

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management

**TAXI TOUR GUIDES AS CULTURE BROKERS ON JEJU ISLAND, KOREA**

A Thesis in

Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management

by

So Young Bae

© 2011 So Young Bae

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Master of Science

May 2011

The thesis of So Young Bae was reviewed and approved\* by the following:

Garry Chick  
Professor of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management  
Department Head  
Thesis Advisor

Deborah Kerstetter  
Professor of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Management

Harry Zinn  
Associate Professor of Recreation, Park and Tourism Management

\*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School

## ABSTRACT

Tour guides are an example of culture brokers who play a significant role in mediating two different cultural groups (Brown, 1992; Cole, 2008; Jennings & Weiler, 2006). Local tour guides who originally come from the tourism destination are especially important as culture brokers because they mediate the relationship between tourists and local residents and interpret socio-cultural situations. There are several reasons why a study of local tour guides as culture brokers should be conducted. Despite their importance as mediators in tourists' experiences (Chambers, 1997), tour guides as culture brokers have not been empirically studied. In addition, tour guides have been considered a "largely homogeneous group" in most studies, while, in fact, there are various types of tour guides whose roles may differ (Cole, 2008, p. 119).

The purpose of this study is to probe the importance of the roles of local tour guides as culture brokers, particularly taxi tour guides (TTGs) on Jeju Island, Korea. A qualitative approach via phenomenological analysis was utilized to answer research questions about the perception of the TTGs' roles, cultural experiences or culture-brokering, and TTGs' local background along with the observed roles of TTGs as culture brokers. By approaching the research questions from the perspectives of tourists and TTGs, this study deals with a taxi tour phenomenon with vivid and in-depth description.

Open-ended, in-depth, semi-structured interviews and participant observation were conducted through two separate trips to Jeju Island, Korea in June 2010. Fifteen taxi tour guides, fifteen tourists, and one local individual (i.e., the manager of one of the biggest Jeju Island online travel communities) were recruited via purposeful sampling. Extensive field notes and transcriptions were analyzed using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo© version 8.0. To clearly understand the detailed meanings and nuances of the data, they were transcribed and initially analyzed in Korean first. Later they were translated in English.

The results indicated that tourists' travel experiences were heavily influenced by taxi tour guides and, at the same time, taxi tour guides were aware of the significance of their roles with varying degrees of pride. In terms of culture-brokering or culture experiences, the most satisfying factor out of tourists' experience was explanation or interpretation by TTGs. TTGs also considered their explanation of Jeju culture as the key difference from other types of trips such as rental cars or package trips. In particular, tourists felt that TTGs from Jeju Island provide the best explanation of Jeju culture, which makes TTGs' background very important. However, not all the TTGs agreed that their background was a competitive edge.

While looking at tourists and TTGs' perceptions of several factors, some constraints (e.g., irrational fare system) were found that hinder TTGs from working as culture brokers properly and TTGs' attitudes against these (i.e., pathfinders vs. free riders) were described as well. Overall, the study findings led to specific descriptions of the roles of TTGs on Jeju Island. Implications and future research directions are discussed.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	vii
LIST OF TABLES .....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	ix
Chapter 1 Introduction .....	1
Chapter 2 Literature Review and Description of the Setting .....	4
Literature Review .....	4
The Culture Broker.....	4
The Culture Broker in Tourism .....	6
The Tour Guide as a Culture Broker .....	7
Local Residents and Sustainable Tourism.....	10
Description of the Setting .....	12
Pilot Study .....	12
Study Site .....	13
Taxi Tour Guides on Jeju Island .....	16
Chapter 3 Methods.....	18
Operationalization: The Boundary of Local Culture.....	19
Participant Selection .....	20
Consent .....	22
Data Collection .....	22
Participant Observation .....	23
Interviews .....	24
Trustworthiness.....	25
Triangulation .....	26
Member Checking .....	26
Audit Trail.....	26
Thick Description.....	26
Data Analysis .....	27
Chapter 4 Results .....	29
Personal Travel Experience with a Taxi Tour Guide.....	34
Tourists' Perception of Their Travel Experiences with Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs) .....	41
My TTG has in-depth knowledge about a tourism destination .....	43
It was such a convenient and comfortable trip .....	45
My TTG was very considerate .....	48
My TTG took us to the places we've never been to.....	50
Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Perception of Themselves or Their Roles.....	52
Taxi tour guides are .....	52
Pride .....	54
Constraints.....	59

TTG's attitudes toward constraints: Pathfinders vs. Free Riders .....	67
Tourists' Perceived Importance of Cultural Experience or Learning .....	70
The Meaning of Culture-brokering Roles to Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs).....	74
The Influence of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background on Tourists'	
Experience.....	77
Attachment and pride .....	77
More knowledge based on real experiences.....	78
Sincerity and commitment .....	79
Feel reassured to travel with local people .....	80
The Influence of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background to Taxi Tour	
Operation.....	81
Qualities of TTGs.....	83
Chapter 5 Discussion .....	87
Perceived importance of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs) .....	87
Perceptions of Culture-brokering and Cultural Experiences.....	92
Perceptions of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background .....	95
Constraints and Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Coping Strategies.....	97
Local Tour Guides as Culture Brokers: Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs) on Jeju Island .....	99
Chapter 6 Conclusion.....	101
Limitations .....	104
Directions for Future Research .....	105
References .....	106
Appendix A	
Informed Consent Forms: Tour Guides & Tourists (English/Korean).....	111
Appendix B Interview Guide: Sample Questions (English/Korean).....	116

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2-1. Geographical Location of Jeju Island.....	14
Figure 4-1. Domains of Inquiry .....	29
Figure 4-2. Taxis on Jeju Island.....	31
Figure 4-3. One of the Key Informants, BW's Vehicle for Taxi Tours.....	34
Figure 4-4. Travel Routes during Taxi Tour Experiences (Participant Observation).....	36
Figure 4-5. The Scrapbook of ATPs and Awards that One of the TTG Participants Brought to the Interview .....	59
Figure 4-6. Harubang, One of the Symbols of Jeju Island.....	79
Figure 4-7. Qualities of TTGs.....	83

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 4-1. Taxi Tour Guide Participants .....	30
Table 4-2. Tourist Participants.....	32
Table 4-3. Summary of the Perceived Importance of the Roles of TTGs.....	69
Table 4-4. Summary of the Perceptions of Culture-brokering and Cultural Experiences .....	76
Table 4-5. Summary of the Perceptions of TTGs' Background .....	86



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First of all, I would like to thank my academic and thesis advisor, Dr. Chick for his encouraging support and guidance. I always feel welcomed and respected when I visit you with my research ideas, graduate life concerns, and even personal matters. Thank you for being such a sincere listener and encourager. You are my hero, Dr. Chick.

I am also grateful to the other members of my thesis committee, Drs. Kerstetter and Zinn. Deb, I was able to develop and hone my thesis topic because of your research methods class. Thank you for continuous support and thorough reviews of my ideas and writing. Harry, you broadened my thinking to include many other disciplines. Thank you for introducing me to fascinating new worlds. They really motivated me to move forward.

I would like to thank the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS) and the College of Health and Human Development at Penn State for offering me a research grant to conduct field research. I also want to thank my participants, taxi tour guides, and tourists, as well. Especially the genuine support of my key informant, Bub-wun, made all my field work possible.

My appreciation also goes to all my brothers and sisters at the State College Korean Church. Thank you so much for your prayers and fellowship that encourage me a lot. Pastor Kim and Samonim, thank you for the food and the real food – spiritual food – that make me grow.

Finally, I couldn't have completed this thesis without the love and support of my family. They always prayed for me and encouraged me with positive words. Mom, Dad, I dedicate this thesis to you. I also want to thank my dearest Bong-hyun. Thank you for coming into my life. Thank you for loving your 'virtual' girlfriend so sincerely. You are my super shining star.

Father God, I thank you for all the blessings you have poured out into my graduate life. Let me be your sincere disciple and follow after you for the rest of my life. I love you, Lord Jesus.

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

Tour guides are an example of culture brokers who play a significant role in mediating two different cultural groups (Brown, 1992; Cole, 2008; Jennings & Weiler, 2006). Local tour guides (i.e., guides who originally come from the tourism destination) are especially important as culture brokers because they mediate the relationship between tourists and local residents at tourism destinations and interpret socio-cultural situations. There are several reasons why a study of local tour guides as culture brokers should be conducted. First, tour guides as culture brokers have not been empirically studied despite their importance as mediators in tourists' experiences (Chambers, 1997). Second, it is evident that tourists want mediators who can broker their experiences when they are unfamiliar with tourism destinations (Jennings & Weiler, 2006). Third, tour guides have been considered a "largely homogeneous group" in most studies, while, in fact, there are various types of tour guides (e.g., local guides, out-of-area guides, driver guides, and tour leaders) whose roles may differ (Cole, 2008, p. 119).

The role of tour guides as culture brokers mainly involves "translating the villagers' culture to the tourists" (Cole, 2008, p. 123). Tour guides play a role as "middlemen" or "brokers" with groups where conflicts may occur due to their cultural differences. These groups are not always able to mediate the tension by themselves because each has their own distinct characteristics that may not be understood by the other. In addition, the role of culture-brokering is considered important to tour guides because many tourists are motivated to travel for "a better understanding of the culture of the place visited" (McDowell, 2001, p. 3). Many tourists have a desire to broaden their cultural horizons and experience cultural enrichment (Quiroga, 1990).

According to Jackson, White, and Schemierer (1996), a positive relationship with host communities is one of the factors tourists will consider when evaluating their experiences as

positive. Moreover, culture brokers may exert a significant influence on the quality of a travel experience. For example, it is not unusual to hear a tourist praising a tour guide, local residents, or a taxi driver even if he or she is not able to remember the specific details of the interaction because these individuals play such an important role in making tourists' experiences memorable (Jennings & Weiler, 2006).

In general, tour guides are expected to not only have expertise in tour-guiding and adequate knowledge about tourism destinations, but also to be able to provide proper interpretation of cultural phenomena. Hughes (1991, p.166) claimed, "Inappropriate commentary content and communication style have been shown to ruin an entire holiday." Considering the importance of culture-brokering roles of tour guides, there might be many qualifications required to provide the proper explanation of local culture and historical background. Despite the lack of current literature about the relationship between culture-brokering roles and the local background of tour guides, cultural interpretation is assumed to be the competitive edge for tour guides who were born and grew up in the tourism destination. In other words, the local background of tour guides can be the strength for tour guides as culture brokers.

Jeju Island in Korea is an appropriate destination in which to study the role of local tour guides as culture brokers. Its natural scenery with mountains and beaches and temperate climate make it a popular tourism destination for domestic travelers as well as international tourists. The Island has its own unique history and culture, in part due to its geographical distance from the mainland. In addition, there are unique mediators, called taxi tour guides, who are mostly from Jeju Island and provide personal driving tour services. They provide an alternative mode of transportation and play a role as the middleman between local residents and tourists.

The purpose of this study is to probe the role of local tour guides as culture brokers. This will be accomplished by examining the perspectives of tourists and taxi tour guides regarding

three areas of inquiry: first, tourists' and taxi tour guides' perceptions of taxi tour guides, second, cultural experience/brokering, and, third, the background of tour guides.

### **Research Questions**

1. How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive the role of taxi tour guides?
  - 1-1. how do tourists describe their experiences with taxi tour guides?
  - 1-2. how do taxi tour guides perceive themselves/their roles?
2. How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive cultural experiences or culture-brokering?
  - 2-1. how do tourists perceive the importance of cultural experiences or learning?
  - 2-2. how do taxi tour guides perceive the meaning of culture-brokering roles?
3. How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive the difference between local and non-local tour guides?
  - 3-1. how does taxi tour guides' background influence tourists' experience?
  - 3-2. how does taxi tour guides' background influence their tour operation?
4. What, exactly, do taxi tour guides do; that is, how do they act as culture brokers?

## **Chapter 2**

### **Literature Review and Description of the Setting**

#### **Literature Review**

Following is a review of the literature regarding the culture broker, the roles of the culture broker in tourism, and the tour guide as a culture broker. Also, the relationship between local residents and sustainable tourism will be reviewed in order to probe the importance of the local tour guide as a culture broker.

#### **The Culture Broker**

Brokering is “the act of providing or limiting access to identifiable elements such as particular spaces, people, information, cultures, and environments” (Jennings & Weiler, 2006, p. 65). Today, someone who fulfills this role is often called a broker, much like a business broker, marriage broker, or real estate broker. Essentially, the broker is supposed to function as an intermediary between two or more parties; that is, a go-between or a mediator.

A culture broker is someone who plays a role as a bridge between groups or persons who have different cultural backgrounds (Jezewski & Sotnik, 2005). Culture brokers are often described as those who can interpret cultures and mediate cultural incompatibilities based on a thorough understanding of different cultural systems (Gray, 1993; Michie, 2004). These individuals are often bilingual, innovative, analytical about their culture (Evans, 1976), and also have strong communication and translation skills (Gentemann & Whitehead, 1983; Wyatt, 1978/79).

Culture brokers also have been referred to as “marginal individuals” in anthropology (Press, 1969). Evans (1976, p. 192) stated “within any small community, there are some individuals who stand partly outside, straddling local boundaries as teachers, traders, priests, politicians, and government agents representing state and national groups.” They can easily adapt to the changes and stresses and proactively interact with external influences.

As important players in the interaction between two parts of a larger cultural system (Willigen, 2002), culture brokers have been studied in different fields in both theoretical and applied ways. For example, in the field of health care, Schwab, Drake, and Burghardt (1988) used case examples to present the culture broker model and its application to the medical care of the chronically mentally-ill. The authors claimed that when there are some barriers to medical care for mentally-ill patients, case managers as culture brokers can play multiple roles as “an advocate for the patient, a translator between patients and doctors, as well as an expert in the psychological world of the chronically mentally-ill” (p. 176). In addition, culture brokers also have received attention in social psychology. Jones and Trickett (2005) discussed the role of immigrant adolescents as culture brokers. Immigrant adolescents are required to mediate the relationship of their family members with local people and institution, which sometimes cause them emotional stress, academic problems, problems with peers, and familial conflict. Their findings imply that understanding adolescent culture-brokering would help clarify the roles of adolescents relating to these issues.

In summary, culture brokers play a significant role by mediating two different groups in cross-cultural situations. However, there seems to be little discussion on culture brokers in a tourism setting where inter-cultural contact is inherent.

## **The Culture Broker in Tourism**

Culture contact occurs naturally at a tourism destination between tourists' culture and the local culture. When tourists arrive at their tourism destinations, they are exposed to another culture regardless of the level at which the exposure takes place, such as different lifestyles, value systems, beliefs, and language developed by the historical and natural environment. Such differences might be considered "one of the principal stimulants of a tourism industry" (Theobald, 1998, p. 71).

Burns (1999) noted two main themes that occur in the encounter between a host group (i.e., local community at a tourism destination) and a guest group (i.e., tourists): "disparity between the visitor and visited" and "strangerhood" (p. 99). The encounter between strangers who come from different cultures or subcultures naturally causes disparity and, in turn, it brings up the feeling of unfamiliarity to both groups. Burns also mentioned the possible conflicts caused by the terms "host" and "guest" which usually connote a willing hosting of invited guests because, ironically, in a tourism context, a commercial transaction is normally involved in a host-guest relationship.

Jennings and Weiler (2006) defined brokering in a tourism context as "any active attempt by an individual to mediate the tourist experience of another individual" (p. 58). The terms brokerage and mediation can be also defined in the tourism setting as "an individual's active attempt to facilitate and/or interpret the tourism experience of another individual" (Tussyadiah & Fesenmaier, 2009, p. 25). Culture brokers as mediators between tourists and residents can be found amongst taxi drivers, tourist guides, tourist police, security guards, hotel workers, and market vendors (Brown, 1992). Jennings and Weiler (2006) categorized the culture brokers in their study into formal and informal brokers. They indicated that informal brokers (e.g., transport operators, drivers, host community members) who are "largely invisible and free to facilitate or

inhibit access to experiences” (p. 67) as well as formal brokers (e.g., travel agents, tour guides, local government tourism staff) may give tourists access to a particular experience based on their own judgment and perception of economic, social, and environmental phenomena.

Even if brokers are regarded as “primary agents of tourism” (Werner, 2003, p. 145), there has been little attention given to culture brokers. Studies in the tourism literature have simply mentioned mediation and interpretation, two important main roles of culture brokers. Cohen (1985) described the mediatory sphere as one of the principal components of the tourist guide’s role. He claimed that the guide mediates a cultural gap between the visitors and the locals by an act of interpretation. Ap and Wong (2001) noted that the interpretive role of tour guides enhances the quality of experience and increases understanding of the destination and culture. The role of interpretation was also reconceptualized as the major functions of the tour guide by Reisinger and Seiner (2006).

Based on a literature review of culture brokers in tourism, there are two primary findings. First, different terms have been used to describe the roles of culture brokers (e.g., mediating, interpretation) in a tourism context. However, in this study, the term culture broker seems to be appropriate because it includes the notion of both mediation and interpretation and contains the meaning of a bridge between two different cultural groups. Second, researchers have focused on tour guides as key players who mediate different cultures or subcultures and interpret cultural resources in tourism destinations. To better understand the importance of culture brokers in tourism, more specific examples such as the roles of tour guides need to be further discussed.

### **The Tour Guide as a Culture Broker**

Tour guides are the essential mediator between tourists and the local community at tourism destinations (Crompton, 1979; Holloway, 1981; Pearce, 1982; Quiroga, 1990). Culture-



brokering is a primary role of the professional tour guide (Cohen, 1985). Based on the origin of the role of modern tour guides as pathfinders and mentors (Cohen, 1985), many scholars have agreed on their functions of mediation and interpretation which I consider as two key roles of culture brokers. Yu, Weiler, and Ham (2004) categorized the mediating activities of tour guides into three aspects: mediating access, mediating information, and mediating encounters. They regarded the interpretation as “a way of mediating information, that is, by conveying the significance of the visited place, tour guides help visitors make intellectual and emotional connections with place” (p. 86). The role of interpretation can be “the distinguishing feature of ‘best practice’ in guiding” (Weiler & Ham, 2001, p. 554) if it is properly operated. Moscardo (1996) also highlighted the role of interpretation that helps produce mindful visitors by giving them new insights and an understanding of areas, culture, and the environment.

However, Weiler and Ham (2001) argued that the role of interpretation is underestimated by most tour operators. They suggest that the tour guides’ duties from operators’ perspectives are: “(1) ensuring the safety, health, and comfort of clients; (2) providing courteous and quality customer service; (3) responding to the needs and expectations of visitors from other cultures and those with special needs due to age, a disability or special interests; (4) managing interactions within client groups; (5) delivering the tour cost-effectively; (6) providing high quality, informative and entertaining commentary; (7) meeting the legal and moral obligations and expectations of protected area managers, host communities and clients” (p. 551). They claimed that tour operators have no idea of the importance of the role of interpretation as well as its possible positive influence on the quality of tourists’ cultural experiences.

Tourists’ decision making process is influenced by various factors. For example, Decrop (1999) segmented tourists into three categories in terms of influential factors on their travel decisions: (1) cognitive tourists who process information based on their perception, learning, and attitudes; (2) personal tourists who consider their motivations, emotions, and lifestyle; and (3)

tourists who are influenced by situations, social or cultural factors, and group decision making. Despite the importance of tour guides' role, most tourists tend not to make decisions solely considering the tour guide (Weiler & Ham, 2001). In particular, when choosing a tour operator or the mode of tour, tourists rather consider if it will provide them a safety, reliability, and convenience as well as value for money (Fay, 1992).

Nevertheless, the quality of guided-tours exerts influence on tourism experience and tourists' satisfaction once they meet a tour guide and join the tour (Geva & Goldman, 1991; Zhang & Chow, 2004). Pearce (1984) noted that significant emotional impacts, which exert positive influences on satisfaction can be created based on tourists' experience with tour guides, although few details from their interactions with guides can be recalled. Costa (2009) claimed that bonding between tourists and tour guides were one of the crucial factors in tourism experiences. She also related it with emotional attachment which enhance the "depth of the experience" of tourists; "they remark that they 'love' their driver, that he 'made the trip,' or (rarely) that he 'disappointed' them" (p. 185).

Despite its importance, the role of tour guides has received little attention in the tourism literature. In addition, tour guides have largely been regarded as a largely homogeneous group even though their roles may differ (Cole, 2008). Cole (2008) study divided tour guides in Ngadha, Indonesia into four different groups to better understand their specific roles: local guides, out-of-area guides, driver guides, and tour leaders. Local guides are guides who come from Ngadha region and work in the villages, while out-of-area guides are from the bigger cities and have formal education and language skills. Even if out-of-area guides are fluent in numerous languages, they may not be able to provide detailed interpretation of the local culture or build relationship with host residents. Driver guides may have limited language skills and knowledge but are familiar with tourist routes. The tour leaders, who come from tourists' countries or regions, usually work with local tour guides.

Costa (2009) claimed that, “Tour guides (including driver-guides) are overly standardized, rehearsed, and inauthentic” (p. 202). In her ethnography of Irish *coach fellas* (coach tour guides), she argued that there was very little research conducted with regard to tour guides who may play multiple roles such as local native driver-guides. Due to the multiple roles served by local coach driver-guides, tourists as well as tour guides are confused about socially-acceptable attitudes, and coach driver-guides play a role not only as a “driver” but also as a “servant,” “go-between,” and “leader” while the bus driver is generally considered to hold a “low-status social position,” which serves a one-dimensional role (p. 200-201).

In sum, tour guides play a significant role as culture brokers in tourists’ travel experiences. However, due to the lack of research on this issue, there is a gap in the literature. In particular, the role of tour guides needs to be specified. When it comes to tour guides who are responsible for multiple roles, there is room for further research. In the next section, the literature regarding local residents and tourism will be reviewed since, in this study, the native background of local tour guides is assumed to influence their tour operation.

### **Local Residents and Sustainable Tourism**

Residents at a tourism destination play an important role in tourism. Their support is essential for successful tourism operations as well as for sustainable tourism development (Jurowski et al., 1997). Tourism also encourages local employment and economic development of communities (Costa, 2009). According to Costa (2009), tourism in Ireland is “crucial to the maintenance and development of local areas and communities... [in order to sustain] livelihoods in areas which can have little in the way of alternative employment” (p. 131).

Many researchers have studied residents’ attachment to the local community, in particular, along with attitudes of local residents toward tourism development (e.g., Jurowski et

al., 1997; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McCool & Martin, 1994; Um & Crompton, 1987) or their perception of tourism impact (e.g., Andereck et al., 2005; Besculides et al., 2002). In general, it has been measured as “length of time living” and/or “having been born and/or grown up there” (Andereck et al., 2005). According to Andereck et al.’s (2005) review, there is disagreement among researchers about the relationship between the level of community attachment and residents’ attitudes or perception toward tourism development. Some of them argue that community attachment is negatively related to residents’ attitudes while others have found evidence that shows positive relationship or no relationship.

