

Soci 3330, Spring 2006
Prof. James J. Dowd
weberian@arches.uga.edu

Office Hours: Tues, 2:30-4:00 and by appt.
Baldwin Hall, Rm. 320.
Phone: 2-3231 or 2-2421.

Course Syllabus¹
On the Road: The Sociology of Travel and Tourism

Brief Course Description:

Our focus in this course will be on the common experience of travel, especially the kind of travel experienced by the social type known as *the tourist*. We are all travelers and, increasingly, tourists as well. From daily commutes to extended vacations to remote parts of the world, the concept of leaving home involves a set of experiences that is central to life in the world today. We will analyze various types of trips, various means of travel, and most especially, the attraction that awaits the tourist's gaze. We will inquire into the nature of an "attraction," and related issues of the authenticity of various attractions, the staging of touristic events, and the value of travel experiences as cultural capital.

In general, then, our focus will be on tourist attractions, the experience of travel, and the behavior of tourist as they leave their customary surroundings for places both near and far. The most common tourist destinations include (1) *Cultural* tours to museums, cathedrals, monuments, and architectural wonders; (2) visits to the *Natural World* of scenic vistas, unspoiled terrain, and inaccessible extremities; (3) visits *Among the People* to share the everyday life of the local cultures in other places; (4) visits to *Cities* in quest of Shopping, Restaurants, Excitement and Entertainment; and (5) encounters with Roadside Attractions and Amusement Parks, from Coney Island to DisneyWorld and stops inbetween.



Required Books

Harrison, Julia. 2003. Being a Tourist: Finding Meaning in Pleasure Travel.
Vancouver: UBC Press.

MacCannell, Dean. 1999. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Chapters and Papers

See list at the end of the syllabus.

Getting Started

Your primary responsibilities in this course are (1) to come to class with something to say about the readings; and (2) to view all assigned films and to contribute to our analysis of the

¹ University regulations require that I disabuse you of any preconceived idea you might have that a course syllabus is a set-in-stone document that can never change. Instead, according to our Vice President for Instruction, students must be told that the syllabus "is a general plan for the course; deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary."

sociological content of these films. We will be reading material and viewing films that are thought provoking, contradictory, and sometimes controversial or complex. Consequently, our discussions will be most productive if students come to class prepared and willing to contribute. Doing this will make our class time more enjoyable, prepare you for the exam, and improve your final grade.

Get the Readings. All of the readings are available in paper and electronic format from the reserve desk in the main library. You are free to get the readings any way you wish, but please note that computer problems are not an excuse for not reading. If you are having trouble getting the readings in electronic format please go to the reserve desk where you can get a hard copy or contact one of your classmates who may already have printed out a copy.

Explore the WebCT page set up for this course. This website will serve as the definitive source of information about the course. Please refer to its pages for the most up-to-date information, links to assignments, supplementary material, and much more.

Make Sure Your E-mail Is Working. Even during a short summer session, there will be occasions when we will be communicating via e-mail. It is your responsibility to check your e-mail regularly to make sure you do not miss any important announcements or personal communications. If you do not have an e-mail account, please set one up today.

Sign up for the Course Listserv. Once you have an e-mail account, please sign up for the course listserv. The name of the course listserv is **ontheroad** and signing up for it is the best way to make sure you do not miss any important announcements. The easiest way to sign up for the listserv is to send an e-mail to listserv@listserv.uga.edu with a blank subject line and nothing in the body of the message except the words "subscribe ontheroad" followed by a space and your name. The body of a typical sign-up e-mail might look like this:

subscribe ontheroad Jane Smith

Course Requirements.

a. Preparation and attendance.

