some of them [tourism mooring]. But South America? It's so far. And so complicated. You need vaccinations, visas ... and a Spanish vocab range that may have to get you further than a café con leche ('Take my wallet, but not my new sunglasses!'). When it's chilly in Chile, it's boiling in Brazil; when it pours in Peru, it's scorching in Uruguay [adventurous, novel and exotic mobility enhanced by preceding mooring in the everyday]. (*The Times*)

Finally mobility may not be moored at all when journalists want to emphasise adventure or novelty mobility, and one article ends as follows:

Which just leaves a celebration. Not cigars, champagne and a passionate siesta, but a drive up Tunupa volcano to visit eight mummified corpses in a remote cave. As engagement parties go, it's a little reserved—a tad stiff, perhaps—but we'd expect nothing less. This, after all, is Bolivia. Wonderful, quirky, gloriously unpredictable Bolivia. (*The Times*)

When the intention is to present a country as exotic, or a journalist as adventurous, this is achieved by *not* mooring the mobile.

Systems of power and privilege

Power lies at the heart of mobilities, and it is instructive to track “the power and politics of discourses and practices of mobility in creating both movement and stasis” (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006, 3-4). The fourth research question concerned systems of power and privilege in maintaining or challenging schemata of tourist behaviour observed in travel journalism as

“an important site for studying the ideological dimensions of tourism and transcultural encounters” (Fürsich and Kavoori 2001, 150). It was not unusual for magnificence or exotica to be described in terms that diminished its significance, the comparison producing a descent into bathos:

Slowly the last of the trees thin out, and the bald volcanic slopes slide into view, shelving down to desolate beaches, where moai stand, some clustered, others alone. In one astonishing location, I come across 15 of them, lined up in a row like a terrible jury about to convict for murder [cultural mooring frames local culture in negative terms] ... At Rano Raraku, I discover some half-finished moai jutting from the turf like cowboys stuck in quicksand [cultural mooring belittles the moai]. (Easter Island, *The Times*)

Here, the journalist sets a frame of reference by mooring travel in schemata to the detriment of the sights, so that “mass-mediated narratives are filled with enduring Western cultural and social ideological values which, some propose, transform and/or destroy the Other’s national culture” (Santos 2006, 628). This is not to blame travel journalism for taking such an approach, as it is required to fit in with the expectations and experience of the reader, perhaps reconfirming their preconceptions about a destination (Cocking, 2009). But the effect is to reduce the status of a sight in one country by reproducing it in diminished terms by the standards of another.

Conclusion, limitations and future research

This analysis demonstrates how the mobility/mooring paradigm offers a tool to interpret journalism for two connected phenomena. First, it can reveal how journalists project their own identities in terms of binaries such as uncertainty or certainty, risk or security, difference or conformity; and how, too, they imagine the audience in relation to these binaries. The analysis showed that they see themselves as seekers for novelty first and adventure second, and report their activities framed in shared cultural and social understanding to validate their travel and reassure the reader of their relevance; while working on behalf of readers who they imagine as being concerned primarily with tourism. The proportion of mobility to mooring, as well as the preferred forms of each, can also indicate the preoccupations of the travel and tourism industry in a given country.

Second, the paradigm can reveal structures of privilege and power based on observation of the schemata in which new ideas are moored. This has implications for how an article is constructed as one area for further research extending schema theory: the paradigm suggests a ‘pseudo-dialogue’ or monologue with inferred dyadic interaction. For example, in circumstances when a writer needs to imagine the audience’s schemata in order to connect with them (as in promotional writing with a commercial agenda), how is this text constructed and what are the presumed schemata it demonstrates? The interplay between mobility and mooring shows how the journalist anticipates opinions, reactions and questions from the audience based on their presumed schemata, and writes accordingly.

Travel journalism is a suitable arena to observe this as it advocates interaction with the new and diverse. Bauman (2003, 119) describes ‘mixophobia’ or fear of rubbing shoulders with people of difference and of the uncertainty that comes with a globalised world. The mobility/mooring paradigm is a framework to consider how journalism may be structured to incorporate such novelty within existing or presumed schemata to make it accessible, and what is implied in the choices of how it is done. The journalism analysed here demonstrates that mobility was more often reported as novelty and less as adventure. Mooring in schemata was reported primarily in touristic norms and less so in shared cultural values or in social identification (Hogg and Grieve 1999). The effect is that journalists project themselves as sharing with their readers’ ideas about tourism and comparable cultural touchstones, to show how the travel they write about is relevant. Such mooring also generates feelings of trust and emotional involvement (McAllister 1995) from the audience towards the writer.