In spite of the importance of local residents in tourism, however, their possible contribution areas haven’t received much attention among researchers. For example, native tour guides who were born and grew up in a tourism destination might serve customers differently based on their background and attachment, which, I assume, would support sustainable community tourism development. Given the lack of literature, there are some gaps to be filled. Therefore, this study will primarily focus on the roles of tour guides, especially local tour guides.

### **Description of the Setting**

To better understand the study context, I will describe (1) what I learned from a pilot study; (2) the study site, Jeju Island; and (3) the overview of a taxi tour on Jeju Island. To test my research questions and methods, I visited Lancaster, Pennsylvania, as a site for the pilot study and conducted participant observation and interviews with an Amish buggy ride driver and a non-Amish tour guide. To observe the roles of tour guides, I experienced a buggy ride and also joined the Amish dinner tour as a tourist.

### **Pilot Study**

Due to the constraints in distance, I found a site for a pilot study which was similar to Jeju Island and contained cultural differences. To select the site, I considered; (1) tourism destinations which were at a similar stage of tourism development; (2) whether the tourism industry plays an important role in the local community; and (3) the amount of culture contact that occurs in tourism operations. I chose to do my pilot study in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in March 2010. In the case of Lancaster, the first aspect was not met because Amish tourism was not as actively-developed as the tourism in Jeju. However, Lancaster has had increasing numbers of non-Amish tourists experiencing Amish culture. Through the pilot study, I tested my research questions and methods as well and experienced fieldwork prior to the primary field research. It was very helpful for me to figure out possible issues and to adjust my research questions throughout the interactive learning process.

In order to examine the importance of the role of local tour guides as culture brokers in the Amish community, I conducted a total of three hours of participant observations and one and a half hours of interviews. First, I met one Amish buggy driver who provides buggy rides to

tourists and non-Amish tour guides who offer personal driving tours and dinner experiences with Amish families. Second, I observed the interaction between tourists and tour guides during the tour and experienced dinner with the Amish.

While I learned a lot in terms of participants' responses, the fieldwork helped me to prepare my field research on Jeju Island. Along with the actual process from arranging interview schedules to preparing extra batteries for voice recorders, the interaction with participants was a crucial part of my learning through exposing me to the field.

However, since it was my first qualitative research experience, a few things did not work. First, it was difficult to take field notes during participant observations. While trying to keep focused on my research questions in order to achieve meaningful results, I needed to actively communicate, too. Also, Amish people's social belief such as not allowing others to record their voices or take photos of them needs to be understood and appreciated. Second, I learned that it is important to secure an appropriate place for the interviews. The quality of my recordings was poor due to the strong wind. Third, I found that I asked a number of leading questions and closed questions during the interviews. For example, since the Amish tour guide was not used to being interviewed, he didn't seem to understand my questions even though I tried to paraphrase and ask the questions several different ways. I was not patient enough to wait until he told me his stories.

As a result of this pilot study, I was able to prepare the fieldwork on Jeju Island thoroughly.

## **Study Site**

Jeju Island, a Special Self-Governing Province, is one of the most popular tourism destinations in Korea because of its natural and unique beauty. It is the most southern province in South Korea and is surrounded by oceans, playing a role as a bridge between continents and

oceans. There are two cities on Jeju Island called Jeju City and Seogwipo City. Despite having the smallest population (0.57 million) among the provinces in Korea, Jeju Island has a unique culture and tourism attractions such as exceptional geographical formations and old history, which attract both domestic and international tourists.

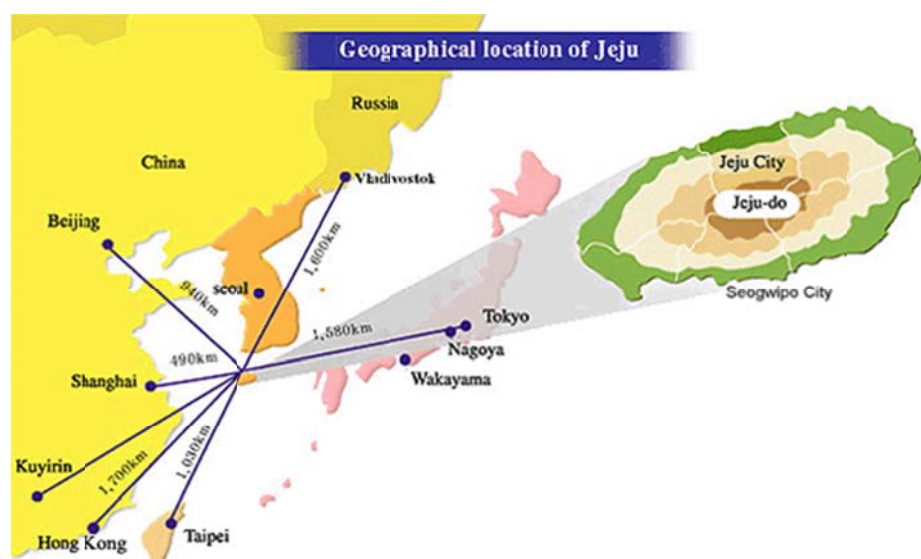


Figure 2-1. Geographical Location of Jeju Island<sup>1</sup>

The unique culture of Jeju Island has been created mainly because of its geographical location. Since it is separate from the mainland of South Korea, there are many differences between Jeju culture and that of other regions including language, lifestyle, food, and so forth. Islanders have developed their own dialects which are difficult to understand by most Koreans from other regions. Moreover, the island was formed by volcanic activities so that residents have faced droughts. Fierce wind in the area has also influenced how residents structured their houses and villages. The Jeju Culture Center (2006) reported that Jeju culture began in the barren land with no water whereas all the culture in the world has arisen with water and fertile land.

<sup>1</sup> Source: <http://jejeuco.com/jeju/info.htm>

In terms of its tourism industry, the Island is equipped with a robust tourism infrastructure: 854 accommodations, 8 casinos, 27 golf courses, 129 tourism attractions (50 public attractions and 79 private attractions), 25 horse riding venues, 7 duty free shops, and an international convention center (Jeju Special Self-Governing Province, 2010). According to the Annual Report of Jeju Tourism (2010), the number of domestic tourists is about 10 times greater than the number of international tourists on Jeju Island while, in terms of revenue, the income from international tourists comprises 25.7% of all revenue. In 2009, more than 6.5 million tourists visited Jeju Island, an increase of 12% compared to 2008, including about 5.8 million domestic tourists and about 0.6 million international tourists.

In general, domestic travelers usually visit Jeju Island by air and it takes about 50 minutes from Seoul (Gimpo airport). People who leave from the southern coastal areas sometimes go on a boat. On Jeju Island, individual tourists use rental cars for traveling due to the lack of public transportation, unless they have local family or friends. Package tourists, who comprise 30% of total tourists, generally travel by bus. Recently, there has been an increasing trend in walking tours called Olle<sup>2</sup>, which first started in 2007. A female journalist who was born in Jeju returned to her hometown and made a hiking trail, which initiated this trend. Even though there are several ways to travel around Jeju Island, it is not easy to meaningfully access residents' lives and the history of the Island when tourists have a need to learn and interact with local people and their culture. I assume taxi tour guides play a significant role as culture brokers who satisfy tourists' need for cultural exchanges by becoming a bridge between them and local culture at tourism destinations.

---

<sup>2</sup> "Olle" [Ole] is the Jeju dialect for a narrow pathway that connects from the street to the front gate of a house.



## Taxi Tour Guides on Jeju Island

There is another option that tourists consider as their mode of travel transportation on Jeju Island. Tourists travel with taxi tour guides who provide personal guided-tour with their own vehicle. They appreciate this type of tour because of cultural learning that they can experience from their personal tour guides. One tourist commented on one of the web communities, “*My tour guide was a living dictionary. I found there is no place without ‘stories’ on Jeju Island.*”<sup>3</sup> Also, some tourists show their satisfaction with flexible and customized tours: “*What I wanted from this tour was the restful trip with just a visit to a couple of places. Thanks to the tour guide’s consideration, I could enjoy my trip in a comfortable mood.*”<sup>4</sup> Individuals whose needs are not met by package tours with tour guides seem to be fully satisfied with taxi guided tours.

Taxi tour guides are usually called, “drivers” or “taxi drivers” among tourists because some tour guides not only provide tour services but also take passengers at night after touring or on their day-off. The general characteristics of taxi tour guides can be described as a middle-aged male from Jeju Island with an average of 10 to 20 years of tour guiding experience and photography skills. The age of taxi tour guides varies between early 40s and mid 60s. Most guides are males. In general, they have at least 10 years of experience as tour guides with a safe driving record. Honors from the local government are displayed on their web sites, which bring more trust to potential tourists. Also, awards from photography competitions and active participation in professional photography clubs prove their expertise in photography. Most of them possess their own professional cameras.

Taxi guided tours normally cost between 60,000 and 100,000 won (\$1= KRW1,200 = 1,200 won) per day, although it varies according to the type of car and management. Individual guides normally charge 100,000 won, depending on the type of car. On the other hand, in the case

---

<sup>3</sup> [http://cafe.naver.com/jejutip.cafe?iframe\\_url=/ArticleRead.nhn%3Farticleid=118659](http://cafe.naver.com/jejutip.cafe?iframe_url=/ArticleRead.nhn%3Farticleid=118659) (Oct 18, 2008)

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.kktaxi.com/Community/travels.html> (Oct 6, 2009)

of a company with multiple guides, the expense is more affordable to tourists (i.e., between 60,000 won and 80,000 won). In both cases, there are extra charges when tourists choose vans or buses.

The taxi tour starts at 9:00 in the morning and ends at 6:00 in the evening for a total of 9 hours of service (full-day service). Some guides offer an additional hour of free service even after they finish full day tours. Tourists can also use the service for a half-day. The expense covers the guided tour for the day (full-day or half day), gas, and photo-taking service with guests' cameras; entrance fees, meals, and tips are excluded. If tourists want professional photos, they pay an extra charge (e.g., 30,000 won per day) since most taxi tour guides have professional experience with photography. Some guides offer album service with professional photos taken during the tour.

Taxi tour guides, even individual guides who do not work for a certain travel agency, also make reservations for flights and accommodations and provide airport pick-up and drop-off. Also, there are several tour guides who speak English, Japanese, and Chinese and they offer a translation service.

## **Chapter 3**

### **Methods**

A qualitative approach was used in this study in order to appropriately approach the phenomenon of taxi tours and probe the roles of local tour guides as culture brokers. Rubin and Rubin mentioned, “A research philosophy, or paradigm, shapes how people study their world” (2005, p. 20). In this study, I followed a constructivist inquiry, which pursues “the knowledge that helps humans maintain cultural life, symbolic communication, and meaning” (Crabtree & Miller, 1999, p. 9). “Interpretive constructivism” claims the importance of researchers’ perspective on an object or event and its meaning (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). In this approach, the result is relative; there is no objective truth. I believe that the truth is not independent of human perception and, therefore, the researcher inevitably affects the process and the outcome of the study.

In addition, due to the exploratory nature of this study, I attempted to understand the meaning and the context by taking an interpretive constructivist approach instead of testing hypotheses or a current theory. I examined “not only the physical events and behavior that are taking place” but also “how the participants [...] make sense of these” and “how their understanding influences their behavior” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 22).

In the tourism literature, quantitative research has been dominant for the last few decades. Riley and Love (2000) indicated that the reason for this is because there is a lack of editors or reviewers who are familiar with qualitative research, of limited trust of the reliability and validity of qualitative research, and findings that can’t be directly translated to the economic benefits of tourism. However, since tourism research is not bounded to a certain type of method (Phillimore & Goodson, 2004), there are huge opportunity areas in tourism phenomena that can be potentially explained through qualitative research based on its own strengths.

There are several different qualitative research traditions such as biography, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study (Creswell, 1998). Among these traditions, phenomenology is the most appropriate for this study because it helps describe the essence of particular experiences. Phenomenology is to mainly “understand the lived experience of individuals and their intentions within their ‘lifeworld’” (Crabtree & Miller, 1999, p. 28) and often includes multiple in-depth interviews.

In this study, the essence of culture-brokering was explored in the context of taxi tours on Jeju Island. The study included open-ended, in-depth, on-site semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Multiple perspectives for one phenomena help a researcher to develop “a more detailed and multifaceted account of that phenomenon” (Smith et al., 2009, p.52). Therefore, the culture-brokering phenomena will be described from a variety of perspectives; those of tourists, taxi tour guides, and me as a tourist and researcher.

### **Operationalization: The Boundary of Local Culture**

Prior to the discussion of methods, I would like to operationalize my concept of culture as well as the boundary of culture, in particular, local culture. While culture is considered mainly as cultural heritage in the tourism context, there are two salient features of culture that I engage in my thesis research. First, culture contact is inherent at a tourism destination, often between tourists’ culture and local culture. Second, tourists want to experience newness and exoticness perceived as ‘different’ from their own cultures. They desire to satisfy their needs to get out of daily routines and to experience or learn something new. That is, their expectation is to experience another “complex whole” (Tyler, 1871, p. 1) on the top of their own “complex whole” that is like well-fitted shoes to them.

In this study, I label the main feature of local culture as ‘regionality’ of my research site, in particular, based on differences in geographical characteristics, language, and inclination of people, which affect attitude and behaviors of local residents. Regionality is mostly based on cities or nations and explains the situation an individual feels to be ‘different’ or ‘exotic’ when he or she visits a foreign region. In Korea, there are eight provinces with their own vernaculars and cultures. Due to its geographical distance from the mainland, the only island province, Jeju, has the most distinctive cultural difference from the other provinces. Though there is one official language, Korean, each province has a different way of communication under their unique accents and usage of words. The attitudes and behaviors sometimes turn out to be so different that people can recognize where a speaker is originally from. In addition, the natural environment affects the lifestyles of local residents.

It might be quite narrow to define culture at the regional level. Nevertheless, a broader boundary or perspective of culture does not fit in the context of my research since Jeju Island has domestic travelers coming from other cities in Korea who recognize cultural differences in Jeju. The culture of Jeju Island would not be distinguished from the culture of other regions in Korea to foreign visitors or tourists. In addition, in a tourism context, regionality is more salient than other cultures or sub-cultures that might affect local residents. Therefore, I would like to look at culture at the level of a ‘region’, especially a ‘tourism destination’ in this study.

### **Participant Selection**

To locate the most suitable samples, I used purposeful sampling or criterion-based selection in this study. This strategy, which best fits with phenomenology (Creswell, 1998), involves deliberately selecting appropriate members of the sample who would be able to provide information that would help me answer my research questions. The population for this study is

(1) taxi tour guides working on Jeju Island and (2) tourists who traveled around Jeju Island with taxi tour guides between January 2010 and June 2010.

First, a total of 15 taxi tour guides were selected for this study. Recruitment was an on-going process which was completed during my second visit to Jeju Island. At first, prior to the fieldwork, I attempted to find a key informant who would be willing to help me to recruit participants and conduct the fieldwork. Through one of the biggest Jeju travel on-line community, *Nu-Young-Na-Young*<sup>5</sup>, which currently has more than 250,000 members, I found one taxi tour guide who was born in Jeju and has been actively working. Later, he played an important role in conducting my research and I traveled with him to experience a taxi tour. I also directly contacted three other taxi tour guides via their taxi tour website. These four individuals became my key informants and later introduced me to peer guides.

Second, 15 tourists were recruited via 2 different channels; (1) taxi tour guide participants introduced me to customers whom lived near the city where I live; and (2) I posted a recruitment announcement on *Nu-Young-Na-Young* targeting tourists who have traveled with a taxi tour guide. It was challenging to recruit tourists and conduct interviews on Jeju Island by interrupting their vacation. Thus, based on the two channels, I conducted the interviews in Seoul and Kyunggi areas before and after my trip to Jeju Island.

For participant observation, I couldn't recruit a tourist group who was willing to allow me to travel with them, which was totally understandable since traveling with a foreigner on vacations might be uncomfortable. Thus, I decided to invite my parents to a taxi tour in order to conduct participant observation. Afterward, they were asked to share their opinions after a taxi tour experience.

---

<sup>5</sup> *Nu-Young-Na-Young* means 'You and I' in Jeju dialect.

### **Consent**

I obtained implied consent from all the study interview participants during my trip to Jeju Island (See appendix A). I received verbal consent from the participants who I contacted over the phone before or after my trip. Before conducting interviews and participant observation, I went over each question on the informed consent form informally to ensure voluntary participation and confidentiality. Given the Korean culture, handing out a form and asking for a signature may offend participants and would result in refusal to participate.

### **Data Collection**

Qualitative data was collected in multiple phases. Open-ended, in-depth, semi-structured interviews and participant observation were mainly conducted through two separate trips to Jeju Island, Korea in June 2010. In terms of overall data collection on taxi tours, I had to heavily rely on direct and indirect communication with taxi tour guides since there was no official data for taxi tours which are operated independently. In order to ensure validity of the data, it was important to have a balance between learning from individual conversations and observations as well as utilizing a variety of sources along with fieldwork.

Prior to the first trip, I obtained information about the current situation of taxi tours and tourists' opinions from some websites of taxi tours. With the contact information provided, I contacted the four taxi tour guides and asked a few general questions about taxi tourism industry after obtaining verbal consent from each guide.

Thanks to a positive initial contact, I made the first trip successfully. I collected general information about Jeju tourism and Jeju taxi tours by visiting tourism attractions as well as meeting local people such as shop owners, a manager of Nu-Young-Na-Young, cultural tourism

interpreters, a youth hostel owner, and workers at a gas station whose main customers are taxi drivers. One of the most important achievements was strong and trustworthy rapport with a taxi tour guide from my taxi tour experience.

### **Participant Observation**

Participant observation is a useful tool to contextualize the interview, specifically “for understanding particular local contexts and activities” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 73). In order to better understand the taxi tour operation and actually experience it as a tourist, I joined a taxi tour with my family during the first trip to Jeju Island. One of the important purposes of this experience was to build partnerships that would help with ongoing fieldwork on Jeju Island. Rubin and Rubin (2005, p. 79) mentioned the importance of the relationship claiming, “the researcher and the interviewee develop a relationship within a conversational partnership that influences the interviewing process.” While building rapport with taxi tour guides, I observed how they interact with tourists as culture brokers and how their local background influences the tour operation. For this participant observation, the framework proposed by Spradley (1980, p. 78) was fully utilized: “space, actor, activity, object, act, event, time, goal, and feeling.” Since participants allowed me to use a recorder during the tour, I recorded all the conversations between the tour guide and my group with a digital voice recorder and wrote field notes as well based on my experiences and learning from the field. I attempted to capture descriptions of the scene, analytical memos, and self-reflection in my field notes.



## Interviews

I conducted open-ended, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 31 individuals: 15 taxi tour guide participants, 15 tourists, and 1 local participant from Jeju Island who is the manager of *Nu-Young-Na-Young*, one of the biggest Jeju travel on-line communities. Semi-structured one-on-one interviews are preferred for the phenomenological approach because they allow a researcher to build a relationship with individuals as well as provide more spaces for participants to communicate (Smith et al., 2009). To conduct semi-structured interviews, an interview guide was utilized which included several broad interview questions developed to address each research question (See Appendix B).

During my second trip to Jeju Island I mainly focused on conducting interviews with taxi tour guides. The relationship that I built with a key informant during my first trip helped me with the interview process because I was able to identify participants through snowball sampling. The on-going recruitment of taxi tour guide participants lasted even during the second field trip. Interviews were conducted on their day-off or after they finished their tours. Since some participants preferred meeting with peer guides, I allowed them to choose either an individual interview or a group interview. The venue for the interview varied from their offices to a local park, school or church, and at restaurants and coffee shops. In addition, along with taxi tour guides, I was introduced to the local individual who is in charge of *Nu-Young-Na-Young*, which was helpful for my research since he has been involved in Jeju tourism for a long time.

Each interview lasted from 40 minutes to 2 hours. Study participants received monetary compensation or a gift card (30,000 won) after the interview. Originally, a peer researcher who is from Jeju Island advised me that providing monetary compensation would work best. However, it made some participants feel uncomfortable. During my field interviews, one of the key

informants suggested that I give gift cards instead of monetary compensation, which worked better for the rest of the interviews.

For the interviews with tourists, I visited them one by one in person who live in the Seoul and Kyunggi areas. Since tourists often travel with other people, many participants wanted to meet me with their travel members. As a result, there were one individual interview, six group interviews including thirteen participants, and one e-mail interview. Participants' proactive attitude toward the interview helped me to proceed with the interview smoothly. A gift card (30,000 won) was awarded to individuals who volunteered to participate through Nu-Young-Na-Young while a small gift such as cakes or drinks (10,000-15,000 won) was given to participants who were referred by tour guides since they felt uncomfortable with monetary compensation.

Most tour guide and tourist participants allowed me to use a voice recorder. However, one female tour guide didn't want her responses to be recorded, so I had to write field notes only.

### **Trustworthiness**

In a qualitative study it is important to enable readers to trust its claims and results. Maxwell (2005, p. 109) claimed, "although methods and procedures do not guarantee validity, they are nonetheless essential to the process of ruling out validity threats and increasing the credibility of your conclusions." Trustworthiness is often used to ensure the validity or reliability of the qualitative research. As suggested by Creswell and Miller (2000), I used triangulation, member checking, an audit trail, and thick description to generate trustworthiness.

**Triangulation**

Triangulation involves collecting data from a variety of sources, theories, methods, and investigators (Denzin, 1978 as cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000). I looked at the phenomena from the perspectives of tourists and taxi tour guides in this study. In addition, both participant observation and interviews were conducted.

**Member Checking**

To ensure that others can trust my findings, it is important to take the raw data (e.g., transcripts) to the participants to assess accuracy. I attempted to write thorough field notes and transcribe the interview data as soon as possible. I clarified some questions and possible misunderstanding by contacting participants via phone call or e-mail after their trip.

**Audit Trail**

Review by an external auditor increases trustworthiness. The field trip for this study was held on Jeju Island, South Korea and all the data was collected in Korean. Thus, there may be error in translating from Korean to English. I asked Korean peer tourism researchers to review my data during the data analysis.

**Thick Description**

Detailed and nuanced information is essential to transfer reality. Thin description may lack depth, detail, or nuance. I took intensive field notes and recorded interviews during the fieldwork which helped me provide a rich and thick description of the results in this study.

## Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis is an “iterative process that begins during the conceptualization of the study and proceeds through interpretation of the results” (Miller-Day, 2004, p. 38). In this study, data collection and analysis occurred simultaneously.

Above all, I attempted to generate exhaustive field notes during or right after participant observation and interviews. Transcription was made as soon as possible in Korean and it took about three months to transcribe all the interviews and participant observation data. In this study, transcription did not have to include linguistic details such as “the exact length of pauses,” or “all non-verbal utterance” which are often involved in conversation analysis because a phenomenological study mainly focuses on “the meaning of the content of the participant’s account” (Smith et al., 2009, p. 74).

