CONTESTING IDENTITY, SPACE AND SACRED SITE MANAGEMENT AT TEMPLE SQUARE IN SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

by

Daniel H. Olsen

A thesis
presented to the University of Waterloo
in fulfillment of the
thesis requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in
Geography

Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, 2008

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

I understand that my thesis may be made electronically available to the public.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of my dissertation is to bring cultural geographic theory, including the ideas of representation, power, cultural and religious identity, and the contested and negotiated nature of places and identities, into discussions about the broader field of religious tourism. I use Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Utah, the spiritual centre of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (also known as the Mormon or Latter-day Saint Church), as a case study to discuss and contest three theories related to religious tourism and sacred space that are prevalent in the academic literature. These include the contested space theory, where I argue that discussions about contested space must be set in the historical context and conditions under which conflict or contestation is first developed, and the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, the utility of which I question in light of management strategies Latter-day Saint Church leaders use to destabilise identities at Temple Square. I also critique the view that religious sites lack sufficient managerial expertise to be run effectively by religious site managers. In doing this I argue that scholars and tourism industry officials need to take religious culture and history more seriously when attempting to understand how leaders of various religious faiths view tourism and how those views influence the management of their sacred sites.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As is the general custom at the beginning of any document in which a great personal sacrifice has been make made in its production, I wish to acknowledge those people who have been instrumental in helping me accomplish such a feat as writing a dissertation. I would like begin by to thank all the key informants in Salt Lake City who were so gracious with their time with me. In particular, I wish to thank "Chip" Smith and David Williams for their insight and willingness to meet with me on more than one occasion. I would also like to thank Steven Olsen who not only met with me on multiple occasions but also commented on a very early draft of my dissertation.

Second, I would like to thank the members of my thesis committee—Dr. Geoff Wall, my current advisor from the Department of Geography, Dr. David Seljak from the Department of Religious Studies at St. Jerome's College, and Dr. Ron Johnson from the Department of Recreation and Leisure—for their support and patience as I wrote this dissertation. I appreciated the insights they gave on drafts of this dissertation. I would also like to express my appreciation and admiration for my former advisor, Dr. Jeanne Kay Guelke, who has guided me throughout most of my academic journey. She has been a constant support and well-spring of ideas, and has greatly shaped my dissertation and my career path. I have enjoyed working with her over these many years, and will miss her as she enjoys retirement. Many thanks also go to Dr. William Norton from the University of Manitoba for serving as the external examiner for this dissertation.

I would also like to thank my parents and my parents-in-law for their love and support, both emotionally and financially, and for their constant concern for my family's well-being. I especially would like to thank my lovely wife, Janet, for her patience in putting me through school. Her love and support have been constants throughout this process. Lastly, I thank my daughters Elena and Lianna and my son Christian for being patient with Daddy and his late nights working.

DEDICATION

For Janet, Elena, Lianna, and Christian.

I love you!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

RELIGION, TOURISM, AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE SACRED

INTRODUCTION

The 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah, was the stage of an international figure skating controversy. The controversy arose when Canadian figure skating officials disputed the silver medals awarded to the Canadian competitors even though their long program was flawless, whereas the Russian pair had stumbled during theirs. When the French judge later admitted that she had been pressured by her superiors to vote for the Russians, the International Skating Union and the International Olympic Committee awarded both the Russian and Canadian skaters with gold medals. This controversy, however, was minor in comparison to another controversy associated with the Games; a controversy that exemplified and exacerbated the cultural divide that characterises much of Salt Lake City's politics. Salt Lake City is the world headquarters of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly known and referred to as the Latter-day Saint Church, LDS, or Mormons). From a cultural geographic perspective, Salt Lake City is the centre of the *Mormon culture region* (Meinig 1965) because of the dominance of Mormon culture and the Church's influence on both the urban and rural landscape and local and state cultural politics (Francaviglia 1978, 2003; Yorgason 1999, 2003; Toney *et al.* 2003). Because of the influence of the Church in the cultural and political life of the city, there has historically been a strong divide between residents who belong to the Latter-day Saint Church and those who do not.

The Church was not involved in earlier unsuccessful attempts by business leaders to bring the Winter Olympics to Salt Lake City in 1972 and 1976, but during the bid for the 2002 Winter Olympic Games, various Church-owned businesses donated over $200,000 towards the Olympic bid (Gerlach 2002). After the city won the hosting rights, Church leaders gave additional monetary

support in the millions of dollars, urged local Church members to volunteer as helpers for the Games, and also loaned the Salt Lake Olympic Committee (SLOC) a 10-acre parking lot in downtown Salt Lake City to be used for the Olympic Medals Plaza (Burbank *et al.* 2001; Gerlach 2002). Church leaders said that the Church's willingness to help the Olympic cause demonstrated their commitment to be good community partners. However, local and national media outlets expressed concern about the involvement of the Church in the planning of this international and secular event (Chen 2003). The majority of the members of the various Olympic planning committees of the SLOC were Latter-day Saint Church members, giving the impression that the Church was dominating the planning of a secularly-sponsored sporting event (Gerlach 2002).

For example, when the Church donated a 10-acre parking lot for the site of the Olympic Medals Plaza, it negotiated directly with the SLOC, leaving city government officials upset that they had not been privy to the decisions made about the location of the Medals Plaza. This led many people, including the city's non-Latter-day Saint Mayor, to express the concern that the backdrop for the Medals Plaza—the Salt Lake Temple and the Church Office Building, two major religious icons in the urban landscape representing Latter-day Saint influence in the area—was not an appropriate backdrop for the Plaza. Rather, they argued, a more secular location like the historic City and County Building would be appropriate for the Medals Plaza (Gerlach 2002: 15). Furthermore, the ire of some government officials and residents was raised when Church leaders stipulated the land they donated for the Medals Plaza be alcohol-free in accordance with Latter-day Saint beliefs against alcohol consumption (Gorski 2001). Editors of the secular *Salt Lake Tribune* also began to express concerns over whether the Salt Lake Games would become known as the "Mormon Olympics", with Latter-day Saint Church leaders using the Games as a proselytizing platform to preach the tenets of Mormonism to both Olympic visitors and the world-wide Olympic viewing audience (Gerlach 2002; Chen 2003).

These criticisms of the involvement of the Latter-day Saint Church in the Olympic preparations led Church leaders to scale back its support of the event, with Church leaders making a public commitment not to engage in proselytizing efforts during the Games. Church leaders instead focused on receiving Olympic visitors in a spirit of welcome and attempted to place the Church in a secondary position to the Games. However, Church leaders also saw the Olympic Games as a stage to dispel long standing images and myths about the Church and introduce the world to modern Mormonism. Church leaders therefore launched an expansive public relations initiative to inform the media of its religious tenets. However, these promotional efforts heightened tensions in Salt Lake City. Many industry and government officials were worried about the uneven press coverage the Church was receiving, and expressed concern that this media attention to the Latter-day Saint Church went against their desires to represent and re-image Salt Lake City as a business-friendly place and as a city of the future—as something other than the centre of Mormonism (Burbank *et al.* 2001: 124-125; Gerlach 2002: 15-17; Shipps 2002).

The conflicts over the role of the Latter-day Saint Church in the Olympic Games and the way Salt Lake City was being represented to an international audience is an example of what Mitchell (2000: 5) calls contemporary *culture wars*. Mitchell (1995b, 2000: 12) argues that ideologies of culture exist through the medium of social interaction. *Culture wars*, then, are about social group identity formation and cultural differentiation—about defining what is legitimate within society; defining who is an 'insider' and who is an 'outsider' (i.e., constructing the 'Other'), and determining what should be the 'proper' relations between these groups (Cosgrove 2000: 136; Mitchell 2000: 5). This creation of boundaries between cultural groups, however, is more than just a metaphorical and ideological exercise; it is also geographical in nature. Of interest to cultural geographers is the idea that "arguments over 'culture' are arguments over real spaces, over landscapes, over the social relations that define the places in which we and others live" (Mitchell

2000: 5-6). In particular, cultural geographers examine issues of how cultural ideologies are *represented* and legitimated within different places and landscapes, who has the *power* to represent those cultural ideologies, and how *cultural identity* is formed out of these representations (Pratt 2001: 3071-3074).

For example, one of the ways in which cultural groups attempt to delineate, solidify and legitimate their cultural ideologies is through representing the spaces they control as fixed, bounded and static in an attempt to maintain an ideological *status quo*. This is accomplished through mobilizing group identities and by defining their places and landscapes as being in opposition to other ideologies and places (Massey 1995; Sibley 1995: 101-110, 185). In doing so, dominant groups attempt to naturalise the social relations that occur in particular places and the meanings of those places by adhering to a set of ideological beliefs and practices about what is appropriate representation and what is not appropriate representation—what is "in-place" and what is "out-of-place"—as well as what is appropriate behaviour (Cresswell 1996). However, cultural geographers have an "unease...[with] the ways that claims to territory function as mechanisms for social exclusion and control" (Pratt 2001: 3073). This unease has caused Jordan and Weedon (1995: 4; in Butcher 2006: 28-29) to ask,

> Whose culture shall be the official one and whose shall be subordinated? What cultures shall be regarded as worthy of display and which shall be hidden? Whose history shall be remembered and whose forgotten? What image of social life shall be projected and which shall be marginalised? What voices shall be heard and which silenced? Who is representing whom, and on what basis?

Since there is no neutral or merely physical space (Lefebvre 1991: 36), cultural geographers regard places and landscapes as being social constructions of power, laden with symbolic and iconic political and social meaning. Rather than the meanings of a place being fixed, cultural geographers recognise that places are fluid and open to multiple interpretations and significations. Places, rather than being produced and maintained, are re-produced (Lefebvre 1991: 26), re-

presented (Johnston 2000), and contested through counter-hegemonic opposition to dominant ideologies through resistance and struggle (Graham *et al.* 2000: 76). Therefore, places and landscapes are works in progress, constantly being renegotiated, renewed, reworked, and contested by both groups and individuals, and contain multiple meanings for multiple groups (Tilley 2006: 7). Because of the value-laden character of places and landscapes, some cultural geographers attempt to read them metaphorically like a "text", in that the cultural discourse of a place or a landscape can be deconstructed just like any literary work (Duncan 1993, 2000).

Cultural geographers often take the same perspective on personal and group identity. Rather than the essentialist and modernist view of individual and social identities being static, bound, natural and grounded in past and traditional ways of living, non-essentialist and post-modernist perspectives see personal identity as something that is dynamic and is subject to and responsive to change. Personal identity is also a matter of self-conscious reflection through personal mobility, self-discovery, social class, ethnicity, gender, lifestyle choice and other social markers (Bauman 1996; Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Tilley 2006: 7). Identities, therefore, are negotiable and changing depending on circumstances, context and place.

Aitchison (2006: 48) notes the recent interest by some cultural geographers in applying the themes of representation, power, and identity (Pratt 2001) to the field of tourism studies. This *cultural turn* in tourism studies has brought about calls to move beyond the traditional views of travel and tourism as a structurally and spatially circular economic practice (Jamal and Kim 2005) to include more critical analyses of tourism as a manifestation of wider globalising trends, including an increase in technological, political, cultural, and trans-local cultural change and exchange (Franklin and Crang 2001; Meethan 2001). With the acknowledgement that tourism is a major force in cultural change in today's world, both in terms of place-making and the formation of social identity (Franklin 2003), cultural geographers have examined, for example, such topics as

tourism as a cultural practice (Rojek and Urry 1997; Crouch 2002; Cartier and Lew 2005); how individuals construct and give cultural meaning to places (Edensor 1998, 2000, 2001); postcolonial interpretations of culture and tourism space (Alneg 2002; Hall and Tucker 2004); and how cultures change and derive meaning through tourism promotion, marketing (Hall 1997; Young 1999), and the production of new cultural forms through tourism (Hollinshead 1998). Of special interest is how heritage sites are used as to legitimate political and cultural ideologies by dominant social groups and tourism marketers and promoters (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Philp and Mercer 1999; Graham *et al.* 2000; Timothy and Boyd 2003).

Of growing interest to tourism scholars is the viewpoint that tourist experiences are not static categories; that people are not travelers inherently searching for "staged authenticity" through the structurally-rigid act of travel which objectifies and visualises the world and the people, cultures, and places around the traveler (MacCannell 1973; Urry 1990, 2002; Oakes 2005). Modern subjectivity and identity formation, rather, comes "through *the placed encounter between tourist and other*" (Oakes 2005, italics in the original); that encountering and interacting with different cultures and landscapes is where modern reflexive subject-making in tourism takes place. Therefore, people's engagement with tourism is inter-subjective, in that it involves both the embodied interaction with various signs, icons, and souvenirs that the tourist industry creates to attract tourists, and the multi-sensuous, multi-sensory, and embodied practices of tourists in order to try and make sense of what they experience in that place (Crouch *et al.* 2001; Coleman and Crang 2002; Crouch 2002, 2005). Through tourism, individual and social identities, which are inherently multiple and unstable, are constantly being negotiated, whether this negotiation is conscious and purposeful or not (Tilley 2006; Morgan and Pritchard 2005). Some theorists suggest that this is because part of the tourism experiences is liminal in nature (Turner 1973; Turner and Turner 1978), where "dominant discourses and wider hegemonic socio-cultural relations are

resisted, contested or affirmed" (Pritchard and Morgan 2006: 763) and where "performances without parameters" can take place (Edensor 2001: 77).

Cultural geographers also note that tourism places are dynamic, fluid, and constantly being made and remade, in part because of their *locative* and *itinerant* characteristics (Bremer 2004: 12). The *locative* dimension of place refers to the sense of permanence and ordered arrangement of a place through recognisable features in the built and natural landscape, while the *itinerant* dimensions of place represents "the unstable, ephemeral dimensions of place that highlight mobility, movement, and contingency" (Bremer 2004: 12). In addition to the itinerant and locative elements of place, tourism spaces are also made and at times remade by institutions through the representation and abstraction of place (Lefebvre 1991: 50; Young 1999). This intersection of the locative and the itinerant at tourism sites means that places are never static, but rather are constantly changing, leading to a "tension between the enduring stability of the locative and the forces of change that characterize the itinerant" (Bremer 2006: 27). This shifts the meanings of a particular place for particular people and groups over time and allows for the contestation of the nature of a particular place through tourism practices and representation. As such, tourists who consume and engage with tourism sites become "place-making subject[s]" (Oakes 2005: 50; see Bremer 2005, 2006), thereby causing the meanings and value of places to be contested, negotiated, open and unbounded. Cultural geographers therefore have much to contribute to tourism studies through examining the "spatialities of hybrid, mobile identities" of both people and places (Pratt 2001: 3074).

An important question for cultural geographers then becomes, "What are the broader cultural political influences, influential in the trajectory of cultural policy making around the world, that inform cultural policy specifically related to cultural tourism?" (Butcher 2006: 21). This question by Butcher brings me closer to the focus of my dissertation, which involves in part

bringing cultural geographic theory, including the ideas of representation, power, cultural identity, and contested and negotiated nature of places and identities, into discussions about the broader field of religious tourism.

Religion and tourism have long been intertwined through the medium of pilgrimage, with tourism researchers labelling pilgrimage as the oldest form of tourism (Rinschede 1992; Cohen 1998). Not only does religion influence human migration patterns (Park 1994) and how people utilise their leisure time (Kelly 1982; Hall 2006), with religious leaders critiquing the negative influence of tourism (Hertzog III 1984; de Sousa 1988; Hauser-Schäublin 1998; Gupta 1999; Ptaszycka-Jackowska 2000), but "tourism and its associated practices [also] interact with religious life and the institutions of religion in virtually every corner of the world" (Bremer 2005: 9260).

Even though religion is an important motivator for domestic and international travel (Bywater 1994; Russell 1999; McKelvie 2005), religious tourism as a market niche has not been a major focus within the tourism literature. Olsen and Timothy (2006: 6-13) have distinguished four themes that dominate past and current scholarship on religious tourism: the differences between pilgrims and tourists; the characteristics and travel patterns of religious tourists; the economics of religious tourism; and the negative impacts of tourism on religious sites and ceremonies. Other areas of academic interest have included critiquing the paradigms, theories, definitions and characteristics of religious travel; pilgrimage planning; sacred site management; tour guide training; religious souvenirs; and the interpretation of sacred sites (Vukonić 1996; Messenger 1999; Cai *et al.* 2001; Mattila *et al.* 2001; Shackley 2001a; Tilson 2001, 2005; Cohen *et al.* 2002; Collins-Kreiner 2002; Swatos Jr. and Tomasi 2002; Bar and Cohen-Hattab 2003; Digance 2003; Poria *et al.* 2003; Badone and Roseman 2004; Sharpley and Sundaram 2005; Timothy and Olsen 2006a; Raj and Morpeth 2007). As religious (and spiritual) tourism niche markets continue to expand, religious tourism will be an area of future research growth, particularly when the economic importance of

this niche market is being more fully realised by tourism industry leaders, academics, and government officials (Olsen and Timothy 1999; Russell 1999; McKelvie 2005; Olsen 2003). At the present time, however, the religious tourism literature can be characterised broadly as being fragmented and lacking synthesis and holistic conceptualisation, being very much in its infancy in comparison to other tourism niche markets like ecotourism and heritage tourism.

While there is a growing literature on spiritual/New Age/wellness tourism (Huntsinger and Fernández-Giménez 2000; York 2001, 2002; Attix 2002; Ivakiv 2003; Pernecky 2006; Pernecky and Johnston 2006; Smith and Kelly 2006; Timothy and Conover 2006), Vukonić (1996: 95-116) and Kaszowski (2003) contend that the examination of religious perspectives of tourism as a social phenomenon—where the leaders of particular religious faiths critique and evaluate secular understandings of religiously-informed and motivated travel from a theological standpoint—has been greatly overlooked. This religious perspective could potentially yield different and fruitful perspectives within this growing field of inquiry and is one of the concerns of this dissertation.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

I am interested in a number of questions that relate to this growing field of religious tourism. In particular, here I pose four main research questions which I address throughout my dissertation.

The first question is*: What are the perspectives that religious leaders have about tourism, and how do these views of tourism, along with the denomination's own religious culture and history, affect the management of its religious heritage tourism sites?* Following Vukonić (1996: 95-116) and Kaszowski (2003), this question involves examining the role of the religious worldviews of religious groups in the management practices of their sacred sites. If a denomination's leaders view tourism in a positive manner, does the faith community engage in pastoral or missionary activities, using tourism as an outreach for

believers and non-believers? Does it create an ecclesiastical organisational structure to handle tourism at its sites; and if so, how do the different components of this structure function? If religious authorities view tourism in a negative light, do they prohibit or restrict tourism around or at their sacred sites? If so, how? Another related issue is what religious doctrines or practices, if any, affect leaders' views of tourism and tourism management even if these doctrines or practices may not specifically address tourism *per se*. Based on these religious views of tourism, the management of religious tourism sites in a sense becomes an expression of the theology of that particular religious group through producing a certain type of space that expresses its religious beliefs, purposes, and goals. Similarly, the organisational structure of a religious faith influences tourism development and management. For example, managers of religious heritage sites can be constrained in how they interpret or whom they allow to enter into their site if the organisational structure of that faith is hierarchal in nature; whereas if the structure is not as rigid a hierarchy, then religious site managers may have more flexibility.

Question two is: *What internal management issues do religious site managers face when accepting visitors to their religious sites and how are thyissues handled?* This question relates to the internal issues that arise when religious site managers attempt to maintain a spiritual "sense of place" when faced with increasing visitation. Some scholars have examined issues related to the internal management of religious sites, including on-site visitor flows and experiences; visitor impacts such as graffiti, vandalism, theft, crowding, microclimatic changes, and noise on both the built environment and the "sense of place"; site interpretation; financial issues including questions about charging for entry; and the inherent amplification of these management issues when tourism space overlaps with religious space (Stevens 1988; Griffin 1994; Willis 1994; Winter and Gasson 1996; Shackley 1996, 1998, 1999a, 2001a, 2001a, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a; Bremer 2001a, 2005, 2006; Digance 2003; Woodward 2004; D. Olsen 2006a; Pavicic 2007). However, with the exception of

Shackley (2001a) and Shani *et al.* (2007), there is a lack of research on the tourism-related organisational and operational strategies of religious groups that manage tourism at their sacred sites. In addition, little has been written about how religious views of tourism influence these organisational and operational management strategies (Vukonić 1996; Cohen 1998; D. Olsen 2006b; Singh 2007). Therefore, in part of this dissertation I will attempt to address the paucity of information in these areas. In addition, I contest the argument in the literature that current religious organisational and management practices at most religious sites leave religious site managers ill-equipped to handle the task of managing tourism because of the lack of funds and tourism management training (Stevens 1988; Shackley 2001a).

Question three is: *Given that religious heritage tourism sites are embedded in the politics of municipalities, states, and even larger scales, how do the site's managers interact with external communities of interest whose goals for functioning religious heritage sites are at variance with religious objectives?* While the core function of these sacred sites include providing a "focus and facility for those who wish to worship, pray or meditate" (Shackley 2001a: 7) to lead people to salvation (see Chapter 2), in reality religious sites exist within municipalities, states, and countries. The governments at these levels, as well as segments of the tourism economic sector, have vested interests in commodifying religious sites for tourist consumption. In many instances, managers of religious heritage tourism sites are forced to deal with a number of competing issues, ranging from official ecclesiastical positions on how religious sites should be managed and who can enter, to popular grass-roots religious impulses, to non-believing tourists and those who revere the site as sacred (religious authorities and adherents). At the same time, some tourism stakeholders view religious sites as economic, leisure and historical resources and thus multi-purpose in nature. This can lead to problems in handling contests over rights of access and on-site control (Digance 2003: 144). Potential conflicts can arise between these stakeholders when religious sites are marketed for

tourism consumption by outside forces without consulting or giving a "voice" to the religious site managers who run the site.

Such conflicts over sacred space lead some authors to contend that sacred space is inherently contested, and that the advantage given to one stakeholder leaves another stakeholder disadvantaged (Chidester and Linenthal 1995; Kong 2001; Olsen and Guelke 2004; Tilley 2006). The implication is that no matter what sacred space is under discussion and at what scale that space is being discussed, space will always be contested. This "contested space thesis", however, seems essentialist and reductionist, as this is a one-size-fits-all thesis that does not always fall along sacred/secular lines at all scales. Ownership of place implies a set of social and power relations that are much more complex than labelling a site and its stakeholders as belonging to one side of the sacred/secular dichotomy. While places can potentially be contested at different scales, from international religious fundamentalism and racial nationalism to the religion-tourism nexus at sacred sites, I question whether sacred sites are always contested at every scale. What about instances where stakeholders with vested interest in a sacred site co-operate for mutual benefit? Therefore, part of my dissertation will explore the question of whether this "contested space thesis" applies to all religious tourism sites at all scales.

Finally, question four is: *How do religious views of tourism and the management of religious heritage tourism sites, from a management perspective, potentially affect pilgrim-tourist identities?* The fourth question focuses on the pilgrim/tourist identities of those who visit religious tourism sites. Those who are familiar with the literature on the intersections between religion and tourism recognise the many debates surrounding the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy (Olsen and Timothy 2006). In Chapter 2 I critique the use of typologies as they pertain to how scholars attempt to distinguish between pilgrims and tourists. While discussions over how to determine if someone is a "pilgrim" or a "tourist", or "more pilgrim than tourist" and vice versa, might be fruitful from a tourism

marketing and management point of view, from a theoretical perspective my critique of the pilgrim/tourist dichotomy adds a nuanced examination to the literature on the nature of cultural (in this case religious) identities. Therefore, I am interested in examining shifts in visitor identities at sacred sites from an institutional perspective, namely how religious site managers represent and help visitors negotiate sacred sites in an attempt to both keep the religious identities of adherents fixed (e.g., to deepen faith), and shift the religious identities of non-adherent visitors.

CASE STUDY SITE: TEMPLE SQUARE

This dissertation, then, takes an institutional approach to answering the aforementioned questions. Institutions, according to Philo and Parr (2000: 516), mediate between human interactions with places. Through designing, operating and enforcing rules that govern places, institutions effectively mediate social behaviour as well as create distinctive geographical patterns and landscapes. This focus on institutions rather than on tourist experiences follows my interests in examining how institutions and dominant social groups construct spaces for consumption of religion through tourism. In this case, I am interesting in seeing religious leaders' views of tourism influence the ways in which their sacred sites are represented and interpreted to visitors while managing external contestation over the meaning and representation of those sites.

I use The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its most important and best known sacred site—Temple Square in Salt Lake City, Utah—as a case study to address my questions and ground my critiques and discussion about contested space, pilgrim-tourist identities, and religious views and management of tourism. Temple Square is a 10-acre site in the middle of Salt Lake City's downtown core, which makes Salt Lake City the only city in North America that is anchored by a religious tourism district rather than by a Central Business District (Wright and Jorgensen 1993). In addition, Temple Square houses the crown jewel of the Church–the Salt Lake

Figure 1.1. Salt Lake Temple, Temple Square, Salt Lake City (Photo by Author).

Temple (Figure 1.1), which draws between 4-5 million visitors a year (McAllister and McAllister 2004). Temple Square, as suggested by Jackson and Henrie (1983), is also the most sacred space within the Latter-day Saint Church.

I chose Temple Square in part because most studies looking at tourism to religious sites have taken place outside of North America (e.g., Nolan 1987; Nolan and Nolan 1992). Therefore, this study will address the paucity of research on pilgrimage and religious tourism sites in North America (Rinschede and Bhardwaj 1990; Campo 1998; Blasi 2002; Swatos Jr. 2002). Temple Square is located in a religious capital in an urban centre and has high tourism visitation rates, and therefore is an ideal site to illustrate the management issues at sacred sites and to understand the influence of official Church doctrines, pilgrims, tourists, government organizations and private business ventures on religious site management with regards to one specific religious group. In

particular, I examine questions such as who has the power to represent and define Temple Square? How do they do this? What issues related to contested space emerge? As well, I will examine how Latter-day Saint cultural identity is bound up in Temple Square, and how Temple Square's identity is bound up in tourism, as Temple Square serves as a nexus for several types of identity, including individual, place and institutional identities.

METHODS

During the summers of 2002, 2004, and 2005 I engaged in fieldwork at Temple Square and its surrounding environs. I conducted semi-structured interviews with Church experts, observed tourist activities at Temple Square, and performed archival research. While I had specific questions that I wanted to ask each informant interviewed, I also wanted the informants to be able to answer the questions in an unconstrained manner, and therefore left potential answers to my questions open-ended. In addition, the semi-structured nature of the questions allowed for follow-up questions to interviewee responses and allowed the flow of the interview to follow the thinking process of the interviewee (Jennings 2001; Longhurst 2003).

In conducting these interviews I identified, contacted and interviewed twenty-one *factual experts* with an expertise which in some way contributed to the overall goal of this study (Peterson 1994). They included tourism officials working at local and state levels; site managers at Temple Square; and archivists and historical specialists (Table 1.1). I identified some of these experts prior to visiting Salt Lake City, and others through visiting Temple Square or the local tourism office, introducing myself to the person at the front desk, and asking to whom I should be speaking about my research. Other experts were identified using a "snowballing" technique, where I asked experts I had interviewed if they could suggest other experts that I should approach and interview about my research topic.

Name	Position	Year Interviewed
Tim Bingman	Public Affairs, Family History Library	2004
Carol Christ	Director, Building Hosting	2004
Randy Dixon	Senior Archivist, LDS Church	2002
Richard Jackson	Professor, Brigham Young University (Geography)	2002
Don Jesse	Manager, Public Affairs	2004
Jon Kemp	Research Coordinator, Utah Travel Council	2002
Jason Mathis	Director of Communications, Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau	2004
David McAllister	Counsellor, Temple Square Mission Presidency	2004
Lora McAllister	Missionary, Temple Square Mission	2004
Kerry Neilsen	Project Manager, LDS Church	2002
Steven Olsen	Associate Managing Director, Museum of Church History and Art	2002,2004,2005
Susah Rugh	Professor, Brigham Young University (History)	2005
Norman Shumway	Director of VIP Hosting	2004
Luana Shumway	Director of VIP Hosting	2004
J. C. Simmons	Counsellor, Temple Square Mission Presidency	2005
Gerald "Chip" Smith Jr.	Chairman, Visitor Activities	2002,2004,2005
Peter Sorensen	Professor, Brigham Young University (English)	2005
Carol Stutz	Assistant Director, Building Hosting	2004
Neil Wilkinson	Director or Sales and Marketing, Temple Square Corporation	2004,2005
Dave Williams	Research Coordinator, Utah Travel Council	2004,2005

Table 1.1: A list of key-informants interviewed during my dissertation research.

A second aspect of my data gathering methods involved direct and participant observation. Upon coming to Temple Square I focused on the built environment and the use of space and its relationship to religious and tourism culture at the research site (Marshall and Rossman 1995: 92-94). I wanted to see where structures (e.g., buildings, monuments, tourism enterprises) were placed in the physical layout of the sites in terms of site infrastructure, physical signs of religious views influencing the management and visitor experience of the site, and the spatial proximity between touristic and religious buildings and objects.

I also went on a number of tours to look at the interactions and the interpretational content and methods of the tour guides on site. I went on the tours as a researcher/observer-participant, taking field notes to record my impressions and observations while on the tours. In

some instances the tour guides asked me what I was doing, as having people write things down during the tour was uncommon. When approached in this manner I introduced myself and told the guides what I was doing. A few of the guides spoke with me afterwards to answer my questions about the tour in terms of their experiences leading the tours and how the tour program had been developed.

I also visited a number of archives, including the Brigham Young University Archives in Provo, Utah; the Latter-day Saint Church archives in the Church Administration Building on the "Church Campus"; the University of Utah Special Collections archive in the J. Willard Marriott Library; and Utah State Historical Society archives in Salt Lake City. Within these archives I accessed primary and secondary sources pertaining to the historical development of the case study site as well as to the management and development of tourism at and around Temple Square. Primary sources included photographs, documents, maps, correspondences and press clippings. In addition, I examined Latter-day Saint scriptures and searched through statements from Church leaders to see if there was anything that related to the themes of sacred space, travel, and hospitality that could help illuminate the ways in which Latter-day Saint Church leaders implicitly view tourism and religious site management.

One limit I encountered when trying to identify interviewees was my lack of access to certain Church officials. The first time I went to Temple Square to do fieldwork, I called the Church's main switchboard and spoke to an operator about my research endeavours and my desire to talk to someone in the Church hierarchy about Church's views of tourism and the ideology behind the management of Temple Square. After a few moments of thought the operator replied that she was not sure to whom I should speak, and proceeded to direct my call to the Temple Square Mission. While speaking to the Temple Square Mission leaders was an important source of information gathering, it would have been advantageous to also speak to the Church leaders who

supervised the Mission Presidency to discuss the theological views surrounding the importance and management of Temple Square. Unfortunately there is no "Freedom of Information Act" regarding potential interviewees or documents in private religious institutions, so I was therefore limited in interviewing those who were directly involved in the management of Temple Square rather than some of the decision-makers higher up the chain of authority (see Chapter 3).

DEFINITIONS

It is important to define the key terms used in this dissertation, namely tourism, religion, and religious tourism. Each of these terms suffer from a lack of definitional consensus, in part because while scholars know the phenomena to which these terms refer, these terms are difficult to articulate (Pals 1996; Braun 2000). Part of the reason might stem from postmodern culture that goes against modernist tendencies to establish determinate classification schemes which distinguish one phenomenon from another (Heelas 1998). Rather than focusing on absolutes, postmodernists argue that knowledge is legitimized through the individual rather than authoritative narratives (Heelas 1998), which in turn deregulates modernist boundaries and "celebrate[s] uncertainty, indeterminacy, pluralism, and particularity as keys to the critical understanding of social life" (Chouinard 1997: 369).

For example, although tourism is arguably one of the largest and fastest growing industries in the world, it is under-theorized (Meethan 2001) and lacks a universally accepted definition. Tourism is difficult to define in part because tourism is extremely inter-disciplinary in nature, with academics from economics, leisure studies, recreation, cultural studies, geography, sociology and psychology studying the phenomenon of tourism. Difficulties also arise in defining tourism because it encompasses such a wide range of phenomena that must be incorporated into any definition of tourism, including:

- The tourist (including motivation, choice, interaction and satisfaction);
- Business (marketing, organization, and the corporate planning of transportation, hospitality, and recreation);
- The host community (perceptions, social, economic, and cultural impacts);
- The host environment (ecological impacts);
- The host government (measurement of tourism, policy, and planning); and
- The tourist-generating country (environmental, economic. and cultural effects) (Tribe 1997: 641).

In addition, some scholars view tourism as an industry—as a collection of economically motivated entities that compete against each other in terms of goods, services, and market share—while others view tourism as an activity in which people participate, thus adding to the difficulty in defining tourism.

Defining religion has also long been contested. The main reason is because proposed definitions of religion tend to be either too vague, ambiguous or restrictive to be of use. For example, religion as the search for "ultimate concern" is too vague and requires further definitional clarity, while religion as a belief in God would exclude polytheistic religions or religions such as Buddhism without gods (Smith 1995: 893). As Asad (1993: 29; in Lincoln 2003: 2) suggests, "There cannot be a universal definition of religion, not only because its constituent elements and relationships are historically specific, but because that definition is itself the historical product of discursive processes." The term "religion" itself is seen as primarily a Western concept (King 1987: 282), having been "created by scholars for their intellectual purposes and therefore is theirs to define" (Smith 1998: 281). Religion, as a conceptual comparative term, has historically been imposed upon other cultures in an attempt to draw parallels between Western notions of religion and similar constructs in other societies (Smith 1998). As Peterson (2001: 6) argues, the Western mode of understanding religion as a universal religion tends to privilege Western secular modes of understanding, which in turn "undermines genuine understanding or engagement of the radically different categories and presuppositions that underlie any religious tradition."

Scholarship on religious tourism in its strictest sense is a relatively modern phenomenon (Blasi 2002), as scholars did not begin to describe modern religious pilgrimages as "pilgrimage tourism" or "religious tourism" until the early 1960s (Jackowski and Smith 1992: 93). However, even though religious tourism is viewed in the academic literature as both a specialised segment of the tourism market and as part of both cultural and heritage tourism (Timothy and Boyd 2003), the term "religious tourism" has been a poorly defined term from religious, industry and academic viewpoints, with some scholars preferring to label this tourism niche market as "pilgrimage tourism", "spiritual tourism", and "tourism pilgrimage" (Jackowski 1987; Hudman and Jackson 1992; Tyrakowski 1994; Vukonić 1996). As Timothy and Olsen (2006: 272) note, religious tourism is defined in two different ways. From a tourism industry perspective, tourists and tourism niche markets are defined based upon the sites tourists visit or the activities in which they engage, with little regard for the motivations behind those visits. Therefore, religious tourism is defined as travel by people to religious destinations and sites. On the other hand, from a religious perspective, religious tourism is defined based on the motivations of those who are traveling. From this perspective, then, religious tourism involves people traveling to religious destinations for specific religious purposes. Santos (2003) notes that the reason that "religious tourism" has become such a debated issue from both a theoretical and empirical perspective is because religious tourism can be defined based on motivation rather than particular sites visited.

Rather than proposing all-encompassing definitions of tourism, religion and religious tourism, for each term I adopt "stipulative" definitions which are partial towards the way in which I view and use these terms (Robinson 1962; Molendijk 1999). In doing so it is not necessary to ask whether the definition is true or right, because in a pragmatic approach to defining these terms the question is whether the definition is appropriate and useful in the context for which it is being used (Molendijk 1999).

For the purposes of my dissertation, tourism here is defined as *an activity that involves taking a temporary trip that takes place within the principles of a capitalistic production system, comprised of industries, intermediaries, and private and government institutions that regulate tourist motivations based on supply and demand issues and mediate the complex interactions and variety of experiences between tourists and the host communities and their environments.* This definition includes the motives of tourists, traveling from the tourist generating destination, travel to a host destination or destinations, the interactions between hosts and guests, and the structures through which they interact (i.e., private and government agencies, and industries). In addition, this definition also highlights the stakeholders who define certain spaces as tourism spaces, who control the performances within those spaces, and who marks particular natural, cultural and historic resources as worth visiting by tourists (MacCannell 2000).

Hervieu-Léger (1999: 78; cf. Goldstein 1995: 20-26) points out that any study related to religious belief systems must contain a definition of religion "that allows for the ultimate essence of religion not to be grasped, but which simply allows for the classification of observable phenomena." Pals (1996) suggests that rather than attempting to develop a comprehensive definition of religion, a more particularist approach might be appropriate in providing deep and rich explanations of religion, where religious groups would be studied within the context of the culture in which that particular religion is rooted. I follow Lincoln (2003: 6-8) who suggests that any attempts to define religion should include the following four domains:

- A discourse whose concerns transcend the human, temporal, and contingent, and that claims for itself a similarly transcendent status;

- A set of practices whose goal is to produce a proper world and/or proper human subjects, as defined by a religious discourse to which these practices are connected;

- A community whose members construct their identity with reference to a religious discourse and its attendant practices; and

- An institution that regulates religious discourse, practices, and community, reproducing them over time and modifying them as necessary, while asserting their eternal validity and transcendent value.

Thus, for the purposes of my dissertation I define religion as *a set of beliefs or discourses, which give rise to a set of practices around which a community is defined, which is regulated by an institution that regulates these beliefs, discourses and practices the community follows*. My dissertation focuses on the ways in which these religious domains—discourse, practice, community and institution—influence the ways in which tourism is viewed from an institutional perspective.

Regarding religious tourism, if one takes the perspective that religious tourism should be defined based upon motivation, then Vukonić (1996) would be correct in suggesting that just because tourists are religious people does not necessarily mean they can be considered religious tourists when on holiday. For my dissertation I define religious tourism as *travel by tourists to religious destinations, cultures and sites regardless of motivation, whether the visits to these sites are of primary or secondary interest*. I define religious tourism in this manner because there are many people who visit religious sites for cultural and historical interests rather than the search for religious meaning. Yet at the same time, as I argue later in my dissertation, tourists who are not initially motivated to travel to religious sites in search for religious meaning can also have religious experiences while at these religious sites. In any case, the main focus of my dissertation is the development and management of Temple Square by the Church of Latter-day Saints. Since leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church are aware that many of the tourists to this site are not themselves Mormons or religious people, this broader definition is more useful for my purposes.

BEING REFLEXIVE

While research topics can be viewed and investigated through any number of paradigmatic lenses, it is up to the researcher to choose the paradigm(s) that best suit their worldview and assumptions

about reality. As such, one could argue that "all research is interpretive" (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 26) and that all knowledge is "situated" (Haraway 1991) or grounded in a set of value-laden biases or assumptions. Since researchers, therefore, view their topic(s) of inquiry through cultural and gendered lenses, it is nearly impossible for researchers to perform purely objective or neutral research—where the relationship between the researcher and the object(s) or subject(s) under investigation is dispassionate and objective, and where the researcher remains aloof from the world of the social actor and attempts to be neutral in their interpretation of what takes place.

Postmodernists in particular argue that "interpretations and the authority of the observer are…socially constituted, contingent, and partial" (Ley 2000: 620), and therefore claim that it is almost impossible to arrive at any objective account of reality. As such, (Blumer 1962: 188; quoted in Jennings 2001: 29), suggests that "the objective observer is likely to fill in the process of interpretation with his *[sic]* own surmises in place of catching the process as it occurs in the experience of the acting unit which uses it." As such, it is therefore impossible for researchers to write themselves out of their own work.

As a practicing member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, I have a particular worldview shaped by my adherence to particular doctrines, beliefs, and codes of conduct. I therefore take the foundationalist view that "there exist[s] fixed, indubitable, and final foundations that guarantee the truth of a given claim to knowledge" which in turn act as "the touchstones for distinguishing legitimate from illegitimate knowledge" (Barnes 2000: 278-279). However, I also lean towards the constructivist-interpretive perspective where truth and reality meanings are relative to personal and thus subjective lived experiences that are "mediated by interpretation" (Paden 1992: 131). This mediation is in turn shaped by structural, material and social processes (such as race, class, gender) (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 28; Riley and Love 2000: 172).

However, having stated that I am a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints I note the inherent challenges in attempting to study religion within the context of one's discipline while being a supporter of a particular belief system. These challenges stem from the insider/outsider dialectic, which Ferber (2004) suggests centres on the concept of objectivity. Outsiders to a cultural or social group are seen to be more objective and value-neutral, whereas insiders are seen as being more value-laden in their observations and interpretations (Ferber 2004). In the case of my dissertation, being an insider can raise concerns about whether or not someone who views their belief system as an authentic way of viewing reality can ultimately produce research that is not "faith promoting." The danger here is that the research could potentially either directly or indirectly place their faith above another and thereby legitimatizing their methods and therefore their faith/worldview, particularly when one has "a theory about religion because they [believe]" (Paden 1992: 87-88).

This leads to a second difficulty, where being a religious "insider" can cause one to neglect or ignore many valid critiques outside their religious tradition. As Oxtoby (2002: 3) explains, "an adherent may, but also may not, be able to describe fairly a variety of interpretations of the tradition offered by different sectors of the community." Paden (1992: 108) comments that "To be an insider to anything is to have blind spots and a certain defensiveness about one's truths. It is to reduce reality to those truths." If a believer is studying his or her own religion and its beliefs, it may be difficult for them to critique their own religion because of the possibility of positioning themselves outside of their faith, and will therefore shy away from studies that portray their particular faith in a negative way.

Following Wilson (1995: 13), I am not interested in addressing these questions in an overly philosophical manner. In the study of non-religious topics of inquiry the issue of insider versus outsider "is seldom even raised except in a positive way" (Wilson 1995: 13). However, I feel that

all I can do in this instance, as Oxtoby (2002: 4) apologetically writes, is to "walk the tightrope of disciplined empathy without falling into the abyss of advocacy on one side and of debunking on the other." While aware of my biases as a member of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (see (see Madsen 2003), I agree with Wilson (1995: 14) that "what I may lose from lack of detachment is far outweighed by what I gain from being a knowledgeable insider." Indeed, as an insider, I may have been able to gain access to information and informants more readily than might otherwise have been the case.

DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

In this chapter I have outlined my research questions and the rationale for the current research. I have also shown how a geographical perspective can add to the discussions on the intersections of religion and tourism, outlined my research design, and introduced my case study. In Chapter 2 I review the relevant literature relating to my research questions mentioned above, including religious views of tourism; pilgrim-tourist identities; and internal and external management practices at sacred sites. In Chapter 3 I briefly discuss the history and institutional structure of the Latter-day Saint Church, and also examine how the Church's theology leads to implicit religious views of tourism that are manifested and expressed at Temple Square in ways that help meet the Church's main goals. In Chapter 4 I discuss in detail the case study site (Temple Square) in terms of the historical development of tourism at the site, and look at the ways in which Temple Square is organised to cater to visitors. I also examine the management issues the religious site managers at Temple Square presently face, and then look at how the religious site managers attempt to mediate the contested meanings of, and outside interests in, their sacred sites with regards to tourism development. In Chapter 5, I revisit the *contested space thesis* and critique it in light of the case study findings. I also discuss the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy by placing it within the larger view

of tourist identities, and also re-examine the key goals of sacred site management. Finally, in Chapter 6 I conclude by discussing some of the broader implications of the findings of my dissertation and offer some thoughts on potential research avenues on the relationships between religion and tourism.

RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF TOURISM, IDENTITY, AND MANAGING THE SACRED

INTRODUCTION

Religious tourism is not a new phenomenon. For centuries people have traveled to sites of religious and spiritual significance for many reasons, including curiosity, worship, and participation in initiatory or cleansing rituals (Morinis 1992). While pilgrims and tourists, for example, have flocked to European cathedrals for hundreds of years, since World War II (Lloyd 1998) travel to religious sites has become widespread and popularized in both proportional and absolute terms more so then at any other time in human history, with millions of people traveling every year to visit sacred sites both ancient and modern in origin.[1] This rise in religious travel is seen in the increase of religiously-motivated travel and travel by tourists to sacred sites, both of which illustrate the growing relationship between religion and tourism in the modern era (Olsen and Timothy 1999).

Bremer (2004: 3-7) suggests that religion and tourism are related in four main ways. First, both religious followers and tourists demonstrate concern about and attachment to special places. In some cases, both groups hold the same places as special, be they built or natural sacred sites. In these locations, tourism and religious practices converge and result in "a simultaneity of places, both touristic and religious" (2004: 4)—a *Thirdspace*, so to speak (Soja 1996); they become an in-between space linking both touristic and religious spatial practices and representations to create a space where the touristic and religious elements of the place co-exist and are configured in a way that makes them difficult to separate. Second, the practices that maintain the special character of

---

[1] The numbers of people who travel for religiously-motivated reasons is unclear. Russell (1999) suggests that approximately 5% of all travelers journey specifically for religious reasons. Jackowski (2000), however, gives a more concrete number of 200-225 million people. But these are *best guesses* rather than grounded in any empirical data.

touristic/religious places also lead to the construction of identities, since travel to and participation in places that are meaningful can lead to a reinforcing of personal and group identity. Bremer (2004: 5) also notes that the importance of place in the construction and maintenance of personal and group identities also reinforces the special nature of particular places. The third intersection relates to aesthetics. Many tourists, according to Bremer (2004: 3-7), are generally concerned with aesthetic (primarily authentic) experiences as they journey, which frame their experiences of religion, while religious travelers seek authentic religious experiences which can be enhanced through aesthetics. Fourth, the desire for aesthetically pleasing and authentic experiences by both tourists and religious travelers leads to the commercialization of religious sites, whether that commercialization occurs through tourism operators and marketers or through religious groups themselves as they cater to the wants and needs of these groups (see Olsen 2003). These four ways in which Bremer (2004) connects religion and tourism relate well with the goals of my dissertation regarding religious views of tourism, religious and touristic identity, and the management of sacred sites.

I begin this chapter by examining how leaders of religious faiths view tourism as a social phenomenon, an area that has received little attention in the academic literature (Vukonić 1996; Cohen 1998; Kaszowski 2003; Singh 2007) despite the historical and current influence of religion on leisure time and travel (Kelly 1982). Understanding how leaders of religious faiths and managers of sacred sites view and use tourism to further their religious goals and mandates directly affects integrated tourism strategies that include religious sites and cultures in the planning process. Rather than highlighting and critiquing the specific views of tourism of a particular religious tradition (see Chapter 3), in this chapter I approach this subject from a more general perspective, expanding upon Cohen's (1998) work on implicit religious views of tourism in discussing religious themes and beliefs that, though they pre-date modern mass tourism, affect the

development and management of tourism at religious sites as well as the motivations of religious travelers.

As the concerns of religious leaders regarding tourism, I argue, stem from the way in which tourism can affect religious identities, I turn to the topic of identity formation within tourism studies. More particularly, I summarise and critique the use of the pilgrim/tourist dichotomy which is prevalent in the religious tourism literature. In doing so I argue that in order to understand the development of religious identity at sacred sites one must move beyond this fixed and static dualism and understand that cultural (religious) identities can be both reconstructed and solidified through the act of travel. As well, embodied negotiation occurs through religious and touristic representations and spatial practices found at sacred sites where religious and touristic space overlap.

I then examine the internal and external issues managers of religious sites face in handling increasing visitation by tourists. I build upon the work of scholars who have discussed many of these management challenges—in particular Shackley (1996, 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a)—to examine how religious views of tourism influence the organisational and operational management strategies at sacred sites. In doing so, I not only contest a view in the academic literature that current organisational and management practices of religious groups at religious sites are ill-equipped to handle the task of managing tourism, I also move the discussion of sacred site management beyond merely maintaining a "sense of place" to discuss the foundational objective of sacred site managers: salvation.

RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF TOURISM

Religious prescriptions and proscriptions have long affected where people travel to, why they travel, and how they act while traveling (Kelly 1982: 53; Cohen 1998; Mattila *et al.* 2001). Religion

can also play a role in how tourism "works" at different destinations, influencing the attractiveness of a destination to tourists, the behaviour of segments of a community towards visitors, the staffing of tourist establishments, and the interpretation of various sites (Cohen 1998; Huntley and Barnes-Reid 2003). As religious sites continue to attract a variety of travelers, and as government officials see the economic potential of working with religious groups in the planning and promotion of tourism to sacred sites (e.g., Tilson 2001, 2005), understanding how religious leaders view tourism will become very important in the future, particularly in the areas of sustainable tourism planning and the preservation and conservation of built religious heritage sites (Timothy 1998b; Timothy and Boyd 2003).

Cohen (1998: 4) argues that "no major world religion seems to have formulated a systematic 'theology of tourism'" that would "examine the religious meaning, justification, or legitimation of tourism and relate it to broader religious goals and aspirations" (Cohen 1998: 4). Cloesen (2005) argues that this statement by Cohen does not extend to Hindu religious tradition where there are numerous religious treatises on pilgrimage. However, these treatises stem from ancient Hindu scriptures which do not deal specifically with the relationships between religiously-motivated travel and tourism as a modern social phenomenon. The only Christian group that I have found to outline a specific formal theological perspective on tourism is the Roman Catholic Church. After the second Vatican Council (1962-1965) Roman Catholic authorities discussed tourism-related issues in official church documents such as *The Church and Tourism: Serving People on Their Travels for Recreation*, which outlines the responsibilities of different units of the Church in serving people who are traveling (Villot and Palazzini 1969), and *Guidelines for the Pastoral Care of Tourism*, where the views of Roman Catholic Church leaders on tourism and the themes of free time, the person, society, theology, and travel are laid out (Pope Paul IV 1965; Arrighi 1967; Nolan 1987; Hamao and Gioia 2001; Vukonić 2006).

Tourism also has come under scrutiny by some Christian ecumenical groups, such as the *Third World Tourism Ecumenical European Network* (TEN) (www.ten-tourism.org), the *Hawaii Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism*, the *Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism* (ECOT) (www.ecotonline.org), and *Tourism Watch* (http://www.tourism-watch.de), which have formed specifically to combat, from a Christian perspective, the negative impacts of tourism development (de Sousa 1988, 1993; Holden 1988; Millman 1988; Srisang 1989; Trask 1999: 245-251). The *World Council of Churches* (www.oikoumene.org), while not organised specifically to address tourism concerns, has also addressed the issue of tourism impacts.

Lea (1993) suggests that the concerns of these groups regarding tourism can be separated into three broad categories. The first is the social and physical impacts of tourism, particularly as they relate to the behaviour of host societies and individual travelers, as tourism is generally seen as having a secularising effect that leads to a weakening of local adherence to religious beliefs (Cohen 1998: 7). The second concern revolves around tourism ethics, particularly as they relate to the behaviour of individual travelers who may temporarily suspend the moral constraints of their culture or society when they travel (Lea 1993). The third concern relates to tourism development in the Third World, particularly where countries do not have the resources to offset the negative social, environmental, and economic impacts of tourism development such as prostitution and sex tourism, loss of or change in culture, economic leakage, economic and political dependency, and the increase of sexual and imperialistic stereotypes (Silver 1993; Echtner and Prasad 2003; Rogers and Gonsalves 2005).

Religions are oriented around discourses and a core set of theological precepts, such as salvation, the nature of reality, and morality. Therefore, any religious views of tourism will have to be consistent with those theological precepts. The concern over the negative impact of tourism by the Roman Catholic Church and ecumenical coalitions noted above seems to stem from a

Christian commitment to social and distributive justice, peace, care for God's creations and outreach to the poor and other vulnerable members of society (Kobia 2005; Rogers and Gonsalves 2005). To these groups, tourism becomes a spiritual and ethical issue (Solomon 2005). Tourism should not involve tourists taking insulated *collective* and *spectatorial* "gazes" (Urry 1996: 836) at the cultures they visit and reinforcing the status quo of economic and political dominance by the "haves" over the "have-nots" (Thistlethwaite 1994; Sizer 1997, 1999). Tourism should be a means to humanise social relations to promote personal and social enrichment through the "creative encounters" that tourists have with other people, places, and cultures (Millman 1988: 557; see Thistlethwaite 1994). A number of alternative ethical models of tourism development have been proposed, ranging from more community-based approaches in development initiatives (including tourism); respecting the religious faith, spirituality, and moral principles of the local populace in instituting positive change; educating tourists about the moral issues surrounding tourism travel; and working with governments and tourism industry officials to mitigate the social and environmental consequences of tourism (Davis 19890; Pacione 1999; Harper 2000; Tyndale 2000; ver Beek 2000; Rogers and Gonsalves 2005).