The most essential requirement for this course is to be in class every meeting prepared to discuss the issues raised by the required reading. My approach to our classroom sessions is to integrate lectures with discussion. I will present ideas and information that will introduce and supplement material covered in our texts but also material on subjects not covered in our required texts. It is essential that you come to class ready to take part in these discussions. Although I have not included class attendance and participation as a specific component of the overall grade, I should emphasize that I consider class attendance to be the single most important aspect of the student role. If your attendance is sporadic, your grade will suffer. Recognizing, however, that we all get sick now and again, you may occasionally need to miss a class. Knowing this, *I do not need to see excuses for class absences.*

b. Paper

Students will write two papers, the first of which is due on Friday, March 3rd and the second by the last day of classes, May 1st. The first paper is a group assignment that will involve the

preparation of a travel itinerary to one of eight locations in relatively remote regions of the world². The itinerary will include all of the major logistical details of the trip including transportation, lodging, sites visited, and so on. The trip should cover a period of approximately three weeks. The travelers are an unmarried couple, Kerry and Chris, who are college educated, in their twenties and who speak English but are fluent in no other languages. The couple wishes to spend no more than \$5,000 on the trip but do have credit cards in case of emergency. They have no known health issues such as allergies that would require special accommodations and are in reasonably good physical shape so that hiking or other physical exertion should not create insurmountable problems. More about this assignment will be discussed in class.

The second writing assignment will be an analysis of a tourist attraction in Georgia or other area within visiting distance from Athens. The data for this paper will be collected during a visit to the site sometime during the semester. During this visit, students will take notes on the form of the attraction and the behavior of tourists, tour guides, and others at the site. In analyzing the setting, students will discuss the various relationships between the social world, or context, in which the tourist attraction appears; the producer of the attraction; the receiver (or tourist) of the attraction; and the object, or attraction, itself. These issues will be discussed in greater detail in class. Several students may choose to analyze the same setting and to visit that locale as a group. The papers, however, will be done individually. Keep in mind that a tourist attraction need not be an exotic locale or exclusive resort but might simply be an architecturally interesting building in a particular city or a particularly old tree beloved by residents of the town.

This paper project will be broken down into several phases. Students will first select a topic, identify the general timing of the research visit, and provide a brief (1-2 page) description of the site and its status as a tourist attraction. This is due on Friday, March 10th. The second phase of the project will be the research visit, to be conducted at some point during the semester but obviously no later than April. The final part of the project is the finished draft of the paper, which will be due on May 1st. The final version of the second paper should be between 8-15 pages. The papers need not be bound in any way other than with a staple in the upper left-hand corner; they must be typed (double-spaced, standard margins) in any of the usual academic formats (ASA, APA and MLA styles, among others, are all acceptable). The papers will be graded primarily on content but notice will also be paid to organization, style and, in general, to the overall quality of the writing. .

You might look into the Research Central webpage that the University Library has made available. The site offers step-by-step advice on the research process, including the important step of defining the topic. The address of Research Central is:

<http://www.libs.uga.edu/researchcentral/index.html>

c. Tests and Quizzes.

There will be a midterm exam during the semester in addition to the final exam. These exams will consist of essay-type questions and some short-answer items. The midterm is worth

² Students will sign up for one of eight groups, each of which will focus on a particular tourist destination. The eight destinations are: (1) Irian Jaya, Indonesia; (2) Angkor Wat, Cambodia; (3) Shibam and Al Hajarayn, Yemen; (4) Glaciers National Park, Argentina; (5) Himba area, Namibia; (6) Darhad-Boojum, Mongolia; (7) Loango and Waka, Gabon; (8) Atacama desert, Chile.

20% and the final exam counts 30% of the final grade. Each paper is weighted 25%. Contributions to class discussion, and other evidence of class participation, while not directly entered into the calculation of grades, will be considered in the determination of final course grades.

Miscellaneous Policies




1. Academic Honesty. All academic work must meet the standards contained in “A Culture of Honesty.” Students are responsible for informing themselves about those standards before performing any academic work. The link to more detailed information about academic honesty can be found at: <http://www.uga.edu/ovpi/honesty/acadhon.htm> In particular, I expect everyone to abide by the student honor code (section 7 of the honesty policy). Cheating or assisting someone who cheats is serious; penalties are severe, and ignorance is not an acceptable excuse.

2. Disabilities. If you have a disability and would like to request classroom accommodations, please see me after class or make an appointment during office hours.

3. Grievances. Any student who feels that he or she has not been treated in a fair or professional manner should follow the Department of Sociology grievance procedures, the first step of which is to discuss the matter with the professor.