For the analysis of the transcriptions, six steps suggested by Smith, Flowers, and Larkin (2009) were utilized. First, I *read and re-read* the data to get familiar with it. Repeated reading allowed me to understand the overall structure of my data. Once I immersed myself enough into the data, I started an *initial noting*. Exploratory commenting was made on hard copies of the transcripts. I attempted to find “similarities and differences, echoes, amplifications and contradictions in what the person is saying” (p. 84). Based on the initial notes, I *developed the emergent themes* and *searched for connections across them*. It took less time as I *moved to the next cases*. Across each transcript, I tried to *look for patterns* and interpretation at different levels. For more thorough understanding of the themes and patterns found, the necessary quotes were categorized under each of them. At this level, I utilized the qualitative data analysis software, NVivo® 8.0 (QSR International, 2008).

Smith et al. (2009) claimed that a certain level of cultural competence is necessary to conduct the study based on the phenomenological analysis since understanding the experience is

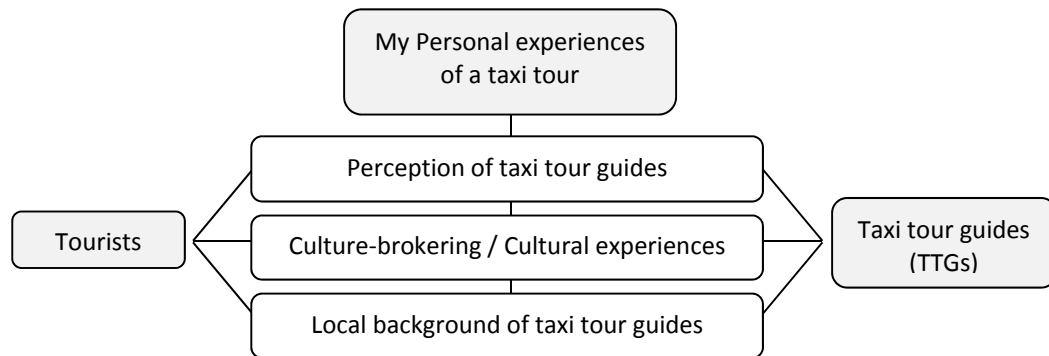
“inevitably ‘always already’ enmeshed with language and culture” (p. 194). To better understand the data from participants’ perspectives, the data was analyzed in Korean which is my first language. When necessary, quotes were translated into English, especially during the writing-up process. To ensure validity, a peer Korean researcher reviewed the overall study including the data analysis process and translation.

## Chapter 4

### Results

The results include seven sections including (1) my personal experiences of a taxi tour based on participant observation, and (2) three sets of data from tourists' and taxi tour guides' perspectives. The responses are discussed under three key constructs: perception of taxi tour guides, culture-brokering/cultural experiences, and local background of taxi tour guides (See Figure 4-1). The comparison of responses between tourists and taxi tour guides will help clarify the roles of taxi tour guides and, ultimately, the importance of local tour guides as culture brokers.

Figure 4-1. Domains of Inquiry



Before discussing the results from participant observation and interviews, it would be helpful to understand the general characteristics of participants in order to better interpret the results at the end. Despite the brusque way of speaking of local people on Jeju Island, the fact that I was a young female graduate student helped me to lead the interviews smoothly while it also caused some uncomfortable situations because most of the study participants were older males.

The following table includes taxi tour guide participants' basic demographic information, their years of experience, and the type of interview.

Table 4-1. Taxi Tour Guide Participants

	Name	Gender	Age	Background (Hometown)	Years of Experience	Interview
1	Bub-wun(BW)	M	61	Jeju	11	1:1 interview
2	Jinwon	M	Mid 40s	Jeju	20+	Group interview
3	Yoonchan	M	Mid 40s	Jeju	20+	Group interview
4	Inkee	M	Early 60s	Jeju	20+	1:1 interview
5	Soonho	M	Mid 40s	Jeju	20+	1:1 interview
6	Youngshin	F	Late 50s	Jeju	15	1:1 interview
7	Gumhee	F	Early 40s	Jeju	15	1:1 interview (not recorded)
8	Yongchul	M	Mid 50s	Jeju	20+	1:1 interview
9	Yoonho	M	54	Jeju	21	1:1 interview
10	Wanyoung	M	60	Jeju	20	1:1 interview
11	Sunghoon	M	Early 60s	Jeju	20+	1:1 interview
12	Jongho	M	44	Jeju	4	1:1 interview
13	Youngkyu	M	Early 60s	Gangwon	20+	1:1 interview
14	Dongback	M	Early 60s	Chungcheong	20+	1:1 interview
15	Doori	M	50	Jeju	20+	1:1 interview

\* To ensure confidentiality and protect personal identity, all names have been changed except the name of key informant, Bub-wun (BW), whom my family and I traveled with for one day for participant observation.

As indicated in Table 4-1, all but two of the taxi tour guides (TTGs) were male. The age of TTG participants was between 40 and 70. Most are from Jeju Island and two moved from other regions to Jeju Island long ago. They have an average of 15+ years of experience. There was only one TTG who has worked for less than 5 years.

At the beginning, TTG participants were quite defensive since having an interview with a young female graduate student from mainland was, literally, not a familiar situation for them. However, as the conversation went on, they started to open up. In addition, compensation for interviews may have motivated them to actively participate in the interview.

Most participants did not mind sharing their opinions and giving suggestions for solving some current issues on Jeju tourism. When asked to introduce me to their peer TTGs or customers

that they recently had, they were willing to support me with all possible effort. Especially, Bubwun (BW), who supported my research in many ways as a key informant, introduced me to a number of his colleagues who ended up being study participants. In addition, while I just had an hour or two respectively with other participants, my one-day taxi tour with him allowed me to ask as many questions as I wanted including some pop-up questions that came out of observations.

Two non-local participants who came from other regions shared their life stories which went all the way back to the very beginning when they first moved to Jeju Island. Also, there were a few individuals who wanted to mainly show their performances from the past work experiences with excessive pride, which did not allow me to focus on my interview questions. In the case of one participant who has less work experience as a TTG, many of my interview questions did not seem to make sense to him because making enough money for a living was a more urgent issue for him compared to becoming a culture broker.

In the meantime, compared to male participants, the interviews with female participants were conducted in a much more natural and comfortable mood. They tended to be more open and empathetic during the conversation.



Figure 4-2. Taxis on Jeju Island<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>6</sup> The annual mandatory training sessions for taxi drivers on Jeju Island were being held while I stayed on the Island. Thanks to this helpful information that the key informant, BW gave me, I was able to meet many taxi tour guides at one spot.



On the other hand, tourist participants, in general, were very receptive and open-minded because I recruited all the tourist participants via TTGs' recommendation or on-line postings. Because most of them visited Jeju Island with a group, most interviews were conducted with a group of family members, friends, and/or colleagues. Due to the nature of a group interview situation, one sometimes talked more than others. However, it somehow elevated the conversation and brought more interactions as well. There were more participants aged 30+ compared to ones in their teens or 20s; some TTGs explained that the younger generation has more tendency to travel independently. Most participants have past travel experiences to Jeju Island as well as taxi tour experiences (See Table 4-2).

Table 4-2. Tourist Participants

Group	Type	Name	Gender	Age	Past travel experience to Jeju Island	Past travel experience of taxi tour
1	Family	Sungmin	M	55	O	O
		Mia	F	55	O	O
2	Friend	Jihyun	M	26	X	X
		Jungeun	F	24	O	X
3	Family	Hyunmin	F	50	X	X
		Joonmin	M	10	O	X
		Hando	M	Early 40s	O	X
4	Couple	Jonggu	M	70	O	X
5	Friends	Minsun	F	Early 50s	O	O
		Heejung	F	Early 50s	O	O
6	Family	Moonoh	M	Late 30s	O	O
7	Colleagues	Kyungjin	F	38	O	O
		Yoonyoung	F	Early 30s	O	O
8	Family	Jungjun	M	36	X	X
		Minhwa	F	33	X	X

\* To ensure confidentiality and protect personal identity, all names have been changed.

The first group of participants was my family who I invited to participate in a taxi tour when I conducted participant observation. We shared our opinions after finishing the taxi tour. The student participants in the second group presented their opinions very well. A group situation

helped them to more actively share their thoughts. In the third group, the comparison was naturally made because some of them experienced taxi tours while the others traveled with a rental car. It was also helpful to hear the voice of a 10-year-old boy. The oldest participant, Jonggu was surprisingly liberal and open-minded. However, he, as a Christian, had some biased views toward his TTG who was also a Christian, because he tried to relate his TTG's behaviors in terms of religious beliefs.

Two female participants who have traveled to Jeju Island three times in three months had an extremely positive perception of their TTG. Their description was vivid and detailed. In terms of participant 6, I had to conduct an e-mail interview due to his work schedule. But, based on his past two experiences, he sent me in-depth responses. The colleague group (group 7), living in *Incheon*, the farthest place that I went for an interview, had a number of travel experiences to Jeju Island, and one had actually lived on Jeju Island for three years. The last group was not easy to conduct the interview with because they had to care for their one-year-old baby throughout.

### Personal Travel Experience with a Taxi Tour Guide

To achieve a rich and thorough understanding of the taxi tour operation and experience, I became a participant observer as a tourist. A one-day tour with one well-known taxi tour guide was arranged during my first research trip. I invited my parents to travel with me in order to observe their interaction with the taxi tour guide. I collected much information from one of the biggest websites, called *Nu-Young-Na-Young*, which supports taxi tours as well. After reading through after-trip-postings of taxi tours on this website, I contacted a taxi tour guide and arranged the schedule.

The tour guide was called Bub-wun (BW), his Buddhist name. He was a 61-year-old local tour guide who has more than 20 years of driving experience of a trailer and 11 years of taxi tour experience. Many tourists praised their meaningful and comfortable trips with BW. He operates his tour for about 25 or 26 days out of a month, which makes tourists rush to book a trip with him due to his popularity.



Figure 4-3. One of the Key Informants, BW's Vehicle for Taxi Tours

BW fully supported me during my research trip as a key informant. On the day of my taxi tour experience, he operated his tour as he is accustomed to doing and answered my academic

questions. It took him longer to finish the tour because my group asked him a lot of questions and made many stops, but he tried to explain everything as clearly and correctly as possible. As an employee of the tourism industry on Jeju Island, he also described the current situation and constraints to become a culture broker. There might be some biased attitudes or behaviors shown during his tour since he was briefly aware of my research interest and the purpose of my trip; he might consider me not only as his customer but also as a tourism scholar. However, his consistent sincerity and expertise with what other tourists experienced and wrote in after-trip postings made me believe his inherently genuine way of tour operation.

I tried to be an objective participant observer, which means I wanted to sincerely act as a tourist. But the fact that he is much older than me made me hesitant to request or ask him something freely (an influence of Confucianism). Moreover, it was very important to build up a positive relationship with him for further help to recruit other taxi tour guides for interviews. In general, taxi tour guides provide customized tours according to whatever customers want. Nevertheless, for several reasons mentioned above, I had to put some effort into strengthening this relationship by being as polite as possible and not asking too much from him.

Our group spent most time of the day with BW. He arrived at our accommodation by 8:30 in the morning, an hour earlier than expected. Since my family did not have any specific travel plans, we opened up a map of Jeju and started discussion. Before arranging the travel schedule, BW gave us a brief introduction of Jeju Island while looking at the map together, including its geography, history and cultural background. My parents seemed to enjoy his explanation. They started to show their interest in new learning by saying *'Wow, this is the first time we've learned the specific character of local people!'* and ask some questions in sequence. Moreover, it was amazing to see that their prejudice or incorrect information was corrected through BW's genuine and well-organized knowledge. It was very helpful to have basic information and knowledge about Jeju Island prior to the travel schedule. When his briefing was

over, we began to organize the schedule for the day. BW figured out our wants and needs carefully and recommended some places which he thought would meet our expectations and interests. We decided to visit cultural and historical destinations rather than private entertainment places (See Figure 4-5 for our detailed travel route).

Figure 4-4. Travel Routes during Taxi Tour Experiences (Participant Observation)



Due to the inherent nature of taxi tours, we spent a lot of time in the taxi. When BW took us to his car, we were all impressed by the very clean and spacious taxi. A sound proof special ceiling and anti-heat windshield helped make our trip comfortable as well. We felt like we were specially treated. My father mentioned that a taxi is a lot better than rental cars in terms of quality and price.

On the way to our first destination, BW tried to build a relationship with us and to make us feel comfortable by sharing his personal stories and interesting explanations of the sceneries. Generally, Korean people are very offended by a bossy lecturing attitude. However, BW's tone and manner was very humble and polite, which I thought was very interesting as well as

important. Moreover, he also shared his concerns with and attachment to Jeju Island with sincerity.

Our first destination was a memorial building of one Korean historical figure named 'Jung Hee Kim.' It had opened a few months ago and was still unknown to tourists. BW recommended that we visit this place based on the discussion we had in the morning. Once we arrived, he was quick to impress us by bringing one person and introducing him to us in a second. This person was a cultural tourism interpreter who volunteers to study the place and explain it to tourists as a representative of Jeju's local residents. During the guided tour by the cultural tourism interpreter, BW came along with us and listened to his explanation carefully. He became a bridge between tourists and a cultural tourism interpreter by mediating the pace of the tour.

BW was not a very loud or talkative person but was considerate and led our conversation smoothly. It was impressive that BW kept trying to arouse our interests. In addition, he was very good at referencing our personal information or previously-mentioned comments. For example, '*you know, Song-ak-san mountain where is located right under your accommodation means hill and...*', '*this rotary is what you mentioned this morning...*' When he found something interesting, he stopped the car for a while and told us some stories about it. He showed appropriate and encouraging reactions to our comments like '*wonderful,*' '*good job,*' or '*it was a good choice,*' despite the tendency for Korean's use of passive expression or reaction.

Arriving at our next destination, The Peace Museum, we met one more local individual. BW introduced us to the owner of this museum and briefly explained my reason for visiting Jeju. Thanks to BW's help, the owner took us to an auditorium after the tour, which was full of historical materials on the wall. He also shared more specific stories for another half an hour. BW consistently tries to satisfy tourists' needs. In my group's case, this time he tried to bring us cultural experiences by introducing us to many local people and taking us to cultural and

historical destinations, In terms of my research, his efforts enabled me to learn as much background as possible during the tour.

Although we didn't have the place called Juji Artists' villages on our schedule, we made a stop for a while. BW recommended this place for us based on my mother's interest in art. It was a very interesting and peaceful place where offices of all the variety of artists made a village along with nature. At this place, all of us appreciated that BW was born on Jeju Island because there were many Jeju local language usages around that required translation. BW never rushed or made us feel uncomfortable with too much interference or over explanation. In the case of translating the local language, we felt how sincere and genuine he was. When we showed our satisfaction and attachment to this place, he was even more grateful to us by saying that *'you asked me this morning when I feel rewarding as a taxi tour guide, right? I feel rewarded in this kind of situation that tourists are highly satisfied and enjoyed the place a lot when I recommended some place which was not originally in the planned schedule.'* It was amazing to see his attempt to remember any comment that we made during the day.

Due to several additional unplanned stops, lunch time was a bit delayed, which bothered my father because he has to eat on a regular basis due to health-related reasons. I was afraid of the silence and tension in the car for a while. But once BW figured out what was going on, he played a role as a mediator and tried to break the ice with respectful, but witty conversation. Later, he actually told me that the one of his roles is to mediate tension aroused amongst customers.

On the way to restaurant, we had a conversation about taxi tours. Despite a number of perceived constraints on Jeju taxi tourism, he was calm and polite even when criticizing the current situation. It was totally different compared to the other interviewees I met later on who became very aggressive and emotional. Moreover, he not only mentioned the difficulties but also emphasized how taxi tour guides should face them.

Since my parents and I have traveled in the past, we asked BW about the restaurant famous for a certain soup with seafood. He looked up some phone numbers and made a phone call to order food in advance on the way to the restaurant. While dining with BW, my parents seemed to become more comfortable to travel with him, a person who is literally a stranger. They began to ask questions about food and ingredients. BW was knowledgeable about sea life, too. Based on his expertise and living experience, he explained when the best time is to get these from the ocean, how to distinguish natural ones from the farmed ones, and when food tastes best.

After lunch we headed to our next destination, The Folklore and Natural History Museum. When we found it was too crowded, BW suggested we visit a similar place located close by. His quick response was very trustworthy especially in an unexpected situation. My parents were interested in the alternative place. In contrast to the original place we planned to visit, a museum systemically operated by the local government, this place was owned by a local individual and much smaller with less organized collections. However, it was the place where we could feel the real Jeju more closely. Our conversation with the owner of this museum was memorable as well since he was called a living museum by collecting all Jeju traditional collections (e.g., traditional clothing, kitchen wares, and old newspapers and books) for the last 40 years. Again, my parents mentioned how different it is to travel with BW compared to individual traveling experiences with a rental car.

Our last destination was the 4.3 Memorial Peace Hall<sup>7</sup> where all the information, pictures, and videos were displayed to explain one of the most tragic historical events on Jeju Island. It had

---

<sup>7</sup> 4.3 Memorial Peace Hall was established to remember the Jeju Massacre (called 4.3 incident), which happened on April 3, 1948 and is located on the eastern part of Jeju City. Twenty-five to thirty thousand people on Jeju Island died during the bloody armed clash to suppress the disturbance. This incident was hidden due to several political reasons for about sixty years. However, the Korean government gave an official apology to the victims' family in 2003 and much information related to this incident was revealed and displayed at the 4.3 Memorial Peace Hall.



not been open to the public due to political reasons. In spite of the thorough explanation offered by the museum, additional comments from a local tour guide were helpful and appreciated by all of us. Rather than simply learning historical facts, we could be more engaged with the Jeju people as BW shared his personal experiences and perspectives on the background of this incident.

The tour was over at around 7:00 in the evening when he brought us back to our accommodation. My parents were highly satisfied with the trip and appreciated BW's effort to make a memorable trip for us. This was especially true for my mother who is always interested in other cultures. She enjoyed the trip very much. On that night, we had our own sharing time with my cousin's family who traveled by themselves with a rental car on the same day.

It was meaningful to experience a taxi tour in person and to have my family along, which helped me to observe their interactions with a taxi tour guide. Moreover, opportunities to meet local people thanks to BW's support were highly valuable because I had some biases or incorrect pictures of Jeju Island as a non-local person prior to this experience. BW's passion for his job, attachment to Jeju Island, and his enormous knowledge about Jeju were very impressive. Of course, it was not easy to be a participant observer since the two roles should be played at the same time. However, I was able to develop a more specific frame for the research as well as modify some interview questions based on my participation observation.

### **Tourists' Perception of Their Travel Experiences with Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)**

My personal experience with a taxi tour guide provided a general picture of a taxi tour. It helped me to ask appropriate questions to tourist participants and to better understand specific situations tourists described during interviews. Before getting into details, I asked tourist participants a general question first; “How was your travel with your taxi tour guide?” This open-ended descriptive question “engages respondent[s] in the topic of interest” and “opens a space for discovering what others think and feel about some aspect of the research topic” (Crabtree & Miller, 1999, p. 97). Most tourists started their description of taxi tour experiences with positive words and praise. Overall, they were highly satisfied with their travel with taxi tour guides (TTGs).

One-on-one service was just beyond my expectation. It was awesome! I know it might be different by individuals but it was just amazing and I was just speechless. This level of service? I thought the tourism of Jeju Island will be remarkably improved. (Jonggu, 70)

I thought there would be nothing special prior to the trip. [...] But on the way back, we were like he really needs to get some award or something from the local government of Jeju Island! (Hyunmin, 50)

It was such a blessing! [...] It was never waste of money. (Minsun, 50)

In general, how they showed their appreciation was also mentioned right after their comment on satisfaction. Since they are aware of the influential power of after-trip postings on the website, they were willing to write about their experiences on taxi tour websites or even on governmental websites after their trips. Moreover, tips were one of the important ways to express their appreciation. Tipping culture is not as common in Korea as in western society. It's unfamiliar to most people although it exists in the tourism industry.

I uploaded a posting about exactly how I felt. I suggested first to write it when he told me about a comment board on the governmental website. [...] I'm sure he will provide even better service motivated by my posting. (Jonggu, 70)

We really felt like writing an after-trip posting there. I was almost doing it but couldn't. I was going to ask my daughter who is a college student to upload my posting. [...] I really wanted to share my experience. (Minsun, 50)

Our trip was very impressive. I really wanted to write an after-trip posting. (Jungeun, 24)

Before evaluating their tours specifically, tourists first identified the expectations or prejudices they had prior to the trip. Past travel experiences with taxi tour guides or previous trips to Jeju Island seemed to influence satisfaction with their current trips. Based on their pre-existing thoughts and past experiences, comparison naturally occurred.

Three years ago, when I traveled with the other tour guide, he took us to the places in which do not have any attractions. But this time, he guided us to the selected lovely places! (Heejung, early 50s)

I went to Jeju Island for honeymoon in 2002. Back then, I met *Babo Taxi*<sup>8</sup> for two days... [...] Since my memory of traveling with *Babo Taxi* was just so great, I decided to travel with *Babo taxi* for my second trip. (Moonoh, late 30s)

The most appreciated factors were kind service and rich explanation. As most interviews were conducted with a group whose members traveled together, they started to share the stories that they heard from their TTGs. Strong bonding based on trust toward TTGs were deeply-rooted among their descriptions. Sometimes, other types of travel such as individual trips with rental cars or bus tour packages were compared with the strengths of taxi tours. The most often mentioned competitive edge was personalized, comfortable tour by local tour guides who can provide clear explanation about the Island as well as guide them with trusted information.

---

<sup>8</sup> Babo Taxi is the name of the taxi tour company which one of the taxi tour guide participants run.

### **My TTG has in-depth knowledge about a tourism destination**

Tourists admired and praised the expertise of their TTGs. The historical and cultural background of Jeju Island was highly appreciated. The guided-tour aroused their curiosity and interests in the car as well as at the tourism attractions. Some tourists mentioned how much they were impressed with the vivid explanations provided by their TTGs.

He provided us detail explanation while driving. His explanation really made sense! [...] He introduced us all about Jeju Island and also explained about the 4.3 affair that happened long ago. (Jonggu, 70)

When we went to Moksukwon (tree & rock garden), he took the full initiative of guiding us. There were lots of trees and rocks and he told us many different narratives every time we passed by even very minor things, which was truly interesting. My travel partners really enjoyed his stories. This is what... that is what... we couldn't help following after him during the tour while being fully absorbed in his stories. [...] I heard that he was born in Jeju Island. Since we are relatively young, we don't know much about what's happened historically in this area. But he told us about what has happened in this area and its influence to the present and explained about cultural background... (Minhwa, 33)

He told us about what was famous in that area. So much information which we couldn't get by travelling ourselves? When we saw shells on the cliff, we were told that those are the things we can see only from Jeju. I really like that... the information that we will be never able to get by ourselves... (Jungjun, 36)

She gave us lots of explanation about Jeju Island. [...] Even compared to my last trip to Jeju, she really provides us detail information about Jeju Island. [...] Geographical characteristics... history... some folk stories... (Kyungjin, 38)

Some tourists specified the reason why they enjoyed TTG's explanations so much. One participant who had a past travel experience to Jeju Island about 30 years ago described the prejudice about Jeju that he had for a long time. He appreciated his TTG clearing his misunderstanding and responding to his curiosity throughout the tour.