Outside of the Roman Catholic Church and the aforementioned ecumenical groups, very little has been written about how specific religious groups views of the role of tourism fits within their religious worldview and aspirations. I am interested in ascertaining how religious groups view tourism, and how these views influence tourism at different scales and destinations where a larger culture complex and religion are strongly intertwined (Henderson 2003). The lack of explicit official statements or views of tourism can make this inquiry very difficult. However, Cohen (1998: 4) suggests that despite the lack of explicit faith-based views of tourism, one can gauge general religious attitudes towards tourism by examining the basic theological positions of religious faiths on various themes that influence tourism. In particular, Cohen (1998) discusses four theological

themes that are important to understanding general religious views of tourism: travel into unfamiliar or strange surroundings; appropriate contact with strangers and alien cultures; how religious authorities view leisure and leisure pursuits; and the relationships between religion and secular modernity. As noted above, I utilise and expand upon Cohen's (1998) work on implicit religious views of tourism in order to discuss both the religious themes and beliefs that should be included in any investigation into how leaders of a specific religious faith view tourism.

Religious Perspectives on Appropriate Leisure

Religion and leisure have a long and almost naturalised relationship with each other, as people's spiritual life has historically been a critical feature in decisions about their use of free time (Vukonić 1996: 5; Heintzman 2002, 2003), particularly as spiritual practices such as meditation require leisure time. For example, ancient travelers often have included religious sites as a part of their travel itinerary (Hunt 1984), and Church and synagogue-based summer camps, such as Bible camps, have a long history in North America (Messenger 1999). Travel for religious reasons has long been integrated into many faith's views of human development, with leaders dictating both positive religious prescriptions of appropriate and permissible activities for people to engage in during leisure time which include appreciating God's creations, worship, and spiritual renewal, and prohibitions against certain leisure time activities such as gambling and the consumption of alcohol.

For example, Hindu pilgrimages during leisure time are seen as a religious duty (Singh 2006). In Islam, the Quran suggests that people are to travel the world often in order to expand their knowledge about other cultures, to spread God's word, and to enjoy God's creations (Hidayat 1993: 76; Timothy and Iverson 2006: 198). This is accomplished partially through participation in the *Hajj* or pilgrimage to Mecca, one of the five pillars of Islam (Ibrahim 1982; Din

1989; Hidayat 1993). While there are no specific references to tourism in the Bible, it can be inferred that a person's attitudes and activities during leisure time should lead one to a greater appreciation of the majesty of God (see Vukonić 1996, 2002, 2006). An example of this is Methodism, which views recreation as an essential means of grace—a time in which one can enjoy the "fruits of God" in order to become spiritually renewed (Messenger 1999: 5). Therefore, many religious faiths have developed pilgrimage systems to encourage travel to natural and/or human built sites with special meaning to their faith—particularly if a supernatural or divine manifestation has occurred there, making it possible for one to encounter what the community considers to be the presence of the holy or the divine (Otto 1950; Eliade 1961).

However, religious doctrines and proscriptions can place constraints on adherents during leisure time activities, at travel destinations, and in work behaviour in the tourism economic sector. For example, as Cohen-Ionnides and Ionnides (2006: 160-161) explain, Orthodox Judaism's dietary restrictions cause some Jewish travelers to frequent hotels, airlines, and restaurants that serve kosher meals. As well, the laws of the Sabbath that prohibit work or lighting fires also dictate food-preparation, suitable Sabbath accommodations, and permissible financial transactions, such as signing a receipt. These Sabbath laws affect Conservative and Orthodox Jewish travelers, tourism service providers, and non-Jewish tourism workers serving a Jewish clientele. Timothy and Iverson (2006) also note that devout Muslims will frequent hotels that have gender-segregated swimming pools and prayer rooms, are located near mosques, and have restaurants that offer *halal* (lawful or permitted) foods. In addition, few Muslims will frequent beachfront destinations during their holiday travel owing to constraints on improper behaviour and immodest dress. Regarding religious constrains on work behaviour, Huntley and Barnes-Reid (2003) suggest that Christian workers who follow the religious mandate to keep the Sabbath Day holy may find some difficulty finding employment in a tourism sector that often demands that employees work on Sundays.

With regard to pilgrimage travel, certain sites may be taboo even to the most devout believers in the sense that a site is so sacred that only certain people can enter that place, such as ecclesiastical leaders. Temples or mountain tops might be seen as being "too holy" for even average members of a faith community, as they are places where God dwells. In some instances, permission to enter certain sacred spaces may be granted only to religious authorities or believers in good standing. This idea of taboo sacred space can extend to tourists' access to these spaces and places at different scales (e.g., Mecca; Cathedral altars), as permission to enter sacred space may only be allowed to specifically qualified believers who view that space as sacred. Conversely, Cohen (1998: 4) notes that in Orthodox Judaism, Rabbinic Law prohibits Israeli Jews from leaving Israel without a legitimate reason. Also, until recently, many Hindu leaders saw the act of leaving India as a polluting undertaking that required penance after journeys abroad (Sopher 1967: 48; in Cohen 1998: 3)—implying that cross-border or international travel was not approved.

Some of these concerns over what destinations are appropriate travel destinations or concerns over travel more generally are due in part to the types of immoral activities that travelers potentially could participate in while traveling, including prostitution, voyeurism, gambling, recreational drug use, or other morally damaging activities. As such, some religious authorities may become concerned with the way their co-religionists, feeling freed from social constraints while traveling, may behave during leisure time (Vukonić 1996). This concern over religious adherents potentially engaging in these immoral behaviours could lead religious leaders to view tourism negatively.

Religious Views of Hospitality

These concerns over tourist behaviour during travel pose important challenges for religious leaders who wish to minister to "people on the move" (Hertzog III 1984: 4), and relate well to the

second theme of *religious views of hospitality*—or, as Cohen (1998) states, what religious authorities view as *appropriate contact with strangers and alien cultures*. This theme relates back to pre-modern cultural and religious attitudes towards hospitality given to strangers. In some cases, strangers were regarded with suspicion and fear, while in other situations strangers were seen as sacred messengers requiring hospitality (Cohen 1998: 3). An example of the latter can be found in the Bible, where in Genesis 18 Abraham entertains three holy strangers. Because travel in Biblical times was hazardous and lacking travel infrastructure (i.e., hotels, restaurants), hospitality was seen as an important duty, as one day the provider of hospitality might also be a beneficiary of the same kindness (Fields 1995: 459). Sorensen (2005: 5-6) suggests that in many early cultures hospitality towards strangers was regarded as a sacred duty—a covenant between host and guest in which the host would both give strangers a place to stay as well as take legal responsibility for them. In Islamic thought, people are considered to be closer to God while traveling and, therefore, "guests became guests of God, and hospitality ceased to be a choice and became a [religious] duty" (Aziz 2001: 152-153; see Din 1989: 552). According to the Old Testament (e.g., Isaiah 58:6-7), generous hospitality towards strangers expressed a person's practical religious commitment to God (Fields 1995: 459). Because of the inclusion of deity into the hospitality equation, not being hospitable to travelers and strangers can be seen by some religious faiths as potentially having some serious spiritual ramifications. An example of this is the city of Sodom Old Testament, where the city was destroyed after the inhabitants were inhospitable to Gods messengers (Sorensen 2005).

In most cases today, visitors/tourists are welcomed into host communities. However, in countries where fundamentalist Islamic religion and culture dominate, tourists are not always readily accepted (Henderson 2003). Although Islam sanctions hospitality to strangers, the governments of some Muslim countries are not interested in actively developing tourism attractions for non-Islamic visitors, in part exacerbated by "considerable misunderstanding and a

degree of mutual distrust" between Western tourists and Muslim residents in the aftermath of 9/11 (Henderson 2003: 447). In many places around the world, "religion is claimed to be that which always and necessarily exceeds [popular] culture, something essentially distinct from, surpassing, and sometimes standing decidedly against 'mere culture'" (Masuzawa 1998: 70; Wuthnow 1991). In these places, government and religious leaders may be ambivalent about or even discourage tourism to their countries because of the view that mass tourism is an agent for Western excesses that would commodify religion for tourist consumption and change it to fit the tourist image. The fear is that tourism would negatively affect the religiosity of people at Islamic tourist and pilgrimage destinations (Cohen 1998: 7), as conservative Islamic insistence upon limited physical contact between the sexes, modest female dress, and other tradition-prescribed codes of behaviour would be undermined. Differing Western tourists and conservative Muslim views about women's clothing, singles' resorts, nude beaches, gay bars, diets (e.g., alcohol, pork), and chaperoning women in public are real issues when developing Western-style tourism in Islamic areas, essentially asking Muslims to violate their religious principles in order to meet the wants and expectations of tourists.

Cohen (1998: 3) suggests that the notion of hospitality in the modern era has disappeared under the expansion of tourism and its associated industries that cater to the needs of tourists. Instead of the guest-host relationship between tourists and locals being seen as a personalised and sacred duty, the relationships between visitors and hosts are commodified and mediated by economics and politics. As well, in many developing countries, tourists and the tourism industry heavily exploit the local culture and environment in a negative manner. In doing so, the guest abuses the host, which is contrary to religious notions of hospitality. This process, it could be argued, can also occur at religious sites, where some religious site managers, due to financial constraints, may feel the necessity of focusing more on the potential tourist receipts from charging

entrance fees and religiously-themed souvenirs than on meeting to the spiritual and educational needs of visitors (Vukonić 2002; Olsen 2003).

However, some religious faiths may see tourism as a way to extend hospitality to travelers on the move. For example, at a local level, the Roman Catholic Church has encouraged its parishes to engage and reach out to both adherents and non-adherents who travel through their areas (Villot and Palazzini 1969). For Roman Catholics, this engagement with tourism and travelers comes through a commitment to *pastoral care*, defined by Tidball (1995: 42) as a type of practical theology which "studies the means by which the community of faith preserves and protects its identity". More specifically, pastoral care focuses on how religious leaders should affect the maintenance and ongoing transformation of religious communities as well as the wider community (Fowler 1987: 21). Vukonić (2000: 429) notes that "the basis of the idea of pastora[l]isation of tourism is found in the organization of religious ceremonies for believers spending their holidays in certain tourism destinations" with the hope that believing tourists will "remember Christ" and engage in worthwhile and uplifting activities while traveling, whether those activities are attending Sunday services or special Christmas devotionals in Bethlehem. In the case of non-Roman Catholic tourists this engagement comes through *outreach*, where the focus is on influencing visitors through setting good Christian examples and unconditionally welcoming visitors rather than encouraging conversion. This idea of outreach can also extend to local religious leaders and adherents entering into dialogue with local, regional and national tourism promoters and operators to fight against morally-harmful forms of tourism (Hamao and Gioia 2001). Attempts at outreach may also extend to "lapsed" members of a faith with a focus on inviting them back to full participation within their faith tradition.

Other faiths, however, may see tourism as a way to extend hospitality and outreach to visitors, and also to actively promote or market their religious worldviews with the idea of gaining

converts. If religious faiths view visitors to their sacred sites/areas as potential converts, tourism can be seen as beneficial to these faiths, particularly when tourism marketers and agents help to "pull" tourists to these sites through advertising campaigns, giving a religious organization an opportunity to market itself at low cost. For example, during the nineteenth century, the Community of Shakers encouraged tourists to visit their community because educating the outside public to their values and social structures was seen as the best way to gain new converts (Sprigg 1980). A more modern example, discussed in detail in this dissertation, is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, which encourages tourism at its religious heritage sites in order to share its religious message to non-believing visitors in the hopes of future conversion (Bremer 2001b; Olsen and Timothy 2002). On a more global scale, the Roman Catholic Church has at times used pilgrimage as a way of attempting to re-Christianize large numbers of people. Voyé (2002) and McNeill (2003: 526) argued that this happened with the 2000 Jubilee in Rome which to them was, in essence, an attempt to "reassert Christian Catholic values at a time of intensifying secular globalisation."

Gendered Religious Spatial Practices and Religious Views of the Human Body

The next two religious themes—*gendered religious spatial practices and spaces* and *religious views of the human body*—are interrelated. In many cultures, religion dictates various aspects of everyday human behaviour and activity which, in many cases, are heavily gendered. This comes in part because many faiths, including Christianity, Islam and Judaism, tend to be patriarchal in nature, with men dominating the ecclesiastical positions within religious hierarchies (King 1997). This leads to differing religious experiences between men and women within those religious faiths, particularly in areas related to dress and gendered religious spaces.

Many faiths are concerned with regulating the human body, notably in matters of sexuality and modesty (Turner 2006). Because of this, religious men and women may be asked to adhere to strict dress codes when entering the public sphere. In many cases, women may be given stricter dress guidelines then men, in part because of traditional (male) religious views that set a premium on women's sexual virtue (Morin and Guelke 2007: xix). As such, religious prescriptions and proscriptions on dress in public, in particular women's dress, leads to the creation of "ideological frameworks and related practices that (re)produce a corollary of women's spaces of inclusion, exclusion, and containment, regulating women in particular ways both discursively and materially" (Morin and Guelke 2007: xix; King 1997).

In some Islamic societies women are expected to dress in an conservative and modest manner while in public, including the wearing of long-sleeved, full body-length clothing and head coverings in public spaces (Rimmawi and Abdelmoneim 1992; Besio 2007: 83). While Muslim men also wear modest attire when in public and attending worship services, they do not cover their bodies to the extent that women do. Another good example is in Mea Shearim, an ultra-Orthodox Jewish community west of the Old City in Jerusalem. Here, religious leaders have sacralised and isolated their neighbourhoods in an attempt to protect their religious lifestyles from secular influences. As a part of this, signs in Hebrew and English have been posted illustrating appropriate dress for those (particularly women) wishing to enter Mea Shearim. For example, one sign reads, "Please do not pass our neighbourhood in immodest clothes", while another sign states, "Modest clothes include: closed blouse, with long sleeves, long skirt, no trousers, no tight-fitting clothes", leaving no doubt what is meant by modest dress (Fenster 2005, 2007).

The limits placed on how women dress in public also relates to their mobility. With the exception of women's auxiliary organisations related to charitable work, women's religious practice and expression in many faiths tend to be relegated to the private sphere of the home rather than

the public sphere which tends to be male-dominated (Morin and Guelke 2007: xix). This limited mobility applies to movement within religious space as well. Religious spaces are seldom gender-neutral; rather, religious space is associated with "power differentials" (Morin and Guelke 2007: xix), particularly when religious practices and rituals require the spatial separation of men and women. For example, in Roman Catholicism, while adherents participate in communion, the altar is reserved for the officiating male clergy member; and in Orthodox Judaism, women are not allowed on the *bimah* (i.e., the space in a synagogue from which worship is led) or to touch a Torah scroll. At the Western Wall in Jerusalem men and women are separated by a fence, and in Jewish orthodox synagogues women are either not allowed into the main sanctuary area where men pray or are separated by a screen, a practice that ensures that there is no contact with women's impurity during menstruation (Fenster 2005: 27; see Kunin 1998). The same spatial separation of men and women can also be found at Islamic mosques (Marshall 1994). At a monastery at Mount Athos in northern Greece, the priests follow medieval traditions and allow only men onto the grounds, while women are limited to "floating pilgrimages" where they travel by boat to the edge of the monastery and have monks come on board to perform religious rituals (Kosti 1998).

Issues of gendered religious space and appropriate dress can have strong implications for tourism. Ecclesiastical authorities have exclusive control over access to and behaviour within religious buildings (Morin and Guelke 2007). Religious rules about appropriate attire at holy sites in some ways are no different from public dress codes of urban areas, where, for example, one cannot walk around naked in public spaces (Fenster 2005). Entrance into the site may require that a person meet certain standards of spiritual preparation or of bodily dress and cleanliness, whether that preparation be through the confession of worldly sins, ritual bathing, and/or the wearing of special clothing or removal of clothing when performing certain rituals at sacred sites. Examples include removing shoes, jewellery and makeup in a mosque; donning a head covering before

entering an orthodox synagogue, or in Christian tradition being required to remove their head coverings; or bathing before proceeding further into a religious site as a sign of purification (Clift and Clift 1998). Religious site managers may require visitors to dress in a more modest manner to maintain the reverence and sanctity of the site. For example, visitors to St. Peter's in Rome may be denied entrance if guides deem that their clothes are inappropriate for entering this sacred space unless they wear "paper clothing" provided by site staff in order to dress modestly (Associated Press 2003).

Visitors may also be unaware that they must follow the faith's regulations regarding the disposition of space and artefacts, in the same manner that in visiting the Knesset or Congress one must observe the government institutions' spatial regulations. At many sacred sites visitors are welcome to walk around and, in some cases, observe the rituals taking place. Access may be restricted at some sections of the site, even to the faithful. For example, worshippers at a Buddhist monastery may not be allowed to enter the monks' living quarters; and Mormon temples are open for viewing to the public for a short period before they are dedicated, after which non-Mormons are excluded and are restricted to the temple grounds (Packer 1980). In some cases, Buddhist and Islamic leaders prohibit visits by visitors of other faiths to their religious sites (Vukonić 1996).

Tourists at religious sites, therefore, may be asked to respect and/or adopt/conform to the same dress standards and spatial patterns as adherents before entering. However, cultural conflict can arise when tourists who visit countries heavily influenced by religious norms and customs arrive and are surprised to discover that their clothing is unacceptable to wear in public, but they cannot or will not conform to the appropriate dress standards (Besio 2007); or that they must be separated from their travel companions because of the spatially-gendered nature of the site. These conflicts often occur because tourists often lack information on what constitutes appropriate behaviour in different cultures and environments (Cole 2007). In order to lessen these conflicts,

many guidebooks, Internet travel guides, and official government websites note the various dress regulations at both the country and the site level, which Besio (2007) suggests are heavily gendered towards women's dress standards.[2] For example, visitors to the Grand Palace adjoining The Temple of the Emerald Buddha, Thailand's most sacred site, must be dressed properly. According to one website,

> "Men must wear long pants and shirts with sleeves (no tank tops). If you're wearing sandals or flip-flops you must wear socks (in other words, no bare feet.) Women must be similarly modestly dressed. No see-through clothes, bare shoulders, etc. If you show up at the front gate improperly dressed, there is a booth near the entrance that can provide clothes to cover you up properly (a deposit is required)" (http://www.bangkok.com).

Another website states, "No country allows visitors dressed in swimsuits to enter its national monuments; Thailand is no exception. Please use common sense" (http://www.bangkokguide book.com). The Australia-Israel Chamber of Commerce website warns that "Travellers [to Israel] are advised that dress at religious sites and in religious neighbourhoods must be modest. Warning: Women visiting Muslim mosques and Orthodox Jewish synagogues and neighbourhoods e.g. Mea Shearim in Jerusalem must ensure that loose clothing is worn covering their arms and legs to avoid causing offence. Men must have their head covered in Jewish synagogues" (www.aicc.org.au).

At a larger scale, the United States Department of State website (http://travel.state.gov) warns that tourists traveling to Islamic countries where Islamic law governs everyday life should dress appropriately. The website suggests that women wear a headscarf in public, and that at certain religious sites women might need to put on a *chador* (which covers the whole body except the face). In addition, the website goes on to note that "During the holy month of Ramadan, you should in general observe the Muslim tradition of not eating, drinking or smoking in public from

---

[2] For example, Besio (2007: 83) notes that in the context of travel to Islamic countries, female travelers are asked to embrace one aspect of Muslim femininity—the wearing of long-sleeved, full-body clothing and head coverings in public spaces—whereas men, while they are asked to wear modest attire, are not singled out.

sunrise to sunset each day, though there are exemptions for foreign travelers who eat in hotel restaurants".

Religious Attitudes towards the Arts

The final theme revolves around *religious attitudes towards the arts*, which parallels Bremer's (2004: 5-6) view that aesthetics enhance the experiences of tourists and religious travelers. Many religious sites are tourist destinations because of their unique architectural styles (e.g., gothic Cathedrals) and the artwork they contain in the form of icons, stained glass windows, mosaics, carvings, or murals. Pipe organ and choir recitals at older churches add to the aesthetic ambiance of sacred sites and also attract visitors. Many religious faiths host annual festivals, pageants, passion plays, re-enactments, celebrations and rituals that involve religious music and costumes that attract tourists and co-religionists alike. At these sites, participants in the festivals or celebrations add to the touristic value of the event. Religious sites that host these sorts of events are generally more attractive to tourists than sites that focus only on ordinary worship services, preaching, and other standard weekly religious activities (Nolan and Nolan 1992). While some religious art can be viewed at museums and art galleries (Maunder 1999), viewing religious art in cathedrals or other buildings of religious significance can satisfy the aesthetic needs of tourists and increase the quality of their experience.

The importance of aesthetics in both enhancing worship and attracting visitors to sacred sites raises the question whether the places of worship of religious groups who do not express their religiosity through the arts (e.g., Quakers, Shakers, Mennonites) are less desirable tourist attractions. Their sites may be attractive to tourists from a cultural or heritage perspective but not in terms of aesthetics. For example, the Old Order Amish in Pennsylvania and Ontario are inundated with tourists because their religious beliefs have influenced their nineteenth-century

lifestyles (Buck 1978; Wall and Oswald 1990). Nolan and Nolan (1992) note that local or religious tour groups who consider themselves pilgrims rather than tourists will most likely visit sites that are related to religious history rather than their artistic appeal.

CRITIQUING THE PILGRIM/TOURIST DICHOTOMY

In many ways, religious leaders' concerns about tourism revolve around the issue of religious identity. Tourism is a powerful agent through which personal and group identity is created and maintained. For many people, travel marks a break or a transition in their lives; a process of transformation (Ateljevic and Doorne 2000; Noy 2004; White and White 2004) through which they can escape from daily life and find their "authentic self" (MacCannell 1973, 1976; Cohen 1988; Crang 1996; Wang 1999; Taylor 2001; Breathnach 2006). In essence, tourism activities have the potential to affect both peoples' moral character and religious identity. Therefore, religious leaders should look more favourably upon particular tourism activities that encourage moral behaviour and solidify people's religious identities, whether or not the tourists are religious believers.

Religious tourism scholars recognise many debates surrounding the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, probably the most debated topic relating to religion and tourism in the literature today (Olsen and Timothy 2006). This debate revolves around the similarities and differences of modern pilgrims and tourists. Cohen (1992) groups these debates into two opposing and polarising perspectives: *convergence* and *divergence*.

Scholars who hold to the *convergence* perspective argue that modern tourism is structurally and metaphorically akin to a "sacred journey" (read: pilgrimage) (MacCannell 1976; Graburn 1989). They contend is that medieval pilgrimage was the forerunner of modern tourism, and as travel solely for religious reasons began to give way to more multi-functional and multi-

motivational trips after World War II (Jackowski 1990; Jackowski and Smith 1992; Rinschede 1992; Lloyd 1998) there began to be a "blurring of the lines" (Kaelber 2002, 2006) between pilgrimage and tourism. This convergence between pilgrimage and tourism has allowed some scholars metaphorically to transpose the image of the religious pilgrim onto the modern tourist. Tourists, therefore, are seen to be like medieval and modern pilgrims, travelling in search of quasi-religious authenticity, truth, and self-actualisation through participating in the "ritual" of sight-seeing and sacralising tourist attractions and places—or "shrines of modernity" as MacCannell (1976) puts it—in an act of "biographical construction" (Voyé 2002).

According to the convergence thesis, contemporary tourists, when traveling, separate themselves from ordinary life, enter a realm of "non-ordinary flotation" (Jafari 1987) or a state of hyperreality (Eco 1983; Holmberg 1993), experience a non-ordinary sacred "high" (Graburn 1989), and then return back to their profane life—an experience akin to Turner's (1973) ideas of *liminality* and *communitas* in the context of religiously motivated pilgrimage. This makes the tourist journey, then, a part of a "nonordinary sphere of existence", making the goals of tourists "symbolically sacred and morally on a higher plane than the regards of the ordinary workday world" (Graburn 1989: 28). The tourist experience becomes analogous to the pilgrim experience (Osterrieth 1997).

At the same time, these scholars invoke the non-sacred aspects of tourism and tourists and impose them upon modern-day religious travelers. For example, both pilgrims and tourists share the same fundamental requirements to travel—both need leisure time, access to disposable income, and, for some, positive social sanctions for travel (Smith 1992). From a more general perspective, both modern pilgrims and tourists exhibit the same general characteristics in terms of travel patterns and tend to use the same transportation and service infrastructure such as lodging, meals, washrooms, and in some areas parking and banking/ATM access (Fleischer 2000). As

Gupta (1999: 91) notes, "apart from the devotional aspect, looked at from the broader point of view, pilgrimage involves sightseeing, traveling, visiting different places and, in some cases, voyaging by air or sea, etc. and buying the local memorabilia, almost everything a tourist does." For these reasons, Hitrec (1990: 19) suggests that "modern pilgrims should perhaps be treated as tourists rather than 'true pilgrims,' primarily because of the evident fact that religious tourism is combined with elements of ordinary (profane) tourism." Thus, Turner and Turner (1978: 20) argue that "a tourist is half a pilgrim, if a pilgrim is half a tourist".

At the other end of the spectrum—the *divergence* perspective—pilgrimage and tourism are viewed as two separate acts of travel. Vukonić (2002) argues that the distinction between tourism and pilgrimage has been most actively promoted by theologians (discussed earlier) who view tourism as a form of escapism from daily life. From this perspective, tourism is viewed as lacking the deeper cultural and spiritual significance that pilgrimage entails, and does not lead to a "substantial" change or a transformation in a person's life but rather is undertaken for diversionary purposes (Kotler 1997: 103). Because of this, there is some difficulty with the use of terms such as *pilgrimage tourism*, *spiritual tourism*, *religious tourism*, and *tourism pilgrimage* to describe modern pilgrimage travel (Jackowski 1987, 2000; Hudman and Jackson 1992; Tyrakowski 1994; Vukonić 1996; Santos 2003), as this would make pilgrimage and pilgrim activity equal with more hedonistic forms of tourism activity such as wine tourism or sex tourism (Ostrowski 2000).

This argument also extends to pilgrims and tourists, where tourists are characterised as being interested only in experiences that are contrived, superficial, and inauthentic (Boorstin 1961) and are considered far more hedonistic and demanding of the host culture in terms of services they require and demands they make. Pilgrims, on the other hand, are characterised as pious and humble religious travelers who are sensitive to the host culture (de Sousa 1993; Gupta 1999). In this same vein, Carrasco (1996) argues that pilgrims do not go sight-seeing but rather "sacred

sight-seeing", as opposed to tourists who partake in "secular journeys to sacred places" (Inoue 2000: 24). Fish and Fish (1993: 88) suggest that "despite the obvious tourist-like behaviours and tendencies that pilgrims often demonstrate, as a whole they are uniquely motivated. Regardless of their outward behaviour, pilgrims usually acknowledge the primary purpose of their journey as worship and sanctification." For these reasons, religious commentators have had difficulty using the pilgrim as a metaphor for the secular traveler (Vukonić 2002), and thus see pilgrims and tourists as different in terms of their goals, motivations, and mindsets while traveling (Cohen 1992; Fleischer 2000; Rinschede 1986).

In an attempt to bridge these two differing perspectives, Smith (1992) devised her well-known continuum with the pilgrim at one end and the tourist at the other, and suggested that between these two 'extremes' are a multiplicity of sacred-secular combinations with travelers exhibiting varying degrees of being more pilgrim-like or more tourist-like. Smith argues that theoretically people, while traveling, can swing from one extreme of the continuum to the other— or can go from the tourist end of the continuum to the pilgrim end and vice versa—in many cases without even being aware of the shift (see de Sousa 1993; Fish and Fish 1993).

Scholars and theologians involved in the pilgrim-tourist debate might benefit from an examination of Max Weber's concept of *ideal types*. According to Weber (1949: 90, emphasis in the original), "An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct". In other words, ideal types serve as exaggerated models or benchmarks for comparative studies investigating the similarities and differences of different phenomena within a particular culture or society and for the construction of hypotheses (cf. Lindbekk 1992: 290). However, Weber (1949; see Hekman 1983) does caution against the use

of ideal types in certain situations. For example, he argues that ideal types should not be carried across historical time periods—that ideal types are historical particularities that appear only in specific historical periods and in particular societies. Weber also notes that, as one-sided exaggerations, ideal types should not be considered as substitutes of "true" reality, as they are, again, one-sided exaggerations rather than a mirror of what goes on in the real world.

This ideal type thesis can be applied to the couching of the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy in terms of oppositional dualisms; as either-or propositions which do not accurately reflect modern reality. Setting up pilgrims and tourists as oppositional *types* does not work because the history of travel, according to Adler (1989), does not follow a unilinear, sequential, or an evolutionary path like proponents of the convergence perspective suggest when arguing that modern tourism is a natural evolution of medieval pilgrimage. While it may be true that the narrative, performance and style of travel of the medieval era were dominated by pilgrimage travel, people during this time also traveled for military, business and recreational purposes. For example, Chaucer, in his classic work *Canterbury Tales*, implies that many medieval Christian pilgrims were more akin to modern tourists in their behaviours rather than true pilgrims (Furnivall 1967). Even today it could be argued that not all pilgrims are deeply religious, just as secular people can experience 'peak' moments during travel (Jackson and Hudman 1994). Suggesting otherwise makes the pilgrim-tourist dualism an ahistorical and abstract attempt to universalise travel typologies (Adler 1989). While it may be true that "travel styles, no matter how seemingly new, [are] built on earlier travel traditions" (Adler 1989: 1373), this history of travel "is best seen as a history of coexisting and competitive, as well as blossoming, declining, and recurring, styles whose temporal boundaries inevitable blur" (Adler 1989: 1372). Bremer (2005) therefore arguments that the Grand Tour, on which young aristocratic men from Europe (mainly Britain) would travel for educational experiences, as a product of the Enlightenment, is the forerunner of modern tourism, having

developed adjacent to rather than from religious pilgrimage. The same could be extended to the early nineteenth-century custom of traveling to spas or the mountains for health reasons.

Difficulties have arisen because many scholars and theologians have lost sight of the fact that the subjects of comparison—the pilgrim and the tourist—are studied as *ideal types*. The actual subjects of comparison are the historical romanticized image of the pious, aesthetic Christian pilgrim from the Middle Ages traveling for penitential reasons and what amounts to Cohen's (1979) diversionary tourist, characterised as a "superficial nitwit" who seeks to escape ordinary life and gaze upon—rather than interact with—cultures and communities as objects to collect. In essence, what scholars and theologians have done is taken the characteristics of the "ideal" pilgrim and the "ideal" tourist, exaggerated them, places them on opposite ends of a spectrum, and then contrasted them. These ideal types, then, are viewed as *bounded entities* and are super-imposed on reality, with travelers being grouped into pre-determined categories depending on *a priori* criteria.

These difficulties are problematic for at least three reasons. First, scholars and theologians cross historical time periods in comparing of the modern tourist to a type of traveler who does not in reality exist anymore—the medieval Christian pilgrim. Weber (1949:) argued that this comparison is invalid because the meaning of "pilgrim" and the medieval context of pilgrimage travel has changed over time and therefore is not a valid comparative partner with the modern tourist (Bauman 1996; Adler 2002). Second, the pilgrim-tourist debate is built upon a specifically Eurocentric construction of the "pilgrim" (Cloesen 2005) that all but ignores the history of pilgrimage in cultures such as China, Indian, Japan, and other non-European nations and cultures (Towner 1995: 340). Therefore, the pilgrim-tourist debate is essentially a regional one, not a global one, which limits the validity, usefulness and applicability of these theoretical debates. Third, the use of these *ideal types* to argue the differences between pilgrims and tourists ignores the fact that individuals rarely fit into tidy categories such as 'pilgrim' and 'tourist'.

From a postmodern and poststructuralist perspective it is difficult to accept anachronistic and abstract universal travel typologies that place binary opposites as an "everything/nothing" concept where types of travel and travellers fit into tidy categories (Adler 1989; Bauman 1996). If one accepts that the distinctions between the pilgrim and the tourist are meaningless contrasts, then Smith's (1992) continuum would be useful only for classifying various sub-markets of contemporary pilgrimage as the continuum does not reflect the multi-layered meanings of pilgrimage and tourism in the modern era (Graham and Murray 1997: 401). Even then, while the continuum does allow for the mixing of religious and secular motives during travel, "researcher[s] can only try to locate the traveler on the scale theoretically according to parameters such as Christian denomination, self-perception, socio-economic status, motivations, feelings, behaviour, [and] the importance given to different activities" (Collins-Kreiner and Kliot 2000: 65). Second, the use of the term pilgrim to describe modern travel might best be used in a metaphorical sense to represent tourists who use travel as a form of identity-building (Bauman 1996; see Chaney 2002).

In critiquing the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy at a broader level, Timothy and Olsen (2006b) argued that the phenomenon of religious tourism is discussed differently by tourism industry officials versus religious scholars and theologians in part because they differ in how they define the tourist. From an industry and academic perspective, definitions of tourists (and subsequently tourism niche markets) derive from the activities tourists pursue while traveling. From this perspective a *pilgrim* is a type of tourist who travels to sites of religious and/or spiritual significance, regardless of whether religion is the primary motive to travel. Any religious or spiritual motives a person may have, are important in terms of marketing and promotion, but they do not define the religious and spiritual tourism niche markets from an industry perspective (Timothy and Olsen 2006b).

From the religious organization view, the key distinguishing characteristic of religious tourism and the religious tourist is motive (Jackowski 2000; Liszewski 2000). From this perspective, religious tourists, while behaving much like other tourists in terms of their use of infrastructure and their non-religious leisure activities, are qualitatively differentiated from other tourist types because their motive for travel is religious in nature. While other travelers visit sacred sites for curiosity, educational, therapeutic, or recreational motives, they are viewed as ordinary tourists and would never be considered as participating in any type of pilgrimage because their initial motives are not aligned with the requisite religious piety necessary for this travel style (Jackowski 2000). Some theologians, in particular from the Roman Catholic tradition, view pilgrimage as a special subset of religious tourism, where pilgrims specifically travel to a sacred site, participate in religious rituals, and then return home again while minimising the secular influences of tourism; whereas religious tourists combine secular and religious motives (Jackowski 2000; Vukonić 2006; Timothy and Olsen 2006b).

This discussion clarifies that the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is an outdated argument, particularly from a postmodern and post-structuralist perspective. "Typologies," Edensor (2001: 59-60) notes, "can identify regularities, but should be conceived as describing different tourist practice rather than types of people, as roles adopted rather than social categories made manifest". The prevalent opinion to date in the cultural geographic and tourism literature denies the fixed nature of spaces, representations and identity categories (Del Casino Jr. and Hanna 2000). In particular, I argue that individual and social identities within the context of religious tourism are dynamic, fluid, and are negotiable and changing depending on people's circumstances, context, and place (Bauman 1996; Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Tilley 2006). Tourism is, therefore, neither just a quest for authenticity nor just the pursuit of pleasure. Rather, though tourism, individual and

social identities, which are inherently multiple and unstable, are constantly negotiated, whether this negotiation is conscious and purposeful or not.

MANAGING THE SACRED

Modern identity formation is produced and confirmed in part through travelers trying to make sense of what they experience as they encounter and interact with different cultures and landscapes (Crouch *et al.* 2001; Coleman and Crang 2002; Crouch 2002, 2005; Oakes 2005; Santos and Buzinde 2007). While travelers may have liminal experiences which shift their identities (Tilley 2006) through experiencing "performances without parameters" (Edensor 2001: 77), identity formation is also linked to deep attachments to places (Relph 1976; Tuan 1977; Graham *et al.* 2000; Teather and Chow 2003; Bremer 2004). As such, both the act of travel and the places people visit play an important role in the identity formation process.

Religious sites of different faiths draw millions of visitors every year, ranging from the casual tourist who accidentally stumbles upon the site to the pious pilgrim who wishes to worship. Increasing travel to religious sites, therefore, means that religious sites are playing an increasingly meaningful role as places where both individual and group religious identity is created and maintained. As Bremer's (2004) argued, religion and tourism are related through travel to sacred places, which leads to the construction and maintenance of personal and group identities through experiences that are enhanced by aesthetics. As sacred sites have become important tourist attractions in many places, of interest to me here is how religious identity is created and maintained through visiting sacred sites. If a part of cultural identity comes through representation (Pratt 2001: 3071-3074), then how do religious groups represent themselves through their religious spaces, which carry and transmit of religious tradition, and also use those spaces to create and maintain both personal and group religious identity?

Much of the creation or reaffirmation of religious identity revolves around the ability of religious people to imbue sacred sites with *religious authenticity* (Bremer 2001a), or at least with religious spaces and experiences. Much of this practice is done through institutional representations and interpretations of sacred sites, whether it is through creating sacred architecture, presenting a certain message to visitors, or controlling the performances of staff and visitors at the sacred site. Therefore, Bremer (2006: 27) argues that "the meaningfulness of a particular place [is therefore] derive[d] from practices that establish them and maintain them, and from the discursive force of those practices in the communities that regard them as special or peculiar". While place meaning and identity formation arise out of embodied situations (Jones 2000: 41; Crouch 2002, 2005), institutions and dominant cultural groups, through representation and surveillance of appropriate actions on site, can orient visitors towards certain meanings of a site. In doing so, there is a greater potential to see, from a religious perspective, a shifting of the religious aspects of visitor identities "from tourist to pilgrim" (Stevens 1988; Askew 1997; Shackley 2002).

Creating religious sites involves controlling and managing them in order to both meet religious goals and maintain a traditional "sense of place" (Shackley 2001a, 2001b, 2002) which adds to the aesthetic and identity-making experiences of visitors. This mandate, however, has become more complex in that religious heritage and its associated human-built cultural and historical resources (Richards 2000) and ritual events are becoming an important tourism resource in competitive marketing efforts to attract travelers to tourist destinations. Many religious sites have been designated as multi-use in nature and function by government and tourism officials (Dietvorst and Ashworth 1995). The resulting overlapping of religious and tourism space adds to the complexity of traditional management practices at religious sites where the focus has historically been on meeting the needs of pilgrims and worshippers rather than of visitors with

multiple motives and expectations (Shackley 2001a, 2003; Bremer 2006). At some religious sites, casual tourists have begun to outnumber devout religious believers (Winter and Gasson 1996; Shackley 2001a). Problems can also arise when the religiously-oriented goals of religious site mangers clash with the more consumptive and income-oriented goals of external tourism stakeholders, whether they be private industry, government officials, or local interest groups such as local historical societies (D. Olsen 2006a).

Are religious site managers equipped to handle the invasion of modern tourists to their sites? This concern revolves around the idea that the mixing of modern tourism and traditional religious practices at religious sites are incompatible, as religious adherents and leisure-oriented visitors attribute different meanings and understandings of the religious site in question as it relates to its significance, authenticity, and economic value (Bremer 2004: 3-7). Therefore, some scholars argue that tourism in religious space exacerbates the internal and external management issues that religious site managers face (Shackley 1999a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003). Current religious organisational and management practices at religious sites are ill-equipped to handle the task of simultaneously serving pilgrims, tourists and external stakeholders (Stevens 1988) who have a vested interest in how tourism works at religious sites.

Sacred sites historically have been associated with built religious structures, such as cathedrals, temples and shrines (Hammond 1985). However, in contemporary society "sacred" sites can range from disaster sites, such as Ground Zero in New York and the site of the Oklahoma City bombing (Foote 1997; Blasi 2002; Conran 2002), to war memorials and cemeteries (Zelinsky 1990; Sellars and Walter 1993; Johnstone 1994; Whitney 1996; Lloyd 1998; Gough 2000; Seaton 2002), to Elvis Presley's mansion (Graceland) in Memphis, Tennessee (Davidson *et al.* 1990; King 1993; Alderman 2002), and to sporting events (Gammon 2004). More recently, religious theme parks have been built in the United States, including TV evangelist Jim Baker's

(now defunct) *Heritage Village, USA* which attempted to combine religious broadcasting with shopping, entertainment and recreational activities (O'Guinn and Belk 1989); *Holy Land Experience* (www.theholylandexperience.com), a living biblical museum and theme park in Florida that recreates various landscapes and events related to the Bible and the life of Jesus Christ (Rowan 2004; Beal 2005; Fafard and Lukens-Bull 2006; Lukens-Bull and Fafard 2007); and *Field of the Woods* in Murphy, North Carolina, which advertises "the world's largest Ten Commandments" (Watts 2004).

Sacred sites are managed by both traditional religious organizations as well as non-profit groups and government organizations, such as Stonehenge, the Western Wall in Jerusalem, Buddhist religious sites in Burma, and the National Park Service co-management of the San Antonio missions and the Touro Synagogue in Rhode Island (Rothman 1989; Philp and Mercer 1999; Bremer 2001a, 2004; Mahaney 2005; Mason and Kuo 2006). However, for the purposes of this section I limit my discussion of sacred site management to what Millar (1999) terms "ecclesiastical sites," or religious sites that are owned and controlled by ecclesiastical leaders.

INTERNAL MANAGEMENT ISSUES

The main task of any tourism site manager is to supervise and mediate the interactions between people and both the natural and built environment (Mitchell 1994).[3] However, religious sites differ from most tourist attractions because the "core business" of religious site managers is allowing people to access the sacred nature of the site (Shackley 2001a). A key aspect of this "core business", Shackley (2001a, 2001b, 2002) argues, involves the maintenance of a "sense of place"

---

[3] Some parts of this section were previously published as a sole-authored chapter entitled "Management Issues for Religious Heritage Attractions" in Timothy and Olsen (2006). Those sections are used here with permission from Andrew Mould, Commissioning Editor for Routledge (personal e-mail communication from Zoe Kruze, Editorial Assistant, Routledge, February 22, 2006). See Appendix A.

which is critical to providing an atmosphere of worship and meditation for those who wish to communicate with the divine. As such, the main focus of religious site managers should be on creating and maintaining both an atmosphere conducive for worship and contemplation and enhancing the aesthetic quality of the site which can enhance religious experiences (Bremer 2004). However, the "core business" of religious sites goes much deeper than maintaining a "sense of place". Rather, the foundational goal or objective of religious site managers is to lead people to *salvation*, whether salvation is personal or communal in nature depending on the religious faith.

In focusing on outreach and proselytizing at sacred sites, religious site managers implicitly seem to understand that people's identities are fluid and unstable, and thus they are interested in shifting the religious identities of "tourists into visitors, visitors into guests, guests into pilgrims[,] and pilgrims into worshippers" (Askew 1997: 13). If visitors are not members of the faith, then the objective of religious site managers is to move people away from being "gape-and-run" tourists and encourage them to engage in the messages and aesthetics of the site in a subjective and mindful manner (Moscardo 1996). Thus religious sites managers hope that non-adherents who visit their site will destabilize their old identities and begin a shift either leading to a better life or possibly even conversion depending upon the denomination. However, if visitors are adherents, then religious site managers want them to leave with their religious identities intact, or, in the case of lapsed members, their religious identities strengthened. Thus, in many ways religious sites serve as a nexus between the essentialist view of identity as being static and bounded and non-essentialist perspectives where identity is dynamic, subject to and responsive to change, and a matter of self-conscious reflection (Tilley 2006).

As noted above, an important part of achieving this "core business" of saving souls is maintaining a "sense of place" in order to create an atmosphere where religious identities can be shifted and/or maintained. Askew (1997) suggests that religious site managers engage in a

"Ministry of Welcome". First, there should be an emphasis on "welcome," where visitors feel comfortable entering the site and are not intimidated by the environment or the people who run the site. Second, basic information about the history of the site and the beliefs of the particular faith in charge of the site should be available, whether through pamphlets or tours. This information should show visitors how the site embodies theology and the core goal of personal salvation "in fixed space" through the combination of art, architecture and liturgy (Coleman and Elsner 1994). This can be accomplished through the creation of a well-planned preservation and conservation plan combined with an effective interpretive program (Grimwade and Carter 2000). Third, reverence should be encouraged by inviting visitors to pray or meditate in order to gain an authentic religious experience.

Religious site staff can play a critical role in maintaining the "sense of place". Writing about pilgrimage to Mt. Sinai, Egypt, Coleman and Elsner (1994: 78) note that "from the pilgrims' standpoint [the monks] functioned not only as interpreters of and guides to the holy, but also as enablers who could make a site comprehensible to believers of any nationality or provenance. While the network of paths, monastic chapels and prayer niches marked the ascent of Sinai, the monks provided an interpretive and liturgical form for pilgrim-experiences." Indeed, while specialised guides might lead a tour group around a destination to various religious points of interest, it is the staff at those particular religious sites that generally lead groups, explain the history and religious meaning of the site, and encourage visitors to engage with the site in a subjective manner (Wilkinson 1998). This subjective engagement by visitors will be effective if religious site managers are successful in institutionalising the reflective acts of subject-making through connecting the meanings and messages of the site to something within the personality or experience of the visitors. This goal can be accomplished both through the creation of visitor centres and the use of formal tour guides or other media which educate visitors about the site and

enhance the overall experience of the visitor (Hall and McArthur 1996; Moscardo 1996). In addition, this interpretation and engagement is best accomplished through visitor interactions with the buildings and religious relics at the site, as these interactions with material things are an important part of the identity-making process (Ateljevic and Doorne 2003). Visitors' potential shifts in religious identity visitors may become a by-product of the practices religious site managers utilise to maintain the special character of touristic/religious places via representation and interpretation (Bremer 2004; Chronis 2006).

In addition to this "Ministry of Welcome", internal site management also must include a focus on mundane infrastructural issues such as the provision of bathrooms, food services, and trash disposal. In addition, site managers also have to concern themselves with visitor impacts, such as graffiti, vandalism, over-crowding, wear-and-tear and noise. They must also concern themselves with visitor flows and experiences, marketing and interpretation, planning special events, and fulfilling specific organizational goals (Stevens 1988; Griffin 1994; Willis 1994; Winter and Gasson 1996; Shackley 1996, 1998, 1999a, 2001a, 2001a, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006a; Digance 2003; Woodward 2004; D. Olsen 2006a; Pavicic 2007). Neglecting these other internal management concerns can potentially have a negative effect on both visitor experience and the aesthetics of the site, which in turn makes the "core goal" difficult to achieve.

Some scholars have voiced concerns that religious sites managers are ill-equipped to handle the rapid increase of modern tourism to sacred sites in the past few decades, particularly in instances where overcrowding can violate the sanctity of a site (Hobbs 1992; Shackley 1996, 1998, 2001a, 2002) and amplify the intensity of negative visitor impacts (Shackley 2001a). One issue is the lack of financing available to religious organisations. Most religious sites are built without tourists in mind (Millar 1999), let alone managed with strategies to increase tourist visitation and revenues (Shackley 2001a; Shani *et al.* 2007). However, many religious site managers are expected

to raise money in order to maintain the site's facilities and pay for other mundane operational costs. Increasing visitation can mean increasing maintenance costs (Vukonić 1998, 2002; Shackley 2006a), leaving religious site managers to look for new sources of revenue.

Many religious sites allow and encourage donations from visitors in order to help with site maintenance and to support religious site managers who are usually members of the clergy. Most site managers do not ask for a specific donation amount, but rely on the charity of visitors (Nolan and Nolan 1992). However, voluntary donations do not always cover the maintenance costs of sacred sites. Even if religious site managers request a specific donation amount, according to Willis (1994), there is very little increase in the amount of donations per visitor. This has led many religious site managers to wrestle with the decision over whether to charge *all* visitors entering their sites, particularly when believers may become dismayed at being required to "pay to pray" (Stevens 1988; Willis 1994; Winter and Gasson 1996; Shackley 2001a). It is also increasingly common for major religious sites to have souvenir shops, hotels, retreat houses, and to charge additional entry fees for access to museums (Olsen 2003; Shackley 2004, 2006a) in order for religious site managers to afford minimum standards of upkeep at their sites. Some religious faiths have developed what Koskansky (2002) calls "ritual economy of exchange", where pilgrims donate money to maintain the sacred site in exchange for some sort of divine intervention (e.g., prayer requests), such as for health or vow fulfillment.

Some religious site managers may also seek government grants in order to subsidise the maintenance costs of church buildings from organisations such as the National Trust for Historic Preservation (www.nationaltrust.org) and the National Park Service (www.nps.gov) in the United States, or the National Churches Fund (www.historicchurches.org.uk) in the United Kingdom (see English Tourist Board 1979; Bremer 2004; Gauthier 2005). Others may form or collaborate with non-profit foundations (Ott 2001: 30) in order to raise additional funds through promoting

educational tours or fundraising events, such as Partners for Sacred Sites (www.sacredplaces.org) which funds the preservation of sacred sites around the world. Other partners are site-specific, such as the Cabrini Mission Foundation which raises funds for the Mother Cabrini Shrine in Colorado (www.cabrinifoundation.org).

However, even when this income is needed, Vukonić (1998: 89) notes that some religious leaders attempt to distance themselves from external funding to avoid charges of both profaning the sacred site and profiteering (Olsen 2003). For example, in Lourdes, France, religious site authorities have removed shops and tourism-related businesses, making the site available exclusively for religious ritual and meditation (Rinschede 1986, 1987; Vukonić 1998). These efforts might also extend to the space around the sacred site, as some religious site managers may frown upon beggars seeking money from visitors at the entrance to sacred sites, or hawkers or shopkeepers selling religious souvenirs near the site (Orland and Bellafiore 1990). The loss of souvenir income, however, can be a problem for non-profit religious sites that have very little capacity to generate income in the first place (Shackley 2003).

Another issue is the lack of tourism management expertise amongst many religious site managers. Shackley (2001a: 90) notes that sacred site organisational and management structures range from sites with rigid hierarchal and clerically-dominated management structures that have evolved over hundreds of years to sites that exist in a management vacuum with little to no organisational structure. In instances where there is little to no management structure present, the potential for the degradation of the religious heritage resource increases thereby limiting its effectiveness as a tourism resource. Shackley (2001a: 90), however, goes on to note that even if a religious heritage site has a rigid hierarchal management structure, religious site managers tend not to be trained tourism professionals; rather, they tend to be (predominantly male) professional clergy or volunteers who have been appointed by religious leaders to run a particular site. Stevens

(1988) and Shackley (2003) note that clerics as religious site managers may rely on ecclesiastical management structures largely unaffected by modern management trends or practices where site management is done by custom rather than by focusing on specific goals or targets.

Stevens (1988: 84) addresses the lack of tourism management expertise by religious site managers as well as issues over inadequate funding: "there is an urgent need to equip those responsible [for religious site management]; they are unlikely to be able to survive the pressures of tourism on the basis of prayer alone." This perspective also comes from the belief that religious site managers do not understand their clientele well—that their understandings of the interests and motives of visitors "appear to be based on subjective impressions rather than empirical research" (Cameron and Gatewood 2003: 56). While some religious site managers might do well with handling the religious aspects of religious sites, Shackley (2001, 2005) and Pavicic *et al.* (2007) argue that most modern religious site managers, because of the lack of adequate funding and tourism management know-how to handle the influx of tourists, should adopt a more business-like approach to both their current site management practices and techniques in their daily management of visitors. In taking a more business-like approach, religious site managers should address the issues of identifying their target market; deciding on the products and services that should be offered to their potential target market based on their needs and wants; initiating promotion of the site to potential and existing clients; and focusing on a pricing/fundraising approach (Pavicic *et al.* 2007: 57). In doing so, religious site managers would both be able to better handle the influx of non-religious visitors to their sites as well as to increase the site's income potential which would help with maintaining the physical and aesthetic nature of the site.

While religious site managers might benefit from a more systematic management model or service delivery approach, I imagine that a marketing perspective on religious site management stems from the lack of research on the organisational and operational management strategies

operating at religious sites (Vukonić 1996; Cohen 1998; D. Olsen 2006a; Singh 2007). The idea that religious site managers are incapable of handling their management issues and attempt to survive "the pressures of tourism on the basis of prayer alone" (Stevens 1988: 44) is an elitist and reductionist perspective that minimises and trivialises religious raison d'être of the site, as well as the merits of current management practices and strategies which, in some cases, have developed over centuries. For example, older religious sites such as Lourdes, France, and Mecca, have detailed management plans that have been developed over centuries of trial-and-error (Isaac 1963; Rinschede 1986, 1987; Eade 1992; Ahmed 1999; Al-Hathloul and Mughal 2001; Memish and Ahmed 2002; Timothy and Iverson 2006). Another point to consider is that religious site managers may not be interested in implementing management approaches or models which maximize profit, as doing so could take away from their core religious goals. As well, Cameron and Gatewood's (2003: 56) quote above probably applies more directly to religious sites that receive very large numbers of visitors (e.g., Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris) rather than smaller churches and shrines that receive very little tourist traffic.