C. Course Calendar

Jan. 9. Overview of the course.	Jan. 11. Part I: Theorizing about Travel Krotz, Larry. 1996. “The travel bug.”	Jan. 13. . Urry, John. 2002 “The tourist gaze.”
Jan. 16. MLK Holiday	Jan. 18. Urry, John. 2002. “Globalizing the gaze.”	Jan. 20. Ritzer, George and Allan Liska. 1997. “‘McDisney-ization’ and ‘post-tourism’: ...”
Jan. 23. Video: Cannibal Tours	Jan. 25. MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. ix-xiii; 17-37	Jan. 27. MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. 39-89.
Jan. 30. MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. 91-133.	Feb.1. MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. 135-187.	Feb. 3. MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. 189-203; 1-16.

Feb. 6 MacCannell, Dean. 1999. <u>The Tourist</u> . Pp. xv-xxvi	Feb. 8. Molz, Jennie Germann. 2004. “‘Our planet’: Global citizenship and cosmopolitan belonging.”	Feb. 10 Graham Dann and Erik Cohen. 1996. “Sociology and tourism.” Pp. 301-314 in Aspostolopoulos, Leivadi, and Yiannakis,(eds.) <u>The Sociology of Tourism</u>
Feb. 13. Rojek, Chris and John Urry. 1997. “Transformations of travel and theory.”	Feb. 15. De Botton, Alain. 2002. “On anticipation.”	Feb. 17 Takehome exam available today on WebCT. De Botton, Alain. 2002. “On eye-opening art.”
Feb. 20. Exam due today. Viewing of <i>Global Tourism</i>	Feb. 22. Part II: Types of Travel: <i>Niche Tourism</i> . Robinson, Mike and Marina Novelli. 2005. “Niche tourism: An introduction.” Pp. 1-13 in <u>Niche Tourism</u>	Feb. 24. Part II: Types of Travel: <i>Pilgrimage</i> . Campo, Juan Eduardo. 1998. “American Pilgrimage Landscapes.”
Feb. 27. Dubisch, Jill. 2004. “‘Heartland of America’: Memory, motion and the (re)construction of history on a motorcycle pilgrimage.”	Mar. 1. Part II: Types of Travel: <i>Sex tourism</i> . Wonders, Nancy A. and Raymond Michalowski. 2001. “Bodies, Borders, and Sex Tourism in a Globalized World: A Tale of Two Cities – Amsterdam and Havana.”	Mar. 3. Itinerary projects due today.
Mar. 6. Part II: Types of Travel: <i>Wildlife tourism</i> . Swarbrooke, John [et al.]. 2003. “Introduction, definitions, and typologies.”	Mar. 8. Swarbrooke, John [et al.]. 2003. “Wildlife tourism.”	Mar. 10. Paper topics due today. Part III: Places to Visit: <i>Across the Seas</i> Davis, Robert C. And Garry R. Marvin. 2004. “Contested ground.” and “Taking it all home.” Pp. 105-129 and 261-292 in <u>Venice, The Tourist Maze</u>
Mar. 13. Spring break 	Mar. 15 Spring break 	Mar. 17 Spring break 