He helped me to break my prejudice on Jeju Island. If I have a chance to talk about Jeju Island, I don't want to tell the stories that I used to believe. It is totally different now. [...] When I threw out my knowledge about the Island, he corrected me clearly which was right and which was wrong and I was like 'is that right?' I've learned a lot from him and asked so many questions. [...] there were many things that I didn't know properly but he corrected me on those things. [...] I'll visit again if there is another opportunity. I think I learn the overview of Jeju Island this time. I got to see how much JeJu Island was developed, how local people were like, and how much effort my TTG made for us, and I also heard clear explanation about the Island, too. (Jonggu, 70)

One female in her 50s was very impressed with her TTG's effort to meet the needs of each individual in her group. She was highly satisfied with the trip since she believes it was educationally beneficial to her 10-year-old son. Her son had traveled to Jeju Island twice, in January and May 2010. His first trip was coordinated by his uncle's family and they traveled with a rental car. A TTG took care of his second tour for the entire period of the trip with his parents. He showed much affection to his TTG and strong willingness to recommend a taxi tour to his friend since the TTG's explanation was truly helpful and unforgettable. When his mother asked him what he would like to choose either an individual trip with a rental car or a trip with TTG in the future, his choice was definitely the taxi tour.

My after-trip-posting was pretty short but... I have a lot more to say. You know, it's difficult to provide customized educational explanation in a large group. But his guide angled toward my son and explained every single detail we saw. [...] I think now my son will perfectly give right answers if the quizzes about Jeju Island are given (laughter). [...] I received his business card before we came back and I would love to introduce my TTG to the others. When you are planning to bring your kids, it will be really great in terms of the educational purpose. (Hyunmin, 50)

He explained to me so much. I think I studied a lot about the Jeju Island. When I went there with my uncle in winter, I just got to see many things... and that was it. (Joonmin, 10)<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> He tried to show his satisfaction with a taxi tour but his responses were rather short, simple, and repetitive. I assume that being an interview participant was not a familiar situation for this young shy child.

Local information was one of the most important things tourists wanted from their TTGs. Based on their trust of the TTGs, tourists asked for recommendations for popular restaurants among local people.

We didn't have much information about restaurants. When we suggest the menu for lunch, he gave us some restaurant recommendation. I'm sure he would recommend the right place since we are the visitors from the mainland. (Hyunmin, 50)

Visiting the famous restaurant is one of the must-do activities on travel, right? I didn't have to worry about it since my TTG gave us perfect recommendation which let us taste the quality food. (Moonoh, late 30s)

On a taxi tour, tour guides usually takes pictures for us and give us lots of local information about restaurants! [...] She told us that *Obunjagi ttukbaegi*<sup>10</sup> is very popular but also warned us not to go to that restaurant which was exposed to the media because it became too touristy. (Yoonyoung, early 30s)

### **It was such a convenient and comfortable trip**

Tourist participants agreed that taxi tours are very convenient and comfortable. The perceived competitive edge of taxi tours is that they are comfortable customized trips with no difference in price compared to rental cars. When compared with package trips, it was a much more preferred way of traveling for tourists. To clearly explain their perception of the taxi tour experience, they compared their recent trip with past experiences.

### ***No need to drive***

First, tourists were satisfied with their taxi tours because they did not have to drive during the trip. Driving in an unfamiliar area was one of the big constraints linked to travel by rental cars

---

<sup>10</sup> Obunjagi ttukbaegi is the name of Jeju local food. It is the soup made of blue abalones and soybean sauce.

since they might get lost or experience car accidents. Male participants who have a family tended to agree that they are tired of driving in their daily life. In the case of females and students, they are just not used to driving, especially in a new place. Tourists were happy about traveling with no worries by getting rid of the burden of driving.

Though it was our first time to Jeju Island, we didn't have to get lost having difficulty in finding the location. It was such a huge relief that I didn't have to drive. [...] Moreover, since I love beers, it was great to have someone to drive for me. I enjoyed having some alcohol during the day. (Moonoh, late 30s)

When I first visited Jeju Island with my parents, I just hopped around the popular tourism attractions. But prior to the current trip, I asked myself, 'what do I want to do this time?' Since we are all students, we are not used to drive. I thought it would be hard to rent a car and drive ourselves. [...] If we had rented a car, we would have got lost and ended up seeing nothing. I think it was the taxi tour that makes our trip possible. (Jungeun, 24)

My husband has very bad eyesight and is not able to drive, which means I have to drive if I rent a car. [...] We wanted to do some family activities but it's another work if we have to drive as well. Moreover, I was afraid of driving in this unfamiliar area. (Hyunmin, 50)

Men tend to find directions very well with a map. However, when I told my husband that I wanted to visit Jeju, he was very worried due to my unfamiliarity of the area. He strongly recommended having a TTG and travel with him while saying the taxi tour has become pretty common. (Minsun, early 50s)

If we rent a car, it takes much longer time to find somewhere even with GPS. Also, we end up taking the same highway which we are familiar with. (Kyungjin, 38)

Let's put it this way. When we drive around in our daily life, we never know what's around the road even though we pass by the same road every single day. But, on the other hand, if we walk or take a bus, or have someone to drive, we can look around and enjoy sceneries. Thanks to my TTG, I didn't have to be bothered by driving but could rather focus on the trip itself... (Minhwa, 33)

### *Organized but flexible schedule*

In a similar context, tourists appreciated their TTGs saving time by organizing the schedule as efficiently as possible while not being forceful but flexible based on tourists' needs. They thought of this is the other strength of traveling with TTGs compared to rental cars. In general, TTGs charge a fee on a daily basis. Tourists usually want to see as many things as possible with their TTGs in a given amount of time.

I think a taxi tour is really convenient and comfortable. We can take a rest whenever we want... It's also a big burden to look up all the information by myself. (Kyungjin, 38)

When I visited Jeju Island three years ago, TTG took us to really weird places which we never liked. There was nothing to see. But in my recent trip... see how he did! He just recommended very satisfying places and took us there! (Minsun, early 50s)

If we were by ourselves, I think we would have got lost a lot while not knowing where to go. Of course, it might have fun, too, but... you know we don't have enough time... I prefer doing more stuff as much as we can in a given amount of time... (Jungeun, 24)

Tourists gladly delegated the initiative of leading tours to their TTGs. It was very convenient and comfortable when their TTGs did 'everything' for them.

I think we enjoyed ourselves since our TTG took care of everything. You know, despite the unfamiliarity of the area, we don't have to worry about such as where to go, what people recommend, how to get there... He just takes care of everything. (Jihyun, 26)



### ***Clean and comfortable car***

A clean and nice car was the other reason tourists felt comfortable. Due to the nature of taxi tours, tourists have to spend a certain amount of time in the car when they move from one place to another. Thus, it is mandatory that TTGs keep their car clean and well-equipped. TTGs spend some portion of their income to invest to their cars. Compared with the rental cars, the quality of cars owned by TTGs was highly superior and luxurious.

Last time, when I got in the taxi, I felt really bad... it stinks with the cigarette smoke. [...] However, this time the interior of the car was very nice and fresh. It was even cleaner than my car... I heard that he cleans his car manually every day. I thought he did it just this time because we were female customers but he said he does do that all the time. I told him I was really satisfied about the status of this car. (Minsun, early 50s)

I could compare the taxi tours and rental cars.. The quality of the car itself was (totally different)... [...] This car never receives external heat thanks to the specialized heat protection on the windshield! ... You know, rental cars... the quality is not actually guaranteed. Last time, we've rented *SM5* and *NF sonata*. They were really bad. Rental cars were driven by all different drivers everyday and they run longer distance a lot. [...] However, in the case of this car, you remember that special ceiling that absorbs the noise from outside? (Sungmin, 55)

Just three of us were on the *Equus*. Most of all, I was really comfortable in such a nice car. (Jonggu, 70)

### **My TTG was very considerate**

Tourists also perceived of their trip as satisfying if their concern about their toward travel partners was relieved by TTGs. In the group interviews, tourists showed various travel motivations, different preferences for travel, and other individual differences. Stemming from this inherent variance in the travel group, the member who suggested traveling with a TTG explained some anxiety her group members had prior to the trip; she wanted to make sure this tour would satisfy her travel partners as well.

I suggested a taxi tour to my friends but they didn't like it and asked me "why do we have to do? We are going to Jeju Island to enjoy the travel. Why do we have to get on a taxi to travel?" [...] Taxi is generally perceived as a mode of transportation, it's not for tourism, right? They said, "We will get on the bus if there is a tour bus just like city tour buses in Seoul! But why taxi for all day long?" I started to persuade them... (Jungeun, 24)

Some college students discussed their assumed conflict influenced by Confucianism.

Since their TTG was even older than their parents, they had some concerns regarding how to deal with their TTG. They wanted to ask something as customers while not being impolite to an older individual. But, after their trip, they praised how much their TTG was considerate and made them feel comfortable.

I think he tried to understand our situation in our shoes. You know it's kind of hard to ask him something. But I felt very relieved when he tried to find out our needs even before we explained. For example, he wanted to bring us somewhere while telling us young people like this place very much... If I visit Jeju Island again with my parents, he would provide us different services considering our parents. (Jihyun, 26)

Sometimes, the presence of TTGs causes discomfort to the travel group. Though tourists enjoyed their time spent with their TTGs, they also wanted to have their own time without the TTGs. Tourists appreciated that their TTGs actively sensed their needs and made their time most comfortable.

He really made us as comfortable as possible. He tried to sense our needs while being considerate enough. When we go for lunch or dinner, he soon finished his meal and told us to enjoy... and he just waited outside. We were just too grateful, you know... He did his best to take care of us all day... so I thought he deserved more time to enjoy delicious food with us but he cared about our private space as well. (Minhwa, 33)

He also respected our private space. In the case of unfamiliar area where we need a special guide, he came along with us. But, if he thought that it would be nice to spend time on our own, he just let us spend time by ourselves and waited in the car. (Hyunmin, 50)

I thought she was going to stay with us all the time, but once we arrived to each destination, she let us spend time by ourselves! (Jihyun, 26)

Tourists were also impressed by TTGs' caring regarding travel partners who were young, pregnant, or physically-challenged. It was one of the most satisfying factors because they couldn't have enjoyed their travel that much on a package tour or an individual trip.

My TTG took care of my child very much. When my kids were tired, he carried my son on his back... (Moonoh, late 30s)

I was pregnant back then... You know I couldn't move as freely as I wanted even though I really wanted to walk around a lot. I felt easily tired... But he was really considerate enough to take special care of me. (Minhwa, 33)

My husband has partial sight disability. But you know... it's not easy to take care of this kind of situation all the time... When we need to climb a steep area, we have to take the other route... If some places are not accessible for him, I have to go just with my son... When I was with my husband, my TTG took care of my son. [...] When we went to see a performance where it was dark inside, my husband could not go in. My TTG waited outside with my husband and enjoyed their time chatting with each other. You know, this kind of situation might hurt my husband's self-esteem but the TTG was considerate enough to make his trip enjoyable. He also explained every little thing to my son which was very impressive, too. (Hyunmin, 50)

### **My TTG took us to the places we've never been to**

The majority of tourist participants (73%, n=11) have past travel experiences to Jeju Island. Therefore, they prefer visiting new places to traveling around somewhere familiar. The TTG's knowledge of the area was greatly praised, which satisfied tourists' needs to find something new.

It seemed like he took us to the Jujiri villages for artists though it was not in our original plans, because he kind of knew our travel interests. [...] If we are able to find a guaranteed TTG in advance, I think it's much better to travel with a TTG compared to renting a car... Last time when I traveled Jeju Island with a rental car, I couldn't find anything... we just can't find hidden attractions. But you know, once we request them to take us around Jeju City, they will show us all the hidden places! (Sungmin, 55)

Oh, I just thought of O'sulloc museum. It was something new which was not introduced before. [...] The Love land, too! We would have missed it if we rented a car. (Minsun, 50)

I really liked that our TTG took us to places I've never been to. (Jihyun, 26)

During our second trip, we requested our TTG to take us not to well-known areas which were exposed via internet or other media, but to hidden great places. (Moonoh, late 30s)

We were able to visit the places we've never been to. If we are on our own, we end up visiting same places over and over again. That's why we told her, "We've been there and there... so take us to somewhere new!" (Kyungjin, 38)

### **Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Perception of Themselves or Their Roles**

As tourists considered the roles of TTGs crucial in their travel experiences, most TTG participants perceived their job as taxi tour guides as very important in a sense that they feel they represent Jeju Island. They are proud of their jobs and feel rewarded when tourists are satisfied with the tour.

However, despite their pride toward Jeju Island, their jobs, and their performances, TTGs discussed some constraints that hinder them from doing their best to sincerely serve customers. Regarding these constraints, some TTGs showed passion and exhibited a proactive response to making situations better.

#### **Taxi tour guides are ...**

Regarding the open-ended question, 'who do you think taxi tour guides are?' TTG participants responded in two different ways: (1) we are the first impression of Jeju Island: and (2) we introduce Jeju Island. One participant clearly described his position in a tourism context:

We are located right in the middle between Jeju Island and tourists. (Doori, 50)

Most TTG participants recognized the importance of their roles while just one participant considered himself in a passive way as a guide who simply takes people to the places where they want to go.

### ***The first impression of Jeju Island***

Most TTG participants indicated ‘we are the first impression of Jeju Island.’ Since they meet customers first at the airport and take them back to the airport after their trips, TTGs emphasized that it is very important to be prepared to serve customers. They assume that their attitude will directly influence customers’ satisfaction with the trip, which will, in turn, bring positive word-of-mouth and potential customers.

We are the first and the last person who visitors meet. (BW, 61)

All the employees in the tourism industry are the beauty of Jeju Island. They are the first impression to tourists! (Inkee, early 60s)

You know, drivers are known to reflect how this country is like to the world. We are the first person that tourists meet when they arrive to the airport. If we give them bad impression, negative word-of-mouth will be spread out. Nobody will return. It’s really important thing to Jeju tourism. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

The very first person that tourists meet! We are like a mirror. You know, if we can’t see ourselves through the mirror very well because it is too old or it’s already broken, that’s just terrible. We are the first mirror to welcome our customers. (Wanyoung, 60)

### ***Expert about Jeju Island***

In addition, TTG participants discussed the importance of in-depth knowledge about Jeju Island which can meet tourists’ need to learn. It was an extremely important perceived function to introduce and deliver their knowledge about the Island.

We are to introduce Jeju Island. (Jongho, 44)

Though this job is my crucial income source, the most important thing is to show as many things as possible to our customers. We have to know all about Jeju Island and every detail. (Soonho, mid 40s)

We are supposed to know Jeju correctly and deliver our knowledge to tourists. [...] Even though they visit here just one time, the thing they've heard from their TTG is remembered for a long time. (Doori, 50)

### *Just a guide?*

There was one participant who was hesitant to answer the question regarding the perception of his job. He finally answered that he has never thought of it seriously while simply considering himself as a guide who serves a basic role.

Well... if someone wants to visit the Orange museum and is not sure of how to get there even with the address from the Internet, he or she can ask the driver to take him or her there. (Youngkyu, early 60s)

### **Pride**

Self-esteem and pride were also expressed by TTGs. There are three main points that make TTGs proud of themselves. First, they are proud of being from Jeju Island, especially because of the beauty of the environment and the warm-hearted nature of the Jeju people. Second, they are proud to work as taxi tour guides on Jeju Island. Third, many participants show pride in their performance as TTGs.

### *Pride of being from Jeju*

Most participants who were born on Jeju Island are proud of their hometown. They perceive that they represent the Island, which influences their behaviors in daily life. They do care about how the Island is perceived by outsiders.

Of course, I do have pride of Jeju Island. People who are from large cities find this place too small, but we have our own pride! (Youngshin, late 50s)

There is nothing else to throw away. Everything is our valuable asset. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

Even to the tourist with rental cars, I'll try to be nice to them if they ask me a direction. They will have positive image of Jeju taxi just with my kind word and attitude. (Inkee, early 60s)

They strongly believe Jeju Island is the best tourism destination because of its natural beauty and its convenience to the mainland.

Jeju Island is more than a domestic destination, will rather become an international tourism destination! (BW, 61)

The color of ocean turns green if weather permits. Just so beautiful... I go to see ocean almost every other day with customers, but I still love it. [...] On Jeju Island, we have mountain and ocean... we can see snow as well as flowers... just so beautiful. I think there is no other place like Jeju. I can guarantee! (Sunghoon, early 60s)

You know, it takes just an hour to get here. [...] We have four seasons while it's always warm in Shanghai. It's so beautiful to see all the leaves in fall. The color of the ocean is beautiful, too. [...] In contrast to Chinese gigantic scenery, everything is cute, but still pretty. (Yoonho, 54)

I think Jeju Island is really comfortable place to move around. Let's say Janggagye in China. Despite its beauty, we need to spend a lot of time in a car just to get there. [...] Here on Jeju Island, we can go anywhere in one hour and there are a lot of places to get enough rest. (Jongho, 44)

I had one male customer in his 60s who's been to Hawaii a few days ago. I traveled with him for four days. He was just surprised so much and told me 'I just came from Hawaii but Jeju Island is just so beautiful!' Hawaii was developed by Japanese and it's still a nice tourism destination. But what he liked was four seasons of Korea... (Wanyoung, 60)

I'm just so happy when people came to Jeju Island and got to see the real beauty of Jeju... (Doori, 50)



TTG participants also pointed out that a warm-hearted nature makes them different from people who live in large cities. Some of them shared their stories about how they express their heart to tourists.

In my case, I'm proud of being Korean. I try to show warm-hearted nature of Korean people. Moreover, even among all the Korean, Jeju people are the best, the most warm-hearted! (Yoonho, 54)

You know, we are such warm-hearted people. I love the fact that I can make people feel this. (Doori, 50)

You know local people on Jeju Island are very genuine and sincere. Many TTGs love to bring something to tourists even from their home... like octopus or shells that their moms just got from the sea... Mr. Moon also brings fresh fish to his customer... or barley bread... TTGs from Jeju Island... people from Jeju... they still have warm heart. (Soonho, mid 40s)

Tourists like to cook at least once during their travel. Then, I just tell them 'Hey, you don't have to buy Kimchi. Let me bring home-made Kimchi for you!' Isn't that awesome? This is something extra over what customers originally asked for. (Wanyoung, 60)

### *Pride in being a taxi tour guide*

TTG participants perceive of their job in a positive way and express their pride in doing taxi tours. Some respondents consider being a TTG as the 'best job' and show their satisfaction.

People who visited here seven years ago just came back... I think this is such a wonderful job. I really love it. (Wanyoung, 60)

I heard there are more than 14,000 different kinds of jobs. Taxi driver is ranked on Top 50. I think what I'm doing is the best job! I'm not even jealous of a president. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

I'm proud of my job. I'm not even jealous of diplomats. Actually, I am the diplomat of Jeju Island (laughter). [...] I'm very satisfied with my job. (BW, 61)

Having returning customers is one of the factors that make TTGs feel proud of themselves. They are rewarded when their customers stay in touch with them.

The number of customers that I've had is just numerous! More than 1,000 honeymoon couples... Many of them are still in touch with me. [...] Honeymooners who have been here came back later with their kids... I feel very rewarding. I do not change my phone number. (Inkee, early 60s)

I got a phone call a few months ago. She asked, "Are you still doing a taxi tour?" I answered, "Of course!" She said, "Then I'll be there on January 1, see you then!" and she did come. She kept my business card for the last 10 years. I was really proud of myself. [...] I was extremely happy to meet this customer. I felt like I was almost flying in the sky! (Sunghoon, early 60s)

One participant mentioned that TTG's expertise should be appreciated. He strongly believed in his competitive edge.

Customers are getting smarter and more knowledgeable but they are not like us. Sometimes, I get to guide professors as my customers. They have Ph.D. degrees in their schools you know, but here on Jeju Island, I am the expert! (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

There was another response about the cost of taxi tours. Since this participant was proud of his service provided to his customers, he said that he will never lower his charge even with increasing competition from other TTGs.

I never compromise the charge. I ask tourists 100,000 won a day because I provide that much value to customers. I take pictures for them, give them detail explanation... I never go to the places where customers don't want to go, rather provide them customized service. (Inkee, early 60s)

*Pride in myself for doing well*

Many TTGs were very proud of themselves for performing well. After-trip postings (ATPs) written by tourists were considered very important to TTGs. They evaluate their performance based on the content of the ATPs.

Take a look at my website! [...] There are lots of good comments and postings. (Inkee, early 60s)

We can easily access Internet these days. [...] the tourists who traveled with me have written many positive comments. When they look up 'Jeju taxi tour guide' on the portal site, my name is shown at the top! (Yoonho, 54)

If you see my website, there are more than 400 after-trip postings. Every single individual mentions 'you are the best!' 'I truly enjoyed traveling with you,' 'I was really happy,' and 'I was very touched by what you had done for us' [...] There was not even one complaint by customers in last 10 years. (Wanyoung, 60)

Since there were not enough taxi tour services offered in foreign languages, one participant who offers Chinese taxi tours showed his pride in starting up his tour.

I can guarantee that I was a pioneer of taxi tours offered in Chinese. (Yoonho, 54)

One participant brought his scrapbook of ATPs and some awards to the interview. He wanted to show me how well he has performed and how he has been recognized by many people.

I was selected as the best service provider in Jeju. You know it's really, really difficult. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

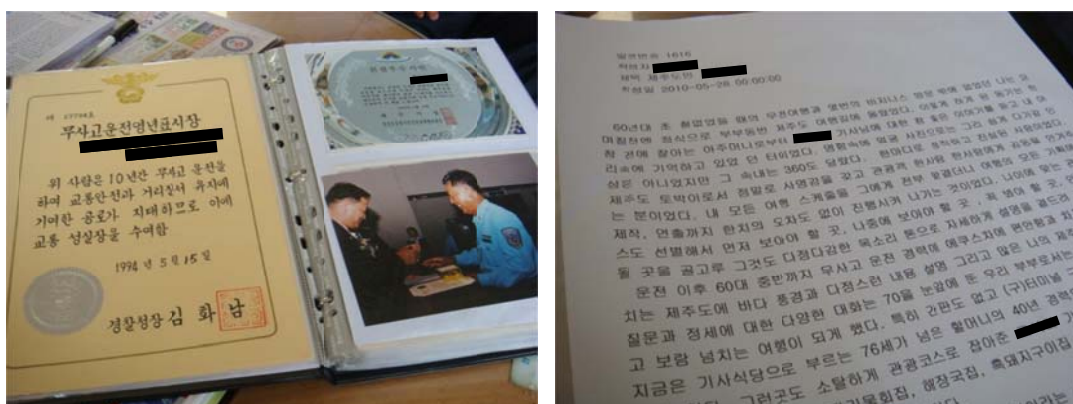


Figure 4-5. The Scrapbook of ATPs and Awards that One of the TTG Participants Brought to the Interview

## Constraints

Despite their awareness of and pride in their role as culture brokers, they complained of social or structural constraints which hinder them from serving tourists in an appropriate manner.