In order to accomplish religious and management goals, some religious organisations and site mangers are beginning to implement systematic management strategies to increase both their income and enhance the visitor experience (Shackley 2001a, 2001b, 2005, 2006a, 2006b; McGettigan and Burns 2001; Pavicic *et al.* 2007). A good example of this is the Lincoln Cathedral in Lincoln, UK. The mission of the Lincoln Cathedral is to offer the highest standards of worship, Christian learning, building maintenance, and outreach through managing the Cathedral within a balanced budget (www.lincolncathedral.com). Church leaders address these objectives through initiatives including organising frequent worship services, developing partnerships with secular organisations that contribute to the mission of the Cathedral, reviewing and expanding visitor facilities in order to increase the number of visitors, implement a fundraising strategy, training and

developing Church staff and volunteers, and developing an environmental policy for the Cathedral. Stevens (1988), Shackley (2001, 2005) and Pavicic *et al.* (2007) would agree that Lincoln Cathedral has adopted a more business-like approach to sacred site management. However, the Lincoln Cathedral, like other religious sites, was not built for profit or for tourist consumption (Millar 1999; Shani *et al.* 2007).

The labelling of those who control and run religious sites as "managers", moreover, is problematic, not only from the perspective that these "managers" themselves might define themselves as "stewards" or "pastors" or "servants". The term "manager" also implies that they should to run their religious sites as a business centred on making money. A business-like approach to sacred site management is not an end unto itself. This management approach is often utilised in order to maintain a distinctive and aesthetically-pleasing religious space through which religious site managers can express their worldviews and theology to those who visit.

EXTERNAL MANAGEMENT ISSUES

In addition to the internal management issues that religious site managers have to address, a number of external or off-site issues also influence the management strategies and decisions at religious sites. Multiple stakeholders are interested in the way religious sites are managed (Figure 2.1). The first and maybe the most important stakeholder that religious site managers deal with are the ecclesiastical leaders within their own religious group. While religious beliefs and practices are interwoven with culture throughout the world, most religious groups manifest themselves spatially through the development of ecclesiastical institutions which expresses the religious beliefs, purposes, and goals of their faith. Site managers may be constrained by the type of administrative organisation their faith employs. For example, hierarchal religions tend to be well-defined in terms of organizational structure, exercising tight control over their sacred site staff. Autonomous or

ethnic religious communities, however, are more "self-sufficient" in the sense that the organisational structure involves a loose cooperation between believing communities (e.g., Islam, Hinduism). This religious structure hypothetically allows for a more flexible agenda in terms of management at individual religious sites.

As well, managers of religious sites are influenced by the views and belief structures of their religion, particularly as they relate to core theological goals and how their religious leaders view tourism. For example, the website at the Mother Cabrini Shrine in Colorado states that the mission of this religious site is to "bring the love of Christ to pilgrims, visitors and friends through a hospitable and prayerful presence…to bring God to people and people to God" (www. mothercabrinishrine.org). The St. Jude's Shrine in New Orleans is staffed by missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, who focus on a special outreach commitment to the poor (www.saintjudeshrine. com). In these two cases, these sites are run by special holy orders which focus on different aspects of welcome, education, outreach, and social justice.

Government and their related organisations, such as urban planners, local and regional tourism managers, regional economic development agencies, and state-sponsored historical societies, are also major stakeholders that can influence how religious sites are managed. As noted earlier, not only do governments, tourism agencies, and tourism-oriented private businesses transform the symbolic meaning of religious sites through their marketing endeavours (Young 1999), but they also commodify religious histories and events into commercial enterprises. For example, in 1998 the British Tourist Authority established the Wesley Trail that commemorated the 250th anniversary of the founding of the Methodist Church by John and Charles Wesley. Hughes (1998: 17) notes that "the objectives for this project did not address the religious sensibilities of Methodists or conceive of the trail as a mark of respect for the Wesleys or Methodism. Rather, the project was addressed in exclusively commercial terms".
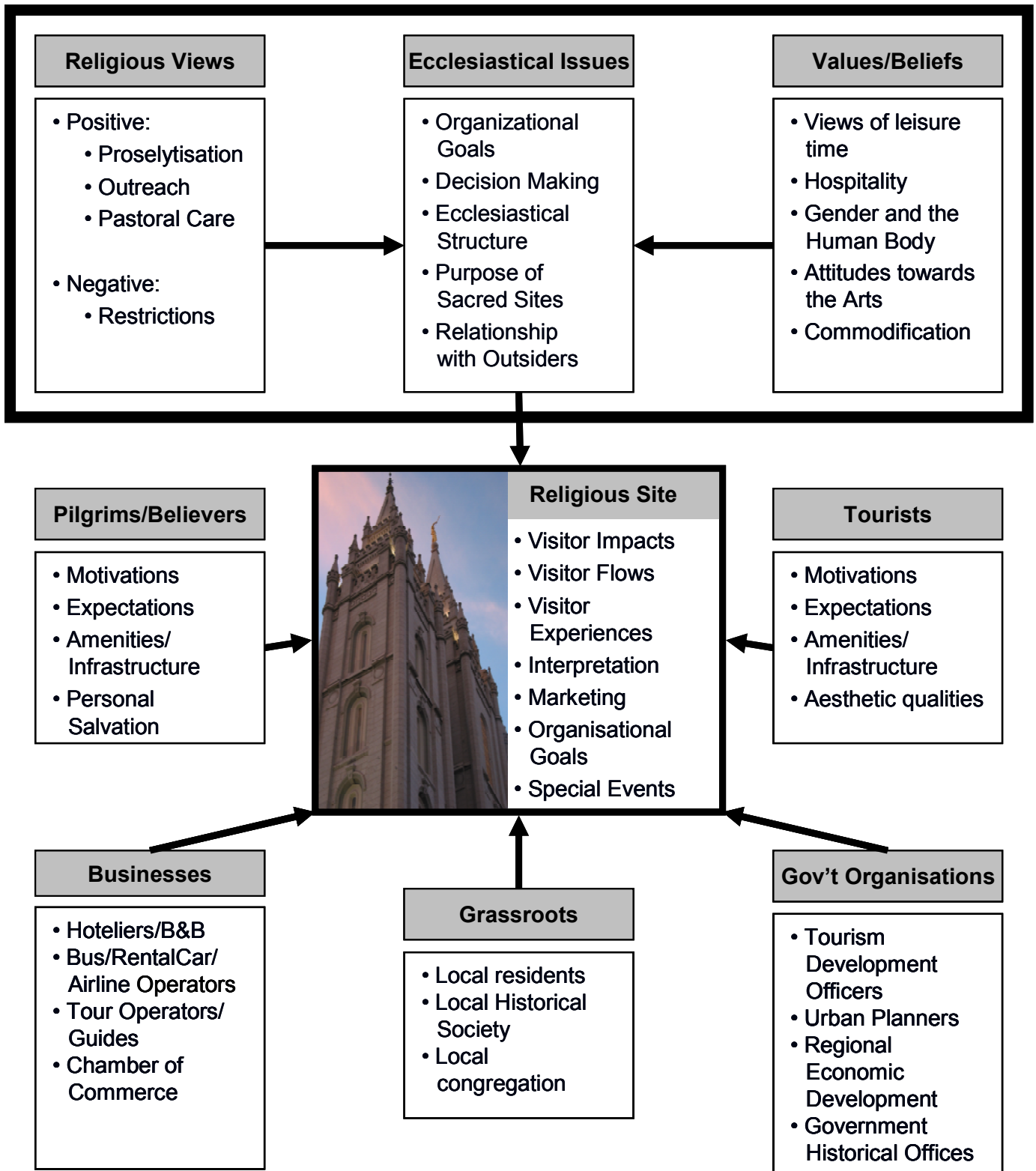
Figure 2.1: A conceptual framework of the internal and external stakeholders and management issues facing religious site managers.

Governments also influence the management of religious sites through specific policies related to the maintenance and interpretation of religious heritage sites. These policies can range from suppression to subsidisation. While suppression of religious groups rarely manifests itself in an overt fashion in Western societies today because of the greater division between Church and State, in other areas of the world there are many cases where government policies have influenced the travel patterns of visitors to and interpretation of certain religious sites. A classic example of this is in Burma, where Buddhist shrines have been taken over by the reigning government who, in turn, reinterprets the shrines for tourists in a sanitised manner, focusing more on reinforcing the state's political and economic claims rather than presenting the Buddhist views of the sacrality of the shrines (Philp and Mercer 1999).

The other principal stakeholders include pilgrims and tourists (with their own sets of motivations, expectations, and needs), local congregations, and businesses related to tourism. While pilgrimage centres have long functioned as museums and repositories for art, and bear tangible witness of the history of a religious culture or group (Shackley 2002: 346), many tourists see religious sites as symbols of a past age (Daskalakis 1984)—as historic, architectural, educational, or cultural repositories—and therefore want "space[s] to be preserved rather than used, to be gazed upon but not changed" (Shackley 2002: 350; see Urry 1990, 2002; Winter and Gasson 1996; Post *et al.* 1998). Consequently, many tourists, as well as pilgrims and members of local congregations, may want religious sites to appear untouched by modern architectural styles or technological innovations, even though these sites have been continually modified since their construction (Shackley 2001a).

In addition to dealing with outside stakeholders, religious heritage site managers also need to deal with a number of external factors that affect their sites. For example, religious sites do not exist in a socio-political and spatial vacuum, as they are affected by the politics and social trends of

the area in which they are located. Shackley (2001a: 7) suggests that national, regional, and local political and social instability can heighten management problems, arguing that "the easiest sites to manage are those where [socio-political] stability is high even if visitor numbers are high (such as the Vatican or Canterbury Cathedral) since this stability and control permits the development and implementation of effective visitor management systems" (2001: 8). Additional management issues can arise in cases where sacred sites are the focus of competing interests between religious groups over their ownership, maintenance and interpretation. In places which are the ancestral homelands of different religious groups, competing discourses over how to interpret the "multiple levels of sedimented history" and "layers of meaning" (Yeoh and Kong 1996: 55) at particular sacred sites can lead to violence. Such examples include the *Al Aska Intifada* in September 2000 between Israel and Palestine (Collins-Kreiner *et al.* 2006) and Ayodhya, India where Hindus tore down a 16th century Muslim mosque (Shaw 2000). In these and other instances of religious violence, travelers will seek alternative religious sites to visit, hurting the travel industry in that area (Osborne 2001; Collins-Kreiner *et al.* 2006).

Religious site managers may also struggle to handle the competing discourses and outside interests in their sites. At the same time, the underlying premise of this view is that, from a cultural geographic perspective, sacred space is inherently contested. Some scholars argue that sacred space is socially constructed; that rather than sacred places being inherently sacred or filled with other-worldly meanings, sacred space is really an empty signifier devoid of any meaning until someone or some group marks and makes that space sacred through the processes of signification and sacralisation (van der Leeuw 1933; Smith 1978b; Eade and Sallnow 1991; Chidester and Linenthal 1995). Social groups naturally shape social space in order to transmit cultural values and to maintain cultural identity (Teather and Chow 2003). As a part of controlling a social space, those in power tend to delineate and solidify their cultural (and religious) ideologies and legitimacy

through representing the meanings of sacred spaces as fixed, bounded, and static, and defining their places and landscapes as being in opposition to other ideologies and places (Massey 1995). Those in power may also practice a politics of exclusion by creating and maintaining boundaries that dictate what is considered appropriate behaviour. Of necessity, policing, regulation, and surveillance of these boundaries is required to determine what is "in-place" and what is "out-of-place"; and who is an "insider" and who is an "outsider"; who is included and who is excluded from performing in this space (Sibley 1995; Cresswell 1996; Trudeau 2006).

The end result of this signification, production and policing of bounded sacred space, according to Chidester and Linenthal (1995), is the contestation of these hegemonic meanings and signs that leads to a potentially unlimited number of claims and counter-claims about the site's significance, meaning, importance and use, as socio-cultural and political groups contest both the symbolic nature of sacred space as well as issues of legitimate and authentic ownership of the site in question. As such, multiple cultural-political discourses can arise relating to issues over what cultural/religious ideologies are represented and who has the power to represent those ideologies (Philp and Mercer 1999; Pratt 2001; Olsen and Guelke 2004).

From this situationalist perspective, sacred space is *inherently* contested. Sacred places, like any socially constructed space, are contested spaces through which "power, identity, meaning and behaviour are constructed, negotiated and renegotiated according to socio-cultural dynamics" (Aitcheson and Reeves 1998: 51; in Pritchard and Morgan 2001: 167). In addition, their meanings are not fixed, but rather fluid, open to multiple interpretations and significations, and constantly being re-produced. Therefore, no matter what sacred space is being discussed, what its historical and socio-political context is, at what scale it is being examined, or what groups or stakeholders are involved, it will always be contested because of "power relations". This parallels the Marxist view that all social relations are contested because of class struggles over material modes of

production and consumption. In many ways, critical cultural geographers, with their interest in contested space, have simply replaced "class struggles" with "power relations" and socio-economic class with identity politics (i.e., gender, race, ethnicity, religion) in their examination of contested space (although socio-economic class does play a key role in identity politics).

However, I question whether sacred spaces are inherently contested, and whether this "one size fits all" model of contested space is applicable to all sacred spaces at all scales. This *contested space thesis* seems to be based on two assumptions that revolve around the "power relations" aspect of this model. The first assumption is that an "us versus them" mentality is ingrained among competing stakeholders who hold seemingly irreconcilable goals and philosophies, and who serve different markets; that these stakeholders play a zero-sum game in which an advantage to one stakeholder is seen to disadvantage another. Therefore, these stakeholders do not see themselves as sharing common backgrounds or interests, and will therefore seek to gain any advantage to forward their cultural and/or political ideologies and attempt to gain spatial control of places to the disadvantage of other stakeholders (Ashworth 2000; Graham *et al.* 2000: 24; Olsen and Guelke 2004). The second assumption is that power relations are inherently unequal; that less powerful parties may try to resort to reason and persuasion to gain more authority over the use of space, but that the party in power generally has no self-interest in accommodating them. Consequently, the less powerful people resort to complaining, subterfuge, or metaphorical or literal street-fighting to impress their viewpoints upon more powerful stakeholders (Mitchell 1995a).

As this point I ask: do tourism officials and sacred site managers always conflict with each other? This contested space thesis seems essentialist and reductionist, as the power relations within a place are much more complex than labelling a site and its stakeholders as belonging to one side of the sacred/secular dichotomy. While places can be contested at different scales, from

international religious fundamentalism and racial nationalism to the pilgrimage-tourism nexus at sacred sites, are all sacred sites contested? Are they contested at all scales simultaneously? What about instances where stakeholders with a vested interest in a sacred site co-operate for mutual benefit? In the following chapters I probe the contested space thesis to show that while there may be a confluence of interests and interpretations at one site among some actors, the idea that all sites are disputed at all times at all scales is an abstraction and does not hold true in the case of Temple Square. Rather, understanding the contested nature of space requires an acknowledgement that contestation is place-specific and historically situated rather than taken as *a priori* theory (Kong 2001: 226).

CONCLUSION

This chapter serves as a theoretical foundation for the rest of this dissertation. In sum, I have discussed at a broad level the issues of the explicit and implicit ways in which religious leaders may view tourism as a social phenomenon, the nature of identity via the pilgrim-tourist dualism, and the internal and external challenges that religious site managers face with increasing tourist visitation to their sacred sites. In the next chapters I examine these areas of inquiry in a much more concrete manner. Using Temple Square in Salt Lake City as a case study, I underscore many of the arguments and critiques that I have made in this chapter. The information also serves as a basis for further critique in Chapter 5. In Chapter 3 I discuss the way in which leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints implicitly view tourism. In addition, I detail how Church leaders utilise tourism, via their religious heritage sites, to achieve many of the religious goals of their faith related to issues of personal and group salvation.

In Chapter 4 I discuss the management practices at Temple Square, where I outline an instance where the organisational and operational management of this religious site has been

transformed from a site with no management to a highly structured and organised management approach to tourism in the short time of just over a century. The case study also examines why there are no Church-run souvenir shops or entrance fees which, according to systematic management or service delivery approaches or models, should be a prime focus of religious site managers and organisations who wish to raise money for site maintenance. In addition, the Temple Square case study represents a real-world instance in which the inevitability of the *contested space thesis* does not seem to hold up, at least at the local level. As well, throughout these two chapters I discuss the issue of religious identity, and also attempt to enrich the pilgrim-tourist dualism debate through a detailed examination of how leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church views non-Mormons as having eternal souls, and, as such, attempt to shift their religious identities from visitor to potential convert.

Chapter 3

LATTER-DAY SAINT VIEWS OF TOURISM

INTRODUCTION

Most major world religions have some sort of doctrinal basis for pilgrimage travel. In some cases pilgrimage is a required element of religious worship, whether it is essential for a happier afterlife or for initiatory purposes (Morinis 1992; Olsen 2004). However, not all major faiths embrace the notion of pilgrimage, at least in its traditional sense. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints does not have formal pilgrimage practices or proscriptions, even though the Church and its leaders and members recognize the existence of sacred spaces and have long held that certain places are more holy or sacred than others (Jackson and Henrie 1983; Olsen 2002; Bradley 2005). Leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church hold that its historical and sacred sites are not comparable to the sacred sites of other faiths which are often associated with the forgiveness of sins or miraculous healings. These events do not occur at Latter-day Saint sacred sites but rather through proper personal repentance and priesthood blessings (Hudman and Jackson 1992; Jackson 1995). As one Church leader put it, "Neither shrines nor pilgrimages are a part of true worship as practiced by the true saints....[T]here is no thought that some special virtue will attach to worship by performing [pilgrimage to sacred sites]" (McConkie 1966: 574).

Yet every year thousands of Church members travel to places associated with the history and practice of their religious faith, whether that travel involves attending pageants, pioneer treks, and devotional tours, as well as participating in informal worship and ritual activities away from home (such as being baptised in the Susquehanna River in Pennsylvania where Church founder Joseph Smith was first baptised or having a prayer meeting in the Sacred Grove where Joseph Smith experienced his first epiphany). While much of this travel is a grassroots-inspired

movement, Church leaders encourage this informal pilgrimage-like travel to important Church sites, such as temples and places related to Church history and heritage, although not as a central tenant of faith such as the Muslim Haj.

Despite the increasing prevalence of travel among Mormons today, leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, while having commented on a number of social and moral issues, have not articulated a systematic "theology of tourism" (Cohen 1998). However, Church leaders do use tourism as a means through which they can accomplish its religious goals, particularly as they revolve around its "three-fold mission": proclaiming the gospel, perfecting the Saints, and redeeming the dead (Kimball 1981). Consequently, it is possible to examine Church leaders' implicit views of tourism, especially how they are manifest in achieving broader and more foundational religious goals and aspirations through the Church's religious heritage sites (Cohen 1998: 4).

In this chapter I investigate Church leaders' implicit views of tourism. I begin by giving a brief history of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints from its cultural hearth in New York to its resting place in Salt Lake City, Utah. I then examine the current ecclesiastical organization of the Church, and then examine the ways in which tourism helps Church leaders accomplish its "three-fold" mission which includes a sketch of some of the Church's basic beliefs.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF MORMONISM

In 1820, a fourteen year old named Joseph Smith Jr. became concerned about the welfare of his soul and his standing before God. In response to this concern he, and began to seek a church to join.[4] However, according to Smith's own testimony he struggled over which denomination he

---

[4] I highlight the word "brief" because there is a large body of work examining the history of the Latter-day Saint faith. For more in-depth and specific information on the early history of the Mormon movement, see Allen and

should join. At this time the region around his home town—Palmyra, New York—was in the midst of a great religious revival, termed by some historians as the "Second Great Awakening", which popularised religion and encouraged spiritual renewal among Christians of various faiths (Rodman 1977; Wood 1980; Bushman 1984). However, this revivalist movement, rather than creating a desire for Christian unity, intensified rivalries between different Christian denominations in the area (Handy 1972; Wood 1980). While many of Smith's family members joined the Presbyterian Church, Smith himself became quickly confused by each faith professing to be more correct that the others. Smith decided to read the Bible in an attempt to settle the question of which church to join. During his reading he came across James 1:5, which reads: "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." In Smith's own words:

> Never did any passage of scripture come with more power to the heart of man than this did at this time to mine. It seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of my heart. I reflected on it again and again, knowing that if any person needed wisdom from God, I did; for how to act I did not know, and unless I could get more wisdom than I then had, I would never know; for the teachers of religion of the different sects understood the same passages of scripture so differently as to destroy all confidence in settling the question by an appeal to the Bible.

> At length I came to the conclusion that I must either remain in darkness and confusion, or else I must do as James directs, that is, ask of God (Joseph Smith—History 1:8, 11-13).

> In response to this scriptural passage Smith went into the woods near his home to pray.

He describes his experience in this manner:

> I saw a pillar of light exactly over my head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon me.

Leonard (1976), Arrington and Bitton (1979), Bushman (1984, 2005), Shipps (1985), and Brown *et al.* (1994). For information regarding the splintering of the Mormon movement after Joseph Smith Jr.'s death see Quinn (1976) and Shields (1987, 1990). For information on the Mormon Exodus and the establishment of Utah see Jackson (1978, 1994, 2003), and Bennett (1975, 1997).

"It no sooner appeared than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me I saw two Personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name and said, pointing to the other—*This is My Beloved Son. Hear Him!*" (Joseph Smith—History 1:16-17).

When Smith asked which denomination he should join, he was told to join none of them, "for they were all wrong", for "all their creeds were an abomination" in God's sight, for while these Christian denominations had a "form of godliness", they denied the power of God (Joseph Smith—History 1:19).

From this experience Smith understood that the other Christian churches and their associated creeds were rejected by God, and that he was to become God's chosen prophet and restore Christ's original church to its authentic structure and form. As a part of this movement towards Christian Primitivism, he claimed to have been visited by heavenly messengers and given divine authority (i.e., priesthood)[5] to restore Christ's church. In addition, Smith also claimed to have been led by an angel to a hill near his home that had buried within it a set of "golden plates" and was given divine instruction on how to translate them. Smith's attempts to translate these golden plates were published in 1830 as *The Book of Mormon*.[6] On April 6, 1830, in accordance with

---

[5] The priesthood is the power and authority to act in God's name. In the Latter-day Saint Church, worthy men are given the priesthood to further the work of the Church. The priesthood is divided into two lines of authority. The first is the Aaronic Priesthood, which is bestowed upon worthy males ages twelve to eighteen. The Aaronic priesthood allows men to assist with the temporal affairs of the Church, such as collecting fast offerings (money given to the Church for food not eaten during a fast), preparing and blessing the sacrament, and baptising people into the Church. The offices in the Aaronic Priesthood include deacon, teacher, and priest. The Aaronic Priesthood is an appendage to the Melchizedek Priesthood, named after the Old Testament high priest Melchizedek who lived during the time of Abraham. Men who hold the Melchizedek Priesthood officiate in the various leadership positions of the Church. In addition, they hold "the keys of all the spiritual blessings of the church" (Doctrine and Covenants 107:18), and can participate in administering to the sick, giving blessings, confirmations, performing saving ordinances, and ordaining people to various offices within both the Aaronic and Melchizedek priesthood. The offices of the Melchizedek Priesthood include Apostle, Seventy, patriarch, high priest, and elder.

[6] Latter-day Saints believe that *The Book of Mormon* is a record of God's dealings with the ancient inhabitants of the Americas. The book begins with a family leaving Jerusalem before its fall in 600 B.C., and recounts their travels to the Americas. Upon arrival the family splits into two political and social factions, with one faction eventually destroying the other a thousand years later. *The Book of Mormon* is the spiritual and secular history of the faction that was destroyed. Among the various stories in *The Book of Mormon* is an account of Jesus Christ visiting the Americas after his crucifixion and instructing the people. The primary purpose of *The Book of Mormon* is to convince people

the laws of New York State, Joseph Smith convened a meeting in Fayette, New York, and there legally founded the Church of Christ (later named The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints). Smith organised missionaries to preach the gospel message of the restored Church to the inhabitants of the surrounding area.

The growth of the Church was rapid, as many people were attracted to various aspects of Smith's restorationist faith, including what they saw as the restoration of divine authority; the occurrence of spiritual manifestations; the primitive simplicity of the doctrines taught by Smith; the restoring of the ecclesiastical order, as found in Christ's primitive church; and the influence of missionaries who preached to the locals (Grandstaff and Backman Jr. 1990). However, antagonism by local denominational leaders, as well as local residents and politicians who saw the Church as a growing political and economic threat (Arrington and Bitton 1979), forced Smith to move the headquarters of the Church to a number of different locations, including Kirtland, Ohio, Independence, Missouri, and Nauvoo, Illinois. New converts to the faith were encouraged to gather to these new "centres" with the main body of the Saints (Mulder 1954).

Over time the doctrines and religious practices Smith promulgated continued to mature and develop, and by the time of his death the basic doctrinal structure of the Church had been established (Bradford and Dahl 1992: 396). Many of the doctrines and practices instituted by Joseph Smith were at odds to traditional Christian orthodoxy. Some of these doctrines and practices included the restoration of Christ's church; the establishment of temples; baptisms for the dead; celestial or eternal marriage; the Word of Wisdom (abstinence from tobacco and coffee);

---

that "Jesus is the Christ, the Eternal God, manifesting himself unto all nations" (title page of *The Book of Mormon*), as Latter-day Saints believe *The Book of Mormon* contains "the fullness of the Gospel of Jesus Christ" (Doctrine and Covenants 20:9).

the restoration of the priesthood; the use of additional scriptures to the Bible;[7] the identification of

Independence, Missouri as the New Jerusalem; the rejection of the traditional view of the Trinity;

and the practice of polygamy.[8]

In 1844 Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were killed by a mob who opposed Smith

and his church. After his death, a number of successors vied for control of the Church, as while

Smith had outlined eight different mechanisms of succession prior to his death (Quinn 1976),

there was no set precedent to follow. Some Church members sided with Smith's son, Joseph

Smith III, and formed The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (today known

as The Community of Christ). Others joined themselves with other influential Church leaders (see

Quinn 1976; Shields 1987, 1990). However, the majority of Church members followed Brigham

Young, the longest serving Apostle, who in 1847 led his followers to the valley of the Great Salt

Lake and created Salt Lake City, the current administrative and spiritual centre of the Latter-day

Saint Church. The Latter-day Saint Church today is one of the fastest growing religious faiths in

the world (Stark 1999) with a present membership of over thirteen million adherents.

---

[7] In addition to *The Book of Mormon*, Smith also published two additional books recognized in Latter-day Saint canon as scripture. *The Doctrine and Covenants* is a collection of important revelations given to the Church. According to the title page of *The Doctrine and Covenants*, this book contains "revelations given to Joseph Smith, the Prophet, with some additions by his successors in the Presidency of the Church." *The Pearl of Great Price* is "a selection of choice materials touching many significant aspects of the faith and doctrine of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. These items were produced by Joseph Smith Jr. and were published in the Church periodicals of his day" (title page, *The Pearl of Great Price*. This book is divided into five sections, and includes sections from the Book of Moses (from Smith's re-translation of the Bible), the Book of Abraham (taken from Egyptian papyri Smith purchased and translated), Joseph Smith—Matthew (again from Smith's re-translation of the Bible), Joseph Smith— History (excepts from Smith's journal about the founding of the Church), and the Articles of Faith, a statement by Smith listing the core beliefs of the Church. For further information on these scriptures and Smith's re-translation of the Bible see Hawkes (1977), Peterson and Tate (1986), Peterson (1987), (Matthews 1985), and Edwards (Edwards 1988).

[8] In the 1890s, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints stopped the practice of polygamy as the United States government threatened to confiscate Church properties and throw its leaders in jail if the practice continued. This decision to stop the practice of polygamy caused some splintering within the Latter-day Saint community, and today a number of so-called "fundamentalist" groups continue the practice of polygamy while referring to themselves as a part of the broader Mormon movement. However, because of the polygamous history of the Latter-day Saint Church in Utah, many media outlets sometimes erroneously equate the Latter-day Saint Church with these polygamous groups.

LDS CHURCH HIERARCHY: ECCLESIASTICAL AND TEMPORAL LINES OF AUTHORITY

In order to minister to its expanding membership, the Church's administrative structure has evolved over time into a very complex and hierarchal organisation. As Madsen (2003) points out, there is very little written about the organization and inner workings of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. This is in part because the term *institution*, which seems to imply an empirical organisation which is fixed, stable and permanent, is actually a term which applies to an organisation that is constantly in a state of flux and "always *becoming* institutions rather than *already* institutions" (Holloway 2000: 553, italics in original). Therefore, while I present here the basic organisational structure of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, it should be remembered that the Church's hierarchical organisation is much more complex than outlined here. As S. Olsen (2006) notes, the Latter-day Saint Church is run as much by divine inspiration as by professional management principles, making its organisational structure prone to changes as occasion requires. Here I outline the basic hierarchal structure of the Church as a whole, waiting until Chapter 4 to expand on the departments and divisions within this general structure that focus specifically on the management of tourism at Temple Square.

Within the administrative structure of the Church Latter-day Saints distinguish between two lines of authority: the ecclesiastical and the temporal (Figure 3.1). The ecclesiastical line of authority "follows a strict hierarchal form, and authority is exercised through priesthood keys, which determine who presides over the Church and who directs its affairs at each organizational level" (Perry *et al.* 1992: 1044). At the top of the ecclesiastical line are the "General Authorities" who are full-time ecclesiastical leaders of the Church (Madsen 2003: 57; see Durham 1942) and whose responsibilities occur at a global Church-wide level.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is presided over by the President or Prophet of the Church, who, with his two counsellors, comprise the First Presidency, which

"performs the central and authoritative role of receiving revelation and establishing policies and procedures for the Church" (Perry *et al.* 1992: 1046). Church members view the President of the Church as a living prophet who speaks on behalf of God. Below the First Presidency is the Council of the Twelve Apostles (referred to often as the Quorum of the Twelve), who are "equal in authority and power" to the First Presidency, in that "when the First Presidency is dissolved (which occurs upon the death of the President of the Church) the Council of the Twelve exercises all of the power and authority previously reserved to the First Presidency until a new First Presidency is organized" (Perry *et al.* 1992: 1046). Together, the First Presidency and the Council of Twelve Apostles "comprise the principal policy-making and administrative body of the Church" (www.lds.org).

Within this ecclesiastical line of authority, the members of the Council of the Twelve are responsible for four executive groups called councils with three Apostles being assigned to each of the four councils (Perry *et al.* 1992: 1044-1049). The Missionary Executive Council is responsible for the worldwide missionary work of the Church and oversees the Church's Missionary and Media Departments. The Temple and Family History Executive Council directs the Temple Department, which takes care of the operations of all Latter-day Saint temples around the world; the Family History Department is responsible for the vast genealogical program of the Church; and the Historical department is responsible for collecting, preserving and interpreting historical materials related to the Church. The Correlation Committee reviews the work of the other three councils to ensure consistency of all materials disseminated to the membership of the Church. This committee also conducts research related to Church issues. The executive directors of these departments come from the Presidents of the Quorums of the Seventy (see below), who receive assignments from the Council of Apostles and are responsible for the various departments and smaller, highly focused divisions within their councils or committees.
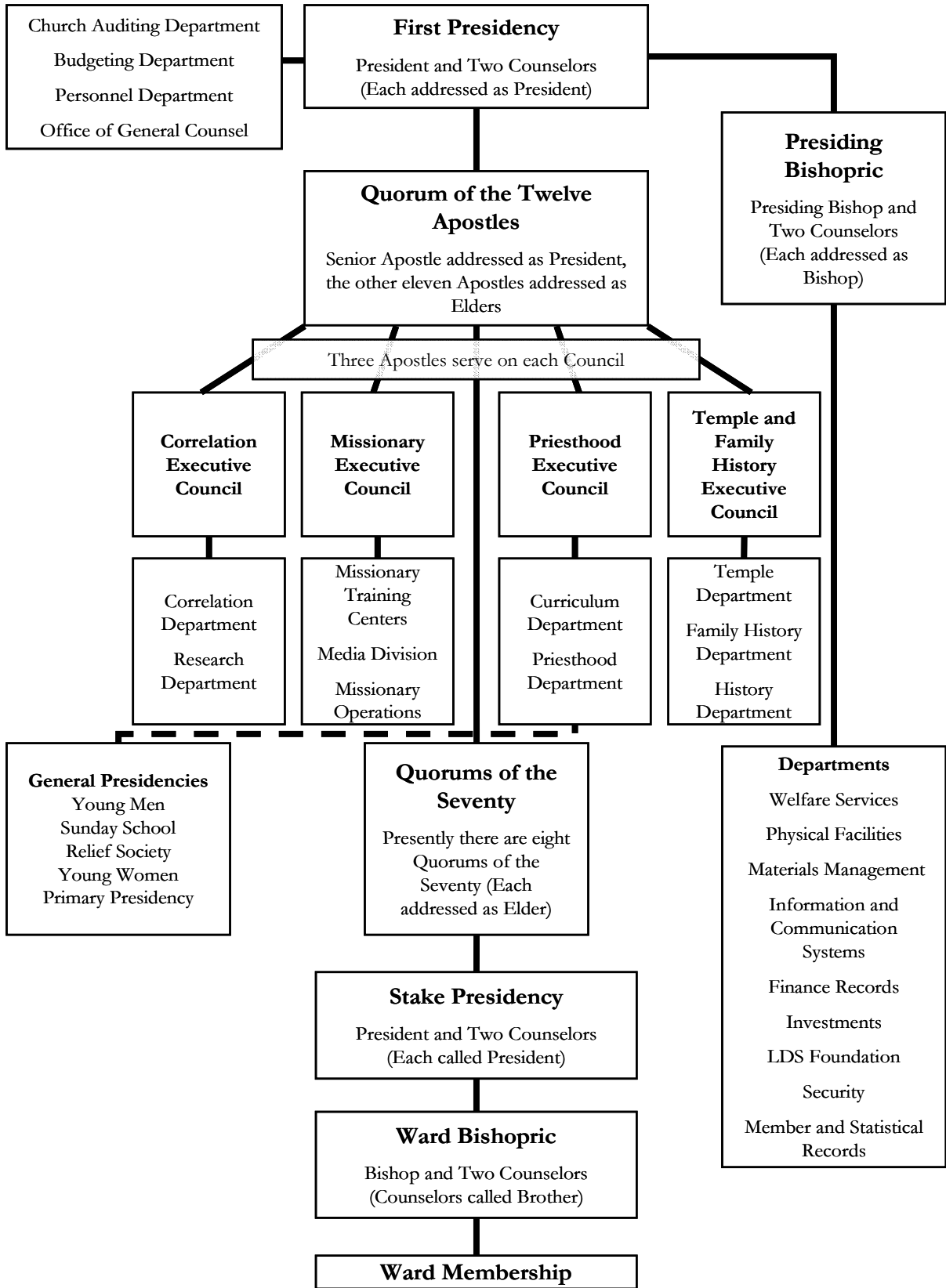
Figure 3.1 An outline of the Latter-day Saint Church ecclesiastical and temporal lines of authority (after Perry *et al.* 1992; S. Olsen 2006).

The Priesthood Executive Council directs the Priesthood and the Curriculum Departments of the Church. The Priesthood Department oversees the activities of the Melchizedek Priesthood and Church auxiliaries. These Church auxiliaries have Church-wide responsibilities for various aspects of Church governance. These include the Presidencies of the Young Men (12-18 years of age), Sunday School, Relief Society (an organization for women ages 18 and up), Young Women (12-18 years of age), and Primary (for children aged 18 months to 12 years of age). The last three presidencies are traditionally staffed by women and are the only positions within the Church where women have Church-wide authority within their realms of responsibility. The Curriculum Department is responsible for the production of the audio, video and printed teaching materials for the Church.

Below the Council of the Twelve are the First and Second Quorums of the Seventy. Members in these Quorums of the Seventy serve under the direction and guidance of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency, and help administer the work of the Church, whether it is as emissaries of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the First Presidency or serving in executive positions within various Church departments. In addition to these first two Quorums of the Seventy who mainly work in the Church Office Building in Salt Lake City, there are six additional Quorums of the Seventy. The members of these six Quorums are not considered General Authorities, as they reside in the geographic regions over which they have authority. For example, members of the Sixth Quorum of the Seventy live and serve within the United States and Canada, while the Fourth Quorum of the Seventy serves in Central and South America. Members in these Quorums serve as "Area Authorities", and are responsible for training local and regional Church leaders and Mission Presidencies (responsible for missionary work within a particular geographic region) in their respective areas (Madsen 2003: 62). The First and Second Quorums of

the Seventy, along with the other six Quorums of the Seventy, are under the direction of the Presidency of the Seventy, which is composed of seven presidents.

Continuing down the ecclesiastical line of authority, the areas for which Area Authorities are responsible are further geographically subdivided based on Church membership into Stakes and Wards. "Stakes" are presided over by Stake Presidencies (a President and two counsellors) who are usually responsible for anywhere between 2000 and 5000 Church members. Stakes are then subdivided into individual congregations called "Wards", which are presided over by a Bishop and two counsellors, which typically have an average membership ranging from between 400-600 Church members; or "Branches" (if the Church membership in an area is under 100). Stake Presidents and Bishops are responsible for the temporal and spiritual welfare of members in their geographical jurisdiction, and individual members in each stake and ward are given temporary "callings" or responsibilities to help build the Church in the area. Unlike Catholic priests or Protestant ministers, Stake Presidents and Bishops are not paid for their Church work.

The second line of authority is the temporal line which is overseen by the Presiding Bishopric. The Presiding Bishopric is responsible for the temporal affairs of the Church, (e.g., buildings, properties and commercial corporations) and oversees a number of different departments, including: Welfare Services, Physical Facilities, Materials Management, Information Systems, Finance Records, Investments, and Security. In addition, the Presiding Bishopric has responsibility for the Latter-day Saint Foundation (LDS Philanthropies; http://www.lds.org/lds foundation) which receives all donations to the Church outside of tithing[9] and fast offerings.[10]

---

[9] Following the Lord's counsel in Malachi 3:8, 10 and Doctrine and Covenants 119: 3-5, Church members donate ten percent of their income to the Church. This money is then used to support the Church's various goals and programs.

[10] Church members are encouraged to fast for two meals on the first Sunday of every month as a way of increasing spirituality. The money that members save from abstaining from eating those two meals is then donated to the Church to help the poor and needy in the area.

Through these two lines of authority, the First Presidency of the Church receives reports on the progress and workings of the Church. For example, the Missionary Department, the Temple, Family and Church History Department, and the Priesthood Department report to the First Presidency through the ecclesiastical line, while departments, such as the Physical Facilities Department, the Information and Communications Systems Department, and the Member and Statistical Records Department report to the First Presidency through the temporal line by way of the Presiding Bishopric. In addition, there are other departments that report directly to the First Presidency, either for logistical or idiosyncratic reasons. For example, the Budget Office, the Auditing Department, the Personnel Department, and the Office of General Counsel report directly to the First Presidency (Perry *et al.* 1992). In addition, Public Affairs and the Tabernacle Choir report directly to the First Presidency, in part because of Gordon B. Hinckley, the former Church President, and his long-standing interest in both functions (Olsen 2004; cf. Madsen 2003: 64-81).

Complementing these two lines of authority is the corporate aspect of the Church. The ecclesiastical line of authority is organised corporately as the Corporation of the President of the Church. This Corporation is responsible for the financial affairs of the Church that are not officially related to the tithes and offerings given by Church members, and handles the affairs of the various secular business ventures, real estate holdings, and companies that the Church owns, including the Bonneville International Corporation (media company), *Deseret News* (newspaper), Property Reserve, Inc. (the real estate investment arm of the Church), and Zion's Securities Corporation, a real estate management company affiliated with the Church responsible for Church property holdings in the downtown area of Salt Lake City. The Corporation of the Presiding Bishop, on the other hand, acts as a holding company for the Church's ecclesiastical properties, such as Church buildings and temples, as well as properties related to the Church's vast welfare

program. In addition, because of the Church's complex administrative structure and all of the various responsibilities and mandates of each department and ecclesiastical body, a large bureaucracy of "civil servant-like workers" are employed who do the daily micro-managing of ensuring that the Church runs smoothly and properly as directed by the ecclesiastical and temporal lines of authority (Madsen 2003: 100).

LATTER-DAY SAINT PERSPECTIVES ON TOURISM

As noted earlier, Latter-day Saint leaders have not outlined a systematic "theology of tourism" (Cohen 1998) that highlights the way in which tourism is viewed within the context of core Latter-day Saint beliefs.[11] Part of this stems from the way in which theology works in the Latter-day Saint Church. The Church "possesses an extensive theology, or perhaps it would be better to say various theologies, produced by leading figures reflecting on their religious beliefs" (Davies 2000: 11).   However, gaining and understanding divine truth in the Latter-day Saint tradition has historically been more experiential in nature, where the knowledge of truth or reality is based on spiritual experiences and revelations from God rather than on logical deductions and formal reasoned statements of truth (S. Olsen 2000a, 2000b, 2002). In Latter-day Saint belief, God is the source of all truth which is dispensed to humanity "line upon line, precept upon precept" (Isaiah 28:10, 13; see 2 Nephi 28:30, *The Book of Mormon*) through revelation. Many of the core beliefs of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints came about through the experiences of early Church leaders and the revelations that Joseph Smith claimed to have received from God rather

---

[11] Some parts of this section were previously published by the author as a sole-authored chapter entitled "Tourism and Informal Pilgrimage among the Latter-day Saints" in Timothy and Olsen (2006a). Those sections are used here with permission from Andrew Mould, Commissioning Editor for Routledge (personal e-mail communication from Zoe Kruze, Editorial Assistant, Routledge, February 22, 2006). See Appendix A.

than from dogmatic theology which privileges propositional truth over truth gained by sensory

and experiential means (Midgley 1992).[12] This has led Midgley (1992: 1475) to note that

> Latter-day Saints…have texts that describe theophanies and special revelations and contain inspired teachings, along with several accounts of God's establishing his covenant people, usually coupled with accounts of a dialectic of obedience and disobedience that followed such events. These accounts may be said to contain "theology", but not in the sense that their meaning is discovered by human ingenuity instead of disclosed through the proclaimed word and will of God.

However, there have been attempts by some individual Church leaders to develop a

systematic and topical exploration of Latter-day Saint beliefs in order to present them in a rational

and orderly manner in order to distinguish Latter-day Saint beliefs from other Christian faiths (e.g.,

Talmage 1968; McConkie 1966). However, the only accepted propositional outlines of Latter-day

Saint doctrine comes from Joseph Smith Jr., who in 1842 wrote the "Thirteen Articles of Faith"

which outlined the core beliefs of Mormonism, and *True to the Faith*, which functions as a

dictionary of Latter-day Saint beliefs published by the Church (Intellectual Reserve 2004). At the

same time, because the experiential nature of theological thought dominates theological

development in the Latter-day Saint Church, there has been little in the way of reasoning,

explaining or critiquing the relationship between tourism as it relates to the Church's core mission

in a systematic manner—unlike the Roman Catholic Church which has developed an acute

understanding of how tourism fits within their religious goals and worldviews (Chapter 2).

This comes in part because the Latter-day Saint Church is not in the business of tourism

but rather the business of "saving of souls" (Olsen 2004).[13] The religious teachings that are

developed and promulgated by Church leaders, according to Millett (2003: 19), tend to have "a

---

[12] For example, Joseph Smith's claim to having seen God the Father and Jesus Christ led to the Latter-day Saint rejection of the Nicene Creed and to the belief in God the Father and Jesus Christ are separate.

[13] While the term "soul" is usually used to describe a person, it has a very precise definition in Latter-day Saint terminology. The "soul" refers to both the body and the spirit of a person unified together (Doctrine and Covenants 88:15-16) (cf. Williams 1992).

rather narrow focus, range, and direction", in that these teachings focus specifically on "central and saving doctrines" of the Church. To Latter-day Saints, the core of their faith is not "a confession to a creed but a personal witness that Jesus of Nazareth is the Christ" (Midgley 1992: 1475). From a doctrinal perspective, the "core doctrine" of the Latter-day Saint faith is the "doctrine of Christ"; that it is only through the atonement of Jesus Christ that all humankind can be saved. As Joseph Smith (Smith 1976: 121) once taught, "The fundamental principles of our religion are the testimony of the Apostles and Prophets, concerning Jesus Christ, that He died, was buried, and rose on the third day, and ascended unto heaven; and all other things which pertain to our religion are only appendages to it".

This "doctrine of Christ", then, is at the heart of God's work and glory, which is to "bring to pass the immortality and eternal life of man [*sic*]" (Moses 1:39, *The Pearl of Great Price*), and provides the foundation upon which all other Church teachings rest (Bradford and Dahl 1992). As such, the focus of the Church is on bringing individuals unto Christ, which comes through acknowledging Christ as their Lord and Saviour; having faith on his name; being baptised by immersion for the remission of sins; receiving the gift of the Holy Ghost (confirmation) by the laying on of hands by persons in authority (i.e., priesthood); and striving to remain faithful to the commandments of God until the end of their lives (Bradford and Dahl 1992: 394; Millett and Reynolds 1998).

I think that another reason for the lack of official clarity on tourism stems from the Latter-day Saint belief that Church members are to work some issues out for themselves rather than depend solely on direction and proclamations by Church leadership. As it states in *Doctrine and Covenants* 58:26–27:

> For behold, it is not meet that I should command in all things; for he that is compelled in all things, the same is a slothful and not a wise servant; wherefore he receiveth no reward.

> Verily I say, men should be anxiously engaged in a good cause, and do many things
> of their own free will, and bring to pass much righteousness.

According to this revelation, Latter-day Saints believe, it is unnecessary for the Church to provide a position on every social issue or tell adherents how to respond to every social situation. Church leaders have on occasion formally commented on particular social and moral issues, although the rationale for which social and moral issues to elucidate not clear. However, Church leaders' lack of a formal comment on tourism suggests that tourism does not play a central role in the saving of souls and, therefore, does not warrant commentary.

While tangential to the "core doctrine" of the Church, tourism, as noted earlier, does play an important role in helping Church leaders accomplish its "three-fold mission" (Kimball 1981) Therefore, in the following section I discuss the ways in which tourism is used by Church leaders to fulfill the Church's "three-fold mission" and to achieve broader religious goals and aspirations (Cohen 1998: 4).

Proclaiming the Gospel

As a part of making salvation readily available to all of humanity, Latter-day Saints believe that God has revealed through his prophets the "Plan of Salvation". This "Plan" provides knowledge about many of the questions about life, including where did we come from? what is the meaning of life, or more specifically, what is the meaning of *my* life? (Olsen and Guelke 2004; Clark 1991) and what happens after we die? Walsh (2001) contends that understanding that humanity was not created by happenstance, but that there is a purpose to life as outlined through the Plan of Salvation makes it easier for individuals to find meaning in their own lives.

Latter-day Saints believe that all humans lived with God as spirit children prior to coming to this earth (Jeremiah 1:5; Ephesians 1:4; Hebrews 12:9). During this pre-mortal existence, God presented the Plan of Salvation which would allow his spirit children to progress to become more

like him. This plan included sending God's spirit children to earth, where they would both receive

a physical body and be placed in an environment in which, through the exercise of agency, they

would be able to demonstrate their willingness to keep God's commandments. Through exercising

agency in a righteous manner, people could one day return to God's presence and attain godhood

for themselves (Lund 1992; Tobler and Ellsworth 1992). Since no one would remember their pre-

mortal life, the Plan of Salvation would be made known to humanity through God's prophets,

who would dispense knowledge of the Plan to others. However, knowing that many people would

choose to disobey God's commandments and estrange themselves from him, a plan of redemption

was created—without which the purpose of coming to earth would have been pointless—with

Jesus Christ serving as the redeemer of humankind, through which people could repent and turn

back to God (Lund 1992).

Latter-day Saints therefore feel a responsibility to save souls by making this Plan known to

everyone who will listen (Millett and Reynolds 1998: 49). This responsibility comes from the belief

that The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints contains the "fullness" of the gospel (Millett

and Reynolds 1998: 49), having both a clear knowledge of the Plan of Salvation through Joseph

Smith and his prophet successors and the priesthood authority to perform the ordinances or

rituals necessary for salvation. Church members thus take seriously the commission of Christ who

instructed his followers anciently to "teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father,

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have

commanded you" (Matthew 28:19-20) so that people can have an opportunity to "come unto

Christ" and receive the ordinances necessary for salvation. While missionary work is a

responsibility of all members of the Church, there is an active proselytizing program in place

where young men and young women, at the ages of 19 and 21 respectively, are encouraged to

serve volunteer "full-time" missions. These missions are between eighteen months and two years

in length, and missionaries are assigned to proselytize in a specified geographic area called a "mission". Currently there are 53,000 missionaries serving in 344 missions around the world (www.lds.org).

While Church leaders have long focused on active proselytization as a means of spreading the message of the Church to others, tourism has become a vehicle through which this message can be disseminated. In particular, institutionalised hospitality towards non-Mormon visitors has long played a key role in fulfilling the Church's mission of proclaiming the gospel. In addition to hospitality being a religious responsibility in the Old and New Testaments (e.g. Romans 12:13; Titus 1:8; 1 Peter 1:9), specific modern revelations relating to hospitality have been given. For example, in 1841 a revelation was given to certain members of the Church wherein they were instructed to build a boarding house or hotel where visitors to Nauvoo, Illinois who were interested in learning more about the Church could rest:

> Let my servant[s] . . . build a house unto my name, such a one as my servant Joseph shall show unto them, upon the place which he shall show unto them also.
>
> And it shall be for a house for boarding, a house that strangers may come from afar to lodge therein; therefore let it be a good house, worthy of all acceptation, that the weary traveler may find health and safety while he shall contemplate the word of the Lord; and the corner-stone I have appointed for Zion (Doctrine and Covenants 123:22-23).

To many Latter-day Saints, "this [r]evelation proves that the Lord wanted the tourists of the world to visit and become acquainted with the Saints. [They] were not to be surrounded by a wall of isolation. They had nothing to hide from the world" (Smith and Sjodhal 1978: 772-773). In accordance with this scripture, a hotel called the Nauvoo House was built at a cost of $10,000, but was left unfinished when the Church moved its headquarters to Salt Lake City. However, this same reasoning led the Church to build the Hotel Utah in downtown Salt Lake City in the early twentieth century (Arrington and Swinton 1986; Olsen 2004).

Hospitality as a way of spreading the gospel message was also practiced in Salt Lake City. The Latter-day Saints viewed their trek west as being analogous to the great Exodus of the Children of Israel from bondage in Egypt. Brigham Young and many of the Church leaders saw the move to the Great Salt Lake Basin as fulfilling Isaiah's prophecy:

> And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

> And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem (Isaiah 2:2–3).

Petersen (1981: 56) suggests that tourists are one of the groups of people from "all nations" who come to Salt Lake City seeking the Lord's house (temple) established "in the tops of the mountains". This implies that the Latter-day Saints have a responsibility to be hospitable and courteous to visitors who, according to this scripture, will actively come to Salt Lake City to see the "house of God," as well as prepare to receive those who seek to learn the "word of the Lord" through visiting the Lord's house. Thus, when curious visitors came to Salt Lake City soon after the Church was established in Salt Lake City, Church leaders were hospitable and attempted to educate tourists, most of whom came with strong views and prejudices against the Mormons, on the beliefs and culture of the Church and its members (Jackson 1988). By being hospitable and educating those who came to the "tops of the mountains", Church leaders in effect were fulfilling the commandment given by God in *Doctrine and Covenants* 1:30 (italics added), where Church leaders and members were responsible to take the Church from a condition of being unknown to a well known entity in the world:

> And also those to whom these commandments were given, might have power to lay the foundation of this church, and to bring it forth *out of obscurity* and out of darkness, the only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth, with which I, the Lord, am well pleased.