<p>Mar. 20. Levenstein, Harvey. 2004. "Postmodern tourism" and "Nobody's perfect." Pp. 262-288 in <u>We'll Always Have Paris</u>.</p>	<p>Mar. 22. Bruner, Edward M. 2005. "Maasai on the lawn: Tourist realism in East Africa." Pp. 33-70 in <u>Culture on Tour</u></p>	<p>Mar. 24. Bruner, Edward M. 2005. "Slavery and the return of the Black diaspora: Tourism in Ghana." Pp. 101-123 in <u>Culture on Tour</u></p>
<p>Mar. 27. Part III: Places to Visit: Zoos. Eveslage, Scott and Alan Bryman. 2001. "The wild animal in late modernity: the case of the Disneyization of zoos." <u>Tourist Studies</u> 1 (June): 83-104.</p>	<p>Mar. 29. Part III: Places to Visit: War Memorials. Lennon, John and Malcom Foley. 2000. "Intimations of dark tourism" and "Instances of dark tourism." Pp. 1-26 in <u>Dark Tourism</u>.</p>	<p>Mar. 31. Lennon, John and Malcom Foley. 2000. "War sites of the First and Second World Wars." Pp. 99-128 in <u>Dark Tourism</u>.</p>
<p>Apr. 3. Part III: Places to Visit: Themed Attractions. Molz, Jennie Germann. 2004. "Tasting an imagined Thailand: Authenticity and culinary tourism in Thai restaurants."</p>	<p>Apr. 5. Parker, Robert E. 1999. "Las Vegas: Casino gambling and local culture." Pp. 107-23 in Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis Judd, eds. <u>The Tourist City</u>.</p>	<p>Apr. 7. Part IV: Travelers. and the Experience of Travel. Cohen, Erik. 1996. "A phenomenology of tourist experiences." Pp. 90-114 in Aspostolopoulos, Leivadi, and Yiannakis, (eds.) <u>The Sociology of Tourism</u></p>
<p>Apr. 10. Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 3-42.</p>	<p>Apr. 12 Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 43-91</p>	<p>Apr. 14 Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 92-138.</p>
<p>Apr. 17. Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 139-163</p>	<p>Apr. 19 Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 164-204.</p>	<p>Apr. 21 Harrison, Julia. 2003. <u>Being a Tourist</u>. Pp. 205-213.</p>
<p>Apr. 24. J. J. Dowd. "Consuming travel: American students abroad."</p>	<p>Apr. 26. G. Richards and J. Wilson. 2005. "Youth tourism – Finally coming of age?" Pp. 39-46 in <u>Niche Tourism</u>.</p> <p>Stephenson, Wen. 2002. "Lonelier planet." <u>The American Prospect</u>. Feb 11th. 37-39</p>	<p>Apr. 28 Chaney, D. 1995. "Creating memories: Some images of aging in mass tourism." In <u>Images of Aging</u>.</p>

May 1. Last class. Papers due. Sheller, Mimi. 2004. “Automotive Emotions: Feeling the Car.” <u>Theory, Culture & Society</u> 21: 221-242.		
Final Exam: Mon, May 8, 3:30 - 6:30 pm		

List of Required Readings

- Rojek, Chris and John Urry. 1997. “Transformations of travel and theory.” Pp. 1-21 in Touring Cultures: Transformations of travel and theory. New York : Routledge.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2005. “Maasai on the lawn: Tourist realism in East Africa.” Pp. 33-70 in Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago.
- Bruner, Edward M. 2005. “Slavery and the return of the Black diaspora: Tourism in Ghana.” Pp. 101-123 in Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago.
- Campo, Juan. 1998. “American pilgrimage landscapes: Americans and religions in the twenty-first century.” The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 558:40-57.
- Chaney, D. 1995. “Creating memories: Some images of aging in mass tourism.” In M. Featherstone and A. Warnick (eds.) Images of Aging: Cultural Representations of Later Life. N.Y.: Routledge.
- Cohen, Erik. 1996. “A phenomenology of tourist experiences.” Pp. 90-114 in Aspostolopoulos, Leivadi, and Yiannakis,(eds.) The Sociology of Tourism
- Davis, Robert C. And Garry R. Marvin. 2004. “Contested ground.” Pp. 105-129 in Venice, The Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World’s Most Touristed City. California. DG674.2.D34.
- Davis, Robert C. And Garry R. Marvin. 2004. “Taking it all home.” Pp. 261-292 in Venice, The Tourist Maze: A Cultural Critique of the World’s Most Touristed City. California.
- De Botton, Alain. 2002. “On anticipation.” Pp. 3-26 in The Art of Travel. N.Y.: Pantheon.
- De Botton, Alain. 2002. “On eye-opening art.” Pp. 179-209 in The Art of Travel. N.Y.: Pantheon.
- Dowd, James J. 2004. “Consuming Travel: American Students Abroad.” Paper presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, August.
- Dubisch, Jill. 2004. “‘Heartland of America’: Memory, motion and the (re)construction of history on a motorcycle pilgrimage.” Pp. 105-132 in Simon Coleman and John Eade (eds.) Reframing Pilgrimage. N.Y.: Routledge.
- Eveslage, Scott and Alan Bryman. 2001. “The wild animal in late modernity: the case of the Disneyization of zoos.” Tourist Studies 1 (June): 83-104.
- Graham Dann and Erik Cohen. 1996. “Sociology and tourism.” Pp. 301-314 in Y. Aspostolopoulos, S. Leivadi, and A. Yiannakis,(eds.) The Sociology of Tourism. N.Y.:

- Routledge.
- Krotz, Larry. 1996. "The travel bug." Pp. 1-18 in Tourists: How Our Fast Growing Industry is Changing the World. Boston: Faber & Faber.
- Lennon, John and Malcom Foley. 2000. "Intimations of dark tourism." Pp. 1-12 in Dark Tourism. London : Continuum.
- Lennon, John and Malcom Foley. 2000. "Instances of dark tourism." Pp. 13-26 in Dark Tourism. London : Continuum.
- Lennon, John and Malcom Foley. 2000. "War sites of the First and Second World Wars." Pp. 99-128 in Dark Tourism. London : Continuum.
- Levenstein, Harvey. 2004. "Postmodern tourism" and "Nobody's perfect." Pp. 262-288 in We'll Always Have Paris: American Tourists in France since 1930. University of Chicago Press.
- Merriman, Peter. 2004. "Driving Places: Marc Augé, Non-Places, and the Geographies of England's M1 Motorway." Theory, Culture & Society 21: 145-167.
- Molz, Jennie Germann. 2004. "Tasting an imagined Thailand: Authenticity and culinary tourism in Thai restaurants." Pp. 53-75 in Lucy M. Long (ed.) Culinary Tourism. Univ. of Kentucky Press.
- Molz, Jennie Germann. 2004. "'Our planet': Global citizenship and cosmopolitan belonging." Chapter Six of Ph.d. dissertation, Destination World: Technology, Mobility and Global Belonging in Round-the-World Travel Websites. University of Lancaster.
- Parker, Robert E. 1999. "Las Vegas: Casino gambling and local culture." Pp. 107-23 in Susan S. Fainstein and Dennis Judd, eds. The Tourist City. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Richards, G. and J. Wilson. 2005. "Youth tourism – Finally coming of age?" Pp. 39-46 in Niche Tourism.
- Ritzer, George and Allan Liska. 1997. "'McDisneyization' and 'post-tourism': Complementary perspective on contemporary tourism." Pp. 96-109 in Chris Rojek and John Urry (Eds.). 1997. Touring Cultures: Transformations of travel and theory. New York : Routledge.
- Robinson, Mike and Marina Novelli. 2005. "Niche tourism: An introduction." Pp. 1-13 in M. Novelli (ed.) Niche Tourism. Elsevier.
- Rojek, Chris and John Urry. 1997. "Transformations of travel and theory." Pp. 1-21 in Touring Cultures: Transformations of Travel and Theory. N.Y. Routledge.
- Sheller, Mimi. 2004. "Automotive Emotions: Feeling the Car." Theory, Culture & Society 21: 221-242.
- Stephenson, Wen. 2002. "Lonelier planet." The American Prospect. Feb 11th. 37-39.
- Swarbrooke, John [et al.]. 2003. "Introduction, definitions, and typologies." Pp. 3-37 in Adventure Tourism: The New Frontier. Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Swarbrooke, John [et al.]. 2003. "Wildlife tourism." Pp. 201-227 in Adventure tourism: The New Frontier. Oxford; Boston: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Urry, John. 2002. "The tourist gaze." Pp. 1-15 in J. Urry, The Tourist. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Urry, John. 2002. "Globalizing the gaze." Pp. 141-161 in J. Urry, The Tourist. 2nd ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Wonders, Nancy A. and Raymond Michalowski. 2001. "Bodies, Borders, and Sex Tourism in a Globalized World: A Tale of Two Cities – Amsterdam and Havana." Social Problems 48 (4): 545-571.