### *Irrational fare system*

The most serious issue was the irrational fare system which does not meet their needs for a living. None of the TTGs were satisfied with the current situation and claimed that customers need to be aware of that ‘quality service deserves optimal fare’ or ‘you got what you paid for.’

Tourists are often trapped into ‘cheap taxi tours.’ They may be instantly satisfied with the cheap price and never expect that their travel will not be as satisfying when they get here. (Wanyoung, 60)

You know you got what you paid for. There is a reason when it’s cheap. There are some people who visit my website and explicitly mention about the fare, saying ‘I found the tour offered by a travel agency was 60,000 won. I didn’t select that one because I thought there might be a reason for cheap price.’ (Wanyoung, 60)

There is a reason for cheap tours. Everything for 100,000 won? Accommodation and bus included? How do you think it's possible? Then, where do you think their incomes end up coming from? 'Option' is the answer. Tourists will be really annoyed by that. (Inkee, early 60s)

However, there was another root cause of this system according to the responses. Travel agencies were perceived as enemies since they set fares low, which helps them attract more customers while keeping the quality of service very low. One participant described this reality by saying;

You should know the reality. There is a food chain created in the tourism industry of Jeju. It's really serious, even more than what happens in Serengeti National Park. (Wanyoung, 60)

To understand this sentiment, the types of employment should be discussed. In general, there are three ways to be involved in taxi tours; (1) individual taxi tour guides with the driver's own taxi after getting a special license; (2) taxi tours as one of many different tours in travel agencies – travel agencies recruit customers and introduce them to tour guides with a fee; (3) taxi tour guides under the chief tour guide's management (which is very similar to (2)).

I can guarantee that about 10 out of 100 TTGs run their tours individually. 90% of them have to work for travel agencies. They, in general, charge tourists about 120,000 won or 130,000 won a day for one-day tour, 110,000 won a day for two-day tour, and 100,000 won a day for three-day tour... and tell them you need to give your driver at least 30,000 won extra for tip. Then TTG will end up making 80,000 won including 50,000 won from travel agencies and 30,000 won from customers. Then, think about it. It's really difficult to put a happy face in front of customers during a tour. [...] If this issue is not solved as soon as possible, providing the quality service will be really difficult... In my case, I think I earn enough income to make a living. [...] Even after deducting gas fee and other expenses, I can still earn 50,000-60,000 won or 60,000-70,000 won. Since I'm satisfied with my income, I can enjoy running my tours but the other TTGs can't do that due to the lack of income. (BW, 61)

Generally, individual taxi tour guides charge 120,000 won a day while the fare of taxi tours operated by TTGs working for travel agencies is a lot less than that after deducting the commission (i.e., 30,000 won). To run a taxi, there are several extra charges that TTGs have to take care of such as gas, car maintenance cost, depreciation, and labor. Excluding these amounts from their incomes, they earn too little to meet a minimum standard of living.

You will easily find the fare starts from 50,000 won or 60,000 won from many websites. But you know what? What kind of service do you think they will offer? And... think about it. If you run 150 kilometers a day, it costs 25,000-30,000 won. How can you live with 20,000 won a day? It doesn't make sense. Then, they end up making unnecessary stops to have more commission. (BW, 61)

80,000 won a day? You can't make a living with it. [...] Out of 80,000 won, we have to pay 30,000 won for gas. Sometimes, my labor became free. Tips? Some people give it to me but the others don't. [...] How can we make a living? We've been really struggling. (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

For example, if we get 100,000 won or 120,000 won, I will never worry. I can provide quality service to customers and everything will work well. A reasonable fare system will change everything! (Jinwon, mid 40s)

50,000 won after deducting 30,000 won of commission? I can't feed my family with 50,000 won. (Jongho, 44)

Overall, they were pessimistic about the possibility of changing this situation. They regarded travel agencies as huge organism though they also admit their need to make money, too.

Then, why don't we all the tourism employees come to the agreement on the fair fares? Maybe we can do that and ask tourists 120,000 won across the Island? This is impossible. When you search taxi tours on the internet, the tours offered by travel agencies cost 60,000 won. They are all accessible to tourists. When tourists find it's 80,000 won on a certain website while it's 60,000 won on the other site, they complain right away. In general, travel agencies have a pool of 20-30 TTGs. They introduce tourists to TTGs with 20,000 won of commission. No matter how much they charge for a tour to tourists, their commission will not change. That's why travel agencies keep their fares low to attract more customers who want to spend less money on their travel. (Wanyoung, 60)

They are aware of this issue but it's difficult to solve. [...] In their standpoint, travel agencies need to make money, too. Considering taxi tours as one of their travel packages, it makes sense for them to keep the fare low to compete with others. (Nu-Young-Na-Young<sup>11</sup>, mid 40s)

Travel agency... they need to make a living, too. However, it's reality to survive with 'ideal' fare. [...] If travel agencies set their fares higher but it's not the way it is. Even though we try our best to work with work ethics, it's just a drop in the ocean. Moreover, the supply is way too much as well... (Jongho, 44)

TTGs working for travel agencies end up making many stops which bring extra money to them regardless of customers' needs. Their only focus becomes making more money to make a living. Other than basic services, there is nothing else special in this kind of tour. The quality of service can't be guaranteed.

If TTGs make enough money, they can provide whatever they can to their customers. But the reason they can't do this is... [...] the amount that TTGs receive from travel agencies is between 30,000-50,000 won. The agency has various way of recruiting customers via advertisement and so forth... but TTGs don't. When they receive 30,000-50,000 won? It's just too small. They have to pay for gas... depreciation of their car matters too... if the car is not working properly, they have to fix it. What about their labor? But the amount they make is too small... That's why they take their tourists to certain tourism attractions... [...] Then, what happens is... tourists are like 'I don't want to go there' but TTGs have to force them to go there. (Nu-Young-Na-Young, mid 40s)

You know, they just can't help taking you to the places where they can get more commission. It will make tourists really tired. Their only interest is more money... but you know, tourists are not like that. They have their need to visit some other places and become really angry... It becomes like a hell to travel with that TTG then. It's just crazy... They are like 'I hate making a stop to buy something. Why do you bring me there? I asked to take me to the cheap seafood restaurant. Why did you take me to such an expensive place?' But you know, more money really matters to TTGs. In his perspective, he is like 'I just make 40,000 won a day. I need to make a living!!!' To make it short, it is travel agencies that cause all these problems. (Wanyoung, 60)

You know there are a lot of restaurants linked with travel agencies. When you go there, the food quality is bad, it's expensive, there are many people crowded... the reason why it's expensive? You know they have to set the price high to pay

---

<sup>11</sup> Nu-Young-Na-Young is the nickname of the manager of the on-line community, Nu-Young-Na-Young.

commission to the agency. The quality of ingredient is not guaranteed... Then the food becomes expensive and tourists end up paying a lot of money. Then they will tell you the food on Jeju Island is just so expensive... (Wanyoung, 60)

Moreover, not every TTG has a full schedule each month. The popular and preferred TTGs usually are scheduled 20-30 days a month. TTGs who receive their customers through travel agencies or TTGs who mainly have general passengers while doing tours when tourists are coming have less than 5 or 10 days a month. In this case, they become even more desperate to earn more money.

If TTGs working for travel agencies can have tourists about 10 days a month, it makes just very small amount of income. You know it's really tough to make a living. That makes TTGs to get as much commission as possible in every single tour to make more income. But for customers... (it's not good!) tourism attractions, restaurants, shopping mall.... They are forced to buy stuff. (Nu-Young-Na-Young, mid 40s)

There are some claims that TTGs even have to work after their tours and run their cars for general transportation's sake to meet their minimum level of living.

I need to have general customers even after finishing my tours. You know, I have a family to take care of... At least I need to bring money to buy rice... [...] We can't meet a basic standard of living by doing taxi tour only without having general passengers. (Jongho, 44)

We run our tour from nine to six. To make a living, we need to work after six. (Jinwon, mid 40s)



*Negative impacts from unsatisfactory fare system*

TTG participants showed their frustration with the irrational fare system. They described this as a destructive loop with customers' dissatisfaction, a damaged image of Jeju tourism, and negative word-of-mouths.

Tourists will never purchase the package offered by travel agencies again.  
(Wanyoung, 60)

Then, it will negatively affect Jeju tourism. The image of Jeju? It's all damaged. Tourists will keep saying 'rip-off.' If we earn enough income, we can take nice pictures for them, we can enjoy running tours, we can send them all the pictures... To receive the proper fares will encourage us a lot. Then tourists will be satisfied with the tour and write after-trip postings after a trip. The image of Jeju will become really positive! (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

Above all, little to no trust from tourists was the most critical barrier to TTGs. The prejudice that taxi tours are 'rip-offs' was the most common response from TTGs. They were frustrated that it's been taking such a long time to recover the image on Jeju.

I would like to give as much as possible but... if they don't trust and receive, what can I do? (Doori, 50)

When I try to explain with open heart, customers still have their biases. It's just so frustrating when they are always worried about 'rip-off.' I try my best to customers but they never know that. They are like... 'He's going to take advantage of me' (Inkee, early 60s)

Back in 1990s, TTGs considered their customers as money sources. Introducing Jeju Island to visitors was not of their interest. Oh, here comes the money. You should make photo albums... You should do this... You should do that... They force customers to do a lot of things... Negative word-of-mouths were spread out. Everybody said 'don't consider taxi tours when you go to Jeju Island' [...] But you know what? It takes just a second to lose reputation... but takes forever to bring it back. (BW, 61)

TTGs were not happy about how Jeju Island is portrayed on TV. They believe the media's bias strengthens tourists' prejudice.

You know, there is a problem of media shooting out all the biased news that you will be ripped off on Jeju Island. [...] Even in the news from Jeju Island, they just assert that everything is rip-off. When people are exposed to the news or internet, they just close their heart and decide should and shouldn't on Jeju Island. (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

If tourists find something attractive from the TV show, they just have blind faith on it and they don't care if the price is reasonable or the quality is guaranteed... What is more important? Is it TV or us? (Soonho, mid 40s)

They just came here with information they got from the internet. They never trust drivers. Assuming all the taxi drivers will take advantage of them... we have lots of conflict in that sense. (Jongho, 44)

### *External constraints*

External constraints were discussed by TTGs, as well. Above all, many participants expressed their animosity with rental cars. Due to the increased number of rental cars, TTGs have been discouraged since not only regulation of rental cars is less strict than taxis, but also tourists tend to prefer individual trips these days. TTGs actually have a negative perception that too many rental cars cause traffic jams and accidents.

To be honest, the reason taxi industry has been struggling is rental cars. It will be fair for us to enjoy deregulation just like rental cars. We have a right to ask for license to get jumbo taxi if we have more customers. [...] You know, rental cars are overly supplied. If local government takes this situation account, it would be easier for us to make a living. [...] Pensions? Other lodging? They offer bundles of accommodation and rental cars together... Long ago, it was the position where taxis used to be. (Doori, 50)

In the past, it was fairly rare to see people who own driver's licenses. However, it has become general to have it, which encourages tourists to travel by themselves with rental cars. (Yongchul, mid 50s)

You know there are too many rental cars... I think they destroy public order on Jeju Island. [...] They just stop the car anywhere to ask for directions whenever they see people. It would be great if they park the car at the side and politely say 'Could you help me to find directions since I'm new here?' But they just stop the car in the middle of the road and ask... then cars in the back start to honk the horn... Rental car drivers from the mainland are not considerate enough and cause problems...(Youngkyu, early 60s)

The lack of air travel was another big issue TTGs raised. According to the participants, fewer flights are allocated to Jeju Island since airline companies can earn a greater margin with international flights. Moreover, the majority of seats are already taken by travel agencies, which forces tourists to make trips through travel agencies.

It's frustrating there are so many tourists who can't make trips due to the lack of flight. [...] The aircraft with 450 seats? It never comes. The one with 200 or 250 seats... that's it. [...] Our well-prepared service means nothing if tourists can't make trips. Where do you think they will go? They decide to go to *Gangwondo*<sup>12</sup>! (Inkee, early 60s)

The thing is... they just can't find a seat. Travel agency has already taken most of the seats. Then they have to make a trip only through travel agencies. 70% of the seats are allocated to the agencies and the rest is for individual purchase. [...] Even though tourists would like to travel with me, it's not the way it is. There are some TTGs working for travel agencies who will be tourists' only available choice. (Soonho, mid 40s)

Moreover, TTGs object to too much development. They want to preserve the unique features of Jeju Island and help tourists enjoy the real Jeju.

I'm sorry that Jeju Island has been changed a lot due to too much development. It is way too different from the way it used to be when I was young. [...] There are no traditional houses any more... no more unique scenery of Jeju Island... (Doori, 50)

---

<sup>12</sup> Gangwondo is one of the provinces in Korea. Huge mountainous area with some rivers as well as neighboring East Sea make it a popular vacation destination. It is 4-5 hour-drive from Seoul.

We have kept telling them not to start construction to widen the road but can't stop local government. Tourists enjoy the fresh air... but it really discourages tourists to enjoy the unique nature in Jeju. [...] Silver grasses look awesome in fall. There is a silver wave right there. If they really care for tourism of Jeju Island, they shouldn't do that. They really need to help tourists feel and enjoy every single thing of Jeju. We are supposed to play a role as mediator but they just work on more and more construction... (Soonho, mid 40s)

Along with too much development, some participants mentioned that the increase in private tourism attractions also hinders tourism on Jeju.

Many people from outside invest their money to develop new tourism attractions on Jeju Island. There are foreign investors as well since we don't have enough money sources. I feel like the unique shape of Jeju Island has been disappeared. [...] While I travel with tourists, I realize most of tourism attractions are developed by the foreign investors. Motor cycle performance from China... Elephant show from somewhere... [...] You know *Yeomiji* botanic garden? It is also owned by the CEO of *Buguk Steels*. (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

### **TTG's attitudes toward constraints: Pathfinders vs. Free Riders**

In terms of TTGs' perception of themselves or their roles, both pride and constraints were discussed. However, it was also very interesting to hear how they express themselves and respond to interview questions. There were two opposite attitudes among participants; proactive and passive.

The majority of participants was relatively proactive and tried to suggest possible solutions to overcome current issues in a positive tone and manner though they are fully aware of constraints. They were like pathfinders who attempt to vitalize the taxi tour industry and Jeju tourism and also showed their effort to make situations better. No matter how frustrating, TTGs seem to be positive and proactive.

I understand most TTGs should get annoyed by this situation. But you know what? We, TTGs, are supposed to change, too. [...] Travel agencies have started appropriating tips as well. They usually tell us that they are going to give us but they actually do not give us. I understand. It's annoying. But every contact with tourists... they need to be taken care of. We have to think of what we can do for them. (Youngshin, late 50s)

Despite tourists' lack of trust, they will finally get to know my sincere heart someday if I serve them faithfully, as always. I will be really happy when these days come. (Inkee, early 60s)

When they take customers through travel agencies or package, TTGs usually take a nap in the car after leaving tourists at a tourism attraction. I strongly urge my colleagues not to do that all the time and encourage them to go with their tourists... take pictures for them... and let them know what you know about if you pass by local trees or grass... Then, tourists won't get bored and they will be able to learn a lot! [...] You know, it's easy to lose fame but it's really difficult to recover it. I'm not saying that it is just me doing well. I'm a part of this issue. I think all of us put all the effort and solve this problem together. [...] We tend to blame others first. TTGs often say that tourists no longer find us because of the rental cars equipped with GPS. I think they don't do taxi tours because we are not prepared. If I'm prepared, why they go to the other sources? [...] We need to do our best... (BW, 61)

If God bless me a lot, I would like to build a town for thatched houses only and allow tourists to experience and sleep in there. There are only souvenir shops and restaurants in current traditional villages. [...] I love to preserve our own unique culture. You know nature in Jeju... the scenery... in our old memory... [...] You know, as I mentioned before, if I wash this cup and make it clean, I can always use it anytime. It's not like a paper cup which we throw away after using just one time... I will try to be like this mug. [...] Some tourists have prejudice of taxi tours stemmed from negative experiences and the others keep visiting us because they like it. Therefore, instead of having a thought like 'tourists will visit more if I do this way or that way,' I'll just deliver them my knowledge and experience correctly even just for one visitor. (Doori, 50)

There is just a few who truly struggles to make Jeju tourism healthier with sincere and transparent mind like me! [...] I will do my best! I think it's such a huge loss to Jeju Island if I quit this job. I always tell my customers before they leave, 'Please encourage *Babo Taxi* even after you get home. I will be the Renaissance of Jeju tourism by contributing a lot to renovate Jeju. I'll soon send out the victory from Jeju Island!' Then they just give me a big applaud and even cry!! (Wanyoung, 60)

On the other hand, some participants tended to stay passive and preferred to blame the local government and other external factors that have discouraged the active operation of taxi tours. They just provide a basic level of service to customers.

All I do is to follow after tourists day by day... take pictures for them if they ask... lunch time is in the middle of the day tour... so we have lunch together... that's it. [...] There are different types of orange trees. But you know what? There is an orange museum very close from here. They can learn everything in there. Tourists know more than us now... (Youngkyu, early 60s)

How can we live with 80,000 won a day? Local government should increase rate for us... to survive together with travel agencies... Then, Jeju Island will become an awesome place... but the reality is not like that. (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

Young female tourists often write after-trip postings for us. But they are not always actively writing up. I sometimes ask them to do for me but... Actually they just forget everything when they go back to their normal life. [...] They don't care about us that much... (Soonho, mid 40s)

Table 4-3. Summary of the Perceived Importance of the Roles of TTGs

Tourists	Taxi tour guides (TTGs)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Highly satisfied</b> with their experiences               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. in-depth local knowledge</li> <li>b. convenient and comfortable trip</li> <li>c. considerateness of TTG</li> <li>d. opportunity to visit new places</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Perceived themselves as crucial in Jeju Tourism</b> (i.e., middleman, mediator, first impression, the expert)</li> <li>• <b>Showed much pride</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. pride of their background</li> <li>b. pride as TTGs on Jeju Island</li> <li>c. pride of their performance</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Discussed <b>constraints</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. internal constraints</li> <li>b. external constraints</li> </ul> </li> <li>• TTG's attitudes toward constraints : <b>Pathfinders</b> vs. <b>Free Riders</b></li> </ul>

### **Tourists' Perceived Importance of Cultural Experience or Learning**

To find out the meaning of cultural experience or learning for tourists, I asked direct and indirect questions of them. When the phrase “culture experience” or “cultural learning” is literally translated into Korean, it sounds unfamiliar and somewhat heavy. Therefore, I attempted to find out how they express their intention to learn or experience local culture by asking an indirect question first: travel motivation and reasons for choosing a taxi tour.

Regarding travel motivation, few mentioned cultural learning as their main reason for visiting Jeju Island. Tourists primarily want to get out of their daily routines and refresh themselves while resting and spending time with their travel partners.

If you think of our age... you know, all my kids became college students... now I have desire to do lots of things. Being away from all the household work, I just wanted to forget about my daily routines. That's it. Just being far away and relaxed. That's all mothers' purpose of trip [...] I just want to be there and just focus on travel itself. (Minsun, 50)

To relax! Of course... to refresh myself, too. It just feels awesome to go somewhere by plane during the vacation season. (Kyungjin, 38)

Two other friends and I are graduating soon. We planned this trip to celebrate our graduation. To relax, hang out, and do sightseeing... (Jihyun, 26)

I've just retired, finished my official assignment. I just wanted to get some rest. That's why I went to Jeju Island. (Jonggu, 70)

I also found that there are different travel motivations, even among travel partners. One college student couple who went to Jeju Island with two other friends showed a contrast in their reasons to travel. While the female participant had lots of travel experience and loves to learn about local cultures at tourism destinations, the male participant wants to enjoy travel with travel partners and just relax.

I've been to several Asian countries. Sometimes, I go there because I'm curious about their culture and sometimes I just pick a destination just to relax. [...] Every time I go on a travel, I received kind help from local people. I should have missed a lot without their help. (Jungeun, 24)

I have different opinion from my girlfriend. Instead of experience and learning, I try to focus on having fun with my travel partners. I think that's much more important to me. This time, the decision on taxi tour was also made from the perspective of how to have more fun with my friends, not to learn or experience something on Jeju. (Jihyun, 26)

Regarding their reasons for choosing taxi tours, tourists were heavily influenced by family and friends several other reasons were mentioned. They made their final decision to travel with a taxi tour guide due to recommendations by others who were satisfied with their past taxi tour experiences.

Several months before I traveled, I heard something from four ladies who traveled to Jeju Island. They are sisters or sister-in-laws. [...] I heard they were also recommended by someone else. I was not the first one who has been recommended to that taxi tour guide. I was like 'I want to test that driver!' But you know what? What they've said was exactly right. Nothing was wrong. That's why I was so touched. If I felt like this is not what I heard, I would have been disappointed a lot. But it was exactly the same as what I heard! (Jonggu, 70)

One of our travel partners is one of my best friends. Her friend went honeymoon to Jeju Island and she said it was awesome. As my friend recommended, we were going to ask the same tour guide who the friend of my best friend traveled with but I heard he was old and retired. So we found another tour guide. [...] A long ago, my parents went on the trip to Jeju Island in a group. On their first day, she said she got lost a lot on a rental cars. But the next time, when my mom was with a taxi tour guide, she told me she was very comfortable. Since most of us are not familiar with the area, I thought it would be the best option. [...] You know, it can be uncomfortable to travel with a stranger but my mom's recommendation influenced me a lot. Also, my friend's recommendation worked, too and I was really satisfied with this trip. (Minhwa, 33)

The impact of tourists' satisfaction on their past taxi tour experience was strong. Two participants who traveled together mentioned that they went to Jeju Island and traveled with the



same TTG three times in the last three months. The other family group also shared their plan to revisit Jeju Island and travel with a TTG in a month.

Some tourists decide to travel with a TTG simply because they don't have enough time to plan a trip or they have travel partners who are physically disabled. Their belief that TTGs would give tourists lots of recommendations and bring them to new places was mentioned as well.

When direct questions about the importance of a cultural experience and learning were asked, tourists' answers were varied and didn't come to consensus. While some participants showed their strong interest in and need for cultural experiences and learning, others were not passionate enough to answer this question; they rather gave me short vague answers without adding more detailed explanation such as, "It's fun," or "I can better understand about the place with cultural understanding."