At the same time, Church leaders also use tourism to educate the general public about the Church. Throughout its history, the Latter-day Saint Church has weathered abuses from various media sources that perpetuated stereotypes and falsehoods by focusing on the unique Latter-day Saint beliefs that differed from other Christian groups and depicted Mormons as a group to be admired because of their moral and social convictions but not "truly belong[ing] in mainstream society" or mainstream Christianity (Chen and Yorgason 1999: 112; see Chen 2003). While public relations efforts have helped to improve the image of Mormonism over time (Madsen 2003), the fact that non-Mormons come to Salt Lake City and dozens of other Latter-day Saint heritage sites and interpretive centres throughout the United States provides fertile ground for sharing its religious message and history to non-Mormon visitors (Bremer 2001b; Olsen and Timothy 2002). The expectation is that visitors who come to these religious heritage sites will leave with at least a more correct understanding of the tenets of Mormonism, if not a desire to learn more about these tenets by inviting Latter-day Saint missionaries to their homes (see Chapter 4).

The Church owns and operates over thirty-five religious heritage sites and nineteen interpretive centres, which stretch from Vermont to California. Interestingly, these sites and interpretive centres are operated by the Missionary Department of the Church, which explains the missionary-focused agenda at many of these sites (Madsen 2003). At some historical sites the proselytizing is overt, in that service missionaries bear their "testimony" or "witness" to visitors as they take tours (Olsen and Timothy 2002; Madsen 2003), while at Temple Square in Salt Lake City the proselytizing is more passive, in that people are educated about the history and beliefs of Mormonism and then invited to have Latter-day Saint missionaries visit them in their homes to learn more about the Church without overt witnessing taking place (see Chapter 4). The fact that the Missionary Department is responsible for the management and interpretation of these religious

heritage centres demonstrates the importance of these sites as a part of fulfilling the mission of proclaiming the gospel.

Perfecting the Saints

According to Charney (1992: 758-759), while people have different motives for becoming new members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, they all share three common experiences when they join. First, people interested in the Church meet with the Church's full-time missionaries and go through a series of lessons about the basic beliefs of the Church. Second, prospective members must demonstrate in a pre-baptism interview that they are making an informed decision to be baptised of their own free will. Third, every convert receives the ordinances of baptism and confirmation by authorised representatives of the Church. However, the conversion process "implies not merely mental acceptance of Jesus and his teaching but also a motivating faith in him and his gospel—a faith which works a transformation, an actual change in one's understanding of life's meaning and in his [*sic*] allegiance to God—in interest, in thought, and in conduct" (Romney 1963: 1065; quoted in Smith 1992: 321). The transformation part of the conversion process occurs through the gaining of a "testimony", which is "the sure knowledge, received by revelation from the Holy Ghost, of the divinity of the great latter-day work" (McConkie 1966: 787). Prospective converts are invited to pray to receive a spiritual witness through the Holy Ghost of the truthfulness of the teachings of the Church (Smith 1992), which witness, according to McConkie (1966: 787) revolves around three great truths:

- That Jesus Christ is the Son of God and the Saviour of the world;

- That Joseph Smith is the Prophet of God through whom the gospel was restored in this dispensation; and

- That The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is "the only true and living church upon the face of the whole earth" (Doctrine and Covenants 1:30).

Receiving a spiritual witness of these truths through the Holy Ghost, then, is "the dominant element in the Latter-day Saint understanding of conversion" (Smith 1992: 321). Conversion in the Latter-day Saint Church, therefore, is more of an experiential process rather than an analytical one.

Conversion to the Church is not "precipitous" (Smith 1992), however, as spiritual transformation through conversion is an ongoing process which continues throughout one's life as one learns more about the doctrines of the Church and conforms their lives to the teachings of Christ. As a part of the baptismal process individuals covenant to serve God and keep his commandments (see Mosiah 18:10, *The Book of Mormon*)—in other words, to strive for holiness. Davies (2003: 50) defines holiness as "the value attributed to a focal source of identity that furnishes the moral meaning of life for members of a social group in a process that transcends ordinary levels of experience". While Latter-day Saints believe that they are saved through the grace of Christ's atonement, Latter-day Saint understandings of soteriology (i.e., the doctrine of salvation through Jesus Christ) suggest that the atonement "becomes operative in the life of an individual only on conditions of personal righteousness" (McConkie 1966: 408). While "Latter-day Saints readily acknowledge that though our efforts to be righteous are necessary, they will never be sufficient to save us" (Millett and Reynolds 1998: 37), the importance of works leads Church members to strive to emulate the behaviour and develop the characteristics of Christ.

Latter-day Saints, therefore, feel strongly that their belief in Jesus Christ should translate into the way they live their lives (Millett and Reynolds 1998: 45). Davies (2003: 66) argues that this preoccupation with holiness through works serves as a foundation through which Latter-day Saint identity is created and maintained. In particular, efforts at holiness create a Latter-day Saint lifestyle and an identity that is related directly to aspects of embodiment, such as the way in which Latter-day Saints dress (e.g., modestly), the activities they choose to engage in, the language they use, and the way in which they treat others. As such, devoted Church members believe in being

"honest, virtuous, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men" (Articles of Faith 1:13, *The Pearl of Great Price*). In doing so, Church members believe that they strengthen their testimonies of the restored gospel and increase their desire to be holy.

Recreation is one of the ways in which Church members attempt to strengthen their faith. Church leaders have long encouraged Church members to participate in wholesome recreational activities as a way to relax from one's labours (Kimball 2003). McConkie (1966: 622) notes that recreation plays a vital role in the gospel of salvation, as wholesome and proper recreation can be physically and spiritually edifying after one's duties have been fulfilled. Travelling with family members to religious heritage sites where important historical Church events took place has become an important recreational activity to many Church members. However, travel to religious heritage sites by Latter-day Saint adherents, as noted earlier, does not constitute a "pilgrimage" in the traditional sense. Rather, travel by Church members tends to fit Hudman and Jackson's (1992: 109) idea of "tourism pilgrimage", which "describe[s] tourism that combines travel for recreation or pleasure with religious beliefs, whether or not church doctrines promote pilgrimage." Many Church members, then, combine other recreational and tourism activities with visiting Church heritage sites. As well, Church members also visit locations in Central America related to *The Book of Mormon*, as well as sites related to the life of Christ in the Holy Land (Hudman and Jackson 1992; D. Olsen 2000, 2006b).

Increasing interest by Church members to travel to Church heritage sites stems in part from Latter-day Saint perspectives on the role of history in the restoration of the Church. The maintenance of these religious heritage sites by the Latter-day Saint Church, S. Olsen (2000a) argues, would occur even if no one came to visit them, as they serve as reminders of God's hand in guiding the Church to its present state. Indeed, the Plan of Salvation is seen as evidence of "the living God-who-acts-in-history" (Tobler and Ellsworth 1992: 596). Therefore, Latter-day Saints

believe in a form of "salvation history" (Davies 2000: 13); that divine intervention has played an important role in the restoration and establishment of the Church. As Tobler and Ellsworth (1992: 596) note,

> The foundations of the Church are grounded in a series of historic events, without which the Restoration would be incomprehensible and impotent. Joseph Smith recorded many visions and he received the gold plates from the angel Moroni, from which he translated the Book of Mormon. There followed many revelations to Joseph Smith and to the prophets who have succeeded him, revealing doctrines and applying eternal principles to existing historical and individual situations. That living prophets receive revelation from God, who is vitally interested in human needs in changing conditions, underscores the [Latter-day Saint] view of God's continuing place in history.

Consequently, part of the Latter-day Saint conversion process includes a belief in the reality of certain key authentic historic events within the restoration of the Church. As Davies (2000: 12-13) observes, "there are many Mormons for whom the primal story of the Restoration does constitute the truth: a basic epistemology that furnishes a template for history and for the stories of family life." In essence, the early events of the restoration of the Church play a critical role in the constitution of Latter-day Saint theology, with Latter-day Saint historians bearing the burden of producing "theological history", which in other religious faiths is a task left to full-time theologians (Davies 2000: 13).

Since the process of conversion and gaining a testimony is experiential in nature, coming about through intangible qualitative, spiritual or emotional experiences, "visiting Mormon historical sites, museums [including art exhibits] and key buildings is one way in which Mormons are able to participate actively in their theology and cosmology" (Mitchell 2001: 9). As such, many Latter-day Saints desire to visit the places where many key historical restoration events took place to "engage with the material remnants and reminders of [their religious] history through embodied memories of their engagement with the objects, buildings and narratives of their theology" (Mitchell 2001: 9). In doing so, Church members use these religious heritage sites to construct and

reinforce their identity as members of the Church (Lankford *et al.* 2005) and thereby the overall social and religious cohesion in the Church. In essence, in converting to Mormonism a person essentially adopts a new religious identity complete with a religious history that can be geographically and materially located (Hovanessian 1992: 200; in Chivallon 2001: 461).

In many cases, because of the Church's strong emphasis on the importance of family relationships, many Mormons travel with immediate or extended family groups to Church religious heritage sites. Family trips, as Lee (2001: 231) suggests, "help develop a sense of attachment to a destination and support the notion that childhood travel with family members positively influences an individual's attachment to a destination." In traveling with family members to the Church's religious heritage sites, Church members not only gain a better appreciation for their faith and strengthen their testimonies, but also "assure the passage of a given content of beliefs from one generation to another" (Hervieu-Léger 1999: 89-90) through grounding faith in sites of historical and religious significance.

Church leaders therefore see tourism to these sites as an identity-building exercise for members of their faith. Church leaders have long used Church history to build a cohesive Mormon identity within an increasing geographically and ethnically diverse membership through an increased emphasis on the Church's pioneer and spiritual history. With over half of its members living outside of North America (Avant 2004), Church leaders have become concerned about Church membership being less cohesive geographically. Since the 1960s, there has been a renewed emphasis on claims to modern revelation, genealogy and temple work, family renewal, missionary work and religious education which, according to Mauss (1994: 141), was based on "a deeply felt, but rarely articulated, need to recover an eroded sense of Mormon identity" that had been historically and geographically based in the Utah experience. As Madsen (2003: 130, italics in original) argues, "[Latter-day Saint] leadership is increasingly emphasising the past, and all Church

members are taught not only to revere it, but also to embrace this heritage as their own. New converts who enter the fold—whether they are American, German, Brazilian, or Korean—*inherit* a culturally constructed Mormon heritage [and geography] created through top-down-directed efforts." Official Church publications (such as Church-approved magazines and Sunday School manuals) and public discourses emphasise the shared religious roots of Church members (Madsen 2003). Church members are also encouraged to attend Church-sponsored special celebrations of important foundational events, such as Pioneer Day, which celebrates the entrance of Brigham Young and the Saints into the Salt Lake Valley, and Church-sponsored pageants such as the Hill Cumorah pageant in New York, held at the site where Joseph Smith claimed to be given gold plates from which he translated *The Book of Mormon* (Olsen 1992; cf. Bitton 1994). Thus tourism serves a pastoral function for Church leaders, using their religious heritage sites to recover and maintain Latter-day Saint identity.

While Church authorities have not explicitly stated that Church members should visit the religious heritage sites that the Church maintains, the Church does encourage visits to these sites in a number of ways. The Church's main website (www.lds.org) has a special section entitled "Places to Visit," which highlights the historic importance of a variety of Church historic sites, pageants, and visitors' centres. Interactive maps allow users to highlight certain key areas of the United States and specific monuments or sites. As well, newer versions of Latter-day Saint scriptures contain a series of maps that show the location of key heritage sites, in part acting as tourist maps for those who wish to visit these sites as well as sanctifying these sites as sacred spaces (Madsen 2003). The Church-sanctioned pageants, events, website, scriptural maps, and Church heritage sites encourage informal pilgrimage-like travel by believers who travel to these events and sites in an effort to strengthen faith.

Latter-day Saint views of salvation go beyond accepting the gospel of Jesus Christ, being baptized and receiving the Holy Ghost through the proper priesthood authority, and enduring to the end. To Latter-day Saints, there is no monolithic state called heaven (Dahl 1992: 367), for "if God rewarded every one according to the deeds done in the body the term 'Heaven' as intended for the Saints' eternal home, must include more kingdoms than one" (Smith 1976: 10-11). Therefore, in Latter-day Saint thought there are various levels of salvation or heaven (Burton 1992; Dahl 1992). The rationale for this thinking stems in part from both Christ's reference to his father's kingdom having "many mansions" (John 14:2) and the writings of the apostle Paul about three bodies, these being compared to the sun, the moon, and the stars in terms of glory or brilliance (1 Corinthians 15: 40-41). Latter-day Saints believe that revelations given to Joseph Smith (see Doctrine and Covenants 76, 88, 131, 132, 137, 138) provide additional information about these three glories, or "kingdoms" as they are referred to by Latter-day Saints, to which everyone will be assigned depending on their levels of acceptance of Christ's gospel and reception of the saving ordinances while on earth.

The highest degree of glory is the celestial glory or celestial kingdom, which will be the eternal home for those who have accepted Christ's gospel, been baptized, received the Holy Ghost, and endured in righteousness while on earth (Doctrine and Covenants 76:62). To achieve the highest level of this kingdom men and women must both receive the "endowment" (discussed below) and be "sealed" together in marriage for eternity (Packer 1982: 150-151; Ludlow 1992: 348-349). Within this kingdom there are different "privileges and powers" (Dahl 1992: 368). Latter-day Saints believe that in attaining this highest glory, or "exaltation", they can become Gods and have an "increase" or bear spirit children in the eternities (Dahl 1992). The second glory, the "terrestrial" glory (1 Corinthians 15:40), is a place for those who either received the testimony of

Jesus but were not sufficiently obedient to God's commandments (Doctrine and Covenants 76:71-80), or those who "died without the law" but who lived honourable lives while on earth (Doctrine and Covenants 45:54). The "telestial kingdom" is reserved for those who rejected Christ's gospel and did not live honourable lives (Doctrine and Covenants 76:103).

While Latter-day Saint missionary efforts focus on sharing the Plan of Salvation to people in the present, what happens to people who do not get an opportunity to hear the Plan of Salvation during their time on earth and do not receive the saving ordinances? One of the distinctive doctrines of the Latter-day Saint Church is that when men and women die, their spirits go to a spirit world, "a time between death and the resurrection when men and women can continue their progression and further learn principles of perfection before they are brought to the final judgment" (Lund 1992: 1090-1091). In essence, this spirit world is an extension of mortal life (Bowen 1992: 1408). Joseph Smith (1976: 353) taught that those in the spirit world "converse together the same as we do on the earth", and McConkie (1966: 762) adds that "life and work and activity all continue in the spirit world. Men [*sic*] have the same talents and intelligence there which they had in this life. They possess the same attitudes, inclinations, and feelings there which they had in this life".

In the spirit world "every man, woman, and child who has ever lived or whoever will live on this earth will have full opportunity, if not in this life then in the next, to embrace or reject the gospel in its purity and fullness" (Fugal 1992: 1257). This is made possible, according to Latter-day Saint belief, from a visit Jesus Christ made to this spirit world which occurred during the time between his death and resurrection. During this visit, he inaugurated the preaching of the gospel to those who had not had the opportunity to hear it while living (1 Peter 3:19-20; Doctrine and Covenants 138:11-17) (see Bowen 1992; Lund 1992). He organised the faithful spirits who had

already accepted Christ's gospel in mortal life to preach the gospel to those who had not had a chance to receive it. From that time until the present, Christ's gospel has been

> …preached to those who [have] died in their sins, without a knowledge of the truth, or in transgression, having rejected the prophets.

> These [are] taught faith in God, repentance from sin, vicarious baptism for the remission of sins, the gift of the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands,

> And all other principles of the gospel that [are] necessary for them to know in order to qualify themselves that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit (Doctrine and Covenants 138:32-34).

This doctrine of salvation for the dead, according to Joseph Smith, demonstrates the great justice and divine compassion of God. "One dies and is buried having never heard the gospel of reconciliation; to the other the message of salvation is sent, he hears and embraces it and is made the heir of eternal life. Shall the one become the partaker of glory and the other be consigned to hopeless perdition?…Such an idea is worse than atheism" (Smith 1976: 192).

While the gospel of Jesus Christ might be preached to spirits in the spirit world, at the same time these spirits need to have the saving ordinances performed on their behalf, as these are earthly ordinances that must be performed while living on earth. Most of the sacred ordinances pertaining to the salvation of both the living and the dead are performed in Latter-day Saint temples (Burton 1992). Temples are deemed the most sacred spaces in the Church (Talmage 1968; Packer 1982; Jackson and Henrie 1983), and only Church members who meet standards of personal worthiness and Christ-like living are allowed to enter (Tucker 1992: 1446). Temples differ from regular meeting houses in that they are reserved for initiatory-type activities that focus on making sacred covenants with God rather than daily or weekly activities and Sabbath Day worship. While meeting houses are the most dominant physical symbol of an established Mormon presence in an area (Timothy 1992), the building of a temple changes the status of a city or area in the eyes of Latter-day Saint members and establishes an ideological and physical centre of the surrounding

Mormon community (Hudman and Jackson 1992; Timothy 1992; Parry 1994). Currently one hundred and thirty four temples are in operation, under construction or whose construction has been announced (www.lds.org).

Within each temple there are rooms for different kinds of ordinances. A large baptismal font on the backs of scriptures of twelve oxen (see 1 Kings 7:25) is used to perform baptisms for the dead. This practice stems from 1 Corinthians 15:29, where the apostle Paul, in arguing for a future resurrection, wrote "Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?" Church members, acting as agents or proxy, are baptised for people who have died. Another ordinance is the "endowment", which is a "ritual drama" where Church members are instructed "in theory, in principle, and in doctrine" (Doctrine and Covenants 97:14) pertaining to the Plan of Salvation, which Widtsoe (1986: 5) argues "makes temple worship one of the most effective methods of refreshing the memory concerning the entire structure of the gospel". The endowment also includes Church members entering into a number of covenants, which include the "covenant and promise to observe the law of strict virtue and chastity, to be charitable, benevolent, tolerant and pure; to devote both talent and material means to the spread of truth and the uplifting of the [human] race; to maintain devotion to the cause of truth; and to seek in every way to contribute to the great preparation that the earth may be made ready to receive…Jesus Christ" (Talmage 1968: 84). An additional ordinance performed in Latter-day Saint temples is the sealing ordinance, where husbands and wives and their children are sealed to each other in eternal family units (Hyer 1992: 1289). Referred to as eternal or celestial marriage, this ordinance is seen as the culminating ordinance of the priesthood and allows families to remain together for the eternities and not just "until death do you part". Even though these ordinances are done on behalf of those who are deceased, those who have been served by proxy have the agency to either accept or reject those ordinances (Burton 1992: 96).

Once Church members perform the endowment and the marriage sealing for themselves, many return to temples often to perform these ordinances for the dead. In many ways the doctrine of salvation of the dead kindles a motivation in Latter-day Saints to search out their ancestral family and perform these saving ordinances on their behalf (Findlayson 1992; Otterstrom 2008). This motivation is sometimes referred to as the "spirit of Elijah" by Church members, in reference to the prophecy in the Old Testament where in the last days the prophet Elijah "will turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers" (Malachi 4:5-6). To Latter-day Saints, doing genealogy is a commandment. As Oaks (1989: 6) points out, "[Latter-day Saints] are not hobbyists in genealogy work. We do family history work in order to provide the ordinances of salvation for the living and the dead". Latter-day Saints are also baptised for those who are not immediately related to them through the "name extraction program" (Burton 1992). This program involves recording the names, birth dates and birth places of deceased peoples from original parish and vital records around the world (Mehr 1992) which the Church publishes in their International Genealogical Index (IGI). The IGI, currently listing over 600 million names from the United States, Canada, the British Isles, Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa (www.familysearch.org), helps Church members to identify extended family members and then submit their names to temples to have their saving ordinances done for them.

The Church also operates the Family History Library Building in Salt Lake City, the largest genealogical library in the world. The record collection in the Family History Library includes "over 2.4 million rolls of microfilmed genealogical records; 742,000 microfiche; 310,000 books, serials, and other formats; 4,500 periodicals; [and] 700 electronic resources" (www.familysearch. org). Over 1,900 people a day visit the Church's Family History Library Building (www.familysearch.org), making it the second most visited attraction in Salt Lake City after Temple Square (see Chapter 4). The Church also has over 3,400 family history centres around the

world to facilitate genealogical work for those who do not have the time or means to travel to Salt Lake City (www.familysearch.org).

In some ways, this emphasis on finding deceased ancestors and performing the saving ordinances for them in temples expands concerns for salvation from a personal level to a group level. Through the sealing power of the priesthood, past, present, and future loved ones can be bonded together for time and eternity. As such, Church members are encouraged by the Church hierarchy to do genealogy work on their deceased ancestors and also travel to temples often to both receive the saving ordinances necessary for exaltation and perform those same ordinances for those who have died (Otterstrom 2008). In many ways this makes travel to temples a semi-obligatory ritual for Latter-day Saint adherents. As a part of this travel to temples, some Church members desire to "collect" (Timothy 1998a) temples, or to visit as many temples as possible in their travels, even though rituals do not vary from temple to temple.

Some tour agencies, especially those based in Utah, Arizona, and other areas where many Latter-day Saints reside, organize temple tours in conjunction with regular tourist activities. For example, some operators combine visits to temples in Central and South America with visits to *Book of Mormon* sites (e.g., www.andersontours.com, www.bookofmormontours.com), or mix European temple visits with cultural events, such as the famous Passion Play in Oberammergau, Germany (Hudman and Jackson 1992; D. Olsen 2006b). Other Latter-day Saint oriented tour companies provide circuits of various temples in the United States that are in close geographic proximity to each other (e.g., www.ldsworldtravel.com, www.lds.travel, www.bountifultravel.com). In recent years, the Church has built temples located in proximity to major Latter-day Saint religious heritage sites, such as Palmyra, Nauvoo and Winter Quarters, where pioneers spent the winter on their trek to Utah, so Church members can combine their travels to these sites with temple worship. In many ways, building temples by religious heritage sites bridges the gap between

the past (religious history), the present (gaining of testimonies through visiting sacred places), and the future (salvation of the dead).

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this chapter was to infer The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' theology of tourism through examining how tourism helps fulfill the "three-fold" mission: proclaiming the gospel, perfecting the Saints, and redeeming the dead (Kimball 1981). While leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church have no official positions on tourism, the ways in which Church leaders use tourism for the purposes of media relations, proselytizing and pastoral care are in essence an implicit expression of their theology or religious views of. Latter-day Saint Church leaders therefore implicitly acknowledge the importance of tourism as a social phenomenon as it relates to publicity for the Church and as an identity-building exercise for Church members.

The next chapter turns to how Latter-day Saint Church leaders' views of tourism are expressed through the production of religious and tourism space at Temple Square in Salt Lake City. I briefly discuss the historical development of tourism at this Temple Square, and then turn to examine the organisational aspects of the management of Temple Square, paying particular attention to how the different tourism-related departments function and are interrelated. I also address the interpretational methods and messages presented to visitors by Latter-day Saint tour guides and examine how they relate to the Church's implicit views of tourism discussed in this chapter. Finally, I address the various internal and external issues that arise at Temple Square due to the overlapping of tourism and religious space at the site.

Chapter 4

"STRANGERS WITHIN THE GATES": TOURISM AND TEMPLE SQUARE

INTRODUCTION

Tourism is big business for Utah. In 2006 over 19.3 million non-resident travelers visited Utah. Their spending contributed to the 5.86 billion dollars that tourism generated for the state's economy that year (Travel Utah 2007). These travelers came partly because the state is blessed with two phenomenal tourism assets: a variety of beautiful outdoor recreational resources and impressive cultural heritage attractions. Utah is home to five national parks, forty-one state parks, and thirteen downhill ski areas, as well as seven national monuments, two national recreation areas and one national historic site.[14] Utah's rich cultural heritage ranges from pioneer trails (including the Mormon and Oregon Trails) and communities, to Aboriginal heritage, to Old West and mining history, and to numerous archaeological sites.

Salt Lake City, because of its relative centrality to many of Utah's national and state parks and downhill ski areas, as well as other national parks within the Intermountain West—notably the Grand Canyon (AZ), Grand Teton (WY), Great Basin (NV), Mesa Verde (CO), and Yellowstone (WY and MT) National Parks—acts as a transportation and accommodation hub for the tourism industry throughout the Intermountain West. Salt Lake City, as noted in Chapter 1, is also the centre of the *Mormon Culture Region* because of the dominance of Mormon culture and its influence on the creation of a distinctive landscape in the surrounding area (Meinig 1965; Francaviglia 1978, 2003; Yorgason 1999, 2003; Toney *et al.* 2003). At the centre of this culture region lies the "Church Campus," the 35 acres of Church-owned property in the heart of the downtown core that includes

---

[14] In 2006, 5.2 million recreation visits were made to Utah's national parks. 4.5 million people visited Utah's state parks, and another 4.7 million recreation visits occurred at Utah's national monuments, recreation areas, and historic sites (Travel Utah 2007).

the Church's main office building, a genealogy centre, a museum, and Temple Square, home to the Salt Lake Temple and two visitors' centres (Figure 4.1).

As the world headquarters for The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City is internationally synonymous with Mormonism and, since the Mormon Exodus of 1846-1847, millions of people have traveled to the Great Salt Lake Valley in part to gaze at and learn more about the peculiarities of the Latter-day Saint faith as well as to visit the Church's genealogy library and hear the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. The Salt Lake Temple, in particular, is an integral part of Salt Lake City's urban landscape, with its unique and dominant architecture and exterior symbols reflecting and symbolising the hierarchy, history, sacredness, collective identity, and dominance of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the city and the state.

From a religious perspective, Latter-day Saints consider the Church Campus, and in particular Temple Square, first and foremost as a sacred site (Jackson and Henrie 1983; McAllister and McAllister 2004). As the *axis mundi* of Mormonism, Temple Square exerts a strong centripetal force among members of the Church (Olsen 2002) because of its central place in the history of the Church and its function as a major centre of worship, ritual and instruction. Many members of the Church who travel to Salt Lake City are keen on visiting Temple Square and its surrounding blocks in order to learn more about their spiritual or religious roots. In particular they want to see the Salt Lake Temple (Jackson and Henrie 1983). While the Salt Lake Temple was not the first Latter-day Saint temple built, it is symbolic of the permanent founding of a homeland for the Latter-day Saint Church in the Salt Lake Valley as well as the faith and devotion of early Church members to God.

However, while Temple Square may represent the *axis mundi* of the world to members of the Latter-day Saint Church, to officials in the private and public sector tourism industries, Temple Square is a bonafide cultural and historical tourist attraction and is marketed as such at local, state, and commercial levels (Jackson 1988; Bishop and Holzaphel 1993). While not originally built as a

Brigham Young Historic Park

Brigham Young Grave Site

Social Hall Heritage Museum

State Street

Church Office Building

Beehive House

Lion House

Church Admin-istration Building

Relief Society Building

Reflecting Pool

Joseph Smith Memorial Building

ZCMI Mall

Temple Annex

Salt Lake Temple

South Visitors Center

Brigham Young Monument

Flagpole

Seagull Monument

Conference Center

North Visitors Center

Tabernacle

Assembly Hall

Crossroads Mall

West Temple

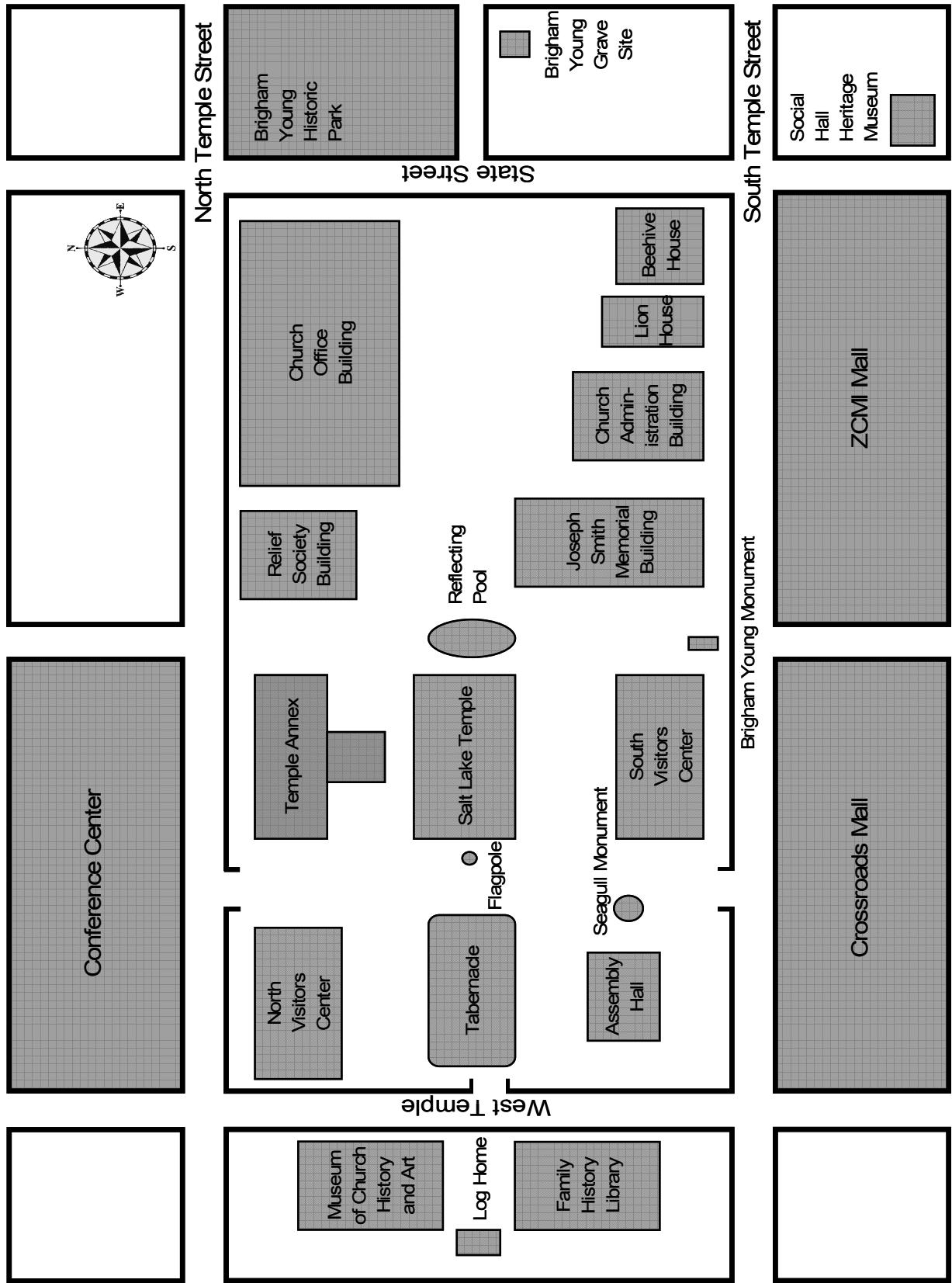Museum of Church History and Art

Log Home

Family History Library

Figure 4.1: A map of Temple Square and surrounding area attractions.

tourist attraction, Temple Square is very important to tourism at both local and state levels, as the site is the most visited tourism resource or attraction in Utah with an estimated four to five million people visiting yearly (McAllister and McAllister 2004).[15] This means that Temple Square attracts more people than downhill skiing (4.2 million in 2006), and almost as many people visit Temple Square as those who visit Utah's national parks combined (5.2 million in 2006) (Travel Utah 2007). Temple Square therefore easily outdraws the other tourist attractions in the city and the state, making Temple Square the "flagship" attraction in Utah.

As noted in Chapter 1, Bremer (2001a) would suggest that the tension between religious and economic interests in Temple Square cause the site to exhibit a "duality of place", where tourism and religious spaces overlap and inherently conflict with each other. Temple Square as a *dual place* raises a number of interesting questions, including:

- Who has the power to represent or define Temple Square?

- How do they do this?

- How is Temple Square's identity bound up in tourism and Latter-day Saint belief?

These questions become even more complex, as Temple Square is identified by many local residents and commuters in many ways, including a place of refuge and tranquility in a busy urban area; a counterproductive heritage tourism icon for those who desire to represent Salt Lake City as a city of the future (Gerlach 2002: 15-17; Shipps 2002); a sacred site of a world religion; and a prime location for anti-Mormon groups who protest against what they see as the un-Christian nature of the Latter-day Saint Church.

---

[15] It is unclear as to how these visitor numbers at Temple Square are derived. According to McAllister and McAllister (2004), guides count the number of people visiting Temple Square during a two week period in the summer, and then Sister Missionaries keep track of the number of people they lead on tours throughout the Square, and visitors that come on bus tours to Temple Square are also added to this total. Church leaders do not publish visitor numbers to Temple Square, in part because of concerns over upsetting or alienating other tourism enterprises in the city that do not capture as many visitors.

In this chapter I focus on how Latter-day Saint views of tourism find a geographical and planning expression at Temple Square. I begin by sketching briefly the history of tourism development at Temple Square in terms of how Latter-day Saint Church leaders have negotiated the use of Temple Square for tourism purposes and developed buildings around Temple Square to serve as tourist attractions in their own right. After examining the contemporary management structure of Temple Square and outlining the responsibilities each department and division has towards visitor services, I then explore how Temple Square has been used by both Church authorities and public and private tourism officials and marketers to represent the Church and Salt Lake City to visitors. I do this by discussing how Temple Square is interpreted to visitors by Latter-day Saint tour guides and by probing internal management issues at Temple Square. I also do this by considering the relationship between the Church and local and state tourism interests. I conclude with a discussion of the politics of sacred space as highlighted by the recent Main Street controversy (Jackson and Bryson 2003) which, as Rugh (2003) argues, was resolved in part because of the popularity of Temple Square as a tourism attraction.

EARLY TOURISM AND TEMPLE SQUARE

Brigham Young and an advanced party of settlers entered the Salt Lake Valley on Saturday, July 24, 1847 and proclaimed the isolated and harsh valley as the place where the Church would set down its new roots. He chose this isolated location over other more fertile areas in order to deter non-Latter-day Saint agrarian settlers from colonising it (Jackson 1978, 1994: 23; see Giles 1948; Hafen 1997). In this way the leaders of the Church would be able to continue Joseph Smith Jr.'s vision of an ideal utopian society and also to carry on the controversial practices of polygamy and baptisms for the dead. Young and other Church leaders envisioned the newly founded city to be the centre of a "Great Basin Kingdom" (Arrington 1958); a separatist theocracy where Church

leaders would manage the spiritual and temporal affairs of the people in the Great Salt Lake City and surrounding areas. This new city would be an expansion on Joseph Smith's initial attempts at city building in Independence, Missouri and Nauvoo, Illinois. This city would have a very distinctive morphology, including a uniform grid system consisting of 10-acre blocks separated by wide roads (132 feet wide) oriented to the cardinal directions with wide streets and irrigation ditches along the sides of the streets. Each block was to consist of eight lots that were each 1.25 acres in size on which families could build a home and grow a small garden, while larger agricultural plots were to be developed outside of the city's limits (Arrington 1958; Schuster 1967; Jackson 1977, 1994, 2003; Parera 2005).

Central to the creation of this utopian city was the construction of a temple. Joseph Smith had taught that the purpose of gathering the people of God was "to build unto the Lord a house whereby he could reveal unto his people the ordinances" of the temple (Cook and Ehat 1980: 212). A few days after entering the valley, Brigham Young marked the place where a temple was to be built. The temple was to be the centre of urban and social activity with the cardinal directions of the city roads originating from this temple block. In addition, the temple was to be the spiritual and religious centre of the "Great Kingdom Basin" as well as the fulfillment of part of Isaiah's (2:2) prophecy where "the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains." In essence, Young was creating a "temple city"; a sacred city, in that the residents of Salt Lake City were convinced that the city, like other holy cities, was constructed according to a divine plan (Werblowsky 1998) or, in this case, designed by an inspired prophet. The block on which the new temple was built, known to the local populace as the "Temple Block," was initially set at 40 acres in size, but was later changed to 10 acres for practical and functional purposes (Morgan 1959; Rasmus 1992). The ground for the temple's construction was broken in 1853, and soon the Temple Block was a "communal centre of mechanical industry" (Cannon 1959: 251) with

many Church members donating money and labour to the construction of the Temple. To facilitate this building, a power plant, sugar factory and a paper mill were built on site (Schmalz 1988; Saunders 1994). While the temple was being constructed, the Endowment House (torn down in 1889) was built to serve as a "temporary temple" in which Church members could perform baptisms for the dead and complete the endowment ceremony, rituals that were normally performed in permanent and functional Latter-day Saint temples (Holzaphel 2000).

During the construction of the Salt Lake Temple (completed in 1893) other buildings were raised on the Temple Block. A number of wooden makeshift outdoor boweries for meetings and bi-yearly general conferences (held in April and October) were built until it became apparent that these boweries would not accommodate fully the number of members who attended the conferences. Therefore, a Tabernacle was built in 1852 which had a capacity of twenty-two hundred people. However, by the time it was built its capacity was already too small, with over twenty-five hundred people in attendance at the April 1852 General Conference. In 1863 the construction of the present-day Tabernacle was announced, which would accommodate six to ten thousand people at a time (Peterson 2002). Completed in 1867, the "new" Tabernacle became an instant tourist attraction because of its domed roof, its superior acoustics, and the now-famous Tabernacle organ (Figure 4.2) (Mitchell 1967; Zobell Jr. 1967; Newell 2000). Other buildings built on the Square included the Assembly Hall (1882) which could hold up to 3,000 persons and served as an overflow space at conference time (Rasmus 1992) (Figure 4.3). A fifteen-foot high security wall with four wooden gates (later replaced with ornamental iron grill work) to allow access to the Square was also built around Temple Square and was completed in 1857 (Cannon 1959).

While Temple Square was being developed as the spiritual capital of the Mormon "Great Kingdom Basin," the isolation Brigham Young sought had begun to disappear. With the Mexican War in 1846-1848, the discovery of gold in California in 1849, the development of stagecoach lines

Figure 4.2: The Tabernacle. Photo by author.

in the 1850s, the Utah War in 1857-1858, the construction of the Transcontinental Railway in 1869, and the discovery of precious metals in Utah in the same year (Arrington 1969; Athearn 1969; Jackson 1994; Cowan 2001; Eliason 2001; Gruen 2002), thousands of non-Mormons began settling in Salt Lake City and the surrounding regions. In addition to these immigrants there was also a large influx of non-Mormon tourists to the "Mecca of Mormonism." In fact, Salt Lake City soon became the most popular tourist attraction in the American West, drawing between, as Hafen (1997: 355) suggests, somewhere between 150,000 and 200,000 tourists per year by the end of the nineteenth century.

Tourists came to Salt Lake City for two main reasons. First, they were interested in the natural landscape of the West. Gruen (2002) suggests that tourists to the West during this time were less interested in visiting urban areas, such as Denver and San Francisco, as they could

Figure 4.3. The Assembly Hall. Photo by author.

experience cities by going to Paris or New York rather than frontier towns with few attractions or

accommodations. Rather, tourists were more interested in encountering natural curiosities such as

the Great Salt Lake near Salt Lake City and the vistas the Rocky Mountains afforded. Even into

the late 1800s, the main motivation for visitors to the West revolved around viewing places such

as Echo Canyon in Utah, Yellowstone National Park in Montana and Wyoming, and the Grand

Canyon in Arizona (Hudman 1994).

Second, tourists were interested in seeing the seemingly mysterious and deviant Mormon

Church. Nineteenth century guidebooks often highlighted urban residents who seemed different

from contemporary American culture as tourism spectacles, such as the Chinese population in San

Francisco, Native Americans, and the Mormon population in Salt Lake City (Gruen 2002: 14).

While tourism literature promoted Salt Lake City as an "orderly, pleasant, clean, relatively crime-

free 'must see' tourist attraction" (Eliason 2001: 175; cf. Jackson 1994; Gruen 2003), focusing on the garden-like feel of Salt Lake City with its irrigation systems running along its wide streets, the beautiful gardens of Temple Square, and the architectural wonder of the Mormon Tabernacle, many visitors mainly came to see the Mormons and, in particular, their practice of polygamy (Gruen 2002). Many of the early visitors to Salt Lake City, who generally were middle- to upper-class travelers who had the money and time to travel to the West, came with strong views and prejudices against the Mormons, thanks in part to many anti-Mormon books and travel accounts (Snow 1991; Bishop 1994; Mitchell 1997; Morin and Guelke 1998; Smith 1998; Eliason 2001), including Arthur Conan Doyle's book *A Study in Scarlet* (1887), which contrasted the "beautiful paradise" of the natural environment with the "repulsive" and "licentious" Mormons and their practice of polygamy (Jackson 1988; Hafen 1997: 354). The popular press, in particular, played a key role in the embedding of negative images of Salt Lake City and its Mormon inhabitants into the minds of Americans and Europeans (Hafen 1997: 346; Eliason 2001).

Latter-day Saint Church leaders were initially unsure on an official level how to handle this influx of non-Mormon tourists, viewing tourists as a challenge to Brigham Young's original separatist utopian ideals (Bishop and Holzaphel 1993; Hafen 1997). Some in the Church hierarchy were convinced that most visitors to Salt Lake City were there to belittle the Mormon Church and its people, and argued that while they could not stop visitors from coming to Salt Lake City, they could exclude non-Mormons from Church properties. While the Endowment House (and then subsequently the Salt Lake Temple) were off-limits to all but Church members of good standing, some Church authorities argued that this "members-only" policy should be expanded to include the entire Temple Block, including the Tabernacle (Hafen 1997), in part because "the exclusive quality of the Mormon temple, as with any true 'temple,' compelled its urban guardians to maintain a vigilantly inhospitable attitude towards outsiders devoid of the appropriate spiritual

consciousness" (Quattlebaum 1972: 5-6). Related to this issue was the fact that many of the lay members of the Church also felt that tourists who, being disappointed at not seeing any public displays of polygamy, became "snoopish" (Limerick 2001) and intruded too far into the private lives of ordinary members in an attempt to gain first-hand contact with polygamist culture (Hafen 1997), thus creating a growing dislike amongst Church members of the growing number of tourists visiting Salt Lake City.

Other Church leaders, however, saw tourism as a way of creating a new public image in the face of increasing discrimination and bad press about the theocratic nature of the Church and its practice of polygamy. They thought that by opening Temple Square and other Church properties (but not the Endowment House and Temple itself) to tourists and the Salt Lake Valley's burgeoning non-Mormon population the preconceived negative notions of Mormonism would be dispelled, and that visitors might at least tolerate Mormonism even if they did not believe in its doctrines (Hafen 1997). In an attempt to educate visitors about the Church and to improve its public image, Church leaders granted audiences with early travelers to Salt Lake City to explain Mormon doctrines, and Church buildings were opened for public perusal. In this way, the Latter-day Saint "theology" of tourism began to develop through historical practice rather than through theological reflection.

In 1875, Brigham Young assigned Charles Thomas, a local Church member, to be the first tour guide stationed on Temple Square and instructed him to "meet tourists on the Temple Square, show them the grounds and interior of the Tabernacle, answer their questions regarding the Mormon religion and perhaps play a few hymns for them on the Tabernacle Organ" (Nibley 1963: 167). A year into his assignment, Thomas reported greeting over 4,000 visitors from many nations around the world, including the well-known Civil War general General Philip H. Sheridan and United States President Ulysses S. Grant (Nibley 1963). Other individual members also saw

the need to educate tourists, such as James Dwyer, who spent on hour a day on Temple Square passing out cards with the "Articles of Faith" printed on one side and a picture of the Salt Lake Temple on the other (Young 1922; Johnson 1971).

However, the official actions of the Church hierarchy and the unofficial actions of individual members to educated visitors about Latter-day Saint beliefs were simultaneously contested by many non-Mormon tour guides who owned and operated the majority of the tourism-oriented businesses in Salt Lake City. These "hack drivers" (Card 1933) were economically driven to perpetuate the Mormon stereotypes of autocracy and eroticism (polygamy) to cater to the preconceived notions and expectations of eastern tourists (Hafen 1997: 357). Initially Church leaders did nothing to stop these hack drivers, even when they took tourists on tours of Temple Square and acted as certified guides, telling "numerous untruthful and exaggerated stories reflecting upon the integrity of the Mormon people" (Goddard 1902: 483). It soon became apparent to Church authorities, however, that these non-Mormon tour guides were damaging the positive image they had been trying to create. Besides the actions of Thomas and Dwyer, the Church expended little effort to approach visitors to Temple Square and "place the gospel" with them (Young 1922).

The idea of erecting an interpretive booth on Temple Square was first suggested in 1893 by an anonymous writer to the local *Deseret Evening News* who recommended that an office be built and staffed by competent people who could provide information about the Mormons (Johnson 1971). In 1898, Benjamin B. Goddard, another local member of the Church, suggested in a Church meeting that "some efforts be made to place the gospel before visitors passing through Salt Lake City" (Anderson 1921: 131). However, nothing was done with this idea until 1901, when LeRoi Snow, the son of Church president Lorenzo Snow, had the following experience with these

"hack" tour guides which caused him to pursue a more active agenda of greeting visitors and

interpreting Mormon culture to them (in Anderson 1921: 132):

> In the latter part of July, 1901, a great many tourists passed through Salt Lake City on their way to attend the convention of the Epworth League in California. I was standing near the eagle Gate when a party of tourists drove up and stopped within a few steps of where I was standing. The hack-driver then commenced telling his stories. After telling a lot of other falsehoods he continued:

> "This is the Bee Hive House, where Lorenzo Snow, the president of the Church lives. The building is kept closed from the public. No one is ever permitted to go in there. We do not know what goes on there."

> I stepped up to the driver, thanked him kindly for repeating in my hearing the stories which had been prepared for the tourists, and then I turned to the visitors, introduced myself, and invited them to go through the Bee Hive House with me and to meet my father, the President of the Church.

> They appeared very much surprised and undecided just what to do. I assured them that they would come out alive and that no harm would come to them. Here the driver interrupted, saying: "Oh, come on. We have a lot of places to go, and we must be on our way." This settled the matter with one of the party, who replied: "Oh, I don't know, we are paying you for your time, and I presume we can use it as we wish. I, for one, want to accept the invitation." The other members of the party immediately expressed their desire to go also. The driver, who showed very plainly that he was very displeased, was told to remain until the return of the party.

> I took the good people through the Bee Hive House, introduced my mother to them and answered their many questions which proved to their interest. We then went into the President's office where they met my father and had a short visit with him. I told him of the incident which had just occurred outside, to which one of the gentlemen added:

> "Yes, I can see that we have been very much mis-informed about the 'Mormons' and I should like to know the truth about you and your city." As we returned to the carriage I again spoke to the driver, saying: "I want to thank you again for letting me know what kind of information you hackmen are giving to the tourists, and I shall not rest until I do all in my power to see that this work is taken out of your hands and that steps are taken to give visitors to Salt Lake reliable and truthful information about our faith, people and Church." The party expressed appreciation for their visit.

> Snow later lamented…that "we had no persons properly appointed to meet [tourists] and furnish them with information, and also that every year there were large excursions and gatherings here, and suggested that a committee should be appointed to take such work in hand."

LeRoi Snow was soon after appointed to head a committee to consider the question of local missionary work among the tourists and other visitors who came to Temple Square. This committee recommended to the First Presidency "that a 'Bureau of Information' should be established on the Temple Block, to be placed in charge of two competent elders, to be called as regular missionaries, they to be supplied with special and general tracts" (Anderson 1921: 133). After some deliberation the First Presidency approved the idea of a visitors' centre and referred the matter to the First Council of Seventy, who was responsible for missionary work, to initiate the building of the Bureau. The editors of one of the Church publications at the time, *The Improvement Era*, justified the expenditure for the Bureau by stating that "It was found that while we were sending hundreds of missionaries far away to teach the truth and to allay prejudice, the strangers within our gates, and even residents who are not members of the Church, were mostly left to draw their information from non- and often anti-'Mormon' sources" (in Anderson 1921: 137).

In 1902 a small octagonal building was erected on the south side of Temple Square at a cost of five hundred dollars, and a small building near the west gate was refurbished as a repository to house Church literature (Goddard 1902). Benjamin Goddard was named the first chairman of the "Bureau of Information and Church Literature", assisted by a secretary/treasurer and two other priesthood holders. The Bureau contained numerous chairs and tables and had a large collection of Church tracts, including "Morgan's tracts No. 1 and No. 2, 'Latter-day Saints,' by James H. Anderson, 'Reasons for Leaving the Church of England and Joining the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,' by Col. R. M. Bryce-Thomas of London, Book of Mormon Lectures by Dr. James E. Talmage and also a neat illustrated folder describing the Tabernacle grounds, Assembly Hall, Tabernacle, Temple and other places of interest, etc." (Goddard 1902: 484). *The Book of Mormon* and other doctrinal books and religious pictures were also available for purchase at cost (Johnson 1971).

One hundred and five men and women were called on special volunteer missions to assist Goddard in fulfilling the mandate of "distributing literature and disseminating information among tourists and other visitors" (Anderson 1921: 128). Each volunteer missionary wore a badge indicating their official status as a representative of the Church and was assigned regular hours to work during the week. According to Anderson (1921: 139), within the first two weeks of operation over five thousand visitors came to Temple Square, and by the end of the year one hundred and fifty thousand people had signed the Bureau registry. After a few months it was noted that the Bureau of Information was quickly becoming too small. Subsequently a larger building was erected in 1904, and expanded in 1910 and 1918 (Peery 1911; Anderson 1921).

Goddard (1902: 484-486) outlined a typical guided tour of Temple Square:

Immediately upon their arrival on the Tabernacle grounds, strangers and tourists are pleasantly accosted by one of the missionaries and presented with a souvenir card containing the Articles of Faith on the reverse side.

The visitors are invited to the Bureau and enter their names on the register books. Some of the tracts or literature…are invariably presented to all who are willing to receive them after which the strangers are escorted through the Tabernacle grounds. During these strolls the beautiful Temple is described when many opportunities are afforded for explaining "Salvation for the Dead," "Eternity of Marriage Covenant," etc. The Assembly Hall also is visited, the Tabernacle with its wonderful acoustic properties and magnificent organ is always admired, and many questions are asked and cheerfully and intelligently answered on historical and doctrinal topics....

After these church edifices have been described, if the strangers so desire, a visit is paid to the L.D.S. University, the Tithing offices, Church offices, Eagle Gate, Pres. Brigham Young's grave, and other points of interest…

Joseph Peery (1911: 690-691), an early guide on Temple Square, described the tours in this manner:

The tourists first visit the Bureau of Information, where they register. It is well that they first enter the bureau, for therein they partake of the spirit of that building. A party is soon made up, and a guide escorts the company through the Assembly hall. The strangers partake of the spirit therein--are told something of Church history, of the beehive on the ceiling, indicative of the industry of the people, and of the three doctrinal books on the pulpits. Questions are answered, and the

company continues on the "trip through the block." The famous tabernacle, with its wonderful, self-supporting, arched roof, its marvelous acoustic properties, its splendid organ, is explained to the interested visiting friends. Under the influence of the overpowering good spirit existing in the tabernacle, the guide talks to the tourists on Church organization, tithing, the various auxiliary associations, the schools, the missionaries abroad preaching the gospel. The listeners are responsive in their feelings when the guide says, "If you chance to meet one of these humble young elders, be kind to him, for in so doing you will certainly be kind to one of God's messengers." Many questions are asked and answered, then the company is escorted to a position near the temple. The influence of that sacred building is felt by them; words of inspiration come to the guide, and the people stand there and listen intently. The statue representing the angel Moroni, and the various symbols such as the sun, moon and stars, are pointed out. The glorious hope for the future, with eternal family relationships, eternal progress, preaching in the spirit world, baptism for the dead, and finally the resurrection and almost universal salvation, come before the view of the wondering listeners.

In addition to guided tours, Church leaders wanted to focus on the development of Temple Square and the downtown core as the "primary vehicle for displaying the culture and refinement [of Mormonism] to visitors," in part to combat the general disdain towards Mormons in the media because of the national backlash against polygamy (Hafen 1997: 372). Therefore, regular organ recitals at the Tabernacle and musical programs starring the Mormon Tabernacle Choir were instituted on a regular basis (see Cannon 1959). During the summer months, recitals on the organ were held twice a day (Peery 1911), and soon became a draw for tourists and city residents alike.