Appendix:

Thinking about, and Writing, the Sociology Papers on Travel and Tourism.

Here are some questions that might help in orienting your discussion of the attractions that you will be discussing. It is not necessary to answer all of these questions but you should consider some of these issues when writing your paper. So here are the questions to consider:

1. What are people doing at this place? Why?
2. Are markers present? What are they?
3. What is the meaning of the place? Is it a true attraction in the sense that MacCannell describes, or is it oriented primarily to purposes of consumption and public relations. Does the site contain any sacred elements in the sense of invoking a feeling of being someplace set apart from the everyday world? Is the attraction a site of historical memory in any way?
4. What is the demographic composition of the people visiting this place: age, race/ethnicity, class?
5. Would there be some types of people who would likely *not* be found among the visitors to this site? What does this suggest about the meaning of the attraction?
6. How do people get there [i.e. mode of transportation, distance from most visitors]? Does this influence who visits this place?
7. What is the history of this place as a tourist attraction? [Be brief on historical background]. Has this site always been popular or has its popularity ebbed and flowed over time? What accounts for this fluctuation?
8. Is the attraction unique or is it better described as a local version of something that can be found in many other locales? Does this uniqueness (or lack of it) affect the meaning of the site?

For our class projects, as in all sociological writing, we will need to be careful about choosing topics that will allow us to maintain the necessary objective distance while at the same time allowing us to choose a setting that we know and will profit from studying. Objectivity – as a sociological criterion – is not simply a matter of getting the facts straight but also of applying a critical viewpoint toward the object under study. Should the analysis sound as if it were written by a public relations firm hired to extol the virtues of the object, we obviously are not writing sociology but, rather, advertising. The sociologist must place herself or himself outside the social world that views the object, or setting, as meaningful in order to answer the question why the object is considered meaningful.

Sociological writing also requires a certain cosmopolitan attitude on the part of the writer. Again it's a matter of objectivity. One of the categories of tourist attraction that we will discuss is that of "cities." Here the focus will be on cities as places not only where people live and work, but also where tourists visit. Cities have always been exciting places where visitors expect to see and experience things that they are not likely to encounter at home. Some of these sights are "disreputable" in the sense of being frightening, thrilling, or contrary to the norms that guide behavior back home. It is, for example, not unusual for otherwise sensible and god-fearing tourists to Paris to visit the Moulin Rouge and to take in the sordid sights of the Pigalle district.

The focus of our sociological interest, were we to write about a setting like Pigalle, would be an analysis of the nature of the attraction, which would include of course the characteristics of the audience or patrons. Rather than take on a moralistic tone (or otherwise adopt an air of cultural, intellectual, or moral superiority), the sociological observer and writer will always strive to understand the setting and the interactions that occur there and to assume the detached gaze of the social scientist.

Tourist attractions, as cultural objects, are **socially constructed**. Their complex meaning is not based on fact, that is, on what their “real” meaning is. If you are not a member of a particular culture or social world, the objects they consider historically meaningful or culturally significant will likely not appear so to you. In fact, their cultural practices surrounding particular cultural objects may seem ridiculous or obviously unconnected with actual reality. The point here is that the sociologist must try to avoid **two** opposing traps that are very easy to fall into.

Trap #1: Not being sufficiently distant from the object and writing about the cultural practice as if its meaning was factual, objectively true, and good. The writer here comes off sounding like a lawyer making a case or a public relations expert trying to persuade some target audience. This is a mistake since the meaning of the cultural object is a social construct.

Trap #2: Writing as if the point of the cultural analysis is simply to debunk the beliefs of the group toward a particular cultural object. This mistake can easily be seen in the writings of those who, when visiting another countries, will ridicule the cultural practices they observe as being superstitious, ridiculous or merely quaint. This problem also enters into sociological analyses of our own culture, particularly when the object is a contentious one and we write as if one side is right and the other wrong. As a citizen, you are free to hold such views; as a cultural sociologist, you must write to answer the question of why the object holds such meaning to the groups involved, appreciating that the views of **both sides are social constructs**.