I think our views are way too narrow. Actually, what I want to do in the future is somewhat related. I love to work in the other Asian countries. To achieve my dream, not only communication skills but also understanding of local people and values is very important. We should not be hostile to people who look different with us. [...] I think it's very important to learn local people and culture.  
(Jungeun, 24)

We are housewives and have never worked outside. While my friend didn't do that much, I ask many questions when I go on a trip. My TTG told me 'you seem like you made this trip to satisfy your curiosity about Jeju Island!' because seriously I asked a lot. [...] When I was young, all I want was just having fun. But now I want to learn something... I also want to share my learning with my kids. They used to be super busy in studying but now they have time to talk with me. [...] Our TTG was like 'do you want to buy some land and live here?' and kindly shared a lot of stories with us. (Minsun, 50)

I sensed that the intangible and somewhat unfamiliar concept of cultural experience or learning made it difficult for tourists to figure out how to answer my question. However, for the questions about their experience and satisfaction, many made comments about cultural learning and experience. The word that I heard most often was "sul-myung" which means "explanation."

What they valued the most was explanation about nature, culture, history, and characteristics of the local people on Jeju Island.

Moreover, despite a lack of detailed answers from the direct question regarding cultural experience and learning, all the participants indicated that the best way to learning about culture is to meet local people or have experiences.

Living with local people as closely as possible? In any countries, hotels are about the same. If we know some local people and stay with them, we can easily figure out how they live and what they eat... [...] I can understand well by learning from a TTG. (Jungeun, 24)

I think meeting local people is the best way rather than finding something from internet or some books... (Hyunmin, 50)

Basically, it's the real experience. When we enjoy that kind of experience, that's the travel. (Moonoh, late 30s)

Rather than learning from other sources, it is more impactful to hear from a TTG and travel with him. [...] It's just huge when we try to look up a book or something. It is difficult to catch what we want to learn. [...] Also, you know, it's not like when we were young anymore. We don't have that much passion to find other sources to satisfy our curiosity. (Minsun, early 50s)

When there is a person who can teach us, we can learn more easily and understand well, too. (Minhwa, 33)

As discussed previously, some participants did not value cultural experience or learning. However, the most interesting finding was when tourists were asked how important it is that a tour guide is born on Jeju Island, most participants answered that it is very important since local tour guides can provide clear and vivid explanations of every single detail based on their lived experiences.

### **The Meaning of Culture-brokering Roles to Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)**

To investigate how culture-brokering roles are linked with their tour operations, TTGs were asked various indirect questions. Though most TTGs started their taxi tours for economic purposes rather than a passion to share their culture, they agreed that their competitive edge compared to traveling with rental cars or bus packages was their own local expertise and cultural knowledge. In addition, TTGs mentioned that it is very rewarding when customers get to know more about Jeju Island.

First, when they were asked why they started a taxi tour was asked, most participants shared their life stories and answered that it was mainly due to economic responsibilities. There were no participants who answered that they started taxi tours to become a bridge between tourists and local residents or the culture. Most of them had been engaged in other driving jobs. Although a few respondents had worked for the hotel industry or a corporation located in Seoul, once they started their taxi operation, they ended up driving a taxi and operating tours since the significance of tourism was salient on Jeju Island. In the case of non-local participants who moved to Jeju Island with their family a long time ago, there was no other choice than driving jobs when they first settled on Jeju Island.

TTGs were fully aware of the strengths of taxi tours. They noted that providing tourists with an opportunity to learn about Jeju Island is their competitive edge though they were also aware that the current trend is individual trips with rental cars with more freedom. Along with several other strong points, such as customized trips, comfortable and convenient trips, no disadvantage in terms of price, and safer trips, they were confident that they could provide something extra including further explanation and “real” information about Jeju. They wanted tourists to experience their sincere hearts, too.

Actually, it costs about the same. If they pay 80,000 won for a rental car, it will be 100,000 won in total after gas fee is included. It can't be compared since taxi tours cover insurance... we drive for them... we provide explanations... we recommend nice local restaurants... (Inkee, early 60s)

There are about 12,000 rental cars on Jeju Island. They are even planning to bring more rental cars. But think about it. They can visit anywhere with GPS based on what they found from the internet. That's it. Our sincere heart will never be delivered. (Youngshin, late 50s)

They will never get to further explanation. (Doori, 50)

They will never know real local restaurants which are not touristy but well-known and praised by local residents. They will never know. They will have to visit restaurants via Internet-based information. [...] Good restaurants are not the places crowded with many tourists but the places where a lot of local residents enjoy visiting. (Wanyoung, 60)

There are additional reasons related to the rewards of culture-brokering through taxi tours.

One participant appreciated tourists' suggestions for improvement. It is one of the important roles of TTGs as culture brokers not only to transfer their own culture to tourists but also to accept external opinions. Some participants felt rewarded when they could show the beauty of and help tourists know more about Jeju.

I feel rewarded when customers correct our wrong doings. [...] You told me that it would be great to design a scarf printed with *Saehando*<sup>13</sup>. Like what you did, I appreciate people who tell us how local residents can make money through tourism industry. For we are isolated geographically, we tend to have narrow point of views. [...] If customers let us know that this was good, but it would be better to do this way, I think Jeju tourism industry will be much more developed. (BW, 61)

It feels great when I can introduce the beautiful nature of Jeju Island. For example, when we get to see unexpected things such as female divers picking up shells or when we experience to pick up fern from mountains in season... When I can show something for real or let them experience.... (it's really great!) (Yongchul, mid 50s)

---

<sup>13</sup> Sae-han-do is one of the well-known pictures drawn in 1844 by the famous writer and artist, Jung Hee Kim who lived in the Chosun Dynasty.

It feels great when they get to satisfy their curiosity and to know more things  
(Youngshin, late 50s)

There was one interesting finding from TTGs who serve foreign visitors. Due to language barriers, they are hardly able to provide in-depth explanations on top of basic guidance.

It's really difficult to explain the history of Jeju Island like a guide. I tried it at first, but I just don't have enough time to do that... to study... to email them photos...to look up the dictionary for new vocabularies... Time constraint is really tough. (Yoonho, 54)

Table 4-4. Summary of the Perceptions of Culture-brokering and Cultural Experiences

Tourists	Taxi tour guides (TTGs)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Cultural experience was <b>not</b> a main purpose of trips</li> <li>• <b>After</b> the actual tour, <b>the most satisfying factor</b> was explanation or interpretation by TTGs.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Culture-brokering was <b>not</b> a main reason to start a taxi tour.</li> <li>• TTGs considered their explanation as the <b>key difference</b> from the other means of travel (e.g., rental cars, package trips)</li> </ul>

### **The Influence of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background on Tourists' Experience**

All the tourist participants had taxi tour experiences with tour guides who were born on Jeju Island. They all agreed on the importance of the background of taxi tour guides. Even before being asked, some of them mentioned the local background of their TTG in their responses.

Well... I think the fact that my TTG was from Jeju Island is very important. You know, I don't think the guide from Seoul will perform well on Jeju Island. (Jihyun, 26)

If I visit Jeju Island again, I would love to travel with a local guide again. It will be absolutely different from a guide from outside. (Hyunmin, 50)

It will be definitely different from guides who were born and raised up there. (Minsun, early 50s)

My tour guide was born on Jeju Island... (Kyungjin, 38)

Tourists showed their preference for local tour guides by pointing out that tour guides who are from Jeju Island would have more attachment and pride, more knowledge based on real experiences, and greater sincerity and commitment. Moreover, some tourists mentioned that they felt secure and reassured when traveling with a local tour guide.

### **Attachment and pride**

Many participants pointed out that the taxi tour guides from Jeju Island might have more attachment to their hometown and even commitment to the job, which will, in turn, boost their passion and sincerity during the tours.

I think it should be different in terms of attachment. (Sungmin, 55)

You know, I live in *Guro-dong*. If I meet a guide from *Guro-dong* on Jeju Island, it would be somewhat... [...] That is just so different between individuals who were born on Jeju Island and who are from outside. [...] I think they have more pride and willingness to promote Jeju Island. [...] You know, guides who are from outside might think that his or her customers are just someone who pass by. (Hyunmin, 50)

Of course! I think, of course, there should be difference. During our trip, we learned about Jeju Island such as local culture, customs, and perspectives on marriage [...] I think there should be attachment to their hometown. (Minsun, early 50s)

I think the one who was born in and grew up there should have more pride and know more. If visitors come in and they introduce the Island to them, local people will end up having more income especially when the number of tourists increases. For this reason, I think they will have more pride and high esteem. She told us a lot of stories. (Kyungjin, 38)

### **More knowledge based on real experiences**

Most participants believed that TTGs from Jeju Island should have more knowledge compared to ones from outside.

He should know well because he is from Jeju Island! [...] I think the guide from other areas don't have information correctly. (Hyunmin, early 50s)

If someone was not born in a certain area, he or she simply doesn't know enough about the area. (Minsun, early 50s)

We asked her we want to go to new places because we've already been to this area and that area. We believed the guide from that tourism destination knows a lot. [...] Also, my travel partner knows much about the Island, they started to talk a lot. She told us a lot of detail stories. She really knew so much. (Kyungjin, 38)

I heard that he was born on Jeju Island. Since we are relatively young, we don't know much about what's happened historically in this area. But he told us about what has happened in this area and its influence to the present and explained about cultural background [...] Compared to local TTGs, we would be able to tell if the explanation by TTGs from outside is based on their experience or learn

from books. [...] He told us many stories about mountains or *Harubang*<sup>14</sup> including every detail according to his life experiences. (Minhwa, 33)



Figure 4-6. Harubang, One of the Symbols of Jeju Island.

### Sincerity and commitment

The thirst for the sincere and genuine heart of Islanders was the other reason why tourists prefer local tour guides. They had an assumption that tour guides who came from the mainland would merely look at their customers as sources of income and take them wherever they can earn more money.

I think local people have more sincere and genuine heart [...] In the case of TTGs who are not from Jeju Island, they are more money-oriented. (Hyunmin, early 50s)

They do it as their income sources, however ... [...] they do it with commitment I think. When we were there, our TTG ended up spending more money on gas than expected. (Jungeun, 24)

If someone comes to Jeju Island for business purpose, I don't think he or she worked this hard while bothering themselves. (Jihyun, 26)

<sup>14</sup> Harubang, or Dol-Harubang is one of the symbols of Jeju Island. It is a huge mushroom-like stone which is believed to protect people from evil. It is usually placed in front of the village gates and the appearance is different by regions.



**Feel reassured to travel with local people**

One participant shared how reassured he was with his TTG. Thanks to his TTG's help, he felt he could avoid rip-offs and rather enjoyed the quality of food at a local restaurant.

I felt safe with him. For example, when we went to eat some beef to the restaurant where our TTG recommended. According to his recommendation, we ordered the beef. However, when the server brought the beef, my TTG got really angry and argued with the server after looking at the quality of beef in Jeju local language which we never understood. The server went back to the kitchen and later he brought us with better-looking quality and more quantity of beef. Finally, he smiled at looking at our food. It was just one example but during our trip, we always felt safe with our TTG. (Moonoh, late 30s)

### **The Influence of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background to Taxi Tour Operation**

While tourists considered TTGs' local background as an important factor, TTG participants didn't agree on the importance of the background of tour guides. Some tour guides agreed that local tour guides from Jeju Island provide better quality tours given their attachment to the Island and trusted explanations about the area. They mentioned that they are not comfortable when non-local TTGs deliver incorrect information about Jeju Island.

If they come down to Jeju and live for a long time, they will become more caring about this Island. However, they may leave whenever they want due to the lack of attachment. (BW, 61)

They provide similar service like us, TTGs from Jeju. But their explanation may not be correct. You know, you were born in Korea and grew up here, which makes you knowledgeable about this country. Think about a foreigner who came to Korea and live here for 20 years. Since he didn't spend his youth in here, local people will be a lot better in this perspective. (Yoonchan, mid 40s)

People coming from other cities need a lot of study to run taxi tours on Jeju Island. For example, they need to know the history of Jeju Island... If we are not equipped with correct knowledge and deliver this to tourists, they just trust what they heard from their TTGs. I know it happens here. [...] We have responsibility to deliver facts. In the case of history or stories... we shouldn't create them like it's true but it should be based on what we heard from our parents' or grandparents' generation when we were young. Many TTGs tend to get out of that kind of moments extemporaneously with wrong information. (Doori, 50)

Though we are in the same industry, sometimes I just feel that's not right but can't say anything to my colleagues. (Jinwon, mid 40s)

I'm uncomfortable when they don't provide clear explanation. (Youngshin, late 50s)

On the other hand, some tour guides think that as long as tour guides spend have lived long enough on Jeju Island, they can provide the same service as local tour guides do. What makes local and non-local tour guides different depends on how much effort they make to catch up with all the detailed information about Jeju Island.

There is not much difference. It's just up to how long he or she's been working for. [...] I think I have my own know-how. It will be different from a TTG who does not have it. [...] We are supposed to develop ability to guide tourists in different ways even though they visit here 10 times. (Inkee, early 60s)

We can't just clearly say they are different. Even though someone came from outside and run a taxi tour here, he will do a great job if he tries to develop himself... if he studies more in order to learn more knowledge. If he goes further beyond basic level of guide service, he can deliver lots of knowledge to tourists since he knows abundance of knowledge regarding the way of living in Jeju, customs, geography, culture, history, and so on.. (Wanyoung, 60)

Some participants did not share personal opinions. They thought the two different groups were about the same.

It's about the same. We bring tourists to natural attractions, private attractions, parks... experience tourism... It's just about the same. (Jongho, 44)

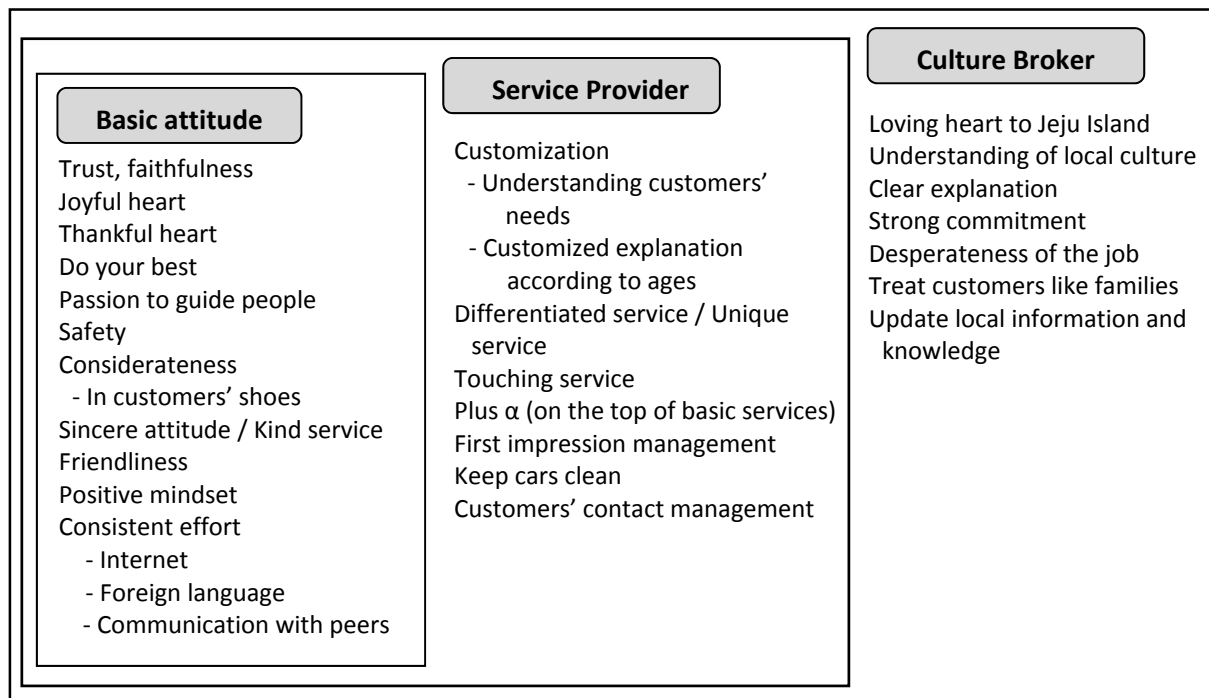
I don't think tourists know if we are from here or not. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

The criterion that split the TTGs was not whether they were from local area or not but how they define their roles as tour guides. One group of TTGs think themselves as culture brokers who include a basic level of guide services. The other group provides basic guide service without delivering specific cultural knowledge, which means simply taking tourists to places where they want to visit. However, not all the TTGs in the first group agreed that local TTGs will better serve tourists as culture brokers. Some participants indicated that the qualification of a culture broker is personal effort and the length of living on Jeju Island.

## Qualities of TTGs

Many TTG participants mentioned quality service. The majority perceive of themselves as service providers. However, there are also several qualities discussed as well, which only TTGs from Jeju Island can provide.

Figure 4-7. Qualities of TTGs



### *Basic attitude*

Many TTG participants mentioned general qualities, such as 'trust', 'sincerity', 'kind mind', 'consistent effort to learn computers and languages, and to have consistent communication with peers,' which can be applied to other jobs. I found these should be the foundation of the roles both as service providers and as culture brokers.

Customers came down here not knowing me as an individual. But if I keep my heart faithful and trustful to them, they will become very good friends of mine just like an old friend even though they actually travel with me only for 3 or 4 days. They will trust me if I show them my sincerity, which is very important. (Wanyoung, 60)

We need to be transparent and sincere... just show them as it is. If we try to add something on top of how it is, they will sense right away... they are knowledgeable these days. (Sunghoon, early 60s)

We have to learn! Some people say, 'why do we, taxi drivers, have to learn computers or mouse? The only thing we need to be competent is driving and making more money.' What an old mindset? (Wanyoung, 60)

You know Jeju will become an international tourism destination. No matter we belongs to the corporate or agency, or work individually, we need to have training and learn foreign languages such as English, Japanese, and Chinese... (BW, 61)

Our service is all about 'kind mind.' They will be impressed when we travel with them with kind mind. (Dongback, early 60s)

We have a bi-monthly meeting with 10 peer drivers and discuss 'what do customers want? What do they need? What should we improve?' (Wanyoung, 60)

### *Service provider*

The majority of TTG participants discussed qualities based on the assumption that their main role is to provide high quality service to tourists. They consider themselves as service providers who are supposed to satisfy their customers. They attempt to provide customized and differentiated service to meet tourists' needs and also to care about their customers after trips.

They will remember me for a long time when I provide them something special. [...] They've been here several times even before they meet me. I have responsibility to give them new experiences. (Wanyoung, 60)

To be kind? It's just the fundamental. Tourists want something beyond kindness. They want extra services on the top of basic services. (Wanyoung, 60)

I try to give customized explanation according to their age. If adults walk fast and they go ahead, I give them explanation briefly and come back to the child leaving behind. I need to be at their eye-level when I explain to children. (BW, 61)

They have all different needs; young couples, middle-aged couples, senior couples... I try to find what they would like and give them customized recommendation. (Inkee, early 60s)

They (customers) become my assets if I care for them even after trips. (Jongho, 44)

### *Culture broker*

Despite the frequency of responses related to the role of the service provider, many TTGs also talked about qualities related to their local background such as “loving heart to Jeju Islands,” “strong commitment,” and “clear explanation.” To these participants, quality related to service or basic attitude was a prerequisite of being a TTG.

If my customers are satisfied, they will not come by themselves but also bring other friends, too. I try to think everything for Jeju Island’s sake. [...] I do this of course for myself, but more importantly for Jeju Island, as well. If I do this just for myself, I don’t have to do passionately because I’m having enough customers. [...] But by doing this with passion, my peers can get benefit, Jeju Island can get benefit... (Yoonho, 54)

The most important thing is our mindset. Nothing really matters if there is no sincere heart. They came here to see and enjoy nature. But you take advantage of them and your face is not smiling, what else can we do? We are supposed to have strong commitment and know how important our job is. (Wanyoung, 60)

I help my customers enjoy the scenery of Jeju and have fun. But also, I want to satisfy their curiosity by providing historical background. In the case of stories, it doesn’t have to be exactly correct if it intrigues their interests. However, if I give them wrong historical facts, it can affect negatively because they believe what I’m telling them is true. That’s why I try to look up some books or study while tourists spend their own time. (BW, 61)

Table 4-5. Summary of the Perceptions of TTGs' Background

Tourists	Taxi tour guides (TTGs)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• TTGs' local background is <b>important</b> for their travel experiences               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a. attachment and pride</li> <li>b. more knowledge based on real experiences</li> <li>c. sincerity and commitment</li> <li>d. reassurance</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>Group 1: Knowledge and interpretation should be based on their <b>local background</b></p> <p>Group 2: Culture-brokering role <b>can be learned</b></p> <p>* <u>Qualities of TTGs</u></p> <div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <div style="text-align: center;">Basic attitude</div> <div style="margin: 0 10px;">⊂</div> <div style="text-align: center;">Service provider</div> <div style="margin: 0 10px;">⊂</div> <div style="text-align: center;">Culture broker</div> </div>

## **Chapter 5**

### **Discussion**

#### **Perceived importance of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)**

According to the results of this study, both tourists and tour guides regarded the roles of taxi tour guides as very important. The travel experiences of tourists were heavily influenced by taxi tour guides and, concurrently, taxi tour guides were aware of the significance of their roles with varying degrees of pride.

Overall, tourist participants were highly satisfied with their travel experiences with TTGs both in terms of price and content, and described TTGs as “beyond my expectation,” “a blessing,” and “very impressive.” Aligned with the existing literature, tourists expressed high satisfaction with their travel with TTGs and the strong influence of TTGs on their tourism experiences (Geva & Goldman, 1991; Zhang & Chow, 2004). They showed their satisfaction by writing after-trip postings (ATPs) on the taxi tour or local governmental website, which, in turn, played a significant role in bringing huge pride to TTGs. When tourists introduced their experiences, comparison was often made with rental cars or package trips as well as their past travel experiences. They tended to explain the expectations or prejudices they had prior to the trips, actual experiences with TTGs, and after-trip attitudes or behaviors in a sequence.

According to the results from the tourists’ perspective, TTGs are the travel supporters (1) who have the dominant position of having local information and knowledge and (2) who are willing to take burdens from tourists, such as travel planning, driving, and vehicle management. At the same time, TTGs not only satisfy tourists’ needs to pursue “newness” by taking them to novel places but also try to secure tourists’ freedom and independence, which are the key strengths of individual trips.



Tourists' perception of the role of TTGs fell into four categories. Tourists appreciate their TTGs because of their in-depth local knowledge, a convenient and comfortable trip, considerateness, and the opportunity to visit new places. While the last three roles are duties that tour operators generally consider important, it was surprising to see how much tourists appreciated TTG's in-depth local knowledge.

First, the most appreciated factor by tourists was TTG's explanation (or interpretation) based on their in-depth knowledge of history, folk stories, geography, nature, and culture. Tourists mentioned that TTG's explanations were great "while driving" and "every time we passed by even very minor things." They considered this the biggest advantage of taxi tours compared to individual trips. Minhwa (33) described it as "the information that we will never be able to get by ourselves." In addition, some participants enjoyed taxi tours because the communication with TTGs satisfied their curiosity and allowed them to draw a new picture of Jeju Island after correcting some pre-existing biases. Also, the mom of a 10-year-old appreciated the fact that it was educational and beneficial for her son.