As the numbers of visitors to Temple Square increased, Church leaders began to formalise their efforts to greet visitors. In 1921, the First Presidency of the Church, noting that Temple Square was "the greatest field for missionary work that there is in all the world" (Johnson 1971: 27), formed the Temple Square Mission, whose goals were to "explain the gospel of the Savior of the world, and to disseminate literature that gives the principles of the religion we espouse" (Young 1922: 559). Rather than having a lay member (Benjamin Goddard) in charge of the Square, greater responsibility was to be given to the First Quorum of Seventy, who had been "commissioned of the Lord to preach the Gospel" (Johnson 1971: 27), for the missionary work

accomplished on the Square as well as the selection, training and supervision of tour guides. Levi Edgar Young (a member of the First Quourm of Seventy) was chosen to be the first Temple Square mission president and immediately established an intensive training program for the guides on the Square. Emphasis was placed on personal spirituality and being widely educated in a number of different areas, including botany, archaeology and religion, in order to be prepared to answer the varied questions guides might receive from visitors about the state of Utah as well as the Latter-day Saint Church (Johnson 1971). While responsibility for the Bureau of Information and the temple grounds continued to be the responsibility of Benjamin B. Goddard, who continued in this volunteer position until 1929, a year before his death (Johnson 1971), the interpretation of the site was left to the missionaries.

The number of visitors to Temple Square rapidly increased, reaching the one million mark in 1948, the 2.4 million mark in 1970 (Johnson 1971), and surpassing four million visitors in 1988. Because of this increase in attendance, numerous changes have taken place on Temple Square over the years. For example, in 1931 Joseph Peery became both the President of the Temple Square Mission and the Director of the Bureau of Information. A number of commemorative monuments were also built on the Square highlighting key events in the restoration of the gospel in order to aid in the interpretation of the site, including a statue of Joseph and Hyrum Smith (1911), and the Seagull Monument (1913) (discussed below) (Rasmus 1992; Dockstader 1992).

In 1929 the church signed a contract with the National Broadcasting Company to present "The Spoken Word," a radio program which was to feature a half-hour performance by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir and the Tabernacle organ interspersed with inspirational messages (Johnson 1971). "The Spoken Word" (later renamed to "Music and the Spoken Word") and the Choir soon became a major draw for tourists visiting the area, and currently is the world's longest-running radio program (The School Musician 1965; Evans 1992; Doxey 2000). The Mormon

Tabernacle Choir continues to perform on Temple Square on Sunday mornings and at concerts around the world (Dayley 1992; Doxey 2000). In addition, when the Choir is not on tour its Thursday rehearsals are open to the public.

Other significant changes included the creation of a special tour in 1952 to take interested visitors at Temple Square to see Welfare Square, a facility located a few miles away in Salt Lake City designed to help people to be self-sufficient (containing a grain elevator, cannery, storehouse, bakery, thrift store and employment centre) (Rudd 2000). In 1960, a special non-denominational worship service was instituted on Sundays in the Assembly Hall for non-Mormon visitors (Johnson 1971), and in 1965 the Church began the holiday tradition of placing special Christmas lights (45,000 in 1965; 100,000 in 1967) in combination with displays and special musical numbers in the Tabernacle (Johnson 1971).

As the number of visitors to Temple Square increased, the Church's Bureau of Information soon became inadequate. In 1960, in order to improve the existing facilities on Temple Square, the First Presidency announced that a new visitors' centre was to be built in the northwest corner of the Square which would function as the new Bureau of Information (Figure 4.4). When this visitors' centre was finally opened in 1966 Church leaders discovered that the majority of visitors to Temple Square came in the southern entrance which was closer to Salt Lake City's shopping, convention and business district (Figure 4.5). In 1978, the old Bureau of Information was torn down and replaced by a new South Visitors' Center. Both of these visitors' centres have been remodelled numerous times since their construction. During the 1990s the visitors' centres "were remodelled to emphasize three themes: families are forever, our Heavenly Father's plan for our salvation, and most importantly, Jesus the Christ is the Saviour of all mankind [*sic*]" (Marsh 2000: 1300). The facilities were remodelled again prior to the 2002 Winter Olympics, with the South Visitors' Centre containing two interactive exhibits about the building of

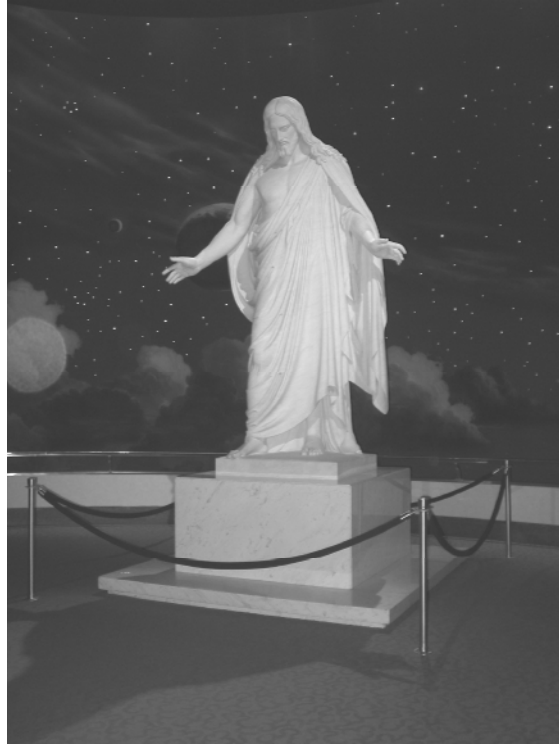**Figure 4.4:** The North Visitors' Centre. Photo by author.

the Salt Lake Temple and on how to strengthen the family. The North Visitors' Centre included, in addition to its eleven-foot replica of a statue of Jesus Christ by Danish artist Bertel Thorvaldsen called the *Christus* (Figure 4.6); an interactive map of Jerusalem; a series of paintings depicting the life of Jesus Christ from birth to resurrection; two theatres showing the films *Legacy* (about Mormon pioneers) and *The First Vision* (on Joseph Smith); interactive exhibits on revelation, prophets, scriptures; and a display highlighting the Church's humanitarian program.

In 1989, the First Presidency announced that in November of that year the tours of Temple Square were to be conducted by full-time female or "sister" missionaries (Cargal 2007). Previous to this time approximately 900 volunteer men and women had been acting as tour guides.

Figure 4.5: The South Visitors' Centre. Photo by author.

However, this change in Temple Square personnel was motivated in part by the move to professionalise Temple Square through the use of full-time sister missionaries that were "set apart" or given a specific assignment to preach the gospel to those who came to Temple Square. As the number of foreign visitors had increased, sister missionaries were brought in from countries all over the world, and today over thirty different language tours are given on the site. In 2000 a dress code for the sister missionaries was brought into effect, where the sisters were to wear as their "uniform" solid light-coloured blouses and dark skirts. The reason for this was to give the sister missionaries a more professional look (KSL 2000). While sister missionaries are responsible for all tours and presentation on Temple Square, senior missionary couples also serve as information specialists, gate greeters, and in other leadership positions (Cargal 2007).

Figure 4.6. The Christus statue in the North Visitor's Centre. Photo by author.

In addition to these changes on Temple Square proper, additional buildings and services have been built or created over the years which, though not all specifically designed to cater to tourists, have added to the tourism infrastructure of Salt Lake City and complements tourism to Temple Square. Since 1869 the Latter-day Saint Church has had an active program of collecting historical artefacts and works of art related to the culture of Mormonism. While a number of museums in Salt Lake City, such as the Bureau of Information, had housed numerous artworks and artefacts relating to the Church's history and culture, in was not until 1984 that The Museum of Church History and Art was built west of Temple Square as a permanent interpretive and storage facility for the Church's extensive collections. While the Museum was created as a way of educating the general public about the material culture, key events and personalities of the restoration and institutional history of the Latter-say Saint Church, Olsen (1995: 524) suggests that the Museum was built particularly for Church members to educate them about their historic and

artistic heritage. Permanent exhibits relate to the Presidents of the Church, Latter-say Saint art, and other temporary exhibits relating to historical and artistic themes are occasionally shown (Olsen 1995). Current temporary displays include the Mormon Tabernacle Choir 75th Anniversary Exhibit, an interactive children's exhibit on Family History, an art exhibit commemorating the Latter–day Saint Handcart Story, and an exhibit honouring the members of the Willie and Martin Handcart companies, many of whom died, when their companies left for the Salt Lake Valley very late in the season.

In 1985 the Family History Library was built west of Temple Square and south of the Museum of Church History and Art, replacing the genealogy library located in the four-story west wing of the Church Office Building.[16] As noted in Chapter 3, the Library contains over 2.5 million rolls of microfilm and about 300,000 volumes related to family history, making it the largest genealogical library in the world (Wright 2000; Bingaman 2004). Over 200 volunteers currently work at the Library, many of them focusing on a specialty area such as Native American and British genealogy. While some of the volunteers are missionaries, they do not proselytize. Visitors with questions about Church beliefs are referred to the sister missionaries on Temple Square (Bingaman 2004). On the first floor is an orientation centre to assist researchers who are at the Library for the first time (Bingaman 2004). Currently the library is in the process of digitizing its entire collection, a process that is not expected to be completed until 2012, and will be available via the Church's FamilySearch website (www.familysearch.org), one of the more prominent genealogical websites in the Internet.

---

[16] The Church Office Building was built in 1972 to centralise and house its growing bureaucracy. Today it stands as the second largest building in Salt Lake City. While most of the building is not open to tourists, there are booths on the main floor staffed by volunteers who can direct tourists to sites of interest within Salt Lake City. As well, there are two observation decks on the 26th floor that are open to the public, providing tourists with a good view of the Salt Lake valley and the surrounding mountain ranges. The building also houses the Church Archives, which are open to scholars.

The Conference Centre, located to the north of Temple Square, was completed in 2000 (see Figure 4.7). Because the Tabernacle had grown too small for the number of people who wanted to attend the Church's semi-annual general conferences, Church leaders decided to build this conference centre with a main auditorium that would hold over 21,000 people with all seats having an unobstructed view of the pulpit. In addition to this large auditorium, a small 1000-seat auditorium was built for public events such as operas, pageants, plays and other cultural events. This building has become a tourist attraction in itself because of the vastness of the main conference hall and the gardens that cover the roof of the Centre, which were done to add to the cityscape for people looking down at Temple Square from the State Capitol Building (Halverson 2000).

The old Hotel Utah building, located east of Temple Square, was initially proposed by an independent citizens group comprised of local Jews, Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Mormons who saw the need for a good hotel in order to increase business in Salt Lake City. This group sent a letter to Joseph F. Smith, the Church president, explaining that "The hotel would become a social centre, a place to entertain important visitors to the city, a symbol of Mormon and non-Mormon cooperation, and an evidence of Salt Lake's 'coming of age' in the modern economy of the nation" (Arrington and Swinton 1986: 9). Joseph F. Smith "was fully supportive, even enthusiastic. The proposed hotel, he explained, would provide one of the most beautiful vistas in the West. From the upper windows, guests could look over the lawns and flowers of Temple Square and, further west, the waters of Great Salt Lake glimmering in the sunlight" (in Arrington and Swinton 1986: 11). The Church bought 3,650 of the initial 10,000 shares in The Utah Hotel Company, and after its completion in 1911, Smith became its president and director (Arrington and Swinton 1986). Olsen (2004b) suggests that part of the motivation for President Smith's impetus to help build the Hotel Utah came from the Church's involvement in the construction of

Figure 4.7: The Conference Centre. Photo by author.

the Nauvoo Hotel to house travelers who came to Nauvoo, Illinois (Doctrine and Covenants 124; see Chapter 3). Over the years, the Church gained full ownership of the hotel, but in 1987 closed the hotel functions of the building and renamed it the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, replacing the hotel rooms with office space, and turned the top floor into two public restaurants. In addition, the ballroom was remodelled into a 500-seat theatre for showing church-themed films, and a family history research centre was built for tourists who had a passing interest in genealogy (Jackson 2000; Bingaman 2004) (Figure 4.8).

In addition to these buildings, the Latter-day Saint Church owns a number of properties around Temple Square that are also related to tourism. For example, just north of the Family History Library is the Deuel Pionner Log Cabin. Originally built by William Henry Deuel in 1847,

Figure 4.8. The Joseph Smith Memorial Building (formerly the Hotel Utah). Photo by author.

this log cabin has been restored and furbished with pioneer artefacts to give visitors an idea of what pioneer life was like. This log cabin is typical of what the homes built in the Salt Lake Valley were like soon after settlement. The Social Hall Heritage Museum contains the remnants of the first public building built in Salt Lake City. The Social Hall was built by Brigham Young to be a place of wholesome entertainment for the local population. The archaeological remains of this building were discovered in 1991, and today the museum preserves the remains of this building for public viewing. The Church also owns the ZCMI (Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution) and Crossroads Malls, situated south of Temple Square. On October 3, 2006, the Latter-day Saint Church announced that both shopping malls would be undergoing an extensive five-year renovation. Once finished, these two malls would be home to a full-service grocery store, new

department stores, 766 residential units, a new office tower, a number of retail shops, and a pedestrian sky-bridge to join the two 10-acre lots together. While this construction period many not bode well for tourism in and around Temple Square in the short-term, it should spur increased visitation to the downtown core area once the project is completed as well as increase the length of time tourists spend in the downtown area. The Latter-day Saint Church also owns two historical buildings on Temple Square proper (southeast corner) that are used for tourism purposes. The Lion House was originally built by Brigham Young in 1856 as a residence and is currently used as a restaurant, while the Beehive House, another of Brigham Young's homes, is open to the public for tours.[17]

In addition to these buildings, the Latter-day Saint Church runs a number of different tours and special events that attract both tourists and local residents to Temple Square. In addition to the general tour of Temple Square, there is a garden tour that takes visitors on a tour of the gardens around Temple Square during the summer months. The gardens around Temple Square include 250 flower beds, more than 165,000 bedding plants, and over 700 varieties of plants from around the world (www.visittemplesquare.com). The gardens on Temple Square are redesigned every six months and are maintained by both employees of the Church's Physical Facilities Department as well as hundreds of local volunteers. As well, visitors to Temple Square are offered a free shuttle ride to two off-site locations of interest. The first is Welfare Square, which is the main welfare centre of the Church, and houses a 178-foot-tall grain elevator, a bakery, cannery, and a milk processing operation, a thrift store, and an employment centre. The second is the Humanitarian Centre, which handles the shipment of clothes, blankets, educational materials and

---

[17] The only two buildings that visitors to Temple Square cannot access are the Salt Lake Temple and the Church Administration Building. The Church Administration Building was built in 1917 and functioned as the Church headquarters until the building of the current Church Office Building. The Church Administration Building houses the offices of many senior Church leaders.

medical supplies around the world to those countries and peoples in need. These two attractions are a part of the Latter-day Saint commitment "to relieve human suffering. To help eliminate life-threatening conditions, and to promote self-reliance among all people" (Ferguson 1992: 661; see Haws 1992).

Special events that occur on Temple Square include the Temple Square Concert Series in which bands, orchestras, soloists and choirs are invited to perform on Friday and Saturday evenings in the Assembly Hall. As well, the Church still holds its special light display during Christmas featuring over 100,000 Christmas lights; during the summer weekly concerts are held at the Brigham Young Historic Park, which is located on a part of Brigham Young's original farmstead; family history classes are available for those interested in learning how to pursue genealogy; daily organ recitals are performed at the Conference Centre; and a special movie depicting the life of Joseph Smith is shown in the 500-seat Legacy Theatre in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building.

The Church also provides a free shuttle from the Salt Lake International airport to the downtown so that those on long layovers who wish to visit Salt Lake City (and Temple Square) can do so. The time of the round trip is approximately four hours, strategically leaving just enough time for a person to visit Temple Square before having to return to the airport (www.visittemplesquare.com).

CONTEMPORARY MANAGEMENT OF TEMPLE SQUARE

With 4-5 million people visiting yearly, Temple Square has become the "must see" tourist attraction for visitors traveling through Salt Lake City. Temple Square is open from nine in the morning until nine at night. Temple Square also receives an estimated minimum of 2200 visitors a day during the summer and as many as ten to twelve thousand visitors per day during peak travel

times (McAllister and McAllister 2004). Almost half of the tours given at Temple Square are non-English-language tours, signifying the multi-national character of visitors to Temple Square (McAllister and McAllister 2004). With all this tourist traffic, an organised and efficient bureaucratic management system has been developed at Temple Square.

While people come to Temple Square for various motivations (Wood 1980; Knapp 1989), Church leaders want these visitors to leave with specific messages. If visitors are not Church members, they should leave understanding the following principles:

- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a Christian church, and its members believe in and worship Jesus Christ;

- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is a restorationist church, not a reformation or Protestant church;

- The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has no argument with other churches; and

- The idea of Joseph Smith being a modern prophet of God, being akin to Old Testament prophets, is not unusual in today's society (Simmons 2005).

Church leaders also hope that non-Mormon visitors leave feeling the spirit of the site; feeling that there is something special in the restorationist message of the Latter-day Saint Church (Simmons 2005). If the visitors are Church members, then they should leave feeling proud to be a member of the Latter-day Saint Church, and also should have had their belief in Jesus Christ strengthened (McAllister and McAllister 2004). From the perspective of Church leaders, Temple Square is first and foremost a religious site. However, as mentioned earlier, external tourism stakeholders see Temple Square mainly as a cultural heritage site, and hope visitors see Temple Square as a significant part of Utah's secular history and represents the contribution of Latter-day Saints in state-building (Scott 2005).

In this next section I wish to address how Temple Square is represented to and interpreted for visitors, both from the perspective of Church leaders and external tourism stakeholders. In order to do this, I examine the current management structure of Temple Square and detail the

responsibilities of each tourism-oriented department and division. I also discuss the ways in which Temple Square is represented to and interpreted for visitors by examining the guided tours and their use of space on the site. I then turn my attention to focus on the internal management issues on Temple Square. I also consider the ways in which both government tourism officials represent Temple Square as well as the ways in which Church leaders and tourism officials co-operate in terms of tourism development. Finally, I look at the ways in which Temple Square has been contested by different stakeholders at differing scales in light of the recent Main Street controversy.

Contemporary Management Structure

The creation of different departments and divisions to handle tourism concerns at Temple Square follow Max Weber's ideas pertaining to bureaucratization. Weber argued that in order to improve their administration and achieve their organizational goals in an efficient manner, large-scale organizations, will undergo a process of bureaucratization. This bureaucratization is both vertical in nature, where there is a hierarchy of authority, and horizontal, in that there is a division of labor where jobs are specialized and responsibilities are strictly delimited (Gerth and Mills 1948; Ritzer 1975; Meyer 2001). Weber also explained that bureaucratization also occurs within many religious organizations in order to achieve organizational goals more effectively (see Hughey 1979; Baum 2006; Johnstone 2007).

The bureaucratization of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, in this case as it pertains to the organization of tourism-related entities at Temple Square, is no exception. Over the years, leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church have set up a complex structure to deal with tourism at Temple Square. It is complex in part because there are a number of departments and divisions within the Church's vast bureaucracy that are involved in the hosting and management of visitors

and site interpretation, site security and maintenance. In addition, Temple Square has, over time, become a multi-functional and multi-use site, being simultaneously a site of worship, leisure and recreation, education, culture, entertainment and heritage; this has has added to the complexity of its management structure. In Chapter 3, I discussed briefly the main aspects of the administration structure of the Latter-day Saint Church, which involved two main lines of authority: the ecclesiastical and the temporal (Figure 3.1). It is through these ecclesiastical and temporal lines of authority that tourism at Temple Square is managed, as there are a number of committees, departments, divisions, and corporations within these lines of authority that play a role in tourism management and visitor hosting. In particular, five major departments or divisions hold the main responsibilities to ensure tourism runs smoothly on-site.

The most important and influential department overseeing Temple Square is the Missionary Department. As noted earlier, Temple Square was designated as the Temple Square Mission in 1921. Consequently, the president of this mission, in conjunction with two counsellors, is responsible for the missionary work and the missionaries serving within Temple Square. Their mandate includes the training and co-ordination of guides as well as the content of site and visitor centre interpretation. The geographical extent of the Temple Square Mission includes Temple Square, portions of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and the Beehive House. At these locations, sister missionaries greet visitors, lead them on tours, and explain the history and doctrines of the Church to them. All interpretation done at these sites is done by the sister missionaries who, as mentioned earlier, have been set apart or especially assigned to perform the task of sharing Church doctrine to others (McAllister and McAllister 2004). Therefore, if any of the other departments related to tourism at Temple Square (listed below) have special visitors or tour buses that contact them for special tours, they must contact the Temple Square Mission and inform the mission president or a counsellor to arrange to have sister missionaries give the tours

of the Square (Shumway *et al.* 2004). Sister missionaries are also assigned at attractions outside of Temple Square, including Welfare Square, the Humanitarian Centre, the Beehive House, and the Family Search Centre (in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building) (McAllister and McAllister 2004).

Also under the direction of the Missionary Department is Visitor Activities, a tourism-driven division whose main mandate is to build relationships with the local secular tourism interests, including the Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau, the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce, and the Downtown Alliance.[18] As part of this relationship-building agenda, the Chairman of Visitor Activities acts as a liaison between the Church and these tourism entities. For example, if the Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau is giving a familiarisation tour to potential tour operators and convention organisers and wants to show them Temple Square, they would contact Visitor Activities rather than all the different departments and divisions related to tourism (Smith 2002, 2004). The current Chairman of the Visitor Activities is an ex-officio member of the Board of Trustees of the Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau, and also attends the national meetings of the National Tour Association to help promote Salt Lake City as a tourism destination (Smith 2002, 2004). As well, Visitor Activities is responsible for promoting Church sites and activities, with its main focus on creating an interest for people to come to Temple Square (Smith 2002, 2004). In recent years the department has developed a number of pamphlets publicising special events on Temple Square, such as tours of the Temple Square gardens, and distributes various promotional pamphlets to hotels in the region and places ads in key regional magazines and the *Salt Lake Visitors Guide*. Visitor Activities was also instrumental in

---

[18] The Downtown Alliance is a non-profit affiliate of the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce. Its mission is to "promot[e] Downtown Salt Lake City as the premier cultural, business, economic, and entertainment centre throughout the Intermountain West" (www.downtownslc.org). This mandate also includes promoting tourism businesses and activities in the downtown area.

the creation of the information kiosk at the Salt Lake Airport to inform travelers with long layovers of the opportunity of visiting Temple Square (Smith 2002, 2004).

The Hosting Department comes under the Public Affairs Department and is responsible for greeting visitors who come to certain areas on and surrounding Temple Square. This department is organised into two divisions. The first is the VIP Hosting, which focuses on hosting non Latter-day Saint visitors who have a prominent standing or influence in the world. As Church leaders wish to build bridges of understanding, create friendships, and dispel misunderstandings that important visitors and leaders of various countries may have about the Church, it is important that when special guests come to Temple Square they are treated well and have a positive experience while visiting. Who is a VIP depends on both the influence a particular person or group of people have and whether making a good impression on these people will help build better relations in their home countries between government leaders and local Church leaders (Shumway *et al.* 2004). The VIP Hosting department does not solicit visits from dignitaries but, rather, VIPs are referred to their department by a number of external entities. They include the Utah State Department which runs an international visitor program in conjunction with the Utah Council for Citizen Diplomacy; Hill Air Force Base, in nearby Ogden, Utah, which hosts numerous military dignitaries; as well as people visiting Brigham Young University, the University of Utah, or the State Capital. The VIP Hosting division coordinates with the Temple Square Mission and other tourism-related departments to develop tours to different locations on and around Temple Square as well as ordinate dinner meetings with General Authorities. VIP Hosting has developed a visitors' packet which includes a Mormon Tabernacle Choir CD and general information on Church beliefs that is given to VIPs when they visit Temple Square (Shumway *et al.* 2004).

The second division of the Hosting Department is the Building Hosting division, which focuses on welcoming visitors to adjacent facilities: the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, the Conference Centre, the Church Office Building, and the Relief Society Building (Crist *et al.* 2004). Over 1,400 local Mormon volunteers take regular shifts during the week and act as hosts at these buildings. They greet visitors, distribute literature about the different Church sites in the area, and also give tours. These tours, in contrast to the tours given by the sister missionaries in the Temple Square Mission (see below), are focused on the history and functions of the buildings. Hosts and hostesses do not discuss religious doctrine unless asked specific questions and if visitors ask additional questions of the guides, they are directed to the sister missionaries at Temple Square. In addition, these volunteer greeters are also knowledgeable about the tourism attractions in the downtown area as well as in the surrounding areas (Crist *et al.* 2004).

The Temple Square Hospitality Corporation (TSHC) is a Church-owned profit-oriented company interested in attracting visitors to Temple Square. Its mandate is "To provide our guests with superior food and service consistent with the highest standards" in order to increase the quality of visitor experience at Temple Square (www.templesquarehospitality.com). These "guests" include tourists and local residents that visit Temple Square (Wilkinson 2004). The Temple Square Hospitality Corporation also focuses on catering business functions/banquets and wedding receptions (www.weddingsattemplesquare.com). The TSHC operates two catering facilities and three restaurants around Temple Square, including the Nauvoo Café, the Roof Restaurant, and the Garden Restaurant in the Joseph Smith Memorial Building, and the Pantry Restaurant in the Lion House (www.templesquarehospitality.com). The TSHC recently created a web page (www.visittemplesquare.com) that highlights all the buildings, activities, tours, and services available on and around Temple Square. The purpose of this website was to create a "one-stop shop" for tour agencies and other visitors in their preparations to visit Temple Square. The

website allows tour agencies and groups to book their tours, meals, and requests for other services on-line. This makes the logistics of planning a visit to Temple Square easier for tour operators, and also helps with the planning of visits to Temple Square from a hospitality standpoint. So while the Temple Square Hospitality Corporation shares in the responsibility of hosting visitors to Temple Square, it does so for profit, and reports to the Deseret Management Corporation, which oversees the commercial companies affiliated with the Church (Wilkinson 2004).

Other departments and divisions also play a prominent role in both catering to tourists on and around Temple Square (e.g., Family History Centre, Family History Search, Museum of Church History and Art, Humanitarian Centre) and handling various aspects of the management of tourism on the Square, including Security, Mormon Tabernacle Choir and Organ, and Physical Facilities. For example, employees of the Physical Facilities Department are responsible for general clean up and upkeep of Temple Square, including garbage disposal, building maintenance, and gardening; and the Security Department is responsible for the overall security of the site, responding to any security situation on Temple Square within thirty seconds of notification (McAllister and McAllister 2004).

Once a month the various heads of these tourism-driven departments and divisions meet in a Visitor Activities Co-ordinating Meeting, hosted by the Chair of Visitor Activities, to correlate various activities pertaining to the reception of visitors to Temple Square and the surrounding area as well as to allow the specific departments to inform the other departments of various upcoming events and raise any concerns that might have arisen in the past month (Smith 2002, 2004). The Chair of this committee has no administrative authority over the other departments but rather facilitates discussion between departments during the meeting (Smith 2002, 2004). Along with these departments, the supervisors of the Joseph Smith Memorial Building and the Conference Centre, as well as Director of Utah Travel (the state's tourism organisation) and a representative

from Zion's Securities Corporation are in attendance (Smith 2002, 2004). Zion's Securities, the Church's real estate arm, is represented at the Visitor Activities Co-ordinating Meeting because tourism to Temple Square influences the Church's real estate holdings in the downtown area, including the ZCMI and Crossroads shopping malls located adjacent to Temple Square.

Shackley (2001a: 95) suggests that

> In producing an effective management plan for a sacred site, two points need to be borne in mind. First, it is necessary to establish a proper framework for management and, secondly, management plans will consist of several interrelated resource project plans. Clearly, creating an integrated framework will ensure consistency of approach between all departments in a complex site and encourage co-operation between stakeholders.

At Temple Square a management framework is in place where each department and division has its own sphere of responsibility within the overall tourism experience. Interpretation, guiding, catering, security, hosting, and physical facility maintenance are covered by a separate department. These tourism-oriented entities co-ordinate activities with one another by means of a monthly Visitor Activities Co-ordinating Meeting so that each department and division can ensure a consistent approach to hosting visitors and form an integrated framework within which tourism at Temple Square can succeed. This makes for a seemingly effective organisational framework in which to handle tourism management at Temple Square.

Interpretation and Representation at Temple Square

Despite the many historical changes to the landscape and organisation of Temple Square and its surroundings, the function and goals of Temple Square remain the same today: to be an effective public relations and missionary tool for the Latter-day Saint Church (Dockstader 1992). Temple Square is represented to and interpreted for visitors mainly through tours conducted by the sister

missionaries.[19] Tours take place on Temple Square every 15-20 minutes, are approximately 30-40 minutes in length, and range in size from 2-30 people, depending on how many visitors are ready to take the tour.

The tours start at the central flagpole, where a sister missionary announces through a speaker system that a tour will be starting shortly, during which the history of Temple Square as well as some of the basic beliefs of the Church will be presented. Interested visitors then convene at the flagpole, where they are greeted by two sister missionary guides. After some short introductions and an invitation for group members to ask questions at any time throughout the tour, the tour group is taken to the Pioneer Handcart Monument. At this monument the sister missionaries give a brief history of the Latter-day Saint Church, including the growth of the early Church in New York because of Joseph Smith Jr.'s emphasis on missionary work. They discuss how persecution of Church members inspired Joseph Smith Jr to move the Church headquarters further west and encouraged new Church members to gather with the rest of the Saints there. After Joseph Smith Jr.'s untimely death in Illinois, Brigham Young became the next prophet of the Church, and led the main body of the Church west to the Salt Lake Valley. Missionary work still continued during this exodus west, and new converts to the Church were encouraged to gather with the main body of the Church in the Salt Lake Valley, with many of them using handcarts like the one depicted in the Pioneer Handcart Monument. The sister missionaries emphasise that while this 3200 mile journey was difficult for the Latter-day Saint pioneers, they had faith that they had joined God's church and that he would help them in their journey to the Valley.

---

[19] The following description of a typical Temple Square tour is based on my fieldwork on Temple Square during the summers of 2002, 2004 and 2005. While sister missionaries do not have a set script (Simmons 2005), there are certain points of doctrine and history that sister missionaries are required to cover (McAllister and McAllister 2004). Sister missionaries can deviate from the order of the tour, but the content is basically the same at each stop along the tour.

The tour group is then taken to the Seagull monument (Figure 4.9). The missionaries state that when the Saints first arrived in the Valley in 1847 there was not enough time to plant a full crop for harvest and the Saints starved for most of that winter. The next summer, after the Saints had planted new crops, a plague of locusts came and began to eat the newly sprouted crops. The Church members prayed to God for help, but because faith without works is dead (see James 2:20, 26), they did their best to fight the crickets. God heard and answered their prayers, and one day a large flock of seagulls came and ate up the locusts so a full harvest could be salvaged (cf. Hartley 1970). After telling the story behind the monument, the sister missionaries then tie the experiences of the past with the present by noting that this story illustrates how when men and women turn to God he will hear and answer their prayers and that God continues to hear and answers prayers in the present. On a couple of the tours I attended, the sister missionaries gave a more personal anecdote by stating that metaphorically we face crickets in our own lives, and that when we rely on God he will send seagulls to assist us.

The tour group then goes into the Assembly Hall (Figure 4.3), where the missionaries discuss how the Assembly Hall was built in 1877 from the left-over granite from the building of the Salt Lake Temple to be a chapel or centre of worship where Saints would gather to remember Jesus Christ. Every Sunday, Church members around the world meet in chapels to worship Jesus Christ through partaking of the sacrament to remember Christ's sacrifice for humankind. The missionary guides also discuss the architectural features of the Assembly Hall, including how Church members painted the wooden columns to resemble marble columns.

The tour group then heads into the Tabernacle (Figure 4.2). Upon entering the Tabernacle the tour group is seated at the back of the building and told about the history of its construction and told how the main purpose of the Tabernacle was to hold regular bi-annual Church conferences (now held in the Conference Centre to the north) where Church members go and

Figure 4.9. The seagull monument. Picture by author.

listen to living prophets and apostles of God who are his special witnesses and impart his word.

The missionaries make it clear that Latter-day Saints do not worship these prophets and apostles,

but rather worship Jesus Christ. The Mormon Tabernacle Choir is also discussed and, if the tour is

held on a Thursday, members of the tour group are invited to the Mormon Tabernacle Choir's

open rehearsal that night. An acoustical demonstration is then conducted, where a sister

missionary at the front of the Tabernacle rips a sheet of newspaper numerous times and drops

three pins and a nail without the aid of a microphone in order to demonstrate the acoustics of the

building. The sister missionaries mention that the Tabernacle gets its clear acoustics due to the

curved dome on the top of the Tabernacle, which led some observers to name the Tabernacle the "Desert Tortoise" (Mitchell 1967).

The tour group is then taken to the west side of the temple, where the missionaries explain the Latter-day Saint belief that after Jesus Christ's original apostles died there was an apostasy, in which both Christ's church and the authority to act on God's behalf (priesthood) were taken from the earth. Through Joseph Smith, Christ's primitive church and the priesthood were restored. After his death Brigham Young led the Saints to the Salt Lake Valley and began the construction of the Salt Lake City Temple. After giving a brief history of the building of the Temple, the missionary guides then talk about the preparation Church members have to make in order to enter the temple and how, because the temple is a sacred place, only members that keep the commandments and develop Christ-like attributes may enter. They explain that Latter-day Saints possess the same priesthood and authority from God as ancient prophets and that through this priesthood authority a number of sacred ceremonies can be performed.[20] The one ceremony they highlight is the sealing ceremony, where, as emphasised by the sister missionaries, couples are married for time *and* eternity to ensure that the family unit remains together in the next life. The missionaries then point out the statue depicting the angel Moroni at the top of the temple,[21] which leads them to discuss briefly the history and purpose of *The Book of Mormon*, a copy of which each sister missionary carries while conducting the tour.

---

[20] In the tours I attended the sister missionaries did not talk about baptisms for the dead unless they were asked about that specific temple practice. This is purposeful, they said, in that discussing baptisms for the dead went beyond the missionaries' purpose of discussing *basic* beliefs of the Church (McAllister and McAllister 2004).

[21] Moroni was the last prophet and scribe of the people whose records are contained in *The Book of Mormon*. This same Moroni appeared to Joseph Smith Jr. in 1823 as a resurrected being or angel and told Smith about the golden plates buried in the Hill Cumorah. Smith subsequently translated the writings on these plates into *The Book of Mormon*. Because of Moroni's role as a "herald of the Restoration", in restoring Christ's Church so that Christ's gospel could be preached to all the world (cf. Revelation 14:6-7; Doctrine and Covenants 133:31-39), a statue of angel Moroni adorns the tops of many Latter-day Saint Church temples (Romney 1992).

Figure 4.10: Monument depicting the restoration of the Melchizedek Priesthood. Picture by the author.

After viewing the exterior of the Temple, the tour group enters the North Visitors Centre (Figure 4.9) and is seated in front of *The Christus* statue located on the second floor (Figure 4.4). After the tour group is seated, a sister missionary states that Jesus Christ is central to Latter-day Saint belief and that the group will listen to a pre-recorded narration which highlights many of Christ's teachings as taken from the New Testament. The tour group is instructed to refrain from flash photography until after the narration, and are invited to open their hearts to the words of Jesus Christ. The purpose of this portion of the tour is to create within visitors a sense of reverence for Jesus Christ as the saviour of humankind (McAllister and McAllister 2004). After the

narration ends, a sister missionary says something to the effect of "Jesus Christ lives and loves us, and wants us to come unto Him". In addition, the sister missionary again emphasises the importance of Jesus Christ in the lives of Church members.

The tour group is then taken to either a small room or a theatre (depending on the size of the group) and are shown one of six short videos—ranging in topic from families to temples to Joseph Smith—based on the types of questions the group had asked during the tour (McAllister and McAllister 2004).[22] After the movie is complete, the sister missionaries thank the tour group members for being on the tour, and invite the tour members to fill out cards with their comments and to give contact information if they would like more information on the basic beliefs of the Latter-day Saint Church.[23] If tour group members are active Latter-day Saints, they are given a card and asked to write down the name and contact information of any friends, family members, or other acquaintances who are not members of the Church that they feel would be receptive to a visit from full-time Mormon missionaries. At this point visitors are encouraged to ask any additional questions they might have about the video they just saw or about Temple Square or the Church more generally. Tour group members are then invited to stay on site to visit the various interactive displays in both visitors' centres. This effectively marks the end of the tour.

However, not all visitors opt to take the guided tours when visiting Temple Square. Therefore, Latter-day Saint Church leaders attempt to represent and interpret the teachings and mandate of the Church through both monuments and its visitor centres. As seen above, the

---

[22] As the tour group walks from station to station, the sister missionaries interact with the tour group members. More specifically, they ask where each tour group member comes from and why they are visiting Temple Square. Through this interaction the sister missionaries can get a sense of whether the tour group is composed of Church members, non-Church members, or a mixture of both. This is done in part because it may affect the level of vocabulary the sister missionaries use during the tour (McAllister and McAllister 2004). This information can also influence the choice of video shown at the end of the tour.

[23] An exception to this is during VIP tours, where sister missionaries do not invite members of the tour to fill out their contact information (McAllister and McAllister 2004).

Seagull monument represents to visitors the Church's belief in modern miracles. Other monuments include the Melchizedek Priesthood and Aaronic Priesthood monuments, which depict heavenly messengers bestowing priesthood power and authority on Joseph Smith Jr. and others (Figure 4.10). This implies that not only is The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Jesus Christ's restored church, but that its leaders also act with God's authority. There are also two monuments depicting Joseph Smith Jr. and his brother, Hyrum Smith, both of whom are considered martyrs by Church members (see Doctrine and Covenants 136) (Figure 4.11). The Pioneer Handcart monument symbolises the faith and courage early Church members had in traveling across the Midwest to gather with fellow Church members in the Salt Lake valley. Each monument has a plaque which notes the historical significance of these monuments to visitors.

In addition to the monuments, the two visitor centres contain numerous displays related to Church beliefs and history. In addition to the *Christus*, the North Visitors' Centre houses a New Testament mural depicting the life of Jesus Christ and a three-dimensional map of the city of Jerusalem, in part to demonstrate the Church's interest in the life of Jesus Christ. There are also two interactive exhibits: the "Scripture and Revelation" exhibit, and the "Love Thy Neighbor" exhibit.[24] The "Scripture and Revelation" exhibit is partitioned into two sections. The Scripture section describes the importance of God's word both in the past and in the modern era. There is a display discussing the benefits of scriptures, and other displays outlining the history and doctrinal significance of Latter-day Saint scriptures, including *The Book of Mormon*, *The Doctrine and Covenants*, and *The Pearl of Great Price*. A table contains numerous translations of *The Book of Mormon*, illustrating its world-wide reach. A display also talks about the Three Witnesses of *The Book of*

---

[24] According to McAllister and McAllister (2004), with the coming of the 2002 Winter Olympics, Church leaders decided to redesign the Visitor Centres on Temple Square to become more visitor-friendly and interactive. Rather than have sister missionaries walk visitors through the displays, videos, aural commentary, and picture displays would allow visitors to interact with the exhibits individually without having to interact with sister missionary guides. While sister missionaries are still stationed near the exhibits, they are unobtrusive and interact with visitors only if visitors have questions.

Mormon: three men who claimed to have conversed with the angel Moroni and handled the gold plates from which Joseph Smith Jr. translated *The Book of Mormon*, which stands as evidence of the divine nature and origin of *The Book of Mormon*. The "Revelation" section of this exhibit discusses the importance of prophets. The exhibit is divided into sections highlighting Old and New Testament prophets, the prophetic role of Joseph Smith, and the need for prophets today. The "Love Thy Neighbor" exhibit focuses on the New Testament story of the Good Samaritan and the Church's welfare and humanitarian programs. A final section, entitled "What Can I Do?", gives ideas how visitors can serve others.

The South Visitors Center also has two interactive exhibits. The first exhibit is the "Eternal Families" exhibit, which outlines the Latter-day Saint view of the importance of families. The exhibit begins with an overview of the Plan of Salvation, or the Latter-day Saint conception of salvation and the purpose of this life (Chapter 3). The rest of the exhibit focuses on the role of the family within this Plan of Salvation, and includes information on what the Church sees as Jesus Christ's view of the family as well as *the*the Church's official position on the family.[25] Various Church-produced commercials on the importance of families can be viewed and additional displays focus on how to strengthen families. The second exhibit is the "Building the Temple" exhibit, which details the construction of the Salt Lake Temple. Displays include how the location of its building was chosen; how the granite used in the construction of the Temple was cut and hauled, how the Temple itself was constructed through labour-intensive practices, what the interior of the temple looks like, and the events surrounding the dedication of the Temple. Within this particular exhibit, the major theme is the dedication of Church members in the building of the

---

[25] In 1995, the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve came out with an official statement on the family. The document, entitled *The Proclamation on the Family*, can be found at www.lds.org/library/display/0,4945,161-1-11-1,00.html.

Salt Lake Temple, which Latter-day Saints say stands as a testament and sign to their faith and devotion to both God and his church (Scott 2005).

As can be noted from my descriptions of a typical tour around Temple Square and the Square's monuments and exhibits the historical use of Temple Square for public relations and missionary efforts still exists in the present. The history of the monuments and buildings on Temple Square act as a prelude to the missionary-centred messages shared at the site. The histories of the buildings and statues of Temple Square are used as "pedagogic instruments" (Ashworth 2006) to emphasise such religious teachings as modern prophets and apostles, revelation, prayer and scripture (specifically *The Book of Mormon*). In doing so the guides on Temple Square use a "religious discourse emphasizing faith" (Scott 2005: 105), where tour guides go beyond the basic historical facts of the Square and move into discussing religious principles and ideas, such as faith, testimony, and eternity through discussing the spiritual foundations of Latter-day Saint beliefs. The guides also rely on the mythology of the American pioneer and the associated themes of self-reliance, stoicism, and isolation to highlight the religious piety of early members of the Latter-day Saint Church and use the historical resources on Temple Square to portray religious principles (such as prayer, prophets and scriptures) as being efficacious in the modern world (Scott 2005). For example, as noted above, sister missionaries tie the story of the miracle of the seagulls to God answering people's prayers. This is done to "connect a people's experience in the present with a common past" (Roushanzamir and Kreshel 2001: 184; quoted in Scott 2005: 105), through which visitors can empathise with the Mormon experience, potentially leading the way to a more positive image of the Church in the minds and hearts of visitors.

As well, Church leaders hope that their interpretational framework, coupled with the fact that people are taking tours around and through dedicated buildings (the Tabernacle and the North Visitor's Centre), as well as and through feeling the "spirit of [this] place" (Shackley 2001a),

Figure 4.11: Monuments of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Photo by author.

will lead visitors to have an understanding of what the Latter-day Saints believe and possibly to want to know more about the beliefs of the Church by requesting videos or asking Latter-day Saint missionaries to visit them when they return home (McAllister and McAllister 2004). However, unlike early guides on Temple Square, who would at times give "spontaneous testimony" about the truthfulness of the principles of the restored gospel and the work of its leaders (Goddard 1902), the guides today take a more passive approach to proselytizing, only testifying or witnessing during the tour when a tour group is seated in front of the *Christus*. This is because some non-Latter-day Saint visitors begin to feel uncomfortable when they feel they are being preached at (McAllister and McAllister 2004). At the same time, sister missionaries state Latter-day Saint doctrine and beliefs as unqualified fact which could be considered a form of testimony sharing. By taking a more passive approach and mixing doctrine with history, the guides on Temple Square still teach people to understand the basic beliefs of the Latter-day Saint Church

but, at the same time, create an atmosphere where most visitors appear to be comfortable about what is being taught.

It is also interesting to note that the tour outlined above is given to all visitors, whether they are members of the Church or not. The sister missionary guides do not distinguish between the two when they begin conducting the tour. The interpretive method of combining the history with the religious doctrines and beliefs allows sister missionaries to cater to the cultural, heritage, and religious tourism markets simultaneously. This single tour format is done for two reasons. First, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between Church members and non-Church members. Church members may not be identifiable in terms of dress before entering the Temple Square grounds.[26] While the sister missionaries attempt to distinguish between member and non-member visitors during their interactions with their tour group and paying attention to the types of questions visitors ask, this is not as important to them as presenting religious messages to the visitors. Second, by using the same tour for both groups, the tour can potentially satisfy the educational, historical, and/or religious interpretational needs of both Church members and non-Church visitors. Visitors who are not Church members learn about the history of the Church as well as what Latter-day Saints believe. Latter-day Saint visitors learn more about the Church for both educational and religious reasons, including feeling pride in being a Latter-day Saint, renewing their faith commitment, and learning more about their spiritual roots (Mitchell 2001; Simmons 2005).

Within these desired outcomes, Church leaders seem to recognise that identity is fluid, in that non-Latter-day Saint visitors can be touched by the Holy Ghost and experience spiritual

---

[26] The exception to this is if Church members wish to enter the Salt Lake Temple. In addition to having to hold temple recommends, given to Church members who pass worthiness interviews with Church leaders, Church members are expected to dress in their "Sunday best" when going to the Temple. Those wanting to enter the Temple enter through a separate entrance on the north side of Temple Square (the Temple Annex; see Figure 4.1), and therefore are geographically separate from other visitors to Temple Square.

feelings while visiting Temple Square that they were not expecting (Simmons 2005). Subsequently, in returning home and meeting with Latter-day Saint missionaries, these visitors to Temple Square can potentially shift their religious identity. At the same time, Latter-day Saint Church leaders want the religious identity of their adherents at a minimum to remain solid, in that their religious identity becomes strengthened, deepened and broadened, becoming more "fixed" rather than diminished.

Internal Management Issues

At all religious heritage tourism sites, internal and external management concerns need to be dealt with on a regular basis, including issues relating to visitor impacts, experiences and flows, as well as the overall managing, marketing and planning the site. As noted in Chapter 2, Stevens (1988) and Shackley (2001a) argue that many religious sites suffer from a management vacuum, as they may have only one or two site managers responsible for handling all aspects of management on-site, none of whom are trained tourism managers. However, a complex management organisation is in place at Temple Square, in which each of the departments or divisions discussed above handle a few particular aspects of the overall management of the site. Interestingly, when I asked the department and division heads about the internal management issues at Temple Square, they had very little to say on the matter. This may have been due to the excellent communication and co-operation between the different departments. However, after interviewing the department and division heads, I did find out about three on-going internal management issues at Temple Square that I wish to touch upon briefly.

The first management issue has to do with some of the tour bus operators who stop at Temple Square as part of a broader tour of Utah or the Intermountain West. Some tour bus operators have expressed concern to Temple Square tour guides that their tours contain too much

religious content. This concern comes in part because of tour bus operator concerns that some tourists in their group may find the mixing of historical fact and religious principles offensive, which can potentially lead some bus tour participants to form a negative view of their longer commercial trip trip overall. Part of the problem with addressing the tour bus operators' concerns is that the sister missionaries on Temple Square are missionaries, not tour guides, and therefore must perform their missionary charge when guiding visitors around Temple Square (McAllister and McAllister 2004). In some instances bus tour operators have attempted to conduct their own tours of Temple Square. One of the regulations on Temple Square is that any tours conducted on site must be conducted by a set of sister missionaries, and that groups and individuals cannot create their own tours of the Square (Simmons 2005). Sister missionaries are posted around Temple Square and, if a group of visitors is suspected of having a non-authorised tour of Temple Square, that group is politely asked to leave (McAllister and McAllister 2004).

Another issue has to do with the problem of inappropriate behaviour. Church leaders would like to see visitors follow certain protocols and maintain a sense of decorum. At the entrances to Temple Square there are signs that describe the appropriate type of dress and behaviour expected of visitors, such as the wearing of a shirt and shoes or no skateboarding, when they enter the premises. In addition, non-smoking signs are located at various points of the Square and, in some cases, there are signs thanking visitors for not stepping on the grass. When visitors break these rules they are asked by sister missionaries to leave or refrain from what they are doing. If visitors do not desist then they are escorted off the Square by Church security. This is not always a problem on Temple Square itself, as missionaries are at every entrance and can, for example, limit access to those who are not dressed appropriately. Much of the inappropriate behaviour, such as skateboarding, occurs on the East side of Temple Square, where the former Main Street that divided the Church Campus in two has been turned into a pedestrian walkway.

A third and more politically charged issue revolves around demonstrations at Temple Square. A long-standing view among many conservative evangelical Christians that the Latter-day Saint Church is not a Christian church in part because some of the teachings of the Church seem to deviate from other mainstream Christian faiths. Some Christian ministers and lay persons feel the call to preach to Mormons that their faith is false and that they should switch to another. For example, in 1998 the Southern Baptist Convention was held in Salt Lake City and, as part of their meetings, convention attendees went door-to-door telling Latter-day Saint Church members the error of their ways. Also, two websites (www.temple-square.org and www.pleaseconvinceme.com/upload/15/Utah_Temple_Square_Questions.doc) argue that the sister missionaries on Temple Square are purposefully misrepresenting Latter-day Saint theology and history to deceive visitors about the true nature of Mormonism.

Occasionally there is a problem with a preacher of a different faith who stands outside the gates of Temple Square and will begin to preach or distribute pamphlets to passers-by accusing the Latter-day Saint Church of teaching falsehoods (discussed below). As well, a few individuals taking a tour of Temple Square have become argumentative with the sister missionaries in efforts to convince the missionaries of the inaccuracies of their faith. I witnessed this first hand while touring the South Visitors' Centre in 2005. I observed a man arguing with two sister missionaries over various points of Latter-day Saint doctrine. The sister missionaries attempted to answer this person's questions, but when the man became boisterous and it became clear that he did not want to listen to the missionaries' message, he was invited to leave. This treatment is consistent with the interpretative approach of the sister missionaries at Temple Square, where the missionaries share their historical and religious messages, invite people to know more about the Latter-day Saint faith (or in the case of visiting Church members, to share the Church's religious message to their acquaintances) in a non-argumentative manner. Their focus is on those visitors who want to learn,

not on those who want to argue (Simmons 2005). Church security also works with the tour guides and site managers at Temple Square to ensure that visitors follow the rules of behaviour and decorum on Temple Square as well as on the Main Street Plaza (see below).

Other interesting aspects of internal management at Temple Square are the absence of commercial trappings. There is no entrance fee to enter the site, and there are no souvenir shops on Temple Square proper. I surmise that there are two reasons for this. First, Latter-day Saint Church members pay ten percent of their income to the Church as tithing (see Malachi 3:8-10; Doctrine and Covenants 119: 3-5). Tithing from a growing membership means that the Church is sufficiently wealthy that all associated costs with Temple Square are covered by tithing donations, not from visitor fees or souvenir sales. The second reason relates to what Bremer (2001b) labels *informal economies of exchange*, in which there is no monetary economy of exchange, but rather messages of hope and peace are presented to the pilgrims and tourists who visit, in the belief that these messages can lead in some instances to spiritual experiences and, perhaps, to conversion. Temple Square, like many sacred sites, is not used by leaders of the Latter-day Saint Church to generate profit but rather for religious purposes. As such, when visitors come to Temple Square, sister missionary guides engage in an informal economy of exchange, where historical and religious information and feelings are exchanged with no tangible economic factor. While souvenirs could be made available for purchase to remind visitors of their experience on Temple Square (Morgan and Pritchard 2005), Church leaders hope that when visitors think of their trip to Temple Square, they think of the feelings they had when interacting with the tour guides and the site rather than thinking about the souvenir they purchased (Simmons 2005). At the same time, however, Church-oriented books, posters and souvenirs can be purchased at the Church-owned Museum of Church History and Art and nearby downtown businesses.

External Representations and Interpretations of Temple Square

Several external tourism entities also focus on representing Temple Square to potential visitors. At the state level, the Utah Travel Council (UTC), a division of the state's Division of Travel Development, works to increase the economic contribution of tourism through comprehensive marketing strategising, tourism hospitality training, and tourism research (www.travel.utah.gov). The role of the UTC is to brand and market Utah as a whole to potential visitors and tour companies. Utah's travel industry has a website (www. utah.com) that highlights many of the visitor attractions, accommodations, campgrounds and events within Utah. Tools are available at this website to help potential visitors to plan their trip to Utah and request further information.