Given that tourism mooring was most common, such schemata appear to be maintained more than challenged, concomitant with observations that countries are reported in stereotypical terms in much travel journalism (Bender, Gidlow and Fisher, 2013; Hanefors and Mossberg 2002; Hanusch 2011). Equally, it may be argued that it is not the role of the travel journalist to take the audience out of their comfort zone and problematise the way they interact with people and places overseas, but instead the less noble and more commercial construction of a fertile environment for advertising. It was evident that the professional, wealthy demographic targeted by the newspapers was reflected in the forms of mooring: cultural, social and touristic references were mostly relevant to a discerning, sophisticated readership.

This hints at a limitation of this study, its neglect of commercial influence on travel journalism, which would also explain the mooring in the social, cultural and touristic

reference points that would coincide with advertisers' and travel sponsors' desires. Hanusch (2010) points out that coverage may also depend on the host country's budget to pay for journalists to join sponsored press familiarisation trips. Certainly travel articles share similar concerns and attitudes with the advertising alongside which they appear in the newspapers (Daye 2005). Such commercial issues demand consideration as they may reasonably be expected to affect journalists' relationship with the destination, the text and the reader; however, these commercial realities are within this paper's remit to acknowledge, but not to assess in any depth. A further limitation is that the paradigm is a tool for interpretation rather than fixity, as one person's mobility can be another person's mooring and vice versa. The novelty of the Afghanistan market or the adventure of the Nepal trek is mobility for the journalist, but for the indigenous people it is the mooring of the quotidian. At the same time, journalists moor in social similarity with an audience, cultural references and tourist behaviour which might be exotic to local people. Thus the paradigm must be viewed in a cultural context within which it is applied, and is open to interpretation depending on the cultural schemata of the researchers. A second theme for discussion is that of the power and privilege revealed through analysis using the mobility/mooring paradigm. Mooring permits travel journalists to stand in judgment on the country, first because they have the financial means to travel and second because their travel is sanctioned through the justification of doing it on behalf of someone else, shown by mooring their mobility in the audience's presumed schemata. Accordingly, the paradigm finds a berth in cultural studies as "mobility is more than about just getting from A to B. It is about the contested world of meaning and power" (Cresswell 2006, 265). Mobility occurs under different forms and spaces of power which relate to how mobility is practised and experienced (Jensen 2011). The paradigm allows for interpretation of when one party moors the mobile by depriving another party of choice; for example, to label or stereotype someone is to moor them within a framework of the first party's choosing, denying them the mobility of alternative and multiple identities and stifling their freedom to moor themselves in a manner of their own choosing. The mobility of opinion that accompanies a reflective traveller who meets indigenous people on their own terms (Fürsich and Kavoori 2001) contrasts with the likelihood of prejudice of the traveller who prefers to moor a new place and its inhabitants into schemata rather than adapting to accommodate them (Ajideh 2003). Said (1979, 67) describes the West's manner of viewing the Near East through its own lens rather than on its own terms as the "domestications of the exotic":

Something patently foreign and distant acquires ... a status more rather than less familiar. One tends to stop judging things either as completely novel or completely well known; a new media category emerges, a category that allows one to see new things, things seen for the first time, as versions of a previously known thing (Said 1979, 58-59).

Equally, however, Santos (2006) notes that travel and travel writing are about the search for otherness, so an element of power imbalance is inherent, albeit still open to critique.

These two themes—journalist/audience identities, and relations of power—meet in communications studies. The mobility/mooring paradigm can reveal a power agenda of what is controlled and by whom, which accompanies how the communicator projects themselves and imagines the audience. Analysis of a meeting or a conversation, for example, can reveal the interplay between new ideas and control, and who is most likely to do what. Mobility may be moored to make discourse less intimidating or more socially desirable. Equally mooring can frame mobility in a certain way and give it a particular significance—which raises opportunities for further research into who does the mooring, and their motivation for framing it in such terms.

As a future research agenda, the mobility/mooring paradigm allows for interpretation other forms of journalism, too. Story structure is a schema with expectations of form and content (Rumelhart 1975); the same can be said of news style and format. News reporting places the novel and divergent into conventional frameworks which help the audience to process the information in safety as the strange is encapsulated in the predictable. The TV evening news traditionally embarks on a journey into danger and novelty only to return to reassurance. The world is mobile and the programme brings that unfamiliarity into living room; but a format has been created to moor it in familiarity. The reporter leaves the studio to find novelty, but the programme returns to the studio—and the news anchor—at the end. The unfamiliar recounted in the news is also moored in reporting norms and standards, so that events are covered in ways that conform to certain ‘types’ of news story (Bell 1991, Lule 2001), and framed to have particular effects on audiences (Valkenburg, Semetko and de Vreese 1999). In news, the developing world is represented as chaos, catastrophe and crisis (Moeller, 1999); in travel journalism it is likelier to be represented as calm, curiosities and quaintness. Both are equally limiting. Building on this, the mobility/mooring paradigm opens up space for interpretation of interplay between the novelty of news and the reassurance of

presentation frameworks; and more broadly in any act of communication designed to inform or to persuade, integrating the unknown with the known, merging exotic with mundane, and reconciling the unfamiliar with the familiar.

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