Along with cultural interpretation, tourists also had high opinions of and trust in local information provided by TTGs. Hyunmin (50) said, "I'm sure he would recommend the right place." Tourists admitted that they were in a dependent position with less information about local restaurants or attractions compared to TTGs. Moreover, since visiting local restaurants is "one of the must-do activities during travel" (Moonoh, late 30s), traveling without TTGs might add another burden in selecting guaranteed restaurants. When TTGs took tourists to selected places that are not touristy, they were highly appreciated by tourists. Tourists wanted TTGs to treat them in more customized and special manner.

Second, tourists regarded taxi tours as a more convenient and comfortable way of travelling with reasonable fares compared to rental cars or bus package trips. They showed their need to delegate extra burdens when traveling such as driving and organizing trips. Due to their

unfamiliarity with local areas, many participants were worried about getting lost or having car accidents. While female tourists had more concerns stemming from their poor driving skills, males just didn't want to drive on their vacations simply because they are too tired. In terms of organizing trips, it was a common idea that tourists wanted to experience as many things as possible in a limited amount of time. In order to reduce trial-and-error at tourism destinations, tourists expected their TTGs to take care of everything based on their needs. In addition, well-prepared decent vehicles were also a big benefit of taxi tours since tourists have to spend a lot of time in the cars during taxi tours.

Third, tourists appreciated their TTGs' consideration during the tour. Since all the tourist participants traveled with small groups, it is not surprising that there are different opinions among the members of the group. In such situations, tourists were satisfied when their TTGs naturally sensed their needs and became the mediator and supporter of their group. Also, some groups had a pregnant woman, kids, or a physically challenged individual. TTGs' consideration was impressive enough to bring a high level of appreciation and satisfaction. Participants recalled their specific memories of being touched by their TTGs' sincere support.

Fourth, tourist participants were thankful for their TTGs taking them to novel places. Tourists want to experience something new though there are many repeat visitors on Jeju Island. They were satisfied when their TTGs took them to the places where they had never been to or expected to visit. Individuals who had past travel experiences on Jeju mentioned that it would have been very difficult to find novel attractions by themselves, emphasizing the importance of the role of TTGs.

TTGs also perceived of themselves as crucial in Jeju Island tourism. Doorri (50) best described his role as a mediator or middleman, a concept underlined in the existing literature (Crompton, 1979; Holloway, 1981; Pearce, 1982; Quiroga, 1990): "we are located right in the middle between Jeju Island and tourists." TTGs considered their roles mainly as "the first

impression” and “the expert about Jeju Island;” these are almost the same as tourists’ responses. Tourists’ negative perception of their past travel experiences have been changed through current travel with their TTGs. Though they didn’t have high expectations prior to trips, tourists became highly satisfied after meeting their TTGs and experiencing taxi tours (Geva & Goldman, 1991; Zhang & Chow, 2004). TTGs were well aware of their influence on tourists’ satisfaction and after-trip behaviors. In addition, TTGs’ perception of their role as the expert about Jeju Island was also in line with what tourists’ appreciation on their in-depth local knowledge.

Keeping in mind that TTGs’ perceived of their roles as “the first impression” and “the expert,” embedded pride also played a significant role. Pride was linked to their background, their position as TTGs, and also their performances. Not surprisingly, pride of Jeju Island and the job as a TTG was mostly found among TTGs from Jeju Island. Specifically, TTG participants showed strong pride in their hometown or background, i.e. Jeju Island. Their mindsets to take care of *their* Jeju Island influenced their attitudes and behaviors. Inkee (early 60s) answered that he cared about his individual words with or attitudes towards all the tourists on Jeju Island which, he believed, influenced “the positive image of Jeju taxi.” In a similar context, their pride of Jeju Island was connected to the pride of Jeju as the best tourism destination. Some participants attempting to describe their own competitive edge compared the Island to alternative destinations, such as China, another destination for Island travel, ‘Hawaii,’ and other domestic destinations. When the unique beauty of Jeju is appreciated by tourists, TTGs were very happy. In addition, most TTGs considered the warm-hearted nature of Jeju people as distinctive. They wanted to communicate with tourists based on their sincerity and giving nature.

Second, TTGs were proud of their job and described it as “a wonderful job,” “the best job,” and “very satisfying.” Networks with customers which cannot be achieved by other types of tours (e.g., group package tours) were highly appreciated. TTGs said it is very rewarding that they were in touch with many old customers who later became frequent customers. When TTGs

described the pride in their job, their perception of themselves as “the expert” was again emphasized. Though customers have become smarter in part by the influence of the Internet, TTGs believed the information from the Internet could not compete with them. Also, in terms of the sensitive issues about “fares,” they believed their service was worthy of a certain amount of fare.

Third, the pride of TTGs’ in their performance was remarkable, too. Since most participants had long years of experience as TTGs, they wanted to share their stories based on pride. After-trip posting (ATP) was a parameter for them to evaluate their performances while it proved to be a tool for tourists to show their satisfaction and appreciation as well. It is very meaningful for them to read ATPs because they believed tourists writing postings when they go back home would be bothersome unless they are strongly satisfied with their travel experiences. Moreover, ATPs are believed to be one of the strongest tools to recruit other tourists. However, sometimes TTGs’ pride in their performance was overly expressed. They implicitly wanted me to recognize their effort and ability and reflect that in this research. It was sometimes difficult to bring them back to the main flow of the interview and being a young female researcher made it even harder.

In sum, the roles of TTGs were considered greatly important both among tourists and TTGs themselves. Despite limited expectations prior to trips, tourists were very satisfied with the taxi tours with their TTGs, which reinforces that TTGs play a significant role in tourists travel experience. TTGs were aware of their influence on tourists’ experiences as well while acting as “in-betweens” with much pride. However, it was found that TTGs have no specific title while the term ‘TTGs’ has been used in this study for convenience. Most tourists called them “driver” or “taxi driver” and even TTGs referred to themselves in the same way. Some additional constraints were also found among many TTGs, which will be discussed in the later section due to their unexpected strong influence on TTGs.

### **Perceptions of Culture-brokering and Cultural Experiences**

To assess TTGs' perception of their culture-brokering roles and tourists' perception of cultural experience, some indirect questions were asked first to the participants of each group due to the complexity of the concepts. Smith et al. (2009) indicated that asking direct questions to participants may not be helpful when research questions include abstract notions. They suggested "to facilitate the discussion of relevant topics" that will allow "the research question to be answered subsequently, via analysis" (p. 58).

Thus, two questions were asked to tourist participants including travel motivation and reasons for choosing a taxi tour. In the same context, TTGs were asked the other two questions such as the reason to start a taxi tour at the beginning and the competitive edge of a taxi tour compared to individual trips via rental cars and package tours. According to the responses, culture-brokering or cultural experience was neither the main reason to start a taxi tour or the main purpose of the trips (Fay, 1992; Weiler & Ham, 2001). However, in this study, tourists showed strong satisfaction with TTGs' explanation or interpretation after the tours (Geva & Goldman, 1991; Zhang & Chow, 2004). Also, TTGs described their relative strength as their interpretation compared to the other means of touring.

When the question about travel motivation was asked to see if tourists mention cultural experience or learning, the common responses were to "get out of daily routines" and "get some rest." Interestingly, there were some differences in the purpose of the trip found even in the same group. For example, in the same group, one participant was interested in cultural exchange while the other participant just wanted to have fun with his travel company. It was found that there are various travel motivations stemming from a number of different reasons; it means that not everyone expects cultural experiences or learning on Jeju Island.

Regarding the reason to choose a taxi tour, about half of tourists were influenced by their own past taxi tour experiences or the experiences by their family and friends while the others decided it because of “lack of time” or “physically-uncomfortable partner.” The reasons other than convenience or belief that ‘TTGs would have at least a little bit more knowledge than us’ were barely specified. However, tourists’ level of satisfaction was very high after the actual tour. It was found that actual travel experience exerts significant influence on their post trip behavior or attitude and their perception of taxi tour itself. The interpretation of TTGs was appreciated among most tourists afterwards.

From TTGs’ perspectives, cultural-brokering was not the main reason why they started a taxi tour service. The relative easiness of a driving job was the most frequently mentioned among both local and non-local TTGs; most TTGs who were born on Jeju Island used to drive other vehicles before they got involved in taxi tours and TTGs who came from other regions had to find any job to get accustomed to new environment when they first came to Jeju Island.

But it was interesting to hear them discuss their unique role compared to individual trips or package trips. TTGs considered their strengths as “providing further explanation,” “sincere heart,” and “real information about Jeju,” which are compatible with culture-brokering roles. As much as they are passionate about transferring their local knowledge to tourists (Cole, 2008), it was also considered important for them to absorb information and opinions from tourists. Some TTG participants mentioned that they felt rewarded when tourists gave them suggestions about operating taxi tours or Jeju’s tourism. They wanted to become middlemen who bring in external opinions about Jeju. On the other hand, there was a difference between TTGs who serve mainly domestic customers versus those who work with international customers. While the former perceived themselves as culture brokers, the latter focused on providing general service just as a driver guide; culture-brokering for them is ‘too much’ due to the language barrier. They even

mentioned the time constraint associated with improving their language skills to provide extra services.

Most participants responded to the indirect questions easily. But, in terms of the direct questions about the culture-brokering or cultural experience, few participants, either tourists or TTGs, gave specific answers. Their responses were rather short and vague due to the abstract and complex concept of culture.

As discussed above, the perceived importance of culture-brokering or cultural experience was somehow rooted in tourists' actual travel experiences and TTGs' mindset while several indirect questions revealed that these factors may not be the main concern of the participants in each group, tourists and TTGs. However, despite their positive perception of these factors, culture-brokering did not seem to be more strongly acknowledged by tourists and TTGs due to lack of understanding of the concept of culture-brokering among TTGs.

### **Perceptions of Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Local Background**

Tourists' perception of TTGs' local background was very clearly discussed. It was considered highly important for tourists that their TTG was born and grew up on Jeju Island because tourists believed it exerts an influence on their travel experiences. On the other hand, TTGs' responses were all different; some agreed that their local background does matter because of the vivid and correct local knowledge and information, but the others argued that these can be learned through personal effort and living experiences for long enough period of time. Some TTGs didn't have opinions on this matter.

All tourist participants agreed that TTGs' local background is important for their travel experiences and the main reasons are following: attachment and pride, more knowledge based on real experiences, sincerity and commitment, and reassurance. First, tourists believed that local TTGs' passion for introducing their island would be very high due to their attachment and pride. As discussed in the previous section, attachment and pride were found among TTGs' responses to the perception of themselves as well. In addition, tourists assumed implicitly that TTGs are supposed to know about Jeju Island, which makes them prefer having local TTGs. Their belief was strong that local TTGs would provide more rich and detailed stories during the trip. Moreover, tourists who mainly come from the mainland wanted to experience the uniquely sincere heart of Jeju people. They had prejudices that non-local TTGs are more profit-driven compared to local TTGs who have more genuine passion for tours. One tourist mentioned that traveling with a local TTG made him feel reassured because the guide kept his group safe from being taken advantage of.

In contrast, not every TTG considered their background as a crucial factor to satisfy customers. Some TTGs did agree that local background is important since they didn't like or want their non-local peers to deliver tourists incorrect information. They believed the deliver "correct



knowledge” is their “responsibility” stemming from the attachment to their hometown. However, the other TTGs argued that local knowledge could be attained through living experiences and their effort to develop themselves. They claimed that interpretation was one of the skills that need to be trained. A few participants were rather neutral with limited interest in this issue. Sunghoon (early 60s) answered that “I don’t think tourists know if we are from here or not,” while underestimating the importance of the local background that, in fact, turned out to be perceived as important by tourists.

Under the context of TTGs’ responses, the different priority of their roles was found to affect their perception on the importance of TTGs’ local background. There were a number of must-have qualities mentioned by TTGs which can be categorized as follows: basic attitude, qualities as a service provider, and qualities as a culture broker. Some TTGs believed that most of required qualities could be trained for a certain amount of time and effort because what they mainly focus on for their tour operation was basic attitudes and qualities as a service provider. For example, the former includes general qualities that can be applied to any other jobs like “do your best,” “trust,” “positive mindset,” and “consistent effort” and the latter involves service-oriented approaches such as “understanding customers’ needs,” “differentiated service,” and “first impression management.” However, the other side of TTGs would argue that the attachment to Jeju Island should be laid even underneath these general qualities or service-oriented qualities. They strongly believed that their identity as Jeju people and followed trustful interpretation are distinctive crucial factors that can’t be competed with non-local TTGs.

In summary, perception of TTGs’ local background was somewhat different between tourist and TTG participants. While tourists saw many benefits with traveling with TTGs from the local area, TTGs did not consider it as important as tourists did. If the local background itself is perceived as the competitive edge of local residents, it would benefit sustainable tourism of Jeju Island by fully building upon “local-only” as a strength.

### **Constraints and Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs)' Coping Strategies**

Most TTGs did their best on taxi tour operations while being aware of the importance of their positions in Jeju tourism. However, the results of this study included a heavy volume of constraints that discourage TTGs despite the perceived importance of culture-brokering and local background. The most serious issue was the “irrational fare system” which does not allow TTGs to secure a minimum level of income. Moreover, there was no feasible solution since it is inextricably linked with the gigantic, organic, travel agencies. All the TTGs brought up this issue seriously with endless, previously suppressed, stories and complaints.

The issue of an irrational fare system was caused mainly by the mixture of two factors: customers' infinite need for “cheaper and cheaper” and travel agencies that attempt to satisfy this need. Travel agencies have no loss as far because they receive a certain amount of commission from the TTGs they hire. However, since their main purpose in operating taxi tours is to recruit more tourists while keeping the fares of taxi tour products low, two further phenomena occur: negligence in terms of quality and a limited guarantee of business for TTGs. Thus, TTGs ended up not making enough money for a living. Unfortunately, they don't have other options because the independent operation of taxi tours does not guarantee enough recruitment of tourists. Sometimes they have to do extra part-time work by taking general passengers if they can't secure tours.

Moreover, TTGs showed their frustration caused by negative impact from this issue of fare system. They mentioned that it is very difficult to break the negative loop of tourists' unsatisfactory travel experience, prejudices of “rip-off,” damaged image of Jeju, negative word of mouth, and influence of media magnifying this loop. Mostly, loss of trust was perceived as one of the most serious and frustrating issues.

There were also additional external, too. TTGs discussed the negative impacts stemming from “increasing amount of rental cars,” “lack of flights,” “too much development of Jeju Island,” and “too many private tourism attractions.” In the center of their complaints and frustration, there was a conflict between the reality and their strong hope to revitalize taxi tours and Jeju tourism as well as affection of Jeju Island. For example, responding to the lack of flights, Inkee (early 60s) said, “our well-prepared service means nothing if tourist can’t make trips.” Regarding too much development of Jeju, Soonho (mid 40s), Doorri (50), and Yoonchan (mid 40s) mentioned, regrettably, that the unique character of Jeju Island has disappeared.

The study results also indicated how TTGs’ cope with constraints. “Pathfinders” tried to make proactive efforts against them with a positive mindset whereas “free riders” provided tourists with a minimum level of services. The TTGs in the former group considered themselves as the primary agent to create change in this difficult situation. They tried not to allow their hardship to overwhelm their roles and responsibility while emphasizing a proactive attitude and prepared service. Though it is important to sense tourists’ needs and customize their service, their belief that “we need to do our best regardless of difficulties” was their driving force. Moreover, one TTG mentioned that they should not just blame the situation but feel responsibility. On the other hand, several TTGs with relatively a passive attitude were so heavily influenced by the current situation that they allowed their identity as culture brokers to be taken away. They assumed that tourists would not seriously care about them or their roles. The main features of this group were either aggressive complaining about the current situation or a depressed mindset.

Considering the fact that constraints influence TTGs’ attitude and their taxi tour operation, finding solutions of these actual issues will definitely be required. However, along with this direct approach, I found the awareness of their roles and the identity as culture brokers would be very important to motivate them to work with a positive attitude that, eventually, will lead to change in Jeju tourism.

### **Local Tour Guides as Culture Brokers: Taxi Tour Guides (TTGs) on Jeju Island**

According to the findings of this study, TTGs serve a number of roles during taxi tours and tourists were satisfied with their experiences. In particular, culture-brokering roles were located in the center of TTGs' multiple responsibilities. Tourists' perceived the strength of taxi tours can be summarized as "personalized comfortable tour by local tour guides with clear explanation and trustworthy information." Since taxi tour provides benefits with no higher expenses compared to the other means of travel, tourists would be willing to travel with TTGs if they find meaningful factors from taxi tours.

There are a number of TTGs' roles and responsibilities as culture brokers found in this study. Basically, they want to introduce Jeju Island to tourists including its geography, history, and culture based on well-organized knowledge and their lived experience. The TTG sometimes corrects tourists' incorrect knowledge based on prejudice and builds up a positive image of Jeju. They also become a bridge between tourists and locals, which provides tourists more opportunities to actually feel Jeju Island. Translating the local language is another important role because language and culture are inseparable. It brings tourists more exoticness as well though they don't necessarily have to know the local language.

Likewise, TTGs act as culture brokers between Jeju Island and tourists. They provide satisfactory travel experiences to tourists as "in-betweens," "first impressions," and "mirrors." As representatives of Jeju Island, the shared opinions of Jeju people are delivered to tourists and, at the same time, external opinions are introduced via TTGs as culture brokers. To serve this role for TTGs, local background was strongly appreciated among tourists. Tourists preferred TTGs who were born and grew up on Jeju Island to non-local TTGs because they believed it is the best way to feel the real Jeju.

In this study, there are several important factors that allow culture-brokering roles to be served appropriately: living experience, attachment to and pride of community, and the unique nature of the local people. Though expertise and the qualities required for service providers or general tour guides are needed for TTGs, they become truly important culture brokers when the qualities stemming from their local background fully supports them. Every job requires its own expertise. But the features above not only make TTGs' expertise "real," in other words, "correct" and "sincere," but also bring tourists' trust to TTGs. For example, well-trained TTGs without strong bonds to the community would not be able to deeply impress tourists despite a great deal of knowledge that they might have. In addition, when local TTGs work as culture brokers, a proactive attitude toward reality and constraints would come out naturally based on their willingness to preserve their island and their strong identity as culture brokers.

Tourists' level of satisfaction on their taxi tour experiences was very high. Due to unfamiliarity about travelling with a stranger or lack of past experiences, few tourists had limited expectations prior to trips. But they became highly satisfied once they experienced tours in which TTGs' culture-brokering roles were mainly exhibited. However, most TTGs didn't consider their culture-brokering roles as the key factor that brings tourists' satisfaction while they were vaguely aware of its importance.

Moreover, tourists' preference for local TTGs was extremely high as evidenced by their claims that their travel wouldn't have been satisfactory if they had traveled with non-local guides. In contrast, TTGs didn't agree on the importance of their local background. There are strong needs to build the awareness that local background itself could be a starting point to make a difference in their tours.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Conclusion**

The purpose of this study was to probe the importance of the roles of local tour guides as culture brokers, particularly in the case of taxi tour guides (TTGs) on Jeju Island, Korea. A qualitative approach via phenomenological analysis was utilized to answer research questions about the perception of the TTGs' roles, culture experiences or culture-brokering, and TTGs' local background along with the observed roles of TTGs as culture brokers. By approaching these issues from two different perspectives, those of tourists and of TTGs, this study dealt with the taxi tour phenomenon with vivid and in-depth description.

With respect to the first research question, "How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive the role of taxi tour guides?" the findings of the study indicated that both parties perceived TTGs' roles as important. Tourists' travel experience with TTGs exerts huge influence on their satisfaction while TTGs' were also aware of their crucial position in Jeju tourism and worked with pride. Their awareness of the importance of TTGs' roles increased trust and emotional attachment between tourists and TTGs, which, ultimately, enhanced the "depth of the experience" of tourists (Costa, 2009, p. 185).

In terms of the second research question – "How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive cultural experiences or culture-brokering?" – indirect questions allowed both tourists and TTGs to give more specific answers instead of direct questions due to the complexity of the culture concept. The most satisfying factor in tourists' experience was explanation or interpretation by TTGs, and, in the same context, TTGs considered their explanation as the key difference from the other means of travel such as rental cars or package trips. As many researchers have suggested, the results of this study show that culture-brokering by mediating and interpretation is the

important role of tour guides (Ap & Wong, 2001; Cohen, 1985; Gray, 1993; Michie, 2004; Moscardo, 1996; Reisinger & Seiner, 2006; Weiler & Ham, 2001).

The findings for the third research question – “How do tourists and taxi tour guides perceive the difference between local and non-local tourists?” – indicated that tourists considered TTGs from Jeju Island would provide the best explanations, which makes TTGs’ local background very important. However, not all the TTGs agreed that their local background could be a competitive edge. This different perception of TTGs’ local background between tourists and TTGs suggests that there is a strong need to study the local background of tour guides, something which has not received much attention by researchers.

Overall findings led to the specific description of the roles of TTGs on Jeju Island and answered the last research question, “What, exactly, do taxi tour guides do; that is, how do they act as culture brokers?” Some constraints were found to hinder TTGs from working as culture brokers properly while looking at tourists and TTGs’ perceptions of several factors as discussed above. Facing these constraints, despite the passive mindset of some free-riders, many TTGs have attempted to secure their roles as culture brokers by positive and proactive attitude as pathfinders.

This study is meaningful since it contributes to the gap in the current literature in terms of the following. First, it targets the roles of local tour guides instead of a general approach to tour guides. Despite the distinctive role of local tour guides, they have been studied as a homogenous unit. Second, multiple perspectives help better understanding of the taxi tour phenomena. The viewpoints both from tourists and TTGs were compared and contrasted and I as a researcher and participant observer provided the context of the taxi tour. Third, a qualitative approach was taken to investigate the topic. Quantitative studies have comprised the majority of tourism research, especially the study of tour guides in Korea. This study attempted to achieve depth and a realistic portrayal of the phenomena from participants’ lived experiences instead of quantitatively measuring presumably relevant factors.

TTGs play an important role in Jeju tourism as a bridge between tourists and local community. Their individually customized service along with interpretation from local tour guides make them distinctive from other types of trips. Local tour guides are believed to act as culture brokers and they provide quality experiences to tourists. In order to appeal to their strength, TTGs must provide something unique to tourists. Instead of simply considering themselves as a mode of transportation for tourists, their local background should be acknowledged as one of their core strengths by delivering cultural knowledge. TTGs need to be aware that their culture-brokering will enhance tourists' cultural understanding as well as create a positive image of Jeju Island. In the long-term perspective, TTGs as culture brokers will benefit both tourists and local communities, and become key players in building a sustainable tourism industry on Jeju Island.