At the local level the goal of the Salt Lake City Convention and Visitors Bureau (CVB) is to improve the local economy though encouraging tourism and convention visitors to come to Salt Lake City (www.visitsaltlake.com). The main focus of the CVB is to attract conventions to Salt Lake City in order to benefit the downtown core while also marketing Salt Lake City on a regional and national scale. The Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce is also extremely interested in seeing tourism complement visits by local residents to the downtown area but, because of its limited geographic focus, it concentrates more on the local tourism market and allows the UTC and the CVB to tackle the larger promotional agendas (www.saltlakechamber.org).

In the case of each of the above-mentioned stakeholders, Temple Square and other Latter-day Saint tourism sites are under-utilised in their tourism marketing. One of the reasons that Temple Square does not play a major role in the tourism marketing and advertising efforts at the state and local level is because Utah is synonymous to many people with the Latter-day Saint Church, with Temple Square being the image most associated with Salt Lake City specifically and Utah in general. The assumption is that potential visitors to Utah probably have already heard of the Latter-day Saint Church and, thus, using Temple Square and Latter-day Saint culture as a draw

may not be the most effective way of spending marketing money. On both a state and local scale, it is recognised that the Latter-day Saint Church is an important reason people visit Utah and Salt Lake City and, thus, very few ads are created to specifically promote Latter-day Saint attractions and activities. Many tour companies stop off at Temple Square because of its status as a "must see" attraction before heading to ski resorts or to the surrounding National Parks. Because of this, the money earmarked for tourism marketing is spent on advertising its other lesser-known and attended tourist attractions at the local and state levels (Williams 2004b). In addition, the budgets of the local and state tourism organisations are too limited to focus on promoting specific Latter-day Saint religious heritage sites (Williams 2004b). Therefore, most promotion focuses on the key themes of outdoor recreation, restaurants and shopping in order to capitalise on Temple Square as the main flagship tourism attraction and to develop a broader product mix (Caffyn and Lutz 1999). While Latter-day Saint Church heritage and Temple Square draw people to Salt Lake City and Utah, they are usually depicted in tourism brochures and pictures as a heritage component that is only one part of the total tourism offerings (Scott 2005).

A second reason that Temple Square does not play a key role in the local and state tourism marketing and advertising efforts is because of the image it portrays of Utah and Salt Lake City. One of the central elements that make urban destinations attractive to tourists is image, as a destination's image can influence both tourist decision making as well as tourism investment (Russo and van der Borg 2002). Because of the historical and cultural influence of the Latter-day Saint Church in Utah, both the state and, more particularly, Salt Lake City, have an image of being an ultra-conservative religious enclave, which has long been seen by some local and state tourism and political leaders as stunting economic growth (Wright and Jorgensen 1993). A recent study was conducted in which focus group participants from major tourism markets (e.g., Dallas, Phoenix, and Los Angeles) were asked to compare the image of Utah with that of Colorado. Even

though both states offer similar outdoor recreational activities, the participants characterised Utah as being conservative because of the large Mormon population and their more severe regulation of alcohol and smoking. By extension, the participants believed Salt Lake City to be boring and having no nightlife, while Colorado was seen to be exciting and fun (Williams 2004a).

This image of Utah and Salt Lake City as an ultra-conservative religious region has led tourism officials at both state and local levels to question whether the use of Mormon images in attracting visitors to Utah actually hurts tourism marketing efforts rather than helps them. This concern with the potential negative perception or image of the Church in Utah and Salt Lake City is not a new one. Even as far back as 1888, the Salt Lake City Chamber of Commerce commented that "tourists and strangers…have been so absorbed in the investigation of [Salt Lake's] religious and social features that its other blessings have been little considered" (quoted in Hafen 1997: 361). In the 1940s, because of concerns over the use of Latter-day Saint history and culture in tourism marketing efforts, the state's first tourism promoters began to shy away from using the state's religious history to attract tourists, in part because this tourism niche attracted a very limited and frugal clientele of religious faithful. Rather, the focus of marketing was oriented towards outdoor activities in order to attract the larger recreational tourist market that spent more and came in larger numbers (Rugh 2003, 2006). Slogans such as "Utah: Land of Color", "Utah, the Unique", "Ski Utah", and "Utah: Life Elevated" (the current slogan) have been used in attempts to brand the state as a unique tourism destination and to attract members of other tourism niche markets to the area (Rugh 2003, 2006).

This emphasis on the outdoors and on adventure tourism can be seen today through the perusal of the various advertisements, travel magazines, and webpages published by the state's Utah Travel Council (http://travel.utah.gov), Salt Lake City's Convention and Visitors Bureau (http://www.visitsaltlake.com), and Utah's Travel Industry (http://www.utah.com) which abound

with scenes of bikers, skiers, campers and boaters engaging in various activities in Utah's outdoor tourist attractions as well as information on the nightlife of Salt Lake City and Utah ski resorts. Accordingly, much of Utah's tourism marketing over the years has focused on the natural beauty, outdoor recreational winter (skiing) and summer (hiking, biking, water-related) activities, as well as the promotion of the dining, shopping and nightlife experiences (Williams 2004b) in an attempt to both diversify the attraction base and change the image of Utah. In branding the state of Utah as a recreational and especially a skiing paradise, state tourism promoters have followed the historical trend of reaching out to the larger recreational niche in marketing tourism (Rugh 2003; Wardle 2003).

Like the Utah Travel Council, the CVB does acknowledge the importance of the Latter-day Saint Church and its buildings and cultural events as an important part of the tourism structure of Salt Lake City. As the downtown core is the focal point of Utah's convention business, Temple Square is a part of everything the CVB does (Salt Lake City Council 2003; Mathis 2004), from organising special Mormon Tabernacle Choir concerts for large conventions to the inclusion of the Salt Lake Temple pictures of the downtown area used in their promotional materials. However, the emphasis of the CVB's tourism promotion is on the scenic outdoors, the various outdoor recreational activities available, the ease of access from Salt Lake City to the mountains and ski resorts, and the quality of the restaurants and the shopping experience in Salt Lake City. While Temple Square is pictured in their main brochure, the *Salt Lake Visitors Guide,* and on their main website (http://www.visitsaltlake.com), the emphasis again is on outdoor recreation, shopping, dining, and visiting lesser-known tourism attractions.

A third reason Temple Square is under-utilised by tourism stakeholders in their tourism marketing and advertising is partly political in nature. The state tourism organisation, the Utah Travel Council, is responsible for branding and marketing *all* of Utah, not just the hub of Salt Lake

City. Therefore, other tourism destinations within Utah might complain if the Utah Travel Council had Temple Square as a centrepiece of its marketing efforts. In addition, while the influence of Mormon heritage spreads throughout the state, state or city-funded advertisements run specifically to attract tourists to visit Latter-day Saint Church sites might be seen as favouritism on behalf of the state government towards the Latter-day Saint Church (Williams 2004a), in violation of the United States constitutional mandate for the separation of church and state. This concern is also acute with the Salt Lake Convention and Visitors Bureau, particularly as it is a private non-profit organisation which receives sixty percent of its funding from tax dollars (Mathis 2004). Because of the "must see" status of Temple Square, any extra marketing of Temple Square over other tourist attractions with lower visitation rates might give the impression that the Convention and Visitors Bureau is favouring Latter-day Saint tourist attractions over other non-Mormon tourism sites.

This branding of Utah as an outdoor recreational centre has brought about beneficial tourism results, such as the 2002 Olympic Winter Games in Salt Lake City, chosen because of its emphasis on skiing and other winter activities (Gerlach 2002; Rugh 2003, 2006). A recent *Meeting Planner Guide* put out by the CVB (Salt Lake City Convention and Visitors Bureau 2004) highlighted how the nightlife and quality of dining in Salt Lake City has begun to change the stereotype of Salt Lake City (and hence the entire state) as a conservative religious enclave with no nightlife. This section of the *Meeting Planner Guide* explains that Utah's liquor laws used to be restrictive but have become more liberal, and it highlights the fact that alcohol is available. Some tourism promoters hoped that the Olympic Games would help Utah shed its image as a conservative religious state and, therefore, help in terms of bringing conventions to Salt Lake City. This strategy has been somewhat successful, for one study suggests that after the Winter Olympics more people in Europe had a better knowledge about Utah than before the Winter Olympics, with many of those surveyed associating Utah with natural images such as mountains and deserts.

However, the Latter-day Saint Church remained the most frequently mentioned image of Utah (Bamossy and Stephens 2003).

Therefore, while the main emphasis of the marketing and advertising strategies at both the local and state levels is on both outdoor recreation and nightlife, these external tourism entities do not totally shy away from using Temple Square and Latter-day Saint culture and history from their efforts. The Utah Travel Industry website (www.utah.com) has an entire section dedicated to Temple Square and Latter-day Saint Church history. However, the narrative is historical in nature and devoid of any mention of Latter-day Saint religion and beliefs. For example, in the website's overview of Latter-day Saint history, it reads:

> In 1847, the first party of Mormon emigrants, led by Brigham Young, reached the Salt Lake Valley. This story of the thousand-mile Mormon exodus from the midwest to Salt Lake has become well-known as a tale of remarkable hard work, faith, and dedication. Upon reaching Utah, these hardy men and women prospered through their wisdom and industriousness in a place once thought too dry and desertous to support modern civilization.
>
> Fortunately, these pioneers left a rich heritage which gives tourists today insight into these admirable traits. Utah is full of Mormon historic and cultural sites which continue to fascinate and inspire visitors more than 150 years after Brigham Young declared "This is the place" (www.utah.com/mormon/index.htm).

While the "faith" that motivated the Mormon emigrants to move to the Salt Lake Valley is briefly mentioned, there is no mention of the basis of that faith, of the martyrdom of Joseph Smith, or other aspects of the Latter-day Saint Church's religious history that sister missionaries on temple Square would mention on their tours. Rather, while Latter-day Saint Church leaders represent Temple Square as a site of both religious and historical significance, tourism marketers tend to represent Temple Square as a historic attraction only; as a significant part of Utah's history and representative of the contribution of Latter-day Saints in state-building (Scott 2005). According to Scott (2005: 101), this scripting is done in order to "'democratize' the square as something that

belongs to all visitors—a significant place in [Utah or Western American] history that is of value to both believers and others."

While Temple Square is represented more as a heritage site by external tourism marketers and advertisers rather than a religious site, both the tourism industry and the Latter-day Saint Church benefit from this shared emphasis on "Historic Temple Square." Tourism officials are pleased to see the economic benefits from bringing tourists to downtown Salt Lake City. Consequently, leaders from both the Latter-day Saint Church and tourism officials at the local and state level are interested in maintaining good relationships to help each other further their respective goals. This follows Tilson's (2001: 37) view that in North America, some tourism officials at the local, county, and state levels are very interested in helping community faith organisations to promote their religious sites and festivals, because this collaboration helps to boost both tourism revenues and local economies through direct tourism expenditures and tourism-related taxes.

Latter-day Saint Church leaders are also interested in working with the Utah Travel Council and the Convention and Visitors Bureau in promoting tourism to Salt Lake City in order to encourage visitation to Temple Square to further their religious goals. Of course, more tourists who visit Temple Square means more people to whom the sister missionaries can preach the Gospel. At the same time, Church leaders also want to be seen as community players in helping the community as a whole to succeed economically through tourism development. Therefore, the Church has representatives on both the Convention and Visitors Bureau's Board of Trustees and Executive Committee (Salt Lake City Convention and Visitors Bureau 2004). As well, Church leaders are open to holding special performances by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir for large conventions when asked by the Convention and Visitors Bureau (Mathis 2004). Church leaders also invite a member of the Utah Travel Council to sit on the Church's monthly Visitor Activities

Co-ordinating Meeting in order to help orchestrate tourism activities and promotion on the state level. The Chairman of Visitor Activities and a representative of the Temple Square Hospitality Corporation also travel to tourism trade shows, such as the National Tour Association's annual convention, to promote Salt Lake City as a tourism destination (Smith 2002).

The Latter-day Saint Church also does a lot of its own marketing and promotion through its main internet site (http://www.lds.org/placestovisit), through the Temple Square Hospitality Corporation (www.visittemplesquare.com), and Visitor Activities, which distributes numerous pamphlets on and around Temple Square promoting Latter-day Saint related events, buildings, and tours, as well as educational information about Church doctrines (Smith 2002, 2004; Wilkinson 2004). The Church also has billboards located at the main airport and on the main highways entering Salt Lake City advertising Temple Square to visitors. This in effect allows the UTC and CVB to focus on other aspects of tourism marketing and promotion (Mathis 2004). In return, both the Utah Travel Council and the Convention and Visitors Bureau are keenly interested in maintaining contact with Church leaders both to stay abreast of upcoming events that might interest visitors as well as help to promote these same events (Williams 2004a). At both the local and state level, tourism officials encourage input from Church representatives and help in promoting Temple Square and other Church-related sites.

Temple Square, Contested Space and Tourism

Even though Temple Square is not a main focus in the marketing and advertising efforts at the local and state levels, Temple Square is such an important tourist attraction that it tends to dominate discussions related to Salt Lake City's downtown urban structure. Latter-day Saint Church leaders have long been concerned with the status of the downtown core in Salt Lake City—in particular the urban space surrounding Temple Square. During the 1950s, Salt Lake City's

central business district was the prominent centre of retailing, government, cultural and religious activities (Burns 1984). The central business district had two distinct districts: the "Mormon" district to the north, which was centred on Temple Square surrounded by various Church buildings and economic enterprises; and the "gentile" district, as it was named by local Mormons, located four blocks south and anchored by non-Mormon businesses (Meinig 1965; Burns and Kay 1981; Burns 1984). During the 1960s and 1970s, Salt Lake City's downtown core began to decay with the creation of suburban malls. Church, business, and government leaders, concerned with both urban blight around Temple Square and the central business district in general, formed the Downtown Planning Association. In their *Second Century Plan*, these community leaders proposed a number of actions to renew its urban core. Some of these new developments included building new governmental offices, an art museum, a convention centre, and a pedestrian mall, as well as other cultural and entertainment opportunities (Burns 1984).

However, urban blight continued, and the "gentile" retail anchor and hotel district experienced serious retail declines and soon disappeared, replaced by restaurants and smaller businesses. At the same time there was a strong grassroots interest in historic preservation that made the implementation of the proposed renewal actions by the Downtown Planning Association difficult (Burns 1984). The real estate branches of the Latter-day Saint Church, concerned more specifically with the urban blight around Temple Square, began to aggressively purchase land around Temple Square with plans to renew the area. In 1974, the first regional downtown mall, the Church-owned ZCMI Mall (Zions Cooperative Mercantile Institution) opened southwest of Temple Square. At this time Church leaders also became active partners with other landowners in developing a second major regional urban mall called Crossroads Mall (Jackson 1993). Church leaders also built the Church Administrative Building to the east of Temple Square, and the Genealogical library, the Museum of Church History and Art to the west.

To the north, Church leaders removed derelict buildings and built a parking lot to cater to visitors to Temple Square and the surrounding area (Jackson 1993). This was done for both tourism and religious purposes, as Church leaders were concerned that the sanctity of Temple Square would be difficult to contain if surrounded by urban blight and, therefore, they wanted an urban environment suitable for their sacred site (Jackson 1993).

Over the next few decades Church leaders helped community leaders to complete most of the *Second Century Plan* in a number of ways, including leasing church-owned property to the city for one dollar per year to build a convention centre, and donating money to help expand the new TRAX light-rail system (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2002) due to Church leaders' continued interests "in maintaining the area in a way that would be proper and befitting to the church itself" (Wright and Jorgensen 1993: 12), the downtown community, and Temple Square. In the late 1980s, Latter-day Saint Church leaders closed the Hotel Utah and converted it into Church offices, banquet and wedding reception halls, and a Family History centre, with the intent that these changes would bring people to Temple Square as well as the surrounding downtown area. However, many local business leaders and residents criticised Church President Gordon Hinckley for changing the function of the hotel. Criticisms came partly on historical preservation grounds, as some of the original interior would be lost in the renovations (Dew 1996), as major hotel chains such as Marriott provided ample accommodations in Salt Lake City.

In 1998, Latter-day Saint Church officials were approached by city planners under the direction of Salt Lake City mayor Deedee Corradini (who was not a Church member) to inquire into the Church's interest in purchasing the section of Main Street that ran between Temple Square proper and the Church administration block, as the Church had previously bought the subsurface rights to that block in order to build an underground parking garage. The transformation of Main Street into a pedestrian walkway was the only part of the *Second Century*

Plan that had not been completed. City planners wanted this pedestrian plaza built in order to create a "visual anchor" at the north end of the city centre that in turn would "unite Temple Square and the rest of the Church's headquarters, create a quiet haven for tourists, unify the peaceful, contemplative garden space around Temple Square, and funnel visitors into the commercial districts just south of the Church campus" (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2002). Church leaders readily agreed to the purchase, and in December 1999 a joint announcement was made about the decision to sell the block of Main Street to the Latter-day Saint Church for 8.1 million USD.

During the course of developing the proposal for the city council, some local groups raised concerns over the potentially restrictive nature of the plaza. As part of the proposal, the city was to retain a public easement on the property, which "allow[ed] the general public to use this easement for pedestrian access and passage only" (Salt Lake City 1999). However, the plaza itself was to be considered the private property of the Church, and Church leaders sought to "represent" the plaza as a place of tranquility, beauty and order. Therefore, people crossing the plaza were to "be subject to the conditions, limitations, and restrictions described [by the church]" (Salt Lake City 1999). These "easement restrictions" included "loitering, assembling, partying, demonstrating, picketing, distributing literature, soliciting, begging, littering, consuming alcoholic beverages or using tobacco products, sunbathing, carrying firearms (except for police personnel), erecting signs or displays, using loudspeakers or other devices to project music, sound or spoken messages, engaging in any illegal, offensive, indecent, obscene, vulgar, lewd or disorderly speech, dress, or conduct, or otherwise disturbing the peace" (Salt Lake City 1999). The Latter-day Saint Church, as the property owner, would be able to "maintain…the rights to broadcast conference speeches and Mormon Tabernacle Choir performances in the plaza and to distribute [Latter-day Saint] literature there" (Salt Lake City 1999). Through having the easement restrictions, the Latter-day Saint

Church in essence would be able to create a carefully controlled semi-public space in which the performance of individuals would be shaped in an orchestrated or scripted theatre-like manner (Mitchell 1995a: 120) and placed under strict surveillance in an attempt to control appropriate behaviour and dictate what was "in-place" and what was "out-of-place" (Cresswell 1996). The deed was signed on April 27, 1999.

The sale of this section of Main Street to the Latter-day Saint Church and its subsequent easement restrictions on speech and conduct divided the city along religious and political fault lines (Rugh 2003; Bradley 2005). On the one side were supporters of the Latter-day Saint Church who did not want street preachers invading the sacred nature of Temple Square and, on the other side, were those who resented the growing architectural presence of the Church in the urban fabric of Salt Lake City and who wanted to preserve a public forum in the downtown area (Rugh 2003: 2). During the summer of 1999, opponents of the Main Street sale challenged the pedestrian easement, particularly when Church security removed itinerant preachers protesting on the Main Street plaza. Opponents of the plaza deal considered the walkways through the plaza as public places suitable for protest or free speech. The First Unitarian Church, Utahans for Fairness, and the Utah Chapter of the National Organization for Women met with lawyers from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to discuss issues of freedom of speech on the plaza. While religious antagonism lay behind the motives of some local groups to approach the ACLU, at the heart of the issue was the "right to the city", in which even religiously demarcated public space should be unconstrained space, in which all local residents have the same full and complete use of the space as religious adherents (Mitchell 1995a; Fenster 2005). Instead, the sale of the section of Main Street to the Latter-day Saint Church, with its restrictive policies, took away these rights, including the right to free speech, making this public space a privately controlled, regulated, and institutionalised space (Mitchell 1995a).

In November of 1999, the ACLU sued the city and the Church over the sale and development of the Main Street block, as the plaza seemed to be both a symbolic and literal intersection of church and state. In addition, the ACLU contested the right of the Latter-day Saint Church to restrict free speech on formerly public land (www.aclu.org/mainstreetplaza.htm). In January 2001 a district court dismissed the ACLU suit. However, this ruling was overturned on appeal by the United States Tenth Circuit Court in Denver in August of that year. After this ruling, the new mayor, Ross C. (Rocky) Anderson proposed that the city sell the block's easement rights to the Latter-day Saint Church, including the right to control public behaviour on the plaza, in exchange for Church-owned land on the west side of the city (to be used for the building of a new community centre) and a promise to continue to allow public access to the plaza. The Church agreed to this compromise, but the Salt Lake City planning commission voted down this proposal because they did not want to risk future legal troubles (Jackson and Bryson 2003). When a 2003 petition by the Latter-day Saint Church to the Supreme Court to review the Tenth Circuit Court's ruling was denied, Mayor Anderson's proposal went through an extensive public hearing process in May and June of 2003 and the proposal was accepted by the City Council in June. On July 28, 2003 the city formally deeded the plaza easement to the Latter-day Saint Church. Finally, the legality of the Main Street sale was accomplished when on October 3, 2005, the Tenth Circuit Court ruled that the Main Street Plaza was no longer considered public space, and that the city's decision to sell the easement to the Latter-day Saint Church was legal (www.aclu.org/mainstreetplaza.htm).

While this controversy highlights the strong political undercurrent which tends to divide Salt Lake City along religious fault lines, it also is an important case study in terms of how some non-Latter-day Saint groups and individuals feel about tourism at Temple Square. For example, one of the reasons the municipality was such a firm supporter of the plaza and the Latter-day Saint

Church's easement restrictions was because of Temple Square's role in the tourism industry (Rugh 2003). As noted earlier, city planners wanted to create a pedestrian plaza as a quiet haven for tourists as well as funnel visitors to the commercial districts to the south of Temple Square. However, like the Old City in Jerusalem (Israeli and Mansfeld 2003), Temple Square constituted a constrained tourist attraction because of the presence of the wall surrounding the Square. The wall limited tourist movement between the Temple Square block and the other Church sites in the adjacent blocks. As well, the Main Street segment that separated Temple Square from the Church Administrative block was often congested with traffic, which affected the tourist experience. Before the sale of Main Street, a traffic/pedestrian study concluded that pedestrians crossing the section of Main Street between Temple Square and the Church Administrative block outnumbered the number of cars using that same section (Nielsen 2002). This study raised a number of safety concerns, particularly as many pedestrians crossing Main Street preferred to cross in the middle of the street and dodge traffic rather than using the designated crosswalks at intersections. With the removal of this heavily congested section of Main Street, air and noise pollution would be lessened, pedestrian safety would be increased, and tourists would be spread over a larger area increasing the carrying capacity of Temple Square and its surrounding blocks (Nielsen 2002).

As Jackson and Bryson (2003: 92-93) note, during the time between the Tenth Circuit Court ruling and the final sale of the easement to the Latter-day Saint Church "demonstrators…noisily confronted temple patrons and others enjoying the plaza, including one instance where a demonstrator made a group of 12 year old girls the object of obscenities and other occurrences where wedding parties outside the temple are harassed by noisy street preachers." City planners saw this sort of conduct on the plaza as being disruptive to tourists who were there to be educated about Utah and Latter-day Saint culture and history and to enjoy the downtown area rather than to be embroiled in a philosophical-religious debate over the theological

merits of the Latter-day Saint Church. This kind of experience could scare tourists away from the city's flagship tourist attraction, hurting the Salt Lake tourism industry in general as well as giving a negative image of Salt Lake City. The Main Street Plaza was sold to the Latter-day Saint Church in order to maintain a sense of stability and to further foster the co-operation of the Latter-day Saint Church in the restorative efforts in the downtown area (Nielsen 2002).

CONCLUSION

This chapter covered a number of aspects of tourism at Temple Square. Some of these included the historical development of tourism at Temple Square; its current representation and management of tourism with an emphasis on the current management structure; how the interpretation of Temple to visitors by Latter-day Saint Church leaders and guides; the internal management issues faced by site managers; the representation and use of Temple Square in promotional efforts by external tourism stakeholders; and issues relating to the contested nature of Temple Square. Having a religious site anchoring the tourism business district within a major urban area is something that is not common in the United States (Wright and Jorgensen 1993; Zelinsky 2001). Temple Square therefore, is an interesting case study to examine if one is interested in how tourism is managed at a sacred site within a North American context. For the purposes of my dissertation, Temple Square was the perfect case study to use. Describing how tourism works at Temple Square foregrounds my theoretical arguments and critiques regarding the "contested space thesis" and the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. Temple Square also is an excellent example of how religious views of tourism can influence the representation and management practices at sacred sites. In Chapter 5, I return to my research questions and attempt to answer them through re-examining my areas of focus in Chapter 2, namely revisiting the contested space thesis, the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, and the theories about the management of sacred sites.

C h a p t e r   5

MANAGING THE SACRED: A DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1, I posed four research questions connected to religion and tourism. My research

questions were:

- What are the perspectives that religious leaders have about tourism, and how do these views of tourism, along with the denomination's own religious culture, affect the management of its religious heritage tourism sites?

- What internal management issues do religious site managers face when accepting visitors to their religious sites and how are the issues handled?

- Given that religious heritage tourism sites are embedded in the politics of municipalities, states, and even larger scales, how do the site's managers interact with external communities of interest whose goals for functioning religious heritage sites are at variance with religious objectives?

- How do religious views of tourism and the management of religious heritage tourism sites, from a management perspective, potentially affect pilgrim-tourist identities?

In addressing these research questions, I critiqued three problem areas within the academic

literature related to the contested space thesis, the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, and the inadequacy

of tourism management at sacred sites.

In this chapter, I examine these problem areas in light of the Latter-day Saint case study

discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 in which I outlined both the implicit Latter-day Saint views of

tourism as well as explicit tourism management at Temple Square. I begin Chapter 5 by examining

the contested space thesis, and argue that contested space is not an inherent phenomenon but

must be set in the historical context and conditions under which conflict or contest is first

developed. I then discuss the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy and question its utility in light of the

management strategies Church leaders use to destabilise identities at Temple Square. Finally, I look

at issues related to the operational management practices of religious heritage sites.

CONTESTING CONTESTED SACRED SPACE

One of the main theoretical issues I critiqued in this dissertation is that of contested sacred space. One of the consequences of social groups or individuals marking certain spaces as meaningful is that those who control those spaces may practice a politics of exclusion, where dominant discourses and decision makers dictate what is considered appropriate behaviour through regulation and surveillance. This regulation and surveillance include a decision on what is "in-place" and what is "out-of-place"; i.e., what is considered to be appropriate behaviour; and who is included and who is excluded from performing in this space (Sibley 1995; Cresswell 1996; Edensor 2000; Trudeau 2006). However, other social groups or individuals may have different views of the meaning of that space and how it is represented. This contest over meaning and representation can give rise to multiple cultural and political discourses relating to issues over what cultural/religious ideologies are represented and who has the power to represent them (Chidester and Linenthal 1995; Philp and Mercer 1999; Pratt 2001; Olsen and Guelke 2004). This opposition to dominant discourses about places has led cultural geographers to examine the ways in which landscapes constitute social constructions of power and the naturalization of those power discourses within the landscape (Duncan 1993, 2000; Massey 1995; Graham *et al.* 2000; Pratt 2001). Therefore, from this situationalist perspective (Tilley 2006), space is *inherently* and continuously contested, being constantly negotiated and re-produced through re-interpretation by various social groups.

This contested space thesis, as also noted in Chapter 2, is based on two assumptions revolving around the idea of "power relations". The first assumption is that there is an "us versus them" postulation where competing stakeholders always play a zero-sum game in which an advantage to one stakeholder is seen to disadvantage another. These stakeholders are then seen as holding irreconcilable goals and will continuously seek to gain spatial control of places to the

172

disadvantage of other stakeholders (Ashworth 2000; Graham *et al.* 2000: 24; Olsen and Guelke 2004). The second assumption is that power relations are inherently unequal; that while less powerful groups may try to resort to reason and persuasion to gain more authority over the use of space, the party in power generally has no self-interest in accommodating them. Consequently the less powerful people resort to resisting those who hold the power in sometimes violent ways (Mitchell 1995a).

However, I question this "one size fits all" model, which, as I noted earlier, seems essentialist and reductionist in nature. In particular, I question whether sacred spaces are inherently contested, where competing stakeholders will always be unwilling to reconcile with each other to produce "win-win" situations. As well, I question whether the "contested space thesis" is applicable to all sacred spaces at all scales regardless of historically-situated nature of those spaces. These questions relate directly to the sacred/secular dualism that pervades the academic literature. This dualism implies an inherent contestation between these two types of spaces as social groups try to define the either/or characteristics of these seemingly opposing and incompatible spaces— sacred space cannot be secular space, and vice versa.

My case study of Temple Square upsets both assumptions related to the "power relations" thesis that underlies the inherent nature of contested space and also illustrates that sacred space is not always contested by all groups at all scales. Temple Square is contested space. It is contested by itinerant preachers who use the boundaries outside of Temple Square to contest what they see as the non-Christian nature of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. It is contested in how it is represented by Church officials, who see Temple Square as a religious site, as opposed to governmental tourism officials, who represent Temple Square as a heritage tourism site. Temple Square is contested by some bus tour operators who are concerned with the religious content of the tours on Temple Square, fearing that tour groups may not appreciate the soft proselytizing

tone of the tour and therefore negatively influence their perceptions of the entire trip. Temple Square is also contested in that its architecture and positioning in the downtown core, coupled with its importance as a tourism destination, creates an urban landscape that is complex and overtly symbolic of the Latter-day Saint Church's dominance in terms of politics and religious culture, both locally and throughout Utah.

Fenster (2005, 2007), in her work on Mitchell's (1995) "rights to the city" thesis, studied what happens when the interests of two protected groups within Jerusalem collided: the right of religious conservatives to be unique and autonomous, and secular women's right to access public space. The Main Street controversy, described in Chapter 4, parallels her work, where the major issue was right of the Latter-day Saint Church to manage Church-owned property versus citizens' First Amendment rights to freedom of speech and freedom from religious authoritarianism—or the separation of church and state. Opponents of the sale of Main Street argued that the sale not only was a free speech issue over "whose God demonstrators could address on this public/private terrain" (Bradley 2005: 29), but also was a symbolic and literal intersection of church and state. In many ways this geographical co-joining of the "Church Campus" symbolised both the continued dominance and importance of the Church to both the structure of and decision making in Salt Lake City as well as the Church's historic work towards both controlling encounters with outsiders and what behaviour constitutes good society (Bradley 2005).

At the same time, Temple Square is not contested in a number of ways. In Salt Lake City, the "us versus them" assumption does not entirely hold up. In many places religion and class are conjoined. For example, Muslim Palestinians are often treated as second-class citizens in Jewish Israel, which affects management of some sacred sites like the Temple Mount. However, this is not the case in Salt Lake City where both Mormon and non-Mormon residents cut across the socio-economic spectrum. In addition, even though Church members today make up less than

fifty percent of the population of Salt Lake City due to recent immigration of non-Mormons, and overall its residents tend to be more liberal than in other areas of Utah, many of the stakeholders interested in tourism at Temple Square are members of the Latter-day Saint Church. Many of the council members on the Salt Lake City Council are Church members, as are many of the tourism officials at both the local and state levels. While Mormon/non-Mormon divide is still a concern in Salt Lake City, with Mormons seen by others as clannish and as imposing their moral belief system on other residents (e.g., legislation on alcohol, same-sex marriages) (Stack 2006), non-Mormon stakeholders and politicians often side with Latter-day Saint Church interests if they believe that their constituency will benefit.

For example, a couple of tourism officials (one local and one state) whom I interviewed stated that they were not Latter-day Saints, but were happy to work with Latter-day Saint Church leaders to promote tourism to Temple Square because it helped to fulfill their organisation's tourism goals (Mathis 2004; Williams 2004a). In addition, it was the city's political officials (led by a non-Mormon mayor) who initiated discussions with Church leaders over the sale of Main Street to the Church, which shows that secular state officials are amenable to working with Church leaders on items pertaining to urban design and tourism.

Because tourism is part of the broader capitalist system, with most of its stakeholders interested in turning a profit rather than competition over sacred space for its own sake, tourism stakeholders and businesses tend to work together in order to maximize tourism revenue. Therefore, both the public sector officials engaged in tourism in Salt Lake City and at the state level and the private tourism business sector wish to see Temple Square and the downtown core prosper through tourism (Tilson 2001, 2005) and do not see any reason to tamper with an obviously successful Church-run interpretive program. While tourism can be a conflict inducer (McKercher 1993), tourism can also be a conflict reducer as stakeholders may choose to cooperate

or accommodate the views and actions of other stakeholders rather than compete against them if there is mutual benefit. Local and state tourism officials therefore have consequently negotiated workable compromises and cooperate with the Church in order to see religious tourism succeed.

On the Church's part, this shared cooperation with secular stakeholders benefits Church leaders in a number of ways. The Church has a definite vested interest in the commercial success of downtown shopping malls, hotels, restaurants, the convention centre, and other businesses. As noted in Chapter 4, the Church owns a number of businesses adjacent to Temple Square through its various for-profit subsidiaries. Therefore, through investing in the revitalisation of the downtown core, Church leaders encourage a "multiplier effect" among downtown businesses. For example, tourists visiting Salt Lake City for a convention potentially will shop at the Church-owned shopping malls. Therefore, through its more practical business-oriented subsidiaries, the Church stands to gain financially if tourism succeeds throughout the central business district. Profit from Church-owned for-profit enterprises supplements Church tithing donations and is invested in Church-related activities such as temple-building, missionary work and maintaining Temple Square.

Cooperative efforts with the local government in the Main Street sale also helps Church leaders to both maintain the status quo and to extend and maintain control of their sacred space. Not only did the Main Street sale and subsequent transformation into an urban plaza draw greater attention to the centrality of Temple Square—more particularly the Salt Lake Temple—and its associated religious messages (Bradley 2005: 18), it also strengthened the Church's control over its sacred space and buffered the Church Campus and the sacred space surrounding the temple from the secular space of the city (Jackson and Bryson 2003). The conjoining of Temple Square and the Church Administrative block also symbolised an extension of Joseph Smith Jr.'s vision of Zion-

building as a Temple-centred project with the city centre being a place of beauty and refuge, where religious identity and good society could be forged (Olsen 2002b; Bradley 2005).

Parallel to the co-operation for mutual benefit between stakeholders in Salt Lake City is the issue of contestation at different scales. Scale is an important concept to consider when looking at issues of contested space and social relations (Marston 2000). According to Swyngedouw (2004), "scale" mediates cooperation and competition between stakeholders and can be the means of empowering or disempowering individuals and socio-cultural groups. Thus, at certain scales, stakeholders may be amenable to cooperation, while at other scales cooperation may not be as easy to achieve. This is clearly seen in the events surrounding the Main Street controversy, where the more powerful stakeholders—the Latter-day Saint Church and local government officials—were able to push through the sale of Main Street despite opposition from local opponents of the deal who were concerned over issues of free speech.

Some stakeholders who opposed the sale, disempowered by the lack of support they received at the local governmental level, used the strategy of *jumping scales* (Smith 1984) in an attempt to strengthen their position and to regain power and control over an issue that was not contestable at the local scale. Staeheli (1994: 338) notes that "To the extent that oppositional movements can move across scales—that is, to the extent that they can take advantage of the resources at one scale to overcome the constraints encountered at different scales in the way that more powerful actors can do—they may have greater potential for pressing their claims." The involvement of the ACLU, a national organisation, in the controversy surrounding the Main Street sale—a deeply localised matter—essentially *rescaled* the conflict between opponents and proponents of the sale, and temporarily re-empowered the position of the opponents to the sale while disempowering the position of the dominant stakeholders (Swyngedouw 1997). However, when the Tenth Circuit Court issued its ruling that the Main Street Plaza was no longer a public

forum and that the city's decision to sell the easement was legal, the opponents of the sale withdrew their objections (Skinner 2006). The only group that contested the final legal ruling was the evangelical street preachers, mainly from outside of the Salt Lake City community, who continued to maintain an "us versus them" mentality towards the Latter-day Saint Church. Local government officials and Church leaders, in order to protect public safety and to protect the Church's right to control the plaza, created free speech zones along the northern and southern sidewalks where protestors could demonstrate (Mikita 2004; Riggs 2004).

While the power relations between the empowered and disempowered parties in this instance were unequal, there was a legal ruling in favour of the Church that created the "status quo". As such, the Main Street plaza and the Church's right to dictate behaviour and speech on the plaza became naturalised. Rather than continuing their battle against Church leaders and government officials, most local opponents to the Plaza returned to building bridges of good faith within the community (Skinner 2006). The evangelical preachers, however, were outsiders in that few were local residents. Because they lacked business and social connections to influence community leaders, they continued their struggle against the Main Street ruling and resorted to contesting the teachings of the Latter-day Saint Church through bull-horns rather than through consensus-building within the community.

The point here is that the power imbalance simply was not as oppressive as it is in other contested space situations where less powerful yet major stakeholders continually resort to reason and persuasion to gain more authority over the use of space (Evans 1990; Coleman and Elsner 1991; Eade and Sallnow 1991; Duncan 1993; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996; Jurkovich and Gesler 1997; Singh 1997; Graham *et al.* 2000; Landzelius 2003; Trudeau 2006), just as Church leaders were willing to work with less powerful stakeholders to address their concerns. At the same time, in

situations like Jerusalem and Ireland, when less powerful stakeholders fail in gaining more authority over space, more extreme measures such as sabotage and violence can occur.

Conflict is always an element of "space" because it is always an element of social relations. However, the degree, nature, extent, issues and circumstances of each conflict is place-specific and historically situated. As well, the use of the sacred/secular dualism as a meta-theory to explain and understand contested social relations over space in many ways confuses the map as territory, in that while a map is useful to describe understand the general layout of a territory, map is an abstraction of reality (territory), and thus can never fully describe the territory in exact detail (Korzybski 1933: 747-761; Smith 1978a: 289-310). In other words, while the contested space thesis focuses attention on the contested and power-laden character of spaces in terms of their over their meanings, symbolisms and uses, the thesis (map) does not always match every space (territory), and thus the thesis needs to be very place-specific and historically situated rather than taken as *a priori* theory (Kong 2001: 226). As Porter and Salazar (2005) suggest, rather than viewing conflict as inherent, scholars should examine, identify, and explain the conditions and particularities of the place under which conflict is introduced. Brace *et al.* (2006: 31) argue that in order to understand the nature and complexities of religious landscapes, representations and practices, as well as the ontological construction of space and time by religious groups, their temporal and spatial contexts must be taken into consideration. In the same way that Temple Square is not inherently contested, the same argument could be applied to the situation of, for example, the Notre Dame Cathedral, where it is doubtful that the city council would enter into a major conflict with the Roman Catholic Church over its interpretive practices when the cathedral itself is so much a part of the heritage landscape of Paris and when so much money is generated for the city coffers through tourism tax dollars.

THE PILGRIM-TOURIST DICHOTOMY

As noted in Chapter 2, the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is one of the most debated topic in the academic literature surrounding religious tourism (Olsen and Timothy 2006). I suggested that the use of this dualism by tourism marketers, academics and religious officials is an inaccurate, ahistorical and abstract attempt to universalise travel typologies (Adler 1989). It glosses over the complex motives, expectations and shifting identities of modern travellers. While the problematic nature of this dualism has been touched upon by a few scholars in terms of travellers being able to shift between pilgrim and tourist identities (Adler 1989; Smith 1992; Fish and Fish 1993; Bauman 1996; Winter and Gasson 1996; Askew 1997; Cloesen 2005), I feel that they have not gone far enough in their objections to the use of this binary opposition to dissuade other scholars who still consider this dualism as an "everything/nothing" concept where these types of travel and travellers fit into tidy fixed categories in a clear-cut manner (MacCannell 1976; Cohen 1979, 1992, 2000).

Part of the problem is that with a few notable exceptions (Aziz 1987; Fleischer 2000; Collins-Kreiner and Kliot 2000; Pizam *et al.* 2002; Poria *et al.* 2003), researchers fail to investigate what religious travellers themselves feel, understand and practise as they travel (Edensor 1998: 7). As such, the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, I feel, needs to be discussed in the broader context of tourist identities—how people (re)construct collective and individual identities through tourism types and styles, practices and performances; how people identify and compare themselves within the broader tourism market with other tourist styles and types; and how these identifications affect their experiences and efforts at identity-making. In my dissertation I did not focus on the way in which tourists (re)construct their identities through interactions with others, non-representative embodied and sensuous experiences, and engagement with the symbols, interpretive practices, and discourses at religious heritage sites. Rather, I examined potential shifts in visitor identities at

sacred sites from an institutional perspective by looking at how religious site managers—in this case on Temple Square—represent and help visitors negotiate their religious heritage sites.

Temple Square is a place where Church leaders "both present themselves to others and present themselves to themselves" (Tilley 2006: 14). In other words, Temple Square is used by Church leaders as an expression of religious identity; to represent the history, doctrines, and mission of the Church to non Latter-day Saints as well as to Church adherents. This is done in part through representing Temple Square as both a historic and a religious site (Scott 2005) in a manner where "visitors never doubt that they are experiencing a religious place, regardless of whether or not they share the religious proclivity of the place" (Bremer 2001b: 423). This is also accomplished through use of the historic resources on Temple Square and by sharing religious beliefs related to the Plan of Salvation with visitors. In doing so, Church leaders, recognising the fact that people's identities are fluid and can be reconstituted, attempt to shift the religious identities of non-adherent visitors while at the same time keeping the religious identities of adherents deepened through religious narratives and potential experiences of visitors while on-site.

Latter-day Saint belief holds that people can experience revelations from God through the power of the Holy Ghost, which can alter the religious views of individuals and shift their religious identities (see John 14:26; *Doctrine and Covenants* 8:2; 121: 26; Moroni 10:3-5). These revelations, according to Latter-day Saint belief, can be intense and intimate, come through the senses and personal emotions (see Galatians 5:22-23; *Doctrine and Covenants* 8:2; 9:8), and can either be sought for by a person or received spontaneously from a divine source. At the same time, in Latter-day Saint theology people's souls, which are comprised of people's spirit and body (see *Doctrine and Covenants* 88:15), are eternal in nature. In some respects spirits are unchanging. Yet people also have the potential to grow spiritually (see *Doctrine and Covenants* 50:24, 40; 88:15; 93:33; Alma 32:28-41, *The Book of Mormon*). As such, people have the potential to grow spiritually closer to God, to

gain a greater understanding of what constitutes truth (see John 8:32; Jacob 4:1, *The Book of Mormon*; *Doctrine and Covenants* 93:23, 29-30), to learn the moral codes through which people should live their lives, and to achieve a greater understanding of the nature of mortal existence and of what roles individuals play in the grand scheme of existence. According to Latter-day Saint teachings, these opportunities come through the writings of the prophets in Latter-day Saint scripture and revelation through the Holy Ghost (see Alma 13:1-6, *The Book of Mormon*; Doctrine and Covenants 20:35; Moroni 10:3-5).

Most of the non-Latter-day Saint visitors to Temple Square, however, are not there to commune with the divine or to have revelatory experiences; which are specifically sought by Church members who enter the Temple). Rather, they come for a variety of reasons. (Wood 1980; Knapp 1989). Not all Latter-day Saint Church members who visit Temple Square can be labelled a pilgrim or someone who visits strictly to worship and to participate in religious rituals (Russell 1999; Bar and Cohen-Hattab 2003: 138). They may also be seeking an historical, architectural or cultural experience. Some Church members come to Utah for business or leisure-related reasons, but visit Temple Square because they happen to be in the area. At the same time, some non-Mormon visitors to Temple Square, in light of the fact that they enter a religious site, may expect or seek to have some sort of religious or spiritual experience rather than just an educational or heritage experience while touring Temple Square. The pilgrim-tourist dichotomy in this case does not strictly hold. Therefore, it is almost impossible to pigeonhole Church members and non-Mormons under the labels of pilgrim or tourist. This is also due in part to Temple Square being a multifunctional space that caters to "multimotivated visitors" (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1990: 90).

Church leaders have implemented several strategies on Temple Square in order to facilitate what they see as communication between visitors and the Holy Ghost through "identity-oriented performances" (Edensor 2001: 71), thereby potentially reconstituting—or in the case of Church

members strengthening—people's religious identity. One is through an emphasis on the religious character of Temple Square. It is obvious to those entering Temple Square that it is a religious place, with the Salt Lake Temple a prominent structure and with missionaries greeting visitors. The monuments on Temple Square and the art and interactive displays in the visitors' centres are aimed at informing visitors of the Church's history and doctrine. In addition, the visitors' centres, the adjacent museum and genealogy library, and other Church owned properties and buildings that surround Temple Square act as "unofficially sacred" places (as compared to the Salt Lake Temple that is the only "officially sacred" on-site) which also help in the construction of religious identity and community (Kong 2005). Sister missionaries, while giving guided tours, also bear informal testimony through their "faithful" and "faith-promoting" language which is also used to enhance and strengthen the religious nature of Temple Square. By being represented and interpreted as a religious heritage site, Temple Square can make visitors more open to the possibility of experiencing potentially religion-affirming/altering and enriching experiences that they might not otherwise realise.

Religious narrative is another way in which Church leaders attempt to both destabilise and reinforce identities. Narrative, according to Richards and Wilson (2006: 1214), involves the creation of a coherent life history that helps people to make sense of their lives. Narratives are important in what Giddens (1991: 77) calls "self-actualization" or "self-realization", where people produce personal biographies that provide themselves with a sense of continuity with their identity in order to find personal meaning (Desforges 2000: 932). Latter-day Saint theology, as noted in Chapter 3, holds that God has a Plan of Salvation to save and exalt humankind (Lund 1992), and God plays an intimate role in the immediate and the eternal destiny of humanity as well as individuals. This religious narrative tells a story of the destiny of humanity that stretches from

eternity to eternity, and that gives context to the meaning of life on earth. The Plan of Salvation also outlines the beliefs, actions and ordinances necessary to be saved and exalted.

Temple Square, through the tour narrative, monuments and visitor centre displays, is used by Church leaders to relate to visitors the Latter-day Saint narrative of God's Plan of Salvation and how visitors are a part of this grander blueprint for humanity. This is done through narrative themes which include faith, prayer, temple and Sabbath worship, eternal families, eternal marriage, prophets, Christ's atonement, sacrifice, priesthood authority, scripture, revelation and service. These themes are presented to visitors in a more concrete manner by using the story of the pioneer Exodus story in order to *materialise* these religious themes and make them more concrete and "present" (Eliason 1998; Davies 2000: 13; Scott 2005). By using the backdrop of Church history to tell this religious salvation narrative, Church leaders hope that visitors place themselves in the context of this grand religious narrative and use it as an accessible structure through which they make sense of their life experiences and (re)construct a more coherent life history that "link[s] together disparate experiences into a coherent whole—and perhaps more importantly, a distinct, individualised whole" (Richards and Wilson 2006: 1214). At the same time, this narrative also strengthens Latter-day Saint collective identity, placing Church members within a larger imagined community with a shared theological and historical heritage, reinforcing their religious identities.

Sister missionaries on Temple Square present the same religious narrative to all visitors; they do not conduct different tours for different audiences. This interpretational strategy is used in some instances to destabilise some visitors' identity, and in other instances reinforce other visitors' identity. Sister missionaries hope that in sharing these religious narratives with visitors that the Holy Ghost will confirm these truths to the hearts and minds of visitors. This witness by the Holy Ghost, then, should lead to Church members going away renewed and strengthened in their faith and non-member visitors going away either with a better impression of the Church and its

teachings or, better yet, with a desire to learn more about Mormonism and eventually join the Latter-day Saint faith. In essence, Church leaders expect visitors to have a spiritual experience and, in order to understand this experience, turn to the religious narrative the Church provides in order to frame their interpreting of those experiences through meeting with the Latter-day Saint missionaries.

At the same time, this lack of differentiation between different types of visitors goes against Pavicic *et al.*'s (2007: 57) suggestion that religious site managers identify should and segment their potential target markets in order to better promote and meet the expectations of visitors. Rather, Latter-day Saint Church leaders gaze at tourists with a different set of eyes, so to speak—as spiritual brothers and sisters who are in need of salvation—and have their own ideas about what visitors to Temple Square want and need and, therefore, do not concern themselves as much with what the tourism market wants or needs.

Temple Square represents the tension between what Bauman (1996) describes as both the "modernist" and "postmodernist" strategies for identity construction, where the former attempts to fix and ground personal and group identities in the past while the latter resists fixation and remains open to change (Tilley 2006). Temple Square, therefore, is a type of *Third Space* (Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996; Todd 1997), a space where modern reflexive subject-making in tourism takes place through encountering and interacting with different cultures and places (Oakes 2005: 39). Church leaders hope that these "placed encounters" between visitors and missionaries and built environment on Temple Square will either destabilise or reinforce religious identities. Visitors should ideally not leave as the same people that they were when they arrived, but rather should either have their religious identities shifted (for non-Mormon visitors), leaving with new and positive view of Mormonism, or their religious identities deepened and strengthened (in the case of Mormon adherents).

Butler's (1990) view that identities are embedded in "performance" and that if one changes their performance, they change their identity, have implications for this study. First, the religious narratives and strategies at Temple Square aimed at both shifting and solidifying religious identities are also coupled with tight controls over the performance of both their guides and visitors. This is necessary both in terms of the practical focus of managing visitors who go through Temple Square as well as to enable Church leaders to control the way in which the site is represented to visitors so that a certain message can be stressed and the way in which people "perform" can be controlled. Temple Square, then, is an "enclavic space" due to its totally controlled visitor environment. As Edensor (2000: 328) notes,

> In the tourism enclave, performances are monitored through surveillance and by what is considered "appropriate" in dominant discourses. "Undesirable elements" and social practices such as vigorous horseplay and loud music playing are likely to be deterred by guards, guides and managers…But internalized rules and habitual routines embodying notions of "appropriate" disposition are equally likely to influence tourists' behavior. Moreover, practices concerning what to photograph, how to gaze, how to modulate the voice, and what to wear are often subject to self-monitoring and the disciplinary gaze of the group.

Through religious discourse and controlling the performance of visitors to Temple Square, Church leaders in essence attempt to give visitors a taste of what becoming a Latter-day Saint would be like. In effect, Church leaders attempt to shift visitors' performances and identities from the role of tourist to the role of Latter-day Saint.

In sum, the Temple Square case study in many ways shows the limitations of the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy. In critical geographies today, identities are seen as inherently unstable, situated, and liable to change through interaction with other people and places. Church leaders understand that there is a potential for non-Mormon visitors to reconstitute their religious identity and convert to the Latter-day Saint faith and worldview and Mormon visitors to have their religious identity strengthened. This idea of destabilising/reinforcing of identities is based upon the actual management goals for Temple Square rather than on a critique of the pilgrim-tourist dualism at a

theoretical level, as Church officials recognise that every visitor is a possible pilgrim (Winter and Gasson 1996; Askew 1997). Through engaging with Temple Square, people will hopefully be drawn into the spiritual dimension of the site and shift religious identities from "tourist" to "convert" or from "semi-active Mormon" to "inspired and highly active" Church member.

MANAGING SACRED SITES

Sacred sites are not generally built with tourists in mind (Millar 1999), but rather are distinctive social spaces where religious groups express their faith in a spatial manner. These sacred spaces and landscapes can be used to transmit religious and cultural values and ideologies from one generation to the next and thereby help to maintain cultural and religious identity (Teather and Chow 2003). These spaces of religious memory and ritual in many cases are set apart and given boundaries and, therefore, ultimately require management and maintenance (Kong 2001). With religious heritage becoming an important cultural resource in competitive marketing efforts to attract travellers to tourist destinations, many religious heritage sites have become marked and designated as multi-use tourism attractions by government and tourism officials. This overlapping of religious and tourism space can add complexity to the traditional management practices at religious heritage sites where the focus has historically been on meeting the needs of pilgrims and worshippers rather than visitors with multiple motives and expectations (Shackley 2001b, 2003; Bremer 2006). This complexity can be particularly acute when casual tourists outnumber devout religious believers and when the religious goals of religious site mangers clash with the more consumptive and income-oriented goals of external tourism stakeholders (Winter and Gasson 1996).

As noted in Chapter 2, in light of the additional complexities tourism brings to the management of sacred sites, some scholars have expressed concern over the way some religious

heritage sites are organized and managed. Shackley (2001a: 90) notes that sacred site organisational and management structures range from sites with rigid hierarchal clerically-dominated management structures that have evolved over hundreds of years to sites that exist in a management vacuum with little to no organisational structure. In instances where there is little to no management structure present, the potential for the degradation of the religious heritage resource increases, thereby limiting its effectiveness as a tourism resource. Shackley (2001a: 90) also notes that even if a religious heritage site has a rigid hierarchal management structure, religious site managers are generally not trained tourism professionals; rather, they tend to be (predominantly male) professional clergy or volunteers who have been appointed by religious leaders to run a particular site. As such, they may rely on ecclesiastical management structures largely unaffected by modern management theory or practices; where site management is done by custom rather than by focusing on specific goals or targets (Shackley 2003). Because of this, Stevens (1988: 44) argues that "there is an urgent need to equip those responsible; they are unlikely to be able to survive the pressures of tourism on the basis of prayer alone." These concerns have widespread applications, yet Temple Square is not among them.

At Temple Square "the reconciliation of mixed objectives is often the true challenge of the job" (Griffin 1994: 30-32; see Shackley 2001a). In the Latter-day Saint Church, tourism is not central to the work and mission of the Church. However, as noted in Chapter 3, tourism does facilitate the Church's mission to proclaim the gospel, perfect the Saints, and redeem the dead (Kimball 1981). More specifically, tourism to Temple Square, as well as to the Church's other historical sites, helps with the Church's mission to proclaim the gospel. However, in order for the Temple Square Mission to focus on management practices at Temple Square, tourism at the site has become bureaucratised over the years to its present rigid hierarchal organisational structure. Although Temple Square was not originally built for tourist consumption, the site quickly became

a place of tourism when thousands of tourists from the eastern United States visited Salt Lake City by the latter third of the nineteenth-century. Initially there was a management vacuum where visitors to Salt Lake City were greeted by non-Mormon tour operators and guides who owned and operated the majority of the tourism-oriented businesses in Salt Lake City. Some tour operators and guides would use Temple Square as a backdrop to promote a sensationalised negative image of the Church and its practices and beliefs. However, as Church leaders began to see tourism at Temple Square as an opportunity to educate visitors about Mormonism and to dispel the negative images and myths tourists brought with them about the Church, tourism to Temple Square was actively encouraged. Church leaders quickly instituted their own interpretational program and built a visitors' centre to cater to the questions and needs of visitors. Over time, Church leaders have developed a formidable organisational structure with multiple departments and divisions that focuses effectively on a variety of internal and external tourism-related issues at Temple Square that would typically fall upon the shoulders of a religious site manager and a few volunteers at, for example, a small Roman Catholic shrine.

The effectiveness of the organisational structure at Temple Square comes in part because the different departments and divisions are able to synthesize various areas of tourism management in the name of proselytization or outreach, whereas at many religious sites, site managers not only have to focus on the religious and theological purposes and goals of the site, but have to handle tourism concerns as a separate issue. At Temple Square, each tourism-oriented or related department and division has its own sphere of responsibility within the overall tourism experience. The ability to focus on individual aspects of the overall tourism management of Temple Square (such as site interpretation and guiding, catering, security, hosting, advertising, waste management, the co-ordination of collaborative tourism efforts at local and state levels and physical facility maintenance) allows each department to manage their sphere of responsibly more

effectively. Yet these tourism-oriented entities also co-ordinate with each other via a monthly Visitor Activities Co-ordinating Meeting so that each department and division can ensure a consistent approach to hosting visitors and form an integrated framework within which tourism at Temple Square can succeed (Smith 2002, 2004).

While management issues such as maintaining a "sense of place" (Shackley 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003) or the managing visitor impacts and visitor flows and experiences are a part of the responsibilities of the managers at Temple Square, the framework or mission statement for management at Temple Square is focused on "saving souls" (Olsen 2004). This view of the end goal of sacred site management being salvation not only goes beyond the typical "sense of place" management issues that is the focus of much of the literature on sacred site management but it also adds a deeper significance to the goals and objectives the different departments and divisions have in serving visitors to Temple Square. As such, tourism is an "outward facing" concern for Church leaders, in that tourism tends to be the responsibility of Church departments and divisions which focus on the Church's relationship to and with non-members as the Missionary Department does (S. Olsen 2006).

Temple Square also benefits from having sufficient financial support to fund expensive maintenance projects, as site maintenance is paid for by tithing donations and site managers and workers are volunteer missionaries who are assigned to serve on Temple Square. This is different from other religious sites where finances are a critical and ongoing concern (Willis 1994; Winter and Gasson 1996; Vukonić 1998, 2002; Shackley 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2006b; Olsen 2003). In many cases, religious site managers are required to run a facility that is financially self-sustaining, and therefore they turn to tourism for monetary support. Some religious sites charge an entrance fee, while others choose to encourage donations from visitors. At many religious sites there are also souvenir shops that cater to visitors' desire to purchase something tangible to mark their visit to

the site. At Temple Square, however, there is no entrance fee charged to visitors for admittance, no solicitation for donations, and there is no souvenir shop on site. Tithing as a religious obligation by Church members allows the Church to have the financial means to pay for the maintenance, upkeep, and occasional expansion of Temple Square without needing to charge visitors or ask for donations. Church leaders are also able to limit the commodification of religion that takes place as other sacred sites and allows the sister missionaries to focus on the informal economies of exchange (Bremer 2001b; cf. Koskansky 2002) that take place on Temple Square. This means of financing tourism at Temple Square, however, may not be available to other faiths with declining memberships or without a mandate for tithing.

CONCLUSION

Some of the conceptual arguments relating to the inherent nature of contested sacred space and the ahistorical and abstract pilgrim-tourist dichotomy are problematic. I noted that the contested space thesis assumes an adversarial relationship between all stakeholders and interest groups that may not hold up under scrutiny. While disagreements may occur between different stakeholders and interest groups over the nature, meaning, ownership, and utilisation of a space, it does not mean that their divergent perspectives are irreconcilable. In the case of Temple Square, so long as the parties involved favour tourism and act in a spirit of cooperation and mutual benefit it is not to their advantage to view and treat one another as adversaries, whether that advantage is perceived in capitalistic or missionary terms.

With regard to the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy, I demonstrated how this dichotomy becomes destabilised through the interpretational efforts of the sister missionaries on Temple Square. Through establishing a strong "sense of place" and presenting a particular religious narrative to visitors the missionaries hope that personal identities will be reconstructed in some

cases and solidified in others. This dissertation questions whether the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is a valid way of segmenting travellers on both a conceptual and a pragmatic level. Finally, with regard to the management of sacred sites, the tourism management structure of Temple Square seems to be effective in countering concerns over the lack of both tourism management expertise and modern tourism management techniques at religious sites. Thus scholars of religious site management should give more credence to the efforts by religious leaders in managing their sacred sites.

In the final chapter of this dissertation, I discuss some of the broader conceptual issues raised by my work, and suggest a few potentially fruitful avenues for future research within the context of religious tourism, the management of sacred sites, and contested sacred space.

Chapter 6

RELIGION AND TOURISM: FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In using The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and its "crown jewel" Temple Square as a case study, I have looked at the ways in which the Church's religious culture and history inform the management practices at its sacred sites. In addition, I have critiqued the contested space thesis and the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy which are prevalent in the cultural geographic and tourism literature. The purpose of this chapter is to go beyond these specific areas of concern and discuss the broader implications and intellectual contributions of the findings discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation. More specifically, I focus on the importance of taking religious culture seriously within the broader scope of tourism studies. I also discuss the implications of my research findings on the "tourist gaze" (Urry 1990, 2002), embodiment, and non-representational theory as it relates to tourist identities, and revisit the core goals of religious site management. Interspersed throughout this chapter are avenues for future research within the area of religious tourism.

Geographers of religion have long been interested in studying the effects of religion on society, culture and the environment, as well as the relationships between humans and their physical settings (Stump 1986: 1), including the role of religion and sacred/secular tensions in the creation and maintenance of sacred space and place (Sopher 1967, 1981; Tuan 1977; Park 1994; Stoddard and Morinis 1997; D. Olsen 2000; Kong 2001; Olsen and Guelke 2004; Stump 2008).

While the geography of religion has mistakenly been characterized as standing at the margins of modern geographical inquiry and being fragmented and lacking holistic conceptualisation, methodologies, and definitions (Park 1994; Buttimer 2006), some researchers suggest that the geography of religion is a growing and vibrant field due to the cultural turn in

geography (Kong 2001). Kong (2001) and Holloway and Valins (2002) suggest that religion should play a greater role in geographic research agendas. Holloway and Valins (2002: 5-6) note that "geographers of religion cannot only usefully incorporate recent theoretical developments within (and beyond) the discipline, but also advance and critique such understandings, as processed through the empirical lenses of particular religious case studies and examples." However, I, like Brace *et al.* (2006), contend that those geographers of religion who rely on empirical or critical methodologies in their studies of geographies of religion need to engage with theological and philosophical claims to knowledge pertaining to the relationship between humanity and the environment and the nature of reality—in other words, a shift from the geography of religion to religious geography or the study of geographic knowledge from a religious perspective (Stump 1986).

One of the broader contributions of this dissertation is to call attention to the importance of religious culture within tourism studies (Cohen 1998; Singh 2007). A major issue involving theology and tourism that concerns the broader area of tourism studies is the rise of religious fundamentalism (Stump 2000). While tourists and the tourism industry have been the focus of terrorist attacks for decades (Norton 1987; Enders and Sandler 1991; Sönmez *et al.* 1999), more recently religious extremist groups—in particular Islamic activists—have also begun to target the tourism industry as well. Some Islamic extremist groups have taken violent measures to protect their religious norms and beliefs against the moral decadence and secularlising excesses tourism brings with it (Din 1989; Aziz 1995; Henderson 2003) and have attacked tourists and tourism establishments (Sönmez *et al.* 1999: 15). This is clearly demonstrated by the attacks against tourists in Egypt in 1997, the Bali bombings of 2002, and the Jakarta bombings in 2003 (Aziz 1995; Ranstorp 1996; Hollinshead 2003; Acharya and Acharya 2007). Terrorism in the name of religion is also evident in Israel, where frequent terrorism brings tourism to a halt when religious violence

occurs (Ranstorp 1996; Collins-Kreiner *et al.* 2006). Understanding fundamentalist pan-Islamic beliefs and culture (Acharya and Acharya 2007) is therefore critical to understanding why tourists and tourism establishments are specifically targeted by religious extremists.

At the same time, as noted in Chapter 2, the theology of various religious groups and the religious leaders' views on tourism can affect the way in which tourism "works" at different destinations. It may affect the attractiveness of a destination to tourists, the behaviour of segments of a community towards visitors, the staffing of tourist establishments, and the interpretation of various sites (Cohen 1998; Huntley and Barnes-Reid 2003). As well, religious prescriptions and proscriptions can influence where people travel, why they travel, and how they act while traveling (Kelly 1982: 52; Cohen 1998; Mattila *et al.* 2001). While religious leaders may not be against tourism *per* se, they may be concerned about the way in which tourism can damage the levels of religiosity and moral conduct of local adherents and residents (Pfaffenberger 1983; Cohen 1998; Henderson 2003). An understanding of religious leaders' views about tourism by geographers, tourism researchers and officials can lead to more cooperation and mutual understanding amongst religious managers and outside stakeholders (Timothy 1998b; Digance 2003). When outside stakeholders better understand the management goals, structures, decisions-making processes, and representational and interpretational practices at sacred site, they can give religious site managers a greater "voice" in the tourism planning process.

The findings of this dissertation also have implications, from a theoretical perspective, for understanding both the tourist experience (Perkins and Thorns 2001) and the development of power relationships within tourism (Cheong and Miller 2000). Drawing on Foucault's (1976) analysis of the 'medical gaze', Urry (1990, 1992) coined the phrase "tourist gaze" as a metaphor to describe the way in which modern tourists visually experience and interact with places. The tourist gaze involves modern tourists being characterised as submissively gazing at the places they visit

(Carrier 2003). Rather than engaging deeply with their destinations, tourists are characterised as being passive recipients of what the tourism industry instructs tourists to see (Cheong and Miller 2000); "gape-and-run" tourists focusing their "gaze" on the signs, spectacles, and markers that have been organised by practitioners and actors within the tourism industry who direct the tourist's "gaze" through travel books and guides, travel agents, hotel owners, and tour operators. These actors point tourists towards objects and subjects at a destination that are labeled as significant or authentic enough to be worth gazing upon (MacCannell 1973; Urry 1990, 2002). As such, the tourism industry attempts to construct and script tourist behaviours, experiences, and perceptions of tourists destinations, effectively disengaging tourists from the environments through which they move (Carrier 2003).

This view of tourists as passive recipients of the signs and representations the tourism industry sets in front of their eyes has been contested by some researchers who believe that "tourists are seeking to be *doing something* in the places they visit rather than being endlessly spectatorially passive" (Franklin and Crang 2001: 13, italics in original). In response to Cloke and Perkins' (1998: 189) view that tourism needs new metaphors based on "being, doing, touching *and* seeing" rather than just seeing, some have turned to the metaphor of "performance" to highlight the diverse nature of tourism and the tourist experience (Perkins and Thorns 2001). From this perspective, people's engagement with tourism destinations and attractions are not conditioned and constrained by the visual structuralisation of tourism; rather tourists' are involved in embodied multi-sensuous, multi-sensory, and embodied practices and interactions through which tourists become subjects of agency in which they are free to interpret their experiences and their view of tourist places through their senses, emotions, and individualised movements (Crouch *et al.* 2001; Franklin and Crang 2001; Coleman and Crang 2002; Crouch 2002, 2005).

This focus on sensuous tourist encounters with places (Crouch and Desforges 2003) and the way in which tourist experience moves beyond the visual parallels an emerging approach in cultural geography by some geographers (mainly in the United Kingdom) towards what Thrift (1997, 2000, 2008) and others (e.g., Smith 2003) label "non-representational theory" or "more-than-representational" theory (Lorimer 2005, 2008). Non-representational theory focuses "on how life takes shape and gains expression in shared experiences, everyday routines, fleeting encounters, embodied movements, precognitive triggers, practical skills, affective intensities, enduring urges, unexceptional interactions and sensuous dispositions" (Lorimer 2005: 84). In other words, individual practices and performances, not representations, form the basis of people's daily geographies and their experiences with space and place (Lorimer 2005; Smith 2003).

This shift from the visual to the sensual within cultural geography parallels the shift in understanding the dynamic nature of identity as being fluid and malleable. According to MacCannell (2001: 31, 36), "everything that attracts the gaze, every representation, generates its own 'beyond'", and the search for that "beyond" constitutes a "second gaze", in which tourists look for "the unexpected, not the extraordinary, objects and events that may open a window in structure, a chance to glimpse the real." While this "second gaze" involves negotiating through constructed tourist signs and representations to find an implied and fixed truth (MacCannell 2001), researchers from a non-representational perspective would argue that tourist identity is formed through embodied engagement with place. Tourists negotiate their own "truth" independent of these signs and representations. This negotiation comes about through the individual performances and practices of tourists within tourist space and their interpretation of the sensuous embodied experiences they have while traveling to and through tourist places. Since the tourists' "sensual worlds catalyze complexly and dissipate unexpectedly" (Lorimer 2008: 2), tourist identity is seen as dynamic, fluid and negotiable (Bauman 1996; Morgan and Pritchard 2005; Tilley 2006).

Leaders of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints understand that many visitors to Temple Square are of the "gape-and-run" variety. This means that without engagement with the site in some meaningful way, these visitors leave with their pre-travel identities intact. However, the objective at Temple Square and at other Latter-day Saint sacred sites is to move these visitors from gazing at the site to engaging with the site in a subjective manner, from being unmindful and disengaged visitors to becoming embodied potential converts. However, Church leaders believe that there is a spiritual dimension of people's identities, and therefore encourage visitors to engage with the representations and interpretation of Mormonism at Temple Square in a very specific subjective and embodied manner—namely through both their bodily and spiritual senses. At the same time, Church leaders understand that this subjective and embodied engagement should not be done in isolation of the representations and interpretation of Temple Square. Rather, the tourist's agency needs to be framed within an interpretational structure so as to lead tourists to particular conclusions about the significance of the site, the importance of knowing the doctrines of the Church, and the importance of converting to Mormonism. This strategy has guided Church outreach to tourists since the nineteenth-century.

A third contribution of this dissertation is the view of the "soul" as a tourist identity, where both bodily and spiritual senses are engaged in a form of hybrid-identity construction. The shift from the visual stimulus of the "tourist gaze" to the focus by non-representation theorists on embodied experiences should naturally lead, in my mind, to the exploration of the "spiritual" dimension of the tourist experience and identity formation. However, much of the scholarly discussion about the religious nature of tourist identities comes through discussions about the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy or contested space. While some scholars have suggested that tourists can have experiences akin to spiritual experiences (Turner 1973; Graburn 1989; Osterrieth 1997), the pilgrim-tourist dichotomy is not very useful for hybrid types of travel experiences. For

example, volunteer tourism can inspire religious experiences if run by a church organisation, while spiritual experiences also can be had while volunteering with secular relief organisations while overseas (Wearing and Neil 2000; Mustonen 2005; Timothy and Conover 2006; Zahra 2006). As well, long-term tourism to ashrams (Sharpley and Sundaram 2005) and other spiritual retreats (Shackley 2004) blur the distinction between tourism and adopting a religious way of life. Not only does this have implications on what is meant by the term "religious tourism" (Santos 2003; Timothy and Olsen 2006b), but also for understanding the motivations and expectations of visitors to religious sites.

This third implication is an area of future research that would prove fruitful, particularly in terms of the spiritual aspects of travel and identity formation. While, from an industry perspective, understanding the nature of religious tourism would entail segmenting the religious tourism market (English Tourist Board 1979; Nolan and Nolan 1992; Rinschede 1992; Bywater 1994; Twite and Baskin 1994; National Tour Association 1998; Russell 1999; Collins-Kreiner and Kliot 2000; Fleischer 2000; Cai *et al.* 2001; Pizam *et al.* 2002; McKelvie 2005; Poria *et al.* 2003; Collins-Kreiner *et al.* 2006), future research regarding the spiritual aspects of travel would benefit from an examination of the self-perceptions visitors have of their spiritual identities (Aziz 1987; Collins-Kreiner and Kliot 2000; Wickens 2002). For example, Collins-Kreiner and Kilot (2000), in their research on pilgrimage in the Holy Land, approached the issue of whether people were pilgrims or tourists from a phenomenological perspective, asking those who visited sacred sites whether they viewed themselves as being a pilgrim, a tourist, or a combination of the two. They note that "although their leaders classified them as pilgrims, in order to understand the connection and continuum between pilgrims and tourists, it is important to clarify whether the pilgrims' *own perception* fits this description" (Collins-Kreiner and Kliot 2000: 59, emphasis in original). Focusing

on the spiritual experiences of tourists based on their own perceptions of those experiences via ethnographic research is the next evolutionary step in the pilgrim-tourist discussion.

At this point one could ask what implications does the view of the "soul" as a tourist identity have for religious site management. At Temple Square, religious site management focuses on both the short-term aspects of site management—ranging from visitor management to security and garbage collection—to longer-term aspects of leading visitors into the eternities or the next life. Temple Square is seen by Church leaders as "step one" in an intended religious conversion, which, from a broader religious perspective, would normally occur in particular non-tourism "spaces" (e.g., baptismal river bank, church baptismal font or Jewish mikveh, the rabbi's study) and "times" (e.g., the "born-again" moment). As such, Church leaders "gaze" at visitors to Temple Square through a different set of eyes than that of secular tourism attraction managers. Rather than taking a short-term view of visitors representing potential profit, Church leaders take a longer-term vision or perspective of the significance of tourist visitation to Temple Square and view all visitors as having eternal souls, as spiritual brothers and sisters in need of salvation. This mutual or "reverse gaze" (Maoz 2005; Gillespie 2006) then dictates the way in which Temple Square is managed and interpreted to visitors.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

This is a scan of the e-mail I received giving me permission to use segments of sole-authored chapters I had previously written in my dissertation. I have the original in my possession.

From: Zoe.Kruze@tandf.co.uk
Sent: Wednesday, February 22, 2006 7:01 AM
To: dh2olsen@fes.uwaterloo.ca
Cc: Jodie.Tierney@tandf.co.uk
Subject: FW: Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys

Hi Daniel,

Jodie has passed your query onto me.

I have spoken to Andrew Mould and he has given the go ahead for you to use the content of your chapters in your dissertation.
So there is no official copyright process you need to go through.

Good luck with the dissertation!

Best Wishes
Zoe

From: Daniel H. Olsen [mailto:dh2olsen@fes.uwaterloo.ca]
Sent: 21 February 2006 15:40
To: Tierney, Jodie
Subject: RE: Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys

Jodie,

I just received my copy of the Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys book. Thank you so much! It looks great!

I have a quick question for you. I am in the process of finishing up my dissertation. Much of the content of the chapters I wrote or co-wrote were based on my dissertation (in some cases almost verbatim). I was wondering what the process was to get copyright so that I can use the content of my chapters in my dissertation. Are you the appropriate person to ask, or is there someone else that I should be speaking to? Please advise.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this matter.

--
Daniel H. Olsen
PhD Candidate
Department of Geography
University of Waterloo
Waterloo, Ontario, Canada
N2L 3G1
tel: (519) 888-4567, ext. 7041
dh2olsen@fes.uwaterloo.ca

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acharya, A. and Acharya, A. 2007. The Myth of the Second Front: Localizing the 'War on Terror' in Southeast Asia. *The Washington Quarterly*. 30(4): 75-90.

Adler, J. 1989. Travel as Performed Art. *American Journal of Sociology*. 94: 1366-1391.

Adler, J. 2002. The Holy Man as Traveler and Travel Attraction: Early Christian Asceticism and the Moral Problem of Modernity. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi. Eds. *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism*. London: Praeger, 25-50.

Ahmed, Z. U. 1999. Islamic Pilgrimage (Hajj) to Ka'aba in Makkah (Saudi Arabia): An Important International Tourism Activity. *Journal of Tourism Studies*. 3(1): 35-43.

Aitcheson, C. and Reeves, C. 1998. Gendered (Bed)spaces: The Culture and Commerce of Women Only Tourism. In C. Aitchison and F. Jordan. Eds. *Gender, Space and Identity. Leisure, Culture and Commerce*. Eastbourne: Leisure Studies Association, 47-68.

Aitchison, C. C. 2006. The Critical and the Cultural: Explaining the Divergent Paths of Leisure Studies and Tourism Studies. *Leisure Studies*. 25(4): 417-422.

Al-Hathloul, S. and Mughal, M. A. 2001. Makkah: Developing the Center of Islam District. *Urban Design International*. 6: 43-61.

Alderman, D. H. 2002. Writing on the Graceland Wall: On the Importance of Authorship in Pilgrimage Landscapes. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 27(2): 27-33.

Allen, J. B. and Leonard, G. M. 1976. *The Story of the Latter-day Saints*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Alneg, V. 2002. The Modern Does Not Cater for Natives: Travel Ethnography and the Conventions of Form. *Tourist Studies*. 2(2): 119-142.

Anderson, E. H. 1921. The Bureau of Information. *The Improvement Era*. 25(2): 131-139.

Arrighi, R. F. G. 1967. *The Catholic Church and Tourism*. Geneva: International Union of Official Travel Organisations.

Arrington, L. J. 1958. *Great Basin Kingdom; An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Arrington, L. J. 1969. The Transcontinental Railroad and the Development of the West. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 37(1): 3-15.

Arrington, L. J. and Bitton, D. 1979. *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*. New York: Knopf.

Arrington, L. J. and Swinton, H. S. 1986. *The Hotel: Salt Lake's Classy Lady*. Salt Lake City, UT: Publisher's Press.

Asad, T. 1993. *Genealogies of Religion: Discipline and Reasons of Power in Christianity and Islam*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Ashworth, G. J. 2000. Heritage, Tourism and Places: A Review. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 25(1): 19-29.

Ashworth, G. J. 2006. Editorial: On Icons and ICONS. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 12(5): 392-393.

Ashworth, G. J. and Tunbridge, J. E. 1990. *The Tourist-Historic City*. London: Bellhaven Press.

Askew, R. 1997. *From Strangers to Pilgrims: Evangelism and the Church Tourist*. London: Church Army and the Grove Evangelism Series.

Associated Press. 2003. Vatican Dress Code Steams Tourists. http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/ 2003/07/ 16/world/main563585.shtml.

Ateljevic, I. and Doorne, S. 2000. Tourism as an Escape: Long-Term Travelers in New Zealand. *Tourism Analysis*. 5(2): 131-136.

Ateljevic, I. and Doorne, S. 2003. Culture, Economy and Tourism Commodities: Social Relations of Production and Consumption. *Tourist Studies*. 3(2): 123-141.

Athearn, R. G. 1969. Contracting for the Union Pacific. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 37(1): 14-40.

Attix, S. A. 2002. New Age-Oriented Special Interest Travel: An Exploratory Study. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 27(2): 51-58.

Avant, G. 2004. *Church Almanac*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News.

Aziz, B. N. 1987. Personal Dimensions of the Sacred Journey: What Pilgrims Say. *Religious Studies*. 23: 247-261.

Aziz, H. 1995. Understanding Attacks on Tourists in Egypt. *Tourism Management*. 16(2): 91-95.

Aziz, H. 2001. The Journey: An Overview of Tourism and Travel in the Arab/Islamic Context. In D. Harrison. Ed. *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 151-159.

Badone, E. and Roseman, S. R. 2004. *Intersecting Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage and Tourism*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Bamossy, G. J. and Stephens, S. 2003. Utah Image Awareness: The Post-Olympics European Study, 2002.

Bar, D. and Cohen-Hattab, K. 2003. A New Kind of Pilgrimage: The Modern Tourism Pilgrim of Ninteenth-Century and Early Twentieth Century Palestine. *Middle Eastern Studies*. 39(2): 131-148.

Barnes, T. J. 2000. Foundationalism. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts (Eds). *The Dictionary of Human Geography, 4th Ed*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 278-279.

Baum, G. 2006. *Religion and Alienation: A Theological Reading of Sociology*. Ottawa: Novalis.

Bauman, Z. 1996. From Pilgrim to Tourist - Or a Short History of Identity. In S. Hall and P. du Gay. Eds. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage, 18-36.

Beal, T. 2005. *Roadside Religion: In Search of the Sacred, the Strange, and the Substance of Faith*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bennett, R. E. 1975. *A Study of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Upper Canada, 1830-1850*. Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University.

Bennett, R. E. 1997. *We'll Find the Place: The Mormon Exodus, 1846-1848*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Besio, K. 2007. In the Lady's Seat: Cosmopolitan Women Travelers in Pakistan. In K. Morin and J. K. Guelke. Eds. *Women, Religion & Space*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 18-36.

Bhabha, H. K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.

Bingaman, T. 2004. Interview with the author, August 23.

Bishop, M. G. 1994. The Saints and the Captain: The Mormons Meet Richard F. Burton. *Journal of the West*. 33(4): 2835.

Bishop, M. G. and Holzaphel, R. N. 1993. The "St. Peter's of the New World": The Salt Lake Temple, Tourism, and a New Image for Utah. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 61(2): 136-149.

Bitton, D. Ed. 1994. *The Ritualization of Mormon History*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Blasi, A. J. 2002. Visitation to Disaster Sites. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi (Eds). *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Modern Tourism*. London: Praeger, 159-180.

Blumer, H. 1962. Society as Symbolic Interaction. In A. Rose (Eds). *Human Behaviour and Social Processes: An Interaction Approach*. Houghton Mifflin:

Boorstin, D. J. 1961. *The Image: A Guide to Psudeo-Events in America*. New York: Atheneum.

Bowen, W. D. 1992. Spirit World. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1408-1409.

Brace, C., Bailey, A. R., and Harvey, D. C. 2006. Religion, Place and Space: A Framework for Investigating Historical Geographies of Religious Identities and Communities. *Progress in Human Geography.* 30(1): 28-43.

Bradford, M. G. and Dahl, L. E. 1992. Meaning, Source, and History of Doctrine. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 1. New York: Macmillian, 393-397.

Bradley, M. S. 2005. Creating the Sacred Space of Zion. *Journal of Mormon History.* 31(1): 1-30.

Braun, W. 2000. Religion. In W. Braun and R. T. McCutcheon. Eds. *Guide to the Study of Religion.* New York: Cassell, 3-18.

Breathnach, T. 2006. Looking for the Real Me: Locating the Self in Heritage Tourism. *Journal of Heritage Tourism.* 1(2): 100-120.

Bremer, T. S. 2001a. *Religion on Display: Tourists, Sacred Places, and Identity at the San Antonio Missions.* PhD Dissertation, Princeton University.

Bremer, T. S. 2001b. Tourism and Religion at Temple Square and Mission San Juan Capistrano. *Journal of American Folklore.* 113(450): 422-435.

Bremer, T. S. 2004. *Blessed with Tourists: The Borderlands of Religion and Tourism in San Antonio.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

Bremer, T. S. 2005. Tourism and Religion. In L. Jones. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion.* Detroit: Macmillian Reference USA.Thomas Gale, 9260-9264.

Bremer, T. S. 2006. Sacred Space and Tourist Places. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys.* London and New York: Routledge, 25-35.

Brown, K. S., Cannon, D. Q., and Jackson, R. H. Eds. 1994. *Historical Atlas of Mormonism.* New York: Simon and Schuster.

Buck, R. C. 1978. Boundary Maintenance Revisited: Tourist Experience in an Old Order Amish Community. *Rural Sociology.* 43(2): 221-234.

Burbank, M. J., Andranovich, G. D., and Heying, C. H. 2001. *Olympic Dreams: The Impact of Mega-Events on Local Politics.* Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner Publishers, Inc.

Burns, E. 1984. Plan and Process in Salt Lake City. *Triglyph: A Southwestern Journal of Architecture and Environmental Design.* 1: 11-16.

Burns, E. K. and Kay, J. 1981. Land Ownership in Salt Lake City's Central Business District. *Yearbook of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers.* 43: 23-25.

Burton, A. P. 1992. Salvation. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1256-1257.

Burton, H. D. 1992. Baptism for the Dead: LDS Practice. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 1. New York: Macmillian, 95-97.

Bushman, R. L. 1984. *Joseph Smith and the Beginnings of Mormonism.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bushman, R. L. 2005. *Joseph Smith: A Rough Stone Rolling.* New York: Knopf.

Butcher, J. 2006. Cultural Politics, Cultural Policy and Cultural Tourism. In M. K. Smith and M. Robinson. Eds. *Cultural Tourism in a Changing World: Politics, Participation and (Re)Presentation.* Clevedon, UK: Channel View, 21-35.

Butler, J. 1990. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity.* New York: Routledge.

Buttimer, A. 2006. Afterword: Reflections on Geography, Religion, and Belief Systems. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* 96(1): 197-202.

Bywater, M. 1994. Religious Travel in Europe. *Travel & Tourism Analyst.* 2: 39-52.

Caffyn, A. and Lutz, J. 1999. Developing the Heritage Tourism Produce in Multi-Ethnic Cities. *Tourism Management.* 20: 213-221.

Cai, L. A., Schwartz, Z., and Cohen, E. 2001. Senior Tourists in the Holy Land. *Journal of Teaching in Travel & Tourism.* 1(4): 19-33.

Cameron, C. M. and Gatewood, J. B. 2003. Seeking Numinous Experiences in the Unremembered Past. *Ethnology.* 42(1): 55-71.

Campo, J. E. 1998. American Pilgrimage Landscapes. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.* 55(840): 856.

Cannon, T. L. 1959. Temple Square: The Crossroads of the West. *Utah Historical Quarterly.* 27(3): 247-257.

Card, O. R. 1933. The Temple Square Mission: A Foreign Mission at Home. *The Improvement Era.* 36(9): 517, 520.

Cargal, A. 2007. Tours and Testimonies. *Ensign.* 37(7): 33-37.

Carrier, J. G. 2003. Mind, Gaze and Engagement: Understanding the Environment. *Journal of Material Culture.* 8(1): 5-23.

Cartier, C. and Lew, A. A. 2005. *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes.* New York: Routledge.

Chaney, D. 2002. The Power of Metaphors in Tourism Theory. In S. Coleman and M. Crang. Eds. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance.* New York and Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, 193-206.

Charney, L. A. 1992. Joining the Church. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* Vol 2. New York: Macmillian, 758-760.

Chen, C. H. and Yorgason, E. 1999. "Those Amazing Mormons": The Media's Construction of Latter-Day Saints as a Model Minority. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought.* 32(2): 107-128.

Chen, H. C. 2003. "Molympics"? Journalistic Discourse of Mormons in Relation to the 2002 Winter Olympic Games. *Journal of Media and Religion.* 2(1): 29-47.

Cheong, S.-M. and Miller, M. L. 2000. Power and Tourism: A Foucauldian Observation. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 27(2): 371-390.

Chidester, D. and Linenthal, E. T. 1995. Introduction. In D. Chidester and E. T. Linenthal. Eds. *American Sacred Space.* Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1-42.

Chivallon, C. 2001. Religion as Space for the Expression of Caribbean Identity in the United Kingdom. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.* 19: 461-483.

Chouinard, V. 1997. Structure and Agency: Contested Concepts in Human Geography. *The Canadian Geographer.* 41(4): 363-377.

Chronis, A. 2006. Heritage of the Senses: Collective Remembering as an Embodied Praxis. *Tourist Studies.* 6(3): 267-296.

Clark, H. 1991. Developments in Human Geography: Niches for a Christian Contribution. *Area.* 23: 339-344.

Clift, J. D. and Clift, W. B. 1998. *The Archetype of Pilgrimage: Outer Action with Inner Meaning.* New York: Paulist Press.

Cloesen, U. 2005. Religious Tourism--Braj, Center of Viashnava Pilgrimage. *Acta Turistica.* 17(1): 3-28.

Cloke, P. and Perkins, H. 1998. 'Cracking the Canyon with the Awesome Foursome': Representations of Adventure Tourism in New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space.* 16: 185-218.

Cohen, E. 1979. Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 6(1): 18-35.

Cohen, E. 1988. Authenticity and Commodification in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 15: 371-386.

Cohen, E. 1992. Pilgrimage and Tourism: Convergence and Divergence. In A. Morinis. Ed. *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 18-35.

Cohen, E. 1998. Tourism and Religion: A Comparative Perspective. *Pacific Tourism Review.* 2: 1-10.

Cohen, E. 2000. Pilgrim. In J. Jafari.Ed. *Encyclopedia of Tourism*. New York: Routledge, 438.

Cohen, E. H., Ifergan, M., and Cohen, E. 2002. A New Paradigm in Guiding: The *Madrich* as Role Model. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 29(4): 919-932.

Cohen-Ionnides, M. W. and Ioannides, D. 2006. Global Jewish Tourism: Pilgrimage and Remembrance. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. London and New York: Routledge, 156-171.

Cole, S. 2007. Implementing and Evaluating a Code of Conduct for Visitors. *Tourism Management*. 28(2): 443-451.

Coleman, S. and Crang, M. 2002. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Coleman, S. and Elsner, J. 1991. Contesting Pilgrimage: Current Views and Future Directions. *Cambridge Anthropology*. 15(3): 63-73.

Coleman, S. and Elsner, J. 1994. The Pilgrim's Progress: Art, Architecture and Ritual Movement at Sinai. *World Archaeology*. 26(1): 73-89.

Collins-Kreiner, N. 2002. Is There a Connection Between Pilgrimage and Tourism? The Jewish Religion. *International Journal of Tourism Sciences*. 2(2): 1-18.

Collins-Kreiner, N., Kilot, N., Mansfeld, Y., and Saig, K. 2006. *Christian Tourism to the Holy Land: Pilgrimage during Security Crisis*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Collins-Kreiner, N. and Kliot, N. 2000. Pilgrimage Tourism in the Holy Land: The Behavioural Characteristics of Christian Pilgrims. *Geojournal*. 50: 55-67.

Conran, T. 2002. Solemn Witness: A Pilgrimage to Ground Zero at the World Trade Center. *Journal of Systemic Therapies*. 21(3): 39-47.

Cook, L. and Ehat, A. 1980. *Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses by the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Provo, UT: Religious Studies Center, BYU.

Cosgrove, D. 2000. Cultural Geography. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts. Eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 134-138.

Cowan, R. O. 2001. Steel Rails and the Utah Saints. *Journal of Mormon History*. 27(2): 177-196.

Crang, M. 1996. Magic Kingdom or Quixotic Quest for Authenticity. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 23(2): 415-431.

Cresswell, T. 1996. *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Crist, C. and Stutz, C. 2004. Interview with the author, August 23.

Crouch, D. 2002. Surrounded by Place: Embodied Encounters. In S. Coleman and M. Crang. Eds. *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*. New York: Berghahn Books, 207-218.

Crouch, D. 2005. Flirting with Space: Tourism Geographies as Sensuous/Expressive Practice. In C. Cartier and A. A. Lew. Eds. *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*. Oxon, UK and New York: Routledge, 23-35.

Crouch, D., Aronsson, L., and Wahlstrom, L. 2001. Tourist Encounters. *Tourist Studies*. 1(3): 243-270.

Crouch, D. and Desforges, L. 2003. The Sensuous in the Tourist Encounter. Introduction: The Power of the Body in Tourist Studies. *Tourist Studies*. 3(1): 5-22.

Dahl, L. E. 1992. Degrees of Glory. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 1. New York: Macmillian, 367-369.

Daskalakis, G. 1984. Tourism and the Architectural Heritage -- Cultural Aspects. In AIEST. Ed. *Tourism and the Architectural Heritage -- Cultural, Legal, Economic and Marketing Aspects*. St. Gall: AIEST, 23-36.

Davidson, J. W., Hecht, A., and Whitney, H. A. 1990. Pilgrimage to Graceland. In G. Rinschede and S. M. Bhardwaj. Eds. *Pilgrimage in the United States*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 229-252.

Davies, D. J. 2000. *The Mormon Culture of Salvation*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Davies, D. J. 2003. The Sociology of Holiness: The Power of Being Good. In S. C. Barton. Ed. *Holiness: Past and Present*. London and New York: T&T Clark Publishers, 48-67.

Davis, K. 1989. Christian Praxis for Change: A Caribbean Experiment. *World Development*. 8: 591-601.

Dayley, K. N. 1992. Mormon Tabernacle Choir. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 950-952.

de Sousa, D. 1988. Tourism as a Religious Issue: A Third World Perspective. *Contours*. 3(5): 5-13.

de Sousa, D. 1993. Tourism and Pilgrimage: Tourists as Pilgrims? *Contours*. 6(2): 4-8.

Del Casino Jr., V. J. and Hanna, S. P. 2000. Representations and Identities in Tourism Map Spaces. *Progress in Human Geography*. 24(1): 23-46.

Denzin, N. K. and Lincoln, Y. S. 1998. Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln (Eds). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, 1-34.

Desforges, L. 2000. Traveling the World: Identity and Travel Biography. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 27(4): 926-945.

Dew, S. L. 1996. *Go Forward with Faith: The Biography of Gordon B. Hinckley*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book.

Dietvorst, A. G. J. and Ashworth, G. J. 1995. Tourism Transformations: An Introduction. In G. J. Ashworth and A. G. J. Dietvorst. Eds. *Tourism and Spatial Transformations: Implications for Policy and Planning*. Wallingford, UK: CAB International, 1-12.

Digance, J. 2003. Pilgrimage at Contested Sites. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 30(1): 143-159.

Din, K. H. 1989. Islam and Tourism: Patters, Issues, and Options. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 16: 542-563.

Dockstader, J. A. 1992a. Mormon Values Set in Stone, Bronze. *Church News*. 62(14): 8-9.

Dockstader, J. A. 1992b. Temple Square: Effective Missionary Tool. *Church News*. 62(11): 3, 11.

Doxey, C. 2000. International Tours of the Tabernacle Choir. In S. E. Black, R. L. Bott, and D. R. Darling. Eds. *Out of Obscurity: The LDS Church in the Twentieth Century*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 76-89.

Doyle, A. C. 1887. *A Study in Scarlet*. London: Ward Lock.

Duncan, J. 1993. Representing Power: The Politics and Poetics of Urban Form in the Kandyan Kingdom. In J. Duncan and D. Ley. Eds. *Place/Culture/Representation*. London: Routledge, 232-248.

Duncan, J. 2000. Text. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts. Eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 824-826.

Durham, G. H. 1942. Administrative Organization of the Mormon Church. *Political Science Quarterly*. 57: 51-71.

Eade, J. 1992. Pilgrimage and Tourism at Lourdes, France. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 19: 18-32.

Eade, J. and Sallnow, M. J. 1991. *Contesting the Sacred*. London: Routledge.

Echtner, C. and Prasad, P. 2003. The Context of Third World Marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 30(3): 600-682.

Eco, U. 1983. *Travels in Hyperreality*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Publishers.

Edensor, T. 1998. *Tourism at the Taj*. London: Routledge.

Edensor, T. 2000. Staging Tourism: Tourists as Performers. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 27(2): 322-344.

Edensor, T. 2001. Performing Tourism, Staging Tourism: (Re)producing Tourist Space and Practice. *Tourist Studies*. 1(1): 59-81.

Edwards, P. M. 1988. *The Doctrine and Covenants*. Independence, MO: Herald Publishing House.

Eliade, M. 1961. *The Sacred and the Profane*. New York: Harper & Row.

Eliason, E. A. 1998. *Celebrating Zion: Pioneers in Mormon Popular Historical Expression*. PhD Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin.

Eliason, E. A. 2001. Curious Gentiles and Representational Authority in the City of the Saints. *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*. 11(2): 155-190.

Enders, W. and Sandler, T. 1991. Causality between Transnational Terrorism and Tourism: The Case of Spain. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*. 14(1): 49-58.

English Tourist Board. 1979. *English Cathedrals and Tourism: Problems and Opportunities*. London: English Tourist Board.

Evans, P. H. 1992. Mormon Tabernacle Choir Broadcast ("The Spoken Word"). In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 952.

Evans, R. 1990. Whose Promised Land? *Geographical Magazine*. 62(7): 38-41.

Fafard, M. and Lukens-Bull, R. 2006. Next Year in Jerusalem: A 21st Century, Medieval Pilgrimage Site. *Osprey Journal of Ideas and Inquiry*. 5: www.unf.edu/dept/scholarprograms/osprey journal2006/FafardLukensBull.doc.

Fenster, T. 2005. Identity Issues and Local Governance: Women's Everyday Life in the City. *Social Identities*. 11(1): 21-36.

Fenster, T. 2007. Gender, Religion, and Urban Management: Women's Bodies and Everyday Lives in Jerusalem. In K. Morin and J. K. Guelke. Eds. *Women, Religion & Space*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 41-60.

Ferber, M. P. 2004. Critical Realism and Religion: Objectivity and the Insider/Outsider Problem. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 96(1): 176-181.

Ferguson, I. C. 1992. Humanitarian Service. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 2. New York: Macmillian, 662-665.

Fields, D. H. 1995. Hospitality. In D. J. Atkinson and D. H. Fields. Eds. *New Dictionary of Ethics & Pastoral Theology*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 459-460.

Findlayson, M. 1992. Elijah, Spirit of. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 452.

Fish, J. M. and Fish, M. 1993. International Tourism and Pilgrimage: A Discussion. *The Journal of East and West*. 22(2): 83-90.

Fleischer, A. 2000. The Tourist behind the Pilgrim in the Holy Land. *International Journal of Hospitality Management*. 19: 311-326.

Foote, K. E. 1997. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Foucault, M. 1976. *The Birth of the Clinic*. London: Tavistock.

Fowler, J. 1987. *Faith Development and Pastoral Care*. London: Fortress Press.

Francaviglia, R. V. 1978. *The Mormon Landscape: Existence, Creation, and Perception of a Unique Image in the American West*. New York: AMS Press.

Francaviglia, R. V. 2003. *Believing in Place: A Spiritual Geography of the Great Basin*. Reno and Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press.

Franklin, A. 2003. *Tourism: An Introduction*. London: Sage.

Franklin, A. and Crang, M. A. 2001. The Trouble with Tourism and Travel Theory? *Tourist Studies*. 1(1): 5-22.

Fugal, E. W. 1992. Salvation of the Dead. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1257-1259.

Furnivall, F. J. 1967. *The Cambridge Ms. of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*. New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation.

Gammon, S. 2004. Secular Pilgrimage and Sport Tourism. In B. W. Ritchie and D. Adair. Eds. *Sport Tourism: Interrelationships, Impacts and Issues*. Clevedon, UK and New York: Channel View Publications, 30-45.

Gauthier, R. 2005. Des Églises du Québec à Visiter de la Poétique de L'espace au Principe de Réalité (Some Churches to Visit in Quebec: From the Poetry of the Space to the Reason for Existence). *Téoros, Revue de Recherche en Tourisme*. 24(2): 17-25.

Gerlach, L. R. 2002. Church and Games: The Mormon Church and the Salt Lake City Olympic Winter Games. In K. B. Wamsley, R. K. Bernay, and S. G. Martyn. Eds. *The Global Nexus Engaged: Past, Present, Future Interdisciplinary Olumpic Studies, Sixth International Symposium for Olympic Research*. London, ON: International Centre for Olympic Studies, 13-28.

Gerth, H. H. and Mills, C. W. 1948. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. London: Routledge.

Giddens, A. 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Giles, J. D. 1948. The Land NOBODY Wanted. *The Improvement Era*. 51(7): 436, 462, 464.

Gillespie, A. 2006. Tourist Photography and the Reverse Gaze. *Ethos*. 34(3): 343-366.

Goddard, B. 1902. Bureau of Information and Church Literature. *Young Woman's Journal*. 13(11): 483-488.

Goldstein, D. E. 1995. The Secularization of Religious Ethnography and Narrative Competence in a Discourse of Faith. *Western Folklore*. 54(23): 36.

Gorski, E. 2001. Olympic Countdown: Mormon Church Trying to Stay in the Background.

Gough, P. 2000. From Heroes' Groves to Parks of Peaces: Landscapes of Remembrance, Protest and Peace. *Landscape Research*. 25(2): 213-228.

Graburn, N. H. H. 1989. Tourism: The Sacred Journey. In V. L. Smith. Ed. *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 21-36.

Graham, B., Ashworth, G. J., and Tunbridge, J. E. 2000. *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy*. London: Arnold.

Graham, B. and Murray, M. 1997. The Spiritual and the Profane: The Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella. *Ecumene*. 4(4): 389-409.

Grandstaff, M. R. and Backman Jr., M. V. 1990. The Social Origins of the Kirtland Mormons. *Brigham Young University Studies*. 30(2): 47-66.

Griffin, J. 1994. Order of Service. *Leisure Management*. 14(12): 30-32.

Grimwade, G. and Carter, B. 2000. Managing Small Heritage Sites with Interpretation and Community Involvement. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 6(1): 33-48.

Gruen, J. P. 2002. The Urban Wonders: City Tourism in the Late-19th-Century American West. *Journal of the West*. 41(2): 10-19.

Gruen, J. P. 2003. The Mormon Lure: Tourists in Late Nineteenth-Century Salt Lake City. http://cfac/byu.edu/moa/Education/documents/Passion4 Place.pdf.

Gupta, V. 1999. Sustainable Tourism: Learning from Indian Religious Traditions. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*. 11(2-3): 91-95.

Hafen, T. K. 1997. City of Saints, City of Sinners: The Development of Salt Lake City as a Tourist Attraction 1869-1900.

Hall, C. M. 1997. Geography, Marketing and the Selling of Places. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*. 6(3/4): 61-84.

Hall, C. M. 2006. Travel and Journeying on the Sea of Faith: Perspectives from Religious Humanism. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. London and New York: Routledge, 64-77.

Hall, C. M. and Tucker, H. 2004. *Tourism and Postcolonialism.* Oxon, UK and New York: Routledge.

Hall, C. M. and McArthur, S. 1996. The Human Dimension of Heritage Management. In C. M. Hall and S. McArthur. Eds. *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 2-21.

Halverson, W. D. 2000. *The LDS Conference Center and its History.* Salt Lake City, UT: DMT Publishing.

Hamao, S. F. and Gioia, F. 2001. Guidelines for the Pastoral Care of Tourism.

Hammond, P. 1985. Introduction. In P. Hammond. Ed. *The Sacred in a Secular Age.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1-6.

Handy, R. T. 1972. *Religion in the American Experience: The Pluralistic Style.* Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press.

Haraway, D. J. 1991. *Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Reinvention of Nature.* New York: Routledge.

Harper, S. M. P. 2000. *The Lab, the Temple, and the Market.* Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

Hartley, W. G. 1970. Mormons, Crickets, and Gulls: A New Look at an Old Story. *Utah Historical Quarterly.* 38: 224-239.

Hauser-Schäublin, B. 1998. Temples and Tourism: Between Adaption, Resistance and Surrender? *Rima.* 32(1): 144-178.

Hawkes, J. D. 1977. *Doctrine & Covenants, Pearl of Great Price Digest: With Historical Commentary.* Salt Lake City, UT: Hawkes Publishing Company.

Haws, T. G. 1992. Welfare Square. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1558-1559.

Heelas, P. 1998. Introduction: On Differentiation and Dedifferentiation. In P. Heelas. Ed. *Modernity and Postmodernity.* Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1-18.

Heintzman, P. 2002. A Conceptual Model of Leisure and Spiritual Well-Being. *Journal of Park and Recreation Adminstration.* 20(4): 147-169.

Heintzman, P. and Mannell, R. C. 2003. Spiritual Functions of Leisure and Spiritual Well-Being: Coping with Time Pressure. *Leisure Studies.* 25: 207-230.

Hekman, S. J. 1983. Weber's Ideal Types: A Contemporary Assessment. *Polity.* 16: 119-137.

Henderson, J. C. 2003. Managing Tourism and Islam in Peninsular Malaysia. *Tourism Management.* 24: 447-456.

Hertzog III, G. B. 1984. *A National Parks Ministry: A Model for Ministry in the Context of Leisure-Tourism.* PhD Dissertation, School of Theology at Claremont.

Hervieu-Léger, D. 1999. Religion as Memory. In J. G. Platvoet and A. L. Molendijk. Eds. *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion: Contexts, Concepts and Contests.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill, 73-92.

Hidayat, K. 1993. Observations from an Islamic Perspective. In W. Nuryanti. Ed. *Universal Tourism: Enriching or Degrading Culture?* Yogakarta, Indonesia: Gadjah Mada University Press, 75-79.

Hitrec, T. 1990. Religious Tourism: Develoment - Characteristics - Perspectives. *Acta Turistica.* 2(1): 4-49.

Hobbs, J. J. 1992. Sacred Space and Touristic Development at Jebel Musa (Mt. Sanai), Egypt. *Journal of Cultural Geography.* 12(2): 99-112.

Holden, P. 1988. *Tourism: An Ecumenical Concern. The Story of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism.* Bangkok: Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism.

Hollinshead, H. 1998. Disney and Commodity Aesthetics: A Critique of Fjellman's Analysis of "Distory" and the "Historicide" of the Past. *Current Issues in Tourism.* 1(1): 59-119.

Hollinshead, K. 2003. Symbolism in Tourism: Lessons from "Bali 2002"--Lessons from Australia's Dead Heart. *Tourism Analysis.* 8(2): 267-295.

Holloway, J. 2000. Institutional Geographies of the New Age Movement. *Geoforum.* 31(4): 553-565.

Holloway, J. and Valins, O. 2002. Editorial: Placing Religion and Spirituality in Geography. *Social & Cultural Geography.* 1(1): 5-10.

Holmberg, C. B. 1993. Spiritual Pilgrimages: Traditional and Hyperreal Motivations for Travel and Tourism. *Visions of Leisure and Business.* 12(2): 18-27.

Holzaphel, R. N. 2000. Endowment House. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 336-337.

Hovanessian, M. 1992. *Le Lein Communautaire. Trois Générations d'Arméniens.* Paris: Armand Collins.

Hudman, L. E. 1994. Tourism and the America West. *Journal of the West.* 33(3): 67-76.

Hudman, L. E. and Jackson, R. H. 1992. Mormon Pilgrimage and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 19: 107-121.

Hughes, G. 1998. Tourism and the Semiological Realization of Space. In G. Ringer. Ed. *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism.* London: Routledge, 17-32.

Hughey, M. W. 1979. The Idea of Secularization in the Works of Max Weber: A Theoretical Outline. *Qualitative Sociology.* 2(1): 85-111.

Hunt, E. D. 1984. Travel, Tourism and Piety in the Roman Empire: A Context for the Beginnings of Christian Pilgrimage. *Echos du Monde Classique.* 28: 391-417.

Huntley, E. and Barnes-Reid, C. 2003. The Feasibility of Sabbath-Keeping in the Caribbean Hospitality Industry. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management.* 15(3): 172-175.

Huntsinger, L. and Fernández-Giménez, M. 2000. Spiritual Pilgrims at Mount Shasta, California. *The Geographical Review.* 90(4): 536-558.

Hyer, P. V. 1992. Sealing: Temple Sealing. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1289.

Ibrahim, H. 1982. Leisure and Islam. *Leisure Studies.* 1: 197-210.

Inoue, N. 2000. From Religious Conformity to Innovation: New Ideas of Religious Journey and Holy Places. *Social Compass.* 47(1): 21-32.

Intellectual Reserve. 2004. *True to the Faith.* Salt Lake City, UT: Intellectual Reserve.

Isaac, E. 1963. The Pilgrimage to Mecca. *The Geographical Review.* 63(3): 405-409.

Israeli, Y. and Mansfeld, Y. 2003. Transportation Accessibility to and within Tourist Attractions in the Old City of Jerusalem. *Tourism Geographies.* 5(4): 461-481.

Ivakiv, A. 2003. Nature and Self in New Age Pilgrimage. *Culture and Religion.* 4(1): 93-118.

Jackowski, A. 1987. Geography of Pilgrimages in Poland. *The National Geographical Journal of India.* 33(4): 422-429.

Jackowski, A. 1990. Pilgrimages in Poland Versus Pilgrimages in the World. *Problems of Tourism.* 1/2(47/48): 53-64.

Jackowski, A. 2000. Religious Tourism - Problems with Terminology. In A. Jackowski. Ed. *Peregrinus Cracoviensis.* Cracow, Poland: Publishing Unit, Institute of Geography, Jagiellonian University, 63-74.

Jackowski, A. and Smith, V. L. 1992. Polish Pilgrim-Tourists. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 19: 92-106.

Jackson, R. H. 1977. The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan. *BYU Studies.* 17(2): 223-240.

Jackson, R. H. 1978. Mormon Perception and Settlement. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers.* 68(3): 317-334.

Jackson, R. H. 1988. Great Salt Lake and Great Salt Lake City: American Curiosities. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 56(2): 128-147.

Jackson, R. H. 1993. Sacred Space and City Planning: The Mormon Example. *Architecture & Behaviour*. 9(2): 251-260.

Jackson, R. H. 1994. Geography and Settlement in the Intermountain West: Creating an American Mecca. *Journal of the West*. 33(3): 22-34.

Jackson, R. H. 1995. Pilgrimage in American Religion: Mormons and Secular Pilgrimage. In D. P. Dubey. Ed. *Pilgrimage Studies: Sacred Places, Sacred Traditions*. Allahbad, India: The Society of Pilgrimage Studies, 191-208.

Jackson, R. H. 2003. Mormon Wests: The Creation and Evolution of an American Region. In N. Reno. Ed. *Western Places, American Myths: How We Think About the West*. University of Nevada Press: 135-165.

Jackson, R. H. and Bryson, J. G. 2003. Salt Lake City's Main Street Plaza: Sacred or Secular Space? In R. H. Jackson and M. W. Jackson. Eds. *Geography, Culture and Change in the Mormon West: 1847-2003*. 2003: Jacksonville, AL: National Council for Geographic Education, 79-95.

Jackson, R. H. and Henrie, R. 1983. Perception of Sacred Space. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 3(2): 94-107.

Jackson, R. H. and Hudman, L. E. 1994. Pilgrimage Tourism and English Cathedrals: The Role of Religion in Travel. *The Tourist Review*. 4: 40-48.

Jackson, R. P. 2000. Joseph Smith Memorial Building. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 588-589.

Jafari, J. 1987. Tourism Models: The Sociocultural Aspects. *Tourism Management*. 8: 151-159.

Jamal, T. and Kim, H. 2005. Bridging the Interdisciplinary Divide: Towards an Integrated Framework for Heritage Tourism Research. *Tourist Studies*. 5(1): 55-83.

Jennings, G. 2001. *Tourism Research*. Queensland, Australia: John Wiley & Sons Australia, Ltd.

Johnson, M. K. 1971. *A History of the Temple Square Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to 1970*. Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University.

Johnston, R. J. 2000. Representation. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts. Eds. *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 703-705.

Johnstone, I. M. 1994. A Visit to the Western Front: A Pilgrimage Tour of World War I Cemeteries and Memorials in Northern France and Belgium, August-September 1993. *Australian Folklore*. 9: 60-76.

Johnstone, R. L. 2007. *Religion in Society: A Sociology of Religion. 8th Ed*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Jones, L. 2000. *The Hermenerutics of Sacred Architecture: Experience, Interpretation, Comparison; Volume One--Monumental Occasions: Reflections on the Eventfulness of Religious Architecture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press for the Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions.

Jordan, G. and Weedon, C. 1995. *Cultural Politics: Class, Gender, Race and the Postmodern World*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Jurkovich, J. M. and Gesler, W. M. 1997. Medjugorje: Finding Peace at the Heart of Conflict. *The Geographical Review*. 87(4): 447-467.

Kaelber, L. 2002. The Sociology of Medieval Pilgrimage: Contested Views and Shifting Boundaries. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi. Eds. *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism*. London: Praeger, 51-74.

Kaelber, L. 2006. Paradigms of Travel: From Medieval Pilgrimage to the Postmodern Virtual Tour. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. London and New York: Routledge, 49-63.

Kaszowski, L. 2003. Methodology of Pilgrimaging. In A. Jackowski. Ed. *Pergrinus Cracoviensis*. Cracow, Poland: Publishing Unit of Geography, Jagiellonian University, 75-82.

Kelly, J. R. 1982. *Leisure*. Englewood CLiffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Kimball, R. I. 2003. *Mormon Recreation, Sports in Zion: 1890-1940*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Kimball, S. W. 1981. A Report of My Stewardship. *Ensign*. 11(5): 5-7.

King, C. 1993. His Truth Goes Marching On: Elvis Presley and the Pilgrimage to Graceland. In I. Reader and T. Walter. Eds. *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture*. London: The Macmillian Press Ltd., 92-104.

King, U. 1997. Religion and Gender. In J. R. Hinnells. Ed. *A New Handbook of Living Religions*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishers, 647-666.

King, W. L. 1987. Religion. In M. Eliade. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: Macmillian Publishing Company, 282-292.

Knapp, J. W. 1989. *The Pilgrimage Phenomenon: An Analysis of the Motivations of Visitors to Temple Square*. Masters Thesis, Brigham Young University.

Kobia, S. 2005. "Respect for People and Nature": Message from the World Council of Churches General Secretary on the World Tourism Day, September 27th.

Kong, L. 2001. Mapping 'New' Geographies of Religion: Politics and Poetics in Modernity. *Progress in Human Geography*. 25(2): 211-233.

Kong, L. 2005. Religious Schools: For spirit, (F)or nation. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 23: 615-631.

Korzybski, A. 1933. *Science and Sanity: An Introduction to Non-Aristotelian Systems and General Semantics*. Brooklyn, NY: Institute of General Semantics.

Koskansky, O. 2002. Tourism, Charity, and Profit: The Movement of Money in Moroccan Jewish Pilgrimage. *Cultural Anthropology*. 17(3): 359-400.

Kosti, F. 1998. The 'Enchantment' of Religious Tourism: The Case of Mount Athos, Greece. *Vrijeti Studies*. 15(4): 5-13.

Kotler, J. A. 1997. *Travel That Can Change Your Life: How to Create a Transformative Experience*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.

KSL 2000. New Dress Code for Temple Square Missionaries.

Kunin, S. D. 1998. *God's Place in the World*. New York: Cassell.

Landzelius, M. 2003. Commemorative Dis(Re)Membering: Erasing Heritage, Spatializing Disinheritance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 21: 195-221.

Lankford, S. V., Deiser, R. B., and Walker, G. J. 2005. Self-Construal and Pilgrimage Travel. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 32(3): 802-804.

Lee, C. C. 2001. Predicting Tourist Attachment to Destinations. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 28(1): 229-232.

Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Ley, D. 2000. Postmodernism. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and M. Watts (Eds). *The Dictionary of Human Geography. 4th Ed*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 620-622.

Limerick, P. N. 2001. Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West. In D. M. Wrobel and P. T. Long (Eds). *Seeing & Being Seen: Tourism in the American West*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 39-58.

Lincoln, B. 2003. *Holy Terrors: Thinking About Religion After September 11*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.

Lindbekk, T. 1992. The Weberian Ideal-Type: Development and Continuities. *Acta Sociologica.* 35: 285-297.

Liszewski, S. 2000. Pilgrimages or Religious Tourism? In A. Jackowski. Ed. *Peregrinus Cracoviensis.* Cracow, Poland: Publishing Unit, Institute of Geography, Jagiellonian University, 47-51.

Lloyd, D. W. 1998. Battlefield Tourism. In (Eds). New York: Berg,

Longhurst, R. 2003. Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups. In N. J. Clifford and G. Valentine (Eds). *Key Methods in Geography.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 117-132.

Lorimer, H. 2005. Cultural Geography: The Busyness of Being 'More-than-Representational'. *Progress in Human Geography.* 29(1): 83-94.

Lorimer, H. 2008. Cultural Geography: Non-Representational Conditions and Concerns. *Progress in Human Geography.* in press: http://phg.sagepub.com/cgi/rapidpdf/0309132507086882v1.

Ludlow, V. L. 1992. *Principles and Practices of the Restored Gospel.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Lukens-Bull, R. and Fafard, M. 2007. Next Year in Orlando: (Re)Creating Israel in Christian Zionism. *Journal of Religion & Society.* 9: http://moses.creighton.edu/JRS/pdf/2007-16.pdf.

Lund, G. N. 1992. Plan of Salvation, Plan of Redemption. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* Vol. 3. New York: Macmillian, 1008-1091.

MacCannell, D. 1973. Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings. *American Sociological Review.* 79: 589-603.

MacCannell, D. 1976. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New York: Schocken.

MacCannell, D. 2000. Marker. In J. Jafari. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Tourism.* New York: Routledge, 373.

MacCannell, D. 2001. Tourist Agency. *Tourist Studies.* 1(1): 23-37.

Madsen, M. H. 2003. *Mormon Meccas: The Spiritual Transformation of Mormon Historical Sites From Points of Interest to Sacred Space.* PhD Dissertation, Syracuse University.

Mahaney, S. L. 2005. The Californian Missions Preservation Act: Safeguarding our History or Subsidizing Religion? *American University Law Review.* 55(5): 1523-1555.

Maoz, D. 2005. The Mutual Gaze. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 33(1): 221-239.

Marsh, W. J. 2000. Visitor's Centers. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1300-1301.

Marshall, C. and Rossman, G. B. 1995. *Designing Qualitative Research.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Marshall, J. 1994. The Mosque on Erb Street: A Study in Sacred and Profane Space. *Environments.* 22(2): 55-66.

Marston, S. A. 2000. The Social Construction of Scale. *Progress in Human Geography.* 24(2): 219-242.

Mason, P. and Kuo, I.-L. 2006. Visitor Managing at Stonehenge, UK. In A. Leask and B. Fyall. Eds. *Managing World Heritage Sites.* Oxford, UK: Elsevier, 181-194.

Massey, D. 1995. The Conceptualization of Place. In D. Massey and P. Jess. Eds. *A Place in the World? Place, Cultures and Globalization.* Oxford, UK: Open University/Oxford University Press, 45-86.

Masuzawa, T. 1998. Culture. In M. C. Taylor. Eds. *Critical Terms for Religious Studies.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 70-93.

Mathis, J. 2004. Interview with the author, August 24.

Matthews, R. J. 1985. *"A Plainer Translation": Joseph Smith's Translation of the Bible.* Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

Mattila, A. S., Apostolopoulos, Y., Sonmez, S., Yu, L., and Sasidharan, V. 2001. The Impact of Gender and Religion on College Students' Spring Break. *Journal of Travel Research.* 40: 193-200.

Maunder, M. 1999. The Conservation of Sacred Objects. In C. Paine. Ed. *Godly Things: Museums, Objects and Religion*. London: Leicester University Press, 197-209.

Mauss, A. L. 1994. The Mormon Struggle With Assimilation and Identity: Trends and Developments Since Midcentury. *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*. 27(1): 129-149.

McAllister, K. D. and McAllister, K. 2004. Interview with the author, August 19.

McConkie, B. R. 1966. *Mormon Doctrine*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft.

McGettigan, F. and Burns, K. 2001. Clonmacnoise: A Monastic Site, Burial Ground and Tourist Attraction. In G. Richards. Ed. *Cultural Attractions and European Tourism*. Wallingford, UK: CABI Publishing, 135-158.

McKelvie, J. 2005. Religious Tourism. *Travel & Tourism Analyst*. 4: 1-47.

McKercher, B. 1993. Some Fundamental Truths about Tourism: Understanding Tourism's Social and Environmental Impacts. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*. 1(1): 6-16.

McNeill, D. 2003. Rome, Global City? Church, State and the Jubilee 2000. *Political Geography*. 22: 535-556.

Meethan, K. 2001. *Tourism in Global Society: Place, Culture, Consumption*. New York: Palgrave.

Mehr, K. 1992. Name Extraction Program. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 979-980.

Meinig, D. W. 1965. The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 55(2): 191-220.

Memish, Z. A. and Ahmed, Q. A. A. 2002. Mecca Bound: The Challenges Ahead. *Journal of Travel Medicine*. 9: 202-210.

Messenger, T. 1999. *Holy Leisure: Recreation and Religion in God's Square Mile*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Meyer, M. 2001. Bureaucracy and Bureaucratization. In N. J. Smelser and P. Baltes. Eds. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*. New York: Elsevier, 1402-1406.

Midgley, L. C. 1992. Theology. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1475-1476.

Mikita, C. 2004. Salt Lake City and LDS Church Address Protest Zones. http://www.rickross. com/reference/mormon/mormon142.html.

Millar, S. 1999. An Overview of the Sector. In A. Leask and I. Yeoman Eds. *Heritage Visitgor Attractions: An Operations Management Perspective*. New York: Cassell, 1-21.

Millett, R. L. 2003. What Is Our Doctrine? *The Religious Educator*. 4(3): 15-33.

Millett, R. L. and Reynolds, N. B. 1998. *Latter-day Christianity: 10 Basic Issues*. Provo, UT: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies.

Millman, R. 1988. Just Pleasure: The Churches Look at Tourism's Impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 15: 555-558.

Mitchell, D. 1995a. The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 85(1): 103-133.

Mitchell, D. 1995b. There's No Such Thing as Culture: Towards a Reconceptualization of the Idea of Culture in Geography. *Transactions of the British Institute of Geographers*. 20: 102-116.

Mitchell, D. 2000. *Cultural Geography: A Critical Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Mitchell, H. 2001. 'Being There': British Mormons and the History Trail. *Anthropology Today*. 17(2): 9-14.

Mitchell, M. 1997. Gentile Impressions of Salt Lake City, Utah, 1849-1870. *The Geographical Review*. 87(3): 334-352.

Mitchell, R. C. 1967. Desert Tortoise: The Mormon Tabernacle on Temple Square. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 35(4): 279-291.

Molendijk, A. L. 1999. In Defense of Pragmatism. In J. G. Platvoet and A. L. Molendijk. Eds. *The Pragmatics of Defining Religion: Contexts, Concepts and Contests*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 3-22.

Morgan, D. L. 1959. The Changing Face of Salt Lake City. *Utah Historical Quarterly*. 27(3): 209-232.

Morgan, N. and Pritchard, A. 2005. On Souvenirs and Metonymy: Narratives of Memory, Metaphor and Materiality. *Tourist Studies*. 5(1): 29-53.

Morin, K. M. and Guelke, J. K. 1998. Strategies of Representation, Relationship, and Resistance: British Women Travelers and Mormon Plural Wives, ca. 1870-1890. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. 88(3): 436-462.

Morin, K. M. and Guelke, J. K. 2007. Introduction: Women, Religion, and Space--Making the Connections. In K. M. Morin and J. K. Guelke. Eds. *Women, Religion, & Space*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, xix-xxxi.

Morinis, A. 1992. Introduction: The Territory of the Anthropology of Pilgrimage. In A. Morinis. Ed. *Sacred Journeys: The Anthropology of Pilgrimage*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1-28.

Moscardo, G. 1996. Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 23(2): 376-397.

Mulder, W. 1954. Mormonism's "Gathering": An American Doctrine with a Difference. *Church History*. 23(3): 248-264.

Mustonen, P. 2005. Volunteer Tourism: Postmodern Pilgrimage? *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*. 3(3): 160-177.

National Tour Association 1998. Market Assessment Plan for the Religious Market. http://www.ntaonline.com/staticfiles/map_religious.pdf.

Newell, L. D. 2000. Tabernacle Choir. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1212-1213.

Nibley, P. 1963. Charles J. Thomas: Early Guide on Temple Square. *The Improvement Era*. 66(3): 167-168, 202-203.

Nielsen, K. B. 2002. Personal interview conducted by the author, August 12.

Nolan, M. L. 1987. Roman Catholic Pilgrimage in the New World. In M. Eliade. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Religion*. New York: The Macmillian Publishing Company, 332-335.

Nolan, M. L. and Nolan, S. 1992. Religious Sites as Tourism Attractions in Europe. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 19: 68-78.

Norton, G. 1987. Tourism and International Terrorism. *The World Today*. 43: 30-33.

Noy, C. 2004. This Trip Really Changed Me: Backpackers' Narratives of Self-Change. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 31(1): 78-102.

O'Guinn, T. C. and Belk, R. W. 1989. Heaven on Earth: Consumption at Heritage Village, USA. *Journal of Consumer Research*. 16: 227-238.

Oakes, T. 2005. Tourism and the Modern Subject: Placing the Encounter Between the Tourist and Other. In C. Cartier and A. A. Lew. Eds. *Seductions of Place: Geographical Perspectives on Globalization and Touristed Landscapes*. London and New York: Routledge, 36-55.

Oaks, D. H. 1989. Family History: 'In Wisdom and Order'. *Ensign*. 19: 6-8.

Olsen, D. H. 2000. *Contested Heritage, Religion, and Tourism*. Master's Thesis, Bowling Green State University.

Olsen, D. H. 2003. Heritage, Tourism, and the Commodification of Religion. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 28(3): 99-104.

Olsen, D. H. 2006a. Management Issues for Religious Heritage Attractions. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spirituality*. London and New York: Routledge, 104-118.

Olsen, D. H. 2006b. Tourism and Informal Pilgrimage Among the Latter-day Saints. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spirituality*. London and New York: Routledge, 254-270.

Olsen, D. H. and Guelke, J. K. 2004. Spatial Transgression and the BYU Jerusalem Center Controversy. *The Professional Geographer*. 56(4): 503-515.

Olsen, D. H. and Timothy, D. J. 1999. Tourism 2000: Selling the Millennium. *Tourism Management*. 20: 389-392.

Olsen, D. H. and Timothy, D. J. 2002. Contested Religious Heritage: Differing Views of Mormon Heritage. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 27(2): 7-15.

Olsen, D. H. and Timothy, D. J. 2006. Tourism and Religious Journeys. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spirituality*. London and New York: Routledge, 1-21.

Olsen, S. L. 1992. Centennial Observances. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 1. New York: Macmillian, 260-262.

Olsen, S. L. 1995. Museums and Historic Sites. In D. J. Whittaker. Ed. *Mormon Americana: A Guide to Sources and Collections in the United States*. Provo, UT: BYU Studies, 523-537.

Olsen, S. L. 2000. Remembering and Witnessing at Church Historic Sites. Paper Presented at the *Symposium on "Remembering",* Brigham Young University, October 6. Copy in possession of the author.

Olsen, S. L. 2000. Theology as a Cultural System. Paper presented at the University of Alabama, April 17. http://www.aliveonline.com/ldspapers/StevesTalk.html.

Olsen, S. L. 2002a. Personal interview conducted by the author, August 5.

Olsen, S. L. 2002b. *The Mormon Ideology of Place: Cosmic Symbolism of the City of Zion, 1830-1846*. Provo, UT: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute for LDS History.

Olsen, S. L. 2004a. A History of Restoring Historic Kirtland. *Journal of Mormon History*. 30(1): 120-127.

Olsen, S. L. 2004b. Correspondence with the author, May 24.

Olsen, S. L. 2006. Correspondence with the author, October 27.

Orland, B. and Bellafiore, V. J. 1990. Development Directions for a Sacred Site in India. *Lanscape and Urban Planning*. 19(2): 181-196.

Osborne, C. 2001. A Facelift in Egypt's Sacred Sites. *The Middle East*. 213: 42-45.

Osterrieth, A. 1997. Pilgrimage, Travel and Existential Quest. In R. H. Stoddard and A. Morinis. Eds. *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*. Baton Rouge, LA: Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, 25-39.

Ostrowski, M. 2000. Pilgrimages or Religious Tourism. In A. Jackowski. Ed. *Peregrinus Cracoviensis*. Cracow, Poland: Publishing Unit, Institute of Geography, Jagiellonian University, 53-61.

Ott, J. S. 2001. *The Nature of the Non-Profit Sector*. Oxford, UK: Westview Press.

Otterstrom, S. M. 2008. Genealogy as Religious Ritual: The Doctrine and Practice of Family History in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. In D. J. Timothy and J. K. Guelke. Eds. *Geography and Genealogy: Locating Personal Pasts*. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 137-151.

Otto, R. 1950. *The Idea of the Holy*. Oxford, UK: University Press.

Oxtoby, W. G. 2002. A Personal Invitation. In W. G. Oxtoby (Eds). *World Religions: Eastern Traditions*. Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1-11.

Pacione, M. 1999. The Relevance of Religion for a Relevant Human Geography. *Scottish Geographical Journal*. 115(2): 117-131.

Packer, B. K. 1982. *The Holy Temple*. Salt Lake City, UT: Bookcraft.

Paden, W. E. 1992. *Interpreting the Sacred*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Pals, D. L. 1996. *Seven Theories of Religion*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Parera, C. 2005. Mormon Town Planning: Physical and Social Relevance. *Journal of Planning History.* 4(2): 155-174.

Park, C. C. 1994. *Sacred Worlds: An Introduction to Geography and Religion.* London: Routledge.

Parry, D. W. 1994. Introduction. In D. W. Parry. Ed. *Temples of the Ancient World.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, xi-xxiv.

Pavicic, J. 2007. The Management and Marketing of Religious Sites, Pilgrimage and Religious Events: Challenges for Roman Catholic Pilgrimages in Croatia. In R. Raj and N. D. Morpeth. Eds. *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Management: An International Perspective.* Wallingford, UK: CABI, 48-63.

Peery, J. S. 1911. The Bureau of Information. *The Improvement Era.* 14(8): 688-694.

Perkins, H. C. and Thorns, D. C. 2001. Gazing or Performing? Reflections on Urry's Tourist Gaze in the Context of Contemporary Experience in the Antipodes. *International Sociology.* 16(2): 185-204.

Pernecky, T. 2006. Co-Creating with the Universe: A Phenomenological Study of New Age Tourists. *Tourism.* 54(2): 127-143.

Pernecky, T. and Johnston, C. 2006. Voyage through Numinous Space: Applying the Spacialization Concept to New Age Tourism. *Tourism Recreation Research.* 31(1): 37-46.

Perry, L. T., Bons, P. M., and Wilkins, A. L. 1992. Contemporary Organization. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 1044-1049.

Petersen, M. E. 1981. *Isaiah for Today.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Peterson, G. R. 2001. Religion as Orienting Worldview. *Zygon.* 36(1): 5-19.

Peterson, H. D. 1987. *The Pearl of Great Price: A History and Commentary.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Peterson, H. D. and Tate Jr., C. D. 1986. *The Pearl of Great Price: Revelations from God.* Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press.

Peterson, K. I. 1994. Qualitative Research Methods for the Travel and Tourism Industry. In J. R. B. Ritchie and C. R. Goeldner. Eds. *Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 487-492.

Peterson, P. H. 2002. Accommodating the Saints at General Conference. *BYU Studies.* 41(2): 4-39.

Pfaffenberger, B. 1983. Serious Pilgrims and Frivolous Tourists: The Chimera of Tourism in the Pilgrimage of Sri Lanka. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 10: 57-74.

Philo, C. and Parr, H. 2000. Institutional Geographies: Introductory Remarks. *Geoforum.* 21: 513-521.

Philp, J. and Mercer, D. 1999. Commodification of Buddhism in Contemporary Burma. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 26(1): 31-54.

Pizam, A., Fleischer, A., and Mansfeld, Y. 2002. Tourism and Social Change: The Case of Israeli Ecotourists Visiting Jordan. *Journal of Travel Research.* 41: 177-184.

Pope Paul IV 1965. *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: Gaudium et Spes.*

Poria, Y., Butler, R., and Airey, D. 2003. Tourism, Religion and Religiosity: A Holy Mess. *Current Issues in Tourism.* 6(4): 340-363.

Porter, B. W. and Salazar, N. B. 2005. Heritage Tourism, Conflict and the Public Interest: An Introduction. *International Journal of Heritage Studies.* 11(5): 361-370.

Post, P., Pieper, J., and van Uden, M. 1998. *The Modern Pilgrim: Multidisciplinary Explorations of Christian Pilgrimage.* Leuven, Belgium: Uitgeverij Peeters.

Pratt, G. 2001. Cultural Geography. In N. J. Smelser and P. Baltes. Eds. *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences.* New York: Elsevier, 3070-3075.

Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. 2006. Hotel Babylon? Exploring Hotels and Liminal Sites of Transition and Transgression. *Tourism Management.* 27: 762-772.

Pritchard, A. and Morgan, N. J. 2001. Culture, Identity and Tourism Representation: Marketing Cymru or Wales? *Tourism Management*. 22: 167-179.

Ptaszycka-Jackowska, D. 2000. Religious Tourism and the Protection of the Natural Environment and Nature Conservation. In A. Jackowski. Ed. *Pergrinus Cracoviensis*. Cracow, Poland: Publishing Unit, Institute of Geography, Jagiellonian University, 83-99.

Quattlebaum, E. G. 1972. *Salt Lake City as Temple City*. PhD Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

Quinn, M. D. 1976. The Mormon Succession Crisis of 1844. *Brigham Young University Studies*. 16(2): 187-233.

Raj, R. and Morpeth, N. D. 2007. *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage Festivals Management: An International Perspective*. Wallingford, UK: CABI.

Ranstorp, M. 1996. Terrorism in the Name of Religion. *Journal of International Affairs*. 50(1): 41-62.

Rasmus, C. J. 1992. Temple Square. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1465-1469.

Relph, E. 1976. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion.

Richards, G. 2000. Tourism and the World of Culture and Heritage. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 25(1): 9-17.

Richards, G. and Wilson, J. 2006. Developing Creativity in Tourist Experiences: A Solution to the Serial Reproduction of Culture? *Tourism Management*. 27: 1209-1223.

Riggs, T. 2004. Street Preachers Obey New Laws, Present Many New Voices. http://media.www. utahstatesman.com/media/storage/paper243/news/2004/04/05/CampusNews/Street.Pr eachers.Obey.New.Laws.Present.Many.New.Voices-651501.shtml

Riley, R. W. and Love, L. L. 2000. The State of Qualitative Tourism Research. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 27(1): 164-187.

Rimmawi, H. S. and Abdelmoneim, A. I. 1992. Culture and Tourism in Saudi Arabia. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 12(2): 93-98.

Rinschede, G. 1986. The Pilgrimage Town of Lourdes. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 7(1): 21-34.

Rinschede, G. 1987. The Pilgrimage Town of Lourdes. *The National Geographical Journal of India*. 33(4): 379-421.

Rinschede, G. 1992. Forms of Religious Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 19: 51-67.

Rinschede, G. and Bhardwaj, S. M. 1990. *Pilgrimage in the United States*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag.

Ritzer, G. 1975. Professionalization, Bureaucratization and Rationalization: The Views of Max Weber. *Social Forces*. 53(4): 627-634.

Robinson, R. 1962. *Definition*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Rodman, P. W. 1977. The Mormons: From Poverty and Persecution to Prosperity and Power. *American Heritage*. 28(4): 74-83.

Rogers, A. and Gonsalves, R. N. 2005. *Perspectives in Tourism: Spirituality in Tourism*. Hong Kong: The Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism. http://www.ecotonline.org/Pages/downloads/ Perspectives%20%in%20%tourism%202_2005.pdf.

Rojek, C. and Urry, J. 1997. *Touring Cultures: Transformation of Travel and Theory*. London: Routledge.

Romney, J. B. 1992. Moroni, Angel. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 953.

Romney, M. G. 1963. Conversion. *Improvement Era*. 66: 1065-1067.

Rothman, H. 1989. *Preserving Different Pasts: The American National Monuments*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Roushanzamir, E. P. L. and Kreshel, P. J. 2001. Gloria and Anthony Visit a Plantation: History to Heritage at 'Laura: A Creole Plantation'. *International Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management.* 2: 177-200.

Rowan, Y. 2004. Repackaging the Pilgrimage: Visiting the Holy Land in Orlando. In I. M. Yorke. Ed. *Marketing Heritage: Archaeology and the Consumption of the Past.* Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 249-266.

Rudd, G. L. 2000. Welfare Square. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 1323.

Rugh, S. S. 2003. The Politics of Sacred Space: Branding Utah for Tourists, From Ski Utah to Temple Square. Presentation at the American Historical Association Pacific Coast Branch Meeting, August 2. Copy in Possession of the Author.

Rugh, S. S. 2006. Branding Utah: Industrial Tourism in the Postwar American West. *The Western Historical Quarterly.* 37(4): http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/whq/37.4/rugh.html.

Russell, P. 1999. Religious Travel in the New Millennium. *Travel & Tourism Analyst.* 5: 39-68.

Russo, A. P. and van der Borg, J. 2002. Planning Considerations for Cultural Tourism: A Case Study of Four European Cities. *Tourism Management.* 23: 631-637.

Salt Lake City 1999. *Special Warranty Deed.* http://www.slcgov.com/mayor/pressreleases/warranty%20deed.htm.

Salt Lake City Convention and Visitors Bureau 2004. *Meeting Planners Guide.* Salt Lake City, UT: Convention & Visitors Bureau.

Salt Lake City Council 2003. *Salt Lake City Council Policy Statement on The Future Economic Development of Downtown* http://www.ci.slc.ut.us/council/newsreleases/01-2003DTpolicy.pdf.

Santos, C. A. and Buzinde, C. 2007. Politics of Identity and Space: Representational Dynamics. *Journal of Travel Research.* 45(3): 322-332.

Santos, M. d. G. M. P. 2003. Religious Tourism: Contributions towards a Clarification of COncepts. In C. Fernandes, F. McGettigan, and J. Edwards. Eds. *Religious Tourism and Pilgrimage: ATLAS Special Interest Group, 1st Expert Meeting.* Fátima, Portugal: Tourism Board of Leiria/Fátima, 27-42.

Saunders, R. 1994. 'Rags! Rags! Rags!': Beginnings of the Paper Industry in the Salt Lake Valley, 1849-58. *Utah Historical Quarterly.* 62(1): 42-52.

Schmalz, C. L. 1988. The Failure of Utah's First Sugar Factory. *Utah Historical Quarterly.* 56(1): 36-53.

Schuster, S. W. 1967. *The Evolution of Mormon City Planning and Salt Lake City, Utah, 1833-1877.* Masters Thesis, University of Utah.

Scott, D. W. 2005. Re-Presenting Mormon History: A Textual Analysis of the Representation of Pioneers and History at Temple Square in Salt Lake City. *Journal of Media and Religion.* 4(2): 95-110.

Seaton, A. V. 2002. Thanatourism's Final Frontiers? Visits to Cemeteries, Churchyards and Funerary Sites as Sacred and Secular Pilgrimage. *Tourism Recreation Research.* 27(2): 73-82.

Sellars, R. W. and Walter, T. 1993. From Custer to Kent State: Heroes, Martyrs and the Evolution of Popular Shrines in the USA. In I. Reader and T. Walter. Eds. *Pilgrimage in Popular Culture.* London: The Macmilliam Press Ltd., 179-200.

Shackley, M. 1996. Visitor Management and the Monastic Festivals of the Himalayas. In M. Robinson, N. Evans, and P. Callaghan. Eds. *Culture as the Tourist Product.* Sunderland, UK: Centre for Travel and Tourism, 409-422.

Shackley, M. 1998. A Golden Calf in Sacred Space? The Future of St. Katherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai (Egypt). *International Journal of Heritage Studies.* 4(3/4): 123-134.

Shackley, M. 1999. Managing the Cultural Impacts of Religious Tourism in the Himalayas, Tibet and Nepal. In M. Robinson and P. Boniface. Eds. *Tourism & Cultural Conflicts*. New York: CABI Publishing, 95-111.

Shackley, M. 1999. Tourism Development and Environmental Protection in Southern Sinai. *Tourism Management*. 20: 543-548.

Shackley, M. 2001. *Managing Sacred Sites: Service Provision and Visitor Experience*. London: Continuum.

Shackley, M. 2001. Sacred World Heritage Sites: Balancing Meaning with Management. *Tourism Recreation Research*. 26(1): 5-10.

Shackley, M. 2002. Space, Sanctity and Service: The English Cathedral as *Hetertopia*. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 4: 345-352.

Shackley, M. 2003. Management Challenges for Religion-Based Attractions. In A. Fyall, B. Garrod, and A. Leask. Eds. *Managing Visitor Attractions: New Directions*. Oxford, UK: Butterworth-Heinemann, 159-170.

Shackley, M. 2004. Accommodating the Spiritual Tourist: The Case of Religious Retreat Houses. In R. Thomas. Ed. *Small Firms in Tourism: International Perspectives*. Amsterdan, The Netherlands: Elsevier Science, 225-237.

Shackley, M. 2005. Service Delivery at Sacred Sites: Potential Contribution of Management Science. *European Journal of Science and Theology*. 1(4): 33-40.

Shackley, M. 2006. Costs and Benefits: The Impact of Cathedral Tourism in England. *Journal of Heritage Tourism*. 1(2): 133-141.

Shackley, M. 2006. Empty Bottles at Sacred Sites: Religious Retailing at Ireland's National Shrine. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. London and New York: Routledge, 94-103.

Shani, A., Rivera, M. A., and Severt, D. 2007. "To Bring God's Word to All People": The Case of a Religious Theme-Site. *Tourism*. 55(1): 39-50.

Sharpley, R. and Sundaram, P. 2005. Tourism: A Sacred Journey? The Case of Ashram Tourism, India. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 7(3): 161-171.

Shaw, J. 2000. Ayodhya's Sacred Landscape: Ritual Memory, Politics and Archaeological 'Fact'. *Antiquity*. 74(285): 693-700.

Shields, S. L. 1987. *The Latter Day Saint Churches: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland Publishing.

Shields, S. L. 1990. *Divergent Paths of the Restoration: A History of the Latter-day Saint Movement*. Bountiful, UT: Restoration Research.

Shipps, J. 1985. *Mormonism: The Story of a New Religious Tradition*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

Shipps, J. 2002. The Mormons Score a 9.6. http://www.trincoll.edy/depts/csrpl/RINVol5No1/mormons%20score.htm.

Shumway, N. D. and Shumway, L. 2004. Interview with the author, August 23.

Sibley, D. 1995. *Geographies of Exclusion: Society and Difference in the West*. London: Routledge.

Silver, I. 1993. Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 20: 302-318.

Simmons, J. C. 2005. Interview with the author, August 8.

Singh, R. P. B. 1997. Sacredspace and Urban Heritage in India: Contestation and Perspective. In B. J. Shaw and R. Jones. Eds. *Contested Urban Heritage*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 101-131.

Singh, R. P. B. 2006. Pilgrimage in Hinduism: Historical Context and Modern Perspectives. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys*. London and New York: Routledge, 220-236.

Singh, S. 2007. Tourism in the Sacred Indian Himalayas: An Incipient Theology of Tourism. *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*. 11(4): 375-389.

Sizer, S. R. 1997. The Hidden Face of Hold Land Pilgrimage. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*. 9(1): 34-35.

Sizer, S. R. 1999. The Ethical Challenges of Managing Pilgrimages to the Holy Land. *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*. 11(2/3): 85-90.

Skinner, D. E. 2006. Unitarian Church Drops Lawsuit Over Mormon Plaza Deal. http://www.uuworld.org/news/articles/2573.shtml.

Smith, C. 2002. Interview with the author, August 6.

Smith, C. 2004. Interview with the author, August 19.

Smith, C. S. 1998. The Curious Meet the Mormons: Images From Travel Narratives, 1850s and 1860s. *Journal of Mormon History*. 24(2): 155-181.

Smith, H. M. and Sjodhal, J. M. 1978. *Doctrine and Covenants Commentary*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Smith, J. 1976. *Teachings of the Prophet Joseph Smith*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Smith, J. Z. 1978. *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Smith, J. Z. 1978. The Wobbling Pivot. In J. Z. Smith. Ed. *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 88-103.

Smith, J. Z. 1995. *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers.

Smith, J. Z. 1998. Religion, Religions, Religious. In M. C. Taylor. Ed. *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 269-284.

Smith, K. H. 1992. Conversion. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*. Vol 1. New York: Macmillian, 320-323.

Smith, M. and Kelly, C. 2006. Holistic Tourism: Journeys of the Self? *Tourism Recreation Research*. 31(1): 15-24.

Smith, N. 1984. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital and the Production of Space*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Smith, R. G. 2003. Baudrillard's Non-Representational Theory: Burn the Signs and Journey Without Maps. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*. 21: 67-84.

Smith, V. L. 1992. Introduction: The Quest in Guest. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 19: 1-17.

Snow, E. J. 1991. British Travelers View the Saints. *Brigham Young University Studies*. 31: 63-81.

Soja, E. W. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.

Solomon, L. C. D. 2005. Introduction. In A. Rogers and R. N. Gonsalves. Eds. *Perspectives in Tourism: Spirituality in Tourism*. Hong Kong: The Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism. 2: 2-4: http://www.ecotonline.org/Pages/downloads/Perspectives%20in%20tourism%202_2005.pdf.

Sönmez, S. F., Apostolopoulos, Y., and Tarlow, P. 1999. Tourism in Crisis: Managing the Effects of Tourism. *Journal of Travel Research*. 38(1): 13-18.

Sopher, D. E. 1967. *Geography of Religions*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Sopher, D. E. 1981. Geography and Religion. *Progress in Human Geography*. 5: 510-524.

Sorensen, P. J. 2005. The Lost Commandment: The Sacred Rites of Hospitality. *Brigham Young University Studies*. 44(1): 5-32.

Sprigg, J. 1980. Out of This World: The Shakers as a Nineteenth-Century Tourist Attraction. *American Heritage*. 31(3): 65-68.

Srisang, K. 1989. The Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 16(1): 119-125.

Stack, P. F. 2006. Mormons, Non-Mormons Clear the Air. Salt Lake Tribune, Feb 5. http://www.sltrib.com/faith/ci_3423894.

Staeheli, L. A. and Lawson, V. A. 1994. A Discussion of "Women in the Field": The Politics of Feminist Fieldwork. *The Professional Geographer*. 46(1): 96-102.

Stark, R. 1999. Extracting Social Scientific Models from Mormon History. *Journal of Mormon History*. 25(1): 174-194.

Stevens, T. 1988. The Ministry of Welcome: Tourism & Religious Sites. *Leisure Management*. 8(3): 41-44.

Stoddard, R. H. and Morinis, A. Eds. 1997. *Sacred Places, Sacred Spaces: The Geography of Pilgrimages*. Baton Rouge, LA: Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University.

Stump, R. W. 1986. The Geography of Religion--Introduction. *Journal of Cultural Geography*. 7: 1-3.

Stump, R. W. 2000. *Boundaries of Faith: Geographical Perspectives on Religious Fundamentalism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Stump, R. W. 2008. *The Geography of Religion: Faith, Place, and Space*. Plymouth, UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.

Swatos Jr, W. H. 2002. Our Lady of Clearwater: Postmodern Traditionalism. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi. Eds. *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism*. London: Praeger, 181-192.

Swatos Jr, W. H. and Tomasi, L. 2002. *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism*. London: Praeger.

Swyngedouw, E. 1997. Excluding the Other: The Production of Scale and Scaled Politics. In R. Lee and J. Wills. Eds. *Geographies of Economies*. London: Arnold, 167-176.

Swyngedouw, E. 2004. Scaled Geographies: Nature, Place, and the Politics of Scale. In E. Sheppard and R. B. McMaster. Eds. *Scale & Geographic Inquiry*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 129-153.

Talmage, J. A. 1968. *The House of the Lord*. Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Taylor, J. P. 2001. Authenticity and Sincerity in Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*. 28(1): 7-26.

Teather, E. K. and Chow, C. S. 2003. Identity and Place: The Testament of Designated Heritage in Hong Kong. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*. 9(2): 93-115.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints 2002. Realizing a Vision. http://www.lds.org/media/pdf/22640realizing.pdf.

The School Musician 1965. The Heritage of the Salt Lake Mormon Tabernacle Choir. *The School Musician*. 36: 62-63.

Thistlethwaite, S. 1994. Beyond Theological Tourism. *Chicago Theological Seminary Register*. 84: 12-18.

Thrift, N. J. 1997. The Still Point: Resistance, Expressive Embodiment and Dance. In S. Pile and M. Keith. Eds. *Geographies of Resistance*. London: Routledge, 124-151.

Thrift, N. J. 2000. Non-Representational Theory. In R. J. Johnston, D. Gregory, G. Pratt, and J. W. Watts. Eds. *Dictionary of Human Geography*. Oxford: Blackwell, ??

Thrift, N. J. 2008. *Non-Representational Theory: Space, Politics, Affect*. London and New York: Routledge.

Tidball, D. J. 1995. Practical and Pastoral Theology. In D. J. Atkinson and D. H. Fields. Eds. *New Dictionary of Christian Ethics & Pastoral Theology*. Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 42-48.

Tilley, C. 2006. Identity, Place, Landscape and Heritage. *Journal of Material Culture*. 11(1/2): 7-32.

Tilson, D. J. 2001. Religious Tourism, Public Relations and Church-State Partnerships. *Public Relations Quarterly*. 46(3): 35-39.

Tilson, D. J. 2005. Religious-Spiritual Tourism and Promotional Campaigning: A Church-State Partnership for St. James and Spain. *Journal of Hospitality and Leisure Marketing.* 12(1/2): 9-40.

Timothy, D. J. 1992. Mormons in Ontario: Early History, Growth and Landscape. *Ontario Geography.* 38: 21-31.

Timothy, D. J. 1998. Collecting Places: Geodetic Lines in Tourist Space. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing.* 7: 123-129.

Timothy, D. J. 1998. Cooperative Tourism Planning in a Developing Destination. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism.* 6(1): 52-68.

Timothy, D. J. and Boyd, S. W. 2003. *Heritage Tourism.* Essex, UK: Pearson Education Limited.

Timothy, D. J. and Conover, P. J. 2006. Nature Religion, Self-Spirituality and New Age Tourism. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spirituality.* London and New York: Routledge, 139-155.

Timothy, D. J. and Iverson, T. 2006. Tourism and Islam: Considerations of Culture and Duty. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys.* London and New York: Routledge, 186-205.

Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. Eds. 2006a. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys.* London and New York: Routledge.

Timothy, D. J. and Olsen, D. H. 2006b. Conclusion: Whither Religious Tourism? In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys.* London and New York: Routledge, 271-278.

Tobler, D. F. and Ellsworth, S. G. 1992. History, Significance to Latter-day Saints. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* Vol 2. New York: Macmillian, 595-598.

Todd, S. 1997. *Learning Desire: Perspectives on Pedagogy, Culture, and the Unsaid.* New York: Routledge.

Toney, M. B., Keller, C., and Hunter, L. M. 2003. Regional Cultures, Persistence and Change: A Case Study of the Mormon Culture Region. *The Social Sciences Journal.* 40: 431-445.

Trask, H.-K. 1999. *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii.* Hawaii: The University of Hawai'i Press.

Travel Utah 2007. 2006 Tourism at a Glance. http://travel.utah.gov/research_and_planning/ documents/TourismataGlance2006-2-12-2007_000.pdf.

Tribe, J. 1997. The Indiscipline of Tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 24(3): 638-657.

Trudeau, D. 2006. Politics of Belonging in the Construction of Landscapes: Place-Making, Boundary-Drawing and Exclusion. *Cultual Geographies.* 13(3): 421-443.

Tuan, Y.-F. 1977. *Space and Place.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Tucker, R. A. 1992. Temple Recommend. In D. H. Ludlow. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism.* Vol 4. New York: Macmillian, 1446-1447.

Tunbridge, J. E. and Ashworth, G. J. 1996. *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict.* Chichester, UK: John Wiley & Sons.

Turner, B. S. 2006. Body. *Theory, Culture & Society.* 23(2-3): 223-226.

Turner, V. 1973. The Center Out There: Pilgrim's Goal. *History of Religions.* 12(3): 191-230.

Turner, V. and Turner, E. 1978. *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Twite, R. and Baskin, G. 1994. *The Conversation of Dreams: The Development of Tourism in the Middle East.* Jerusalem: Israel/Palestine Center for Research and Information.

Tyndale, W. 2000. Faith and Economics in 'Development': A Bridge Across the Chasm? *Development in Practice.* 10(1): 9-18.

Tyrakowski, K. 1994. Pilgrims to the Mexican Highlands. *Geographica Religionum.* 8: 193-246.

Urry, J. 1990. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies.* London: Sage.

Urry, J. 1992. The Tourist Gaze "Revisited". *American Behavioral Scientist.* 36(2): 172-186.

Urry, J. 1996. Tourism. In P. B. Clarke and A. Linzey. Eds. *Dictionary of Ethics, Theology and Society.* New York: Routledge, 835-838.

Urry, J. 2002. *The Tourist Gaze,* 2nd Ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

van der Leeuw, G. 1933. *Religion in Essence and Manifestation.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

ver Beek, K. A. 2000. Spirituality: A Development Taboo. *Development in Practice.* 10(1): 31-43.

Villot, J. and Palazzini, P. 1969. The Church and Tourism: Serving People of their Travels for Recreation.

Voyé, L. 2002. Popular Religion and Pilgrimages in Western Europe. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi. Eds. *From Medieval Pilgrimage to Religious Tourism.* London: Praeger, 115-135.

Vukonić, B. 1996. *Tourism and Religion.* Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science Ltd.

Vukonić, B. 1998. Religious Tourism: Economic Value or an Empty Box? *Zagreb International Review of Economics & Business.* 1(1): 83-94.

Vukonić, B. 2000. Pastoral Care. In J. Jafari. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Tourism.* New York: Routledge, 429.

Vukonić, B. 2002. Religion, Tourism and Economics: A Convenient Symbiosis. *Tourism Recreation Research.* 27(2): 59-64.

Vukonić, B. 2006. Sacred Places and Tourism in Roman Catholic Tradition. In D. J. Timothy and D. H. Olsen. Eds. *Tourism, Religion and Spiritual Journeys.* London and New York: Routledge, 237-253.

Wall, G. and Oswald, B. 1990. *Cultural Groups as Tourist Attractions: A Comparative Study.* Aix-en-Provence, France: Centre des Hautes Études Touristiques.

Walsh, W. J. 2001. The Purpose of Life. http://www.lightplanet.com/mormons/basic/purpose_ life.htm.

Wang, N. 1999. Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 26(2): 349-370.

Wardle, M. 2003. Marketing Utah's Mountains: The Images of Paradise as a Pastoral, Recreational Retreat. http://cfac/byu.edu/moa/Education/documents/Passion4Place.pdf.

Watts, J. W. 2004. Ten Commandments Monuments and the Rivalry of Iconic Texts. *Journal of Religion & Society.* 6: 1-12.

Wearing, S. and Neil, J. 2000. *Society and Leisure.* 32(2): 389-419.

Weber, M. 1949. *The Methodology of the Social Sciences.* New York: The Free Press.

Werblowsky, R. J. Z. 1998. Introduction: Mindscape and Landscape. In B. Z. Kedar and R. J. Z. Werblowsk. Eds. *Sacred Space: Shrine, City, Land.* Nwe York: New York University Press, 9-17.

White, N. R. and White, B. 2004. Travel as Transition: Identity and Place. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 31(1): 200-218.

Whitney, J. E. 1996. Patrioric Pilgrims: Tourism as a National Duty. In M. Robinson, N. Evans, and P. Callaghan. Eds. *Tourism and Culture: Image, Identity and Marketing.* Sunderland, UK: The Centre for Travel and Tourism, 303-312.

Wickens, E. 2002. The Sacred and the Profane: A Tourist Typology. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 29(3): 834-851.

Widtsoe, J. A. 1986. *Temple Worship.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company.

Wilkinson, J. 1998. In Search of Holy Places: Then and Now. In J. M. Fladmark. Ed. *In Search of Heritage as Pilgrim or Tourist?* Shaftesbury, UK: Donhead Publishing Ltd., 15-24.

Wilkinson, N. 2004. Interview with the author, September 22.

Williams, D. 2004a. Correspondance with the author, May 7.

Williams, D. 2004b. Interview with the author, August 20.

Williams, R. N. 1992. Soul. In D. H. Ludlow. Ed. *Encyclopedia of Mormonism,* Vol 3. New York: Macmillian, 1392.

Willis, K. G. 1994. Paying for Heritage: What Price for Durham Cathedral? *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management.* 37(3): 267-278.

Wilson, H. A. 1995. Folklore, a Mirror for What? Reflections of a Mormon Folklorist. *Western Folklore.* 54: 12-13.

Winter, M. and Gasson, R. 1996. Pilgrimage and Tourism: Cathedral Visiting in Contemporary England. *International Journal of Heritage Studies.* 2(3): 172-182.

Wood, G. S. 1980. Evangelical America and Early Mormonism. *New York History.* 61: 359-386.

Wood, S. L. M. 1980. *A Geographic Investigation into the Purpose and Motivation of Nonresident Tourist Visits to Temple Square.* Masters Thesis, University of Utah.

Woodward, S. C. 2004. Faith and Tourism: Planning Tourism in Relation to Places of Worship. *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development.* 1(2): 173-186.

Wright, J. G. and Jorgensen, C. 1993. Change Comes to Salt Lake City. *Planning.* 59(6): 10-15.

Wright, R. S. 2000. Family History Library. In A. K. Garr, D. Q. Cannon, and R. O. Cowan. Eds. *Encyclopedia of Latter-Day Saint History.* Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret Book Company, 359-360.

Wuthnow, R. 1991. Religion as Culture. In D. G. Bromley. Ed. *Religion and the Social Order.* Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 267-283.

Yeoh, B. and Kong, L. 1996. The Notion of Place in the Construction of History, Nostalgia and Heritage in Singapore. *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography.* 17(1): 52-65.

Yorgason, E. R. 1999. *The Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region and the Creation of New Regional Citizens.* PhD Dissertation, University of Iowa.

Yorgason, E. R. 2003. *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

York, M. 2001. New Age Commodification and Appropriation of Spirituality. *Journal of Contemporary Religion.* 16(3): 361-372.

York, M. 2002. Contemporary Pagan Pilgrimages. In W. H. Swatos Jr and L. Tomasi. Eds. *From Medieval Pilgriamge to Religious Tourism.* London: Praeger, 137-158.

Young, L. E. 1922. The Temple Block Mission. *The Relief Society Magazine.* 9(11): 559-563.

Young, M. 1999. The Social Construction of Tourist Places. *Australian Geographer.* 30(3): 373-389.

Zahra, A. 2006. The Unexpected Road to Spirituality Via Volunteer Tourism. *Tourism.* 54(2): 173-185.

Zelinsky, W. 1990. Nationalistic Pilgrimages in the United States. In G. Rinschede and S. M. Bhardwaj. Eds. *Pilgrimage in the United States.* Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 235-267.

Zelinsky, W. 2001. *The Enigma of Ethnicity: Another American Dilemma.* Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press.

Zobell Jr., A. L. 1967. Opening the Tabernacle. *The Improvement Era.* 70(9): 10-13.