### **Limitations**

This study contains several limitations that need to be discussed. First, the sampling has inherent biases. Tourist participants were recruited by recommendation from taxi tour guides. They introduced their loyal customers or tourists who likely had positive impressions. This might hinder a researcher from receiving balanced opinions about taxi tours. Nearly all of the participants discussed positive aspects of their experiences with taxi tour guides. In a similar context, most tour guides were referred by two to three key informants and most of them have a lot of experience. Due to lack of variety in the sample, the perspective of taxi tour guides could not be captured. In addition, I did not interview tourists who chose rental cars or bus tours for their trips though some other possibilities may be considered: they either hold other opinions of taxi tours or are just satisfied with their trips as those who chose taxi tours, or they don't know about taxi tours.

Second, participant observation was limited due to some constraints such as budget, time, and situations. One of the taxi tour guide participants advised that it would have been better to participate in not only several taxi tours but also package trips and to observe more details of the roles of TTGs. However, observation of taxi tours naturally interrupts tourists' personal space during their vacation as well as it costs more time and money.

Third, it is plausible that being a young female researcher affected the interview situations, despite the several advantages. Since Korean society has been heavily influenced by Confucianism, age and gender do matter in the conversation. I had to be careful not to offend TTG participants because most of them were males and much older than me. In some of the interviews, I failed to control the flow when some participants attempted to lead the conversation, which often led it off topic.

### **Directions for Future Research**

The study's findings and limitations suggest possible research directions for future research. First, it would be possible to have a more varied sample. For example, both satisfied and dissatisfied tourists could be recruited. Also, TTG samples can be selected who have experiences at a different period, who have different ways of tour operation, and who are employed in different ways. This would enable researchers to capture various voices of tourists and TTGs.

Second, constraints that obstruct TTGs from acting as culture brokers should be further investigated. The policy of the local government, the structure of travel agencies, the tourism industry on Jeju Island, and the current situation in rental car markets need to be examined to analyze environmental obstacles facing TTGs. It would enable the discovery of implementation strategies that could help TTGs to overcome their constraints and motivate themselves to become culture brokers.

Third, it would be interesting to study local tour guides as culture brokers in other parts of Korea. For example, cultural interpreters have been trained to interpret local cultural and historical tourism attractions. They can be one of the great examples to help us understand the roles of local tour guides as culture brokers.

Finally, I would like to suggest conducting a cross-cultural study of local tour guides. Comparing the roles of local tour guides in different cultural contexts would produce more comprehensive understating of culture-brokering roles.

## References

- Andereck, K. L., Valentine, K. M., Knopf, R. C., & Vogt, C. A. (2005). Residents' perceptions of community tourism impacts. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(4), 1056-1076.
- Ap, J., & Wong, K. (2001). Case study on tour guiding: Professionalism, issues and problems. *Tourism Management*, 22, 551-563.
- Besculides, A., Lee, M. E., & McCormick, P. J. (2002). Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(2), 303-319.
- Brown, N. (1992). Beachboys as culture brokers in Bakau Town, The Gambia. *Community Development Journal*, 27(4), 361-370
- Burns, P. (1999). *An introduction to tourism & anthropology*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Chambers, E. (1997). *Tourism and culture: An applied perspective*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Cohen, E. (1985). The tourist guide: The origins, structure and dynamics of a role. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 12, 5-29.
- Cole, S. (2008). *Tourism, culture, and development: Hopes, dreams, and realities in East Indonesia*. Tonawanda, NY: Channel view publications.
- Costa, K. A. (2009). *Coach fellas: Heritage and Tourism in Ireland*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Crabtree, B. F., & Miller, W. L. (1999). *Doing qualitative research (2<sup>nd</sup> edition)*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. (1998). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five traditions*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.

- Crompton, J. L. (1979). Dimensions of the social group in pleasure vacations. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8(4), 550-568.
- Decrop, A. (1999). Tourists' decision-making and behavior processes. In A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld (Eds.), *Consumer behavior in travel and tourism* (pp. 103-134). Binghamton, NY: The Haworth Press, Inc.
- Evans, N. (1976). Tourism and cross cultural communication. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 3(4), 189-198
- Fay, B. (1992). *Essentials of tour management*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Gentemann, K., & Whitehead, T. (1983). The cultural broker concept in bicultural education. *Journal of Negro Education*, 52(2), 118-129.
- Geva, A. & Goldman, A. (1991). Satisfaction measurement in guided tours. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 18(2), 177-185.
- Gray, G. (1993). *Wildlife and people*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press.
- Holloway, J. C. (1981). The guided Tour: A Sociological Approach. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 8(3), 377-402.
- Hughes, K. (1991). Tourist satisfaction: A guided cultural tour in North Queensland. *Australian Psychologist*, 26(3), 166-171.
- Jackson, M., White, G., & Schmierer, C. (1996). Tourism experiences within an attributional framework. *Annals of tourism research*, 23(4), 798-810.
- Jeju cultural center (2006). In *Jeju Cultural Center*. Retrieved March 12, 2010, from <http://jejucc.kccf.or.kr/>
- Jeju Special Self-Governing Province. (2010). *Annual report of culture, transportation, tourism & sports of Jeju Special Self-Governing Province*. <http://www.jeju.go.kr>

- Jenning, G., & Weiler, B. (2006). Mediating meaning: Perspectives on brokering quality tourist experiences. In G. Jennings & N. P. Nickerson (Eds.), *Quality tourism experiences* (pp. 57-80). Burlington, MA: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann publications.
- Jezewski, M., & Sotnik, P. (2005). Disability service providers as culture brokers. In J. Stone (Ed.), *Culture and disability: Providing culturally competent services* (pp. 37-64). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Jones, C., & Trickett, E. (2005). Immigrant adolescents behaving as culture brokers: A study of families from the former Soviet Union. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 145(4), 405-427.
- Jurowski, C., Uysal, M., & Williams, R.D. (1997). A theoretical analysis of host community resident reactions to tourism. *Journal of Travel Research*, 36(2), 3-11.
- Mason, P., & Cheyne, J. (2000). Residents' attitudes to proposed tourism development. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(2), 391-411.
- Maxwell, J. A. (2005). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications, Inc.
- McCool, S. F., & Martin, S. R. (1994). Community attachment and attitudes toward tourism development. *Journal of Travel Research*, 32(3), 29-34.
- McDowell, I. (2001). The role of tour guide in transferring cultural understanding: Working paper No. 3.
- Michie, M. (2004). Teaching science to indigenous students: Teacher as culture broker or is it something else? Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the National Association for Research in Science Teaching. Vancouver, Canada, April.
- Miller-Day, M. A. (2004). *Communication among grandmothers, mothers, and adult daughters: A qualitative study of maternal relationships*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Moscardo, G. (1996). Mindful visitors: Heritage and tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 23(2), 376-397.

- Pearce, P. (1982). *The Social Psychology of Tourist Behavior*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Pearce, P. (1984). Tourist-guide interaction. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(1), 129-146.
- Phillimore, J. & Goodson, L. (2004). *Qualitative research in tourism: Ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Press, I. (1969). Ambiguity and innovation: Implications for the genesis of the culture broker. *American Anthropologist*, 71, 206-217.
- QSR International (2008). Nvivo (Version 8.0) [Computer software]. Melbourne, Australia: QSR International Pty Ltd. More information available at [http://www.qsrinternational.com/products\\_nvivo.aspx](http://www.qsrinternational.com/products_nvivo.aspx).
- Quiroga, I. (1990). Characteristics of package tours in Europe. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 17(1), 185-207.
- Reisinger, Y., & Seiner, C. (2006). Reconceptualising interpretation: The role of tour guides in authentic tourism. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 9(6), 481-498.
- Riley, R. W., & Love, L. L. (2000). The state of qualitative tourism research. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(1), 164-187.
- Rubin, H., & Rubin, I. (2005). *Qualitative interviewing: The art of hearing data*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage publications.
- Schwab, B., Drake, R., & Burghardt, E. (1988). Health care of the chronically mentally ill: The culture broker model. *Community Mental Health Journal*, 24(3), 174-184.
- Smith, J. A., Flowers, P., & Larkin, M. (2009). *Interpretative phenomenological analysis: Theory, method and research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Spradley, J. P. (1980). *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Reinhart, & Winston.
- Theobald, W. F. (1998). *Global Tourism (2nd edition)*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann.
- Tussyadiah, I., & Fesenmaier, D. (2009). Mediating tourist experiences: Access to place via shared videos. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 36(1), 24-40.

- Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive culture* (Vol. 2). London, UK: John Murray.
- Um, S., & Crompton, J. L. (1987). Measuring resident's attachment levels in a host community. *Journal of Travel Research*, 26(1), 27.
- Weiler, B. & Ham, S. H. (2001). Tour guides and interpretation. In D. B. Weaver (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of ecotourism* (pp. 549-563). London, UK: CABI Publishing.
- Werner, C. (2003). The new silk road: Mediators and tourism development in Central Asia. *Ethnology*, 42(2), 141-159.
- Wyatt, J. D. (1978-79). Native involvement in curriculum development: The native teacher as cultural broker. *Interchange: A Journal of Educational Studies*, 9, 17-28.
- Willigen, J. V. (2002). *Applied anthropology: An introduction (3rd edition)*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc.
- Yu, X., Weiler, B., & Ham, S. (2004). Cultural mediation in guided tour experiences. In G. R. Jennings (Ed.), *New frontiers in tourism research: Vol. 16. International Society of Travel and Tourism Educators* (pp. 83-95). St Clair Shores, MI: International Society of Travel and Tourism Educators.
- Zhang, H., & Chow, I. (2004). Application of importance-performance model in tour guides' performance: Evidence from mainland Chinese outbound visitors in Hong Kong. *Tourism Management*, 25(1), 81-91.

**Appendix A****Informed Consent Forms: Tour Guides & Tourists (English/Korean)**



**Implied Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research**  
The Pennsylvania State University

**Title of Project:** Taxi tour guides and Tourism: Culture Brokers on Jeju Island, Korea

**Principal Investigator:** So Young Bae, Graduate Student  
811 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802  
(814) 404-5987; [szb170@psu.edu](mailto:szb170@psu.edu)

**Advisor:** Dr. Garry Chick  
801 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802  
(814) 863-1941; [gchick@psu.edu](mailto:gchick@psu.edu)

1. **Purpose of the Research:** The purpose of this research is to probe the importance of the role of local tour guides as culture brokers. The perspectives of tourists and taxi tour guides will be examined regarding three areas of inquiry: their perception of taxi tour guides, cultural experience/brokering, and local background of tour guides. This research study that includes interview and participant observations will be conducted for research purposes.
2. **Procedures to be Followed:** You will be asked to participate to interviews. A total eight to ten questions will be asked. In addition, the researcher may join your tour for one day and ask some questions. Your answers during the interview and participant observation will be recorded with a digital voice recorder.
3. **Benefits:** This research will provide information of how tourists evaluate their travel experiences with taxi tour guides. You will be able to learn how your tourism operation relates with sharing your culture. In the long-term perspective, this research will support sustainable cultural tourism of Jeju Island.
4. **Duration/Time:** It will take about half an hour to one hour, which may be flexible.
5. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The survey does not ask for any information that would identify who the responses belong to. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared because your name is in no way linked to your responses. Digital recording files which are obtained during interviews will be stored in the primary investigator's laptop locked with password and accessed only by the primary investigator. They will be destroyed in May 2014.
6. **Right to Ask Questions:** Please contact So Young Bae at 814-404-5987 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research.
7. **Payment for Participation:** Small gift (\$10) will be given for participation of this research.
8. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this research will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study. Completion and return of the survey implies that you have read the information in this form and consent to take part in the research.

**Implied Informed Consent Form for Social Science Research**  
The Pennsylvania State University

**Title of Project:** Taxi tour guides and Tourism: Culture Brokers on Jeju Island, Korea

**Principal Investigator:** So Young Bae, Graduate Student  
811 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802  
(814) 404-5987; [szb170@psu.edu](mailto:szb170@psu.edu)

**Advisor:** Dr. Garry Chick  
801 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802  
(814) 863-1941; [gchick@psu.edu](mailto:gchick@psu.edu)

1. **Purpose of the Research:** The purpose of this research is to probe the importance of the role of local tour guides as culture brokers. The perspectives of tourists and taxi tour guides will be examined regarding three areas of inquiry: their perception of taxi tour guides, cultural experience/brokering, and local background of tour guides. This research study that includes interview will be conducted for research purposes.
2. **Procedures to be Followed:** You will be asked to participate to in-depth interviews. A total of eight to ten questions will be asked about your travel experiences with taxi tour guides. Your answers will be recorded with a digital voice recorder.
3. **Benefits:** You will be able to evaluate your travel experiences and support the research on cultural tourism provided by taxi tour guides, which will help other tourists enjoy quality tourism experiences in the future.
4. **Duration/Time:** It will take about half an hour to one hour, which may be flexible.
5. **Statement of Confidentiality:** Your participation in this research is confidential. The survey does not ask for any information that would identify who the responses belong to. In the event of any publication or presentation resulting from the research, no personally identifiable information will be shared because your name is in no way linked to your responses. Digital recording files which are obtained during interviews will be stored in the primary investigator's laptop locked with password and accessed only by the primary investigator. They will be destroyed in May 2014.
6. **Right to Ask Questions:** Please contact So Young Bae at 814-404-5987 with questions, complaints or concerns about this research.
7. **Payment for Participation:** Dinner coupon (\$30) will be given per each group.
8. **Voluntary Participation:** Your decision to be in this research is voluntary. You can stop at any time. You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to answer. Refusal to take part in or withdrawing from this research will involve no penalty or loss of benefits you would receive otherwise.

You must be 18 years of age or older to take part in this research study. Completion and return of the survey implies that you have read the information in this form and consent to take part in the research.

사회과학연구를 위한 참여동의서 - 펜실베이니아주립대학

**연구제목:** 택시가이드와 관광: 제주도의 문화중개인

**연구자:** 배소영 (석사과정)  
811 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802, USA  
+1 814-404-5987; [szb170@psu.edu](mailto:szb170@psu.edu)

**지도교수:** Dr. Garry Chick  
801 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802, USA  
+1 814-863-1941; [gchick@psu.edu](mailto:gchick@psu.edu)

1. **연구목적:** 본 연구의 목적은 문화매개자로서의 지역출신 관광가이드의 역할을 규명하는데 있습니다. 이를 위해 관광객과 택시관광가이드의 관점을 택시관광가이드에 대한 인식, 문화체험/문화중개, 택시관광가이드의 출신지역, 이상 세 가지 측면에서 살펴볼 것입니다. 인터뷰 및 관찰이 포함되는 본 연구는 연구 목적으로 진행됩니다.
2. **진행과정:** 여러분은 심층 인터뷰에 참여하게 될 것이며, 약 8-10 가지의 질문이 주어질 것입니다. 일부 택시관광가이드분들의 경우, 연구자가 사전 양해를 구한 후 직접 택시관광을 하룻동안 체험한 뒤 연구와 관련된 질문을 드리게 될 것입니다. 여러분의 응답은 디지털녹음기로 녹음될 수 있습니다.
3. **참여혜택:** 본 연구는 관광객들이 택시관광을 통한 관광경험을 어떻게 평가하는지에 대한 정보를 제공하게 될 것입니다. 더불어, 여러분들은 각자 제공하시는 택시관광과 제주도의 문화공유의 관계에 대해 다시 한 번 명확히 알게 될 것입니다. 장기적으로, 본 연구는 제주도의 지속적인 문화관광을 지원하게 될 것입니다.
4. **참여시간:** 인터뷰는 약 30 분에서 1 시간 가량 소요될 예정이나, 상황에 따라 다소 달라질 수 있습니다.
5. **익명성 보장:** 본 연구에 대한 여러분의 참여는 익명성이 보장됩니다. 개인정보가 드러날 수 있는 질문을 드리지 않을 것입니다. 공적으로 출간되는 어떠한 결과물에 있어서는 개인정보가 드러날 수 있는 어떠한 사항도 표기하지 않을 것입니다. 인터뷰 중에 녹음된 파일은 제 1 연구자의 개인노트북에 잠금 상태로 보관될 것이며, 제 1 연구자에 의해서만 관리될 것입니다. 모든 녹음 파일은 2014 년 5 월에 파기될 예정입니다.
6. **질문할 권리:** 본 연구에 관해 궁금하신 점이 있으시면 배소영(+1 814-404-5987)에게 연락주십시오.
7. **보상:** 연구에 참여하시는 분들께는 일만원 상당의 소정의 선물이 제공될 것입니다.
8. **자발적 참여:** 연구참여에 대한 결정은 철저히 자발성에 근거합니다. 언제든 중단하셔도 좋습니다. 원치 않는 질문에 대해 답변하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 본 연구의 참여를 거절하시거나 중도에 참여의사를 철회하셔도 어떠한 개인적 손해도 발생하지 않을 것입니다.

18 세 이상 성인만 본 연구에 참여하실 수 있습니다.

연구참여에 동의하시고 관련된 모든 사항을 숙지하셨다면, 본 동의서를 연구자에게 돌려주시면 됩니다.

사회과학연구를 위한 참여동의서 - 펜실베이니아주립대학

**연구제목:** 택시가이드와 관광: 제주도의 문화중개인

**연구자:** 배소영 (석사과정)  
811 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802, USA  
+1 814-404-5987; [szb170@psu.edu](mailto:szb170@psu.edu)

**지도교수:** Dr. Garry Chick  
801 Ford Building  
University Park, PA 16802, USA  
+1 814-863-1941; [gchick@psu.edu](mailto:gchick@psu.edu)

1. **연구목적:** 본 연구의 목적은 문화매개자로서의 지역출신 관광가이드의 역할을 규명하는데 있습니다. 이를 위해 관광객과 택시관광가이드의 관점을 택시관광가이드에 대한 인식, 문화체험/문화중개, 택시관광가이드의 출신지역, 이상 세 가지 측면에서 살펴볼 것입니다. 인터뷰가 포함되는 본 연구는 연구 목적으로 진행됩니다.
2. **진행과정:** 여러분은 심층 인터뷰에 참여하게 될 것이며, 택시관광경험과 관련하여 약 8-10 가지의 질문이 주어질 것입니다. 여러분의 응답은 디지털녹음기로 녹음될 수 있습니다.
3. **참여혜택:** 본 연구를 통해 여러분들은 택시관광경험을 돌아볼 수 있을 것이며, 제주도의 문화관광에 대한 연구를 지원하게 될 것입니다. 이를 통해 장기적으로 제주도를 방문하는 관광객들의 질 높은 관광경험을 돕게 될 것입니다.
4. **참여시간:** 인터뷰는 약 30 분에서 1 시간 가량 소요될 예정이나, 상황에 따라 다소 달라질 수 있습니다.
5. **익명성 보장:** 본 연구에 대한 여러분의 참여는 익명성이 보장됩니다. 개인정보가 드러날 수 있는 질문을 드리지 않을 것입니다. 공적으로 출간되는 어떠한 결과물에 있어서는 개인정보가 드러날 수 있는 어떠한 사항도 표기하지 않을 것입니다. 인터뷰 중에 녹음된 파일은 제 1 연구자의 개인노트북에 잠금 상태로 보관될 것이며, 제 1 연구자에 의해서만 관리될 것입니다. 모든 녹음 파일은 2014 년 5 월에 파기될 예정입니다.
6. **질문할 권리:** 본 연구에 관해 궁금하신 점이 있으시면 배소영(+1 814-404-5987)에게 연락주십시오.
7. **보상:** 연구에 참여하시는 분들께는 참여그룹 당 약 3 만원 상당의 저녁식사 쿠폰이 제공될 것입니다.
8. **자발적 참여:** 연구참여에 대한 결정은 철저히 자발성에 근거합니다. 언제든지 중단하셔도 좋습니다. 원치 않는 질문에 대해 답변하지 않으셔도 됩니다. 본 연구의 참여를 거절하시거나 중도에 참여의사를 철회하셔도 어떠한 개인적 손해도 발생하지 않을 것입니다.

18 세 이상 성인만 본 연구에 참여하실 수 있습니다.

연구참여에 동의하시고 관련된 모든 사항을 숙지하셨다면, 본 동의서를 연구자에게 돌려주시면 됩니다.

## **Appendix B**

### **Interview Guide: Sample Questions (English/Korean)**

**RQ1: How do tourists describe their experiences with taxi tour guides?**

1. What did you expect from the taxi tour guide before the trips? Why?
2. Can you explain your tour experience with your taxi tour guide?

**RQ2: How important is, and what does cultural experience/learning mean, to tourists?**

1. What made you decide to travel with a taxi tour guide?
2. What does cultural experience or learning mean to you?
3. What do you think is the best way to learn about another culture?

**RQ3: How does the background of taxi tour guides influence tourists' experience?**

1. What characteristics of a taxi tour guide do you think make him an effective tour guide?
2. How important is the fact that your tour guide is from Jeju Island? Does it influence your travel experiences?

**RQ4: How do taxi tour guides perceive themselves/their roles?**

1. Can you explain what you do as a tour guide? How do you perceive your role as a tour guide?
2. How do you want to be perceived by tourists?
3. What parts of your job do you like or dislike?
4. When do you enjoy your job the most?

**RQ5: What does the culture-brokering role mean to taxi tour guides?**

1. When did you start providing taxi tours? What led you to do this?
2. What motivates you to continue to do this job?
3. What does sharing your culture mean to you?
4. How do you feel when tourists show deep interest to your culture?
5. Do you modify what you share with tourists? Why or why not?

**RQ6: How does their background influence their tour operation?**

1. How do you think of your culture?
2. What characteristics do you think make you become an effective tourism provider?
3. Is there any difference between tourism providers with a sense of attachment to their community and ones without it? How do you see the difference in terms of tourism operation?

## 인터뷰 가이드

### 연구질문 1: 관광객들은 택시관광가이드와의 관광경험을 어떻게 묘사하는가?

1. 여행을 떠나기 전, 택시관광가이드로부터 무엇을 기대하고 오셨습니까?
2. 택시관광가이드와 함께 하는 관광경험이 어떠했습니까?

### 연구질문 2: 문화체험 혹은 문화를 통한 배움이 관광객들에게 어떠한 의미인가?

1. 택시관광가이드와 함께 여행을하기로 결정한 계기가 무엇입니까?
2. 문화체험 혹은 문화를 통한 배움이 여러분에게 어떠한 의미입니까?
3. 다른 문화를 가장 잘 배울 수 있는 방법이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?

### 연구질문 3: 택시관광가이드의 출신지역이 관광객의 관광경험에 어떠한 영향을 미치는가?

1. 택시관광가이드의 어떠한 성향/성격/자질이 여러분에게 와닿았습니까?
2. 제주도 출신의 가이드라는 사실이 중요하다고 생각하십니까? 그것이 여러분의 관광경험에 영향을 주었습니까?

### 연구질문 4: 택시관광가이드는 그들 스스로의 역할을 어떻게 규정하는가?

1. 관광가이드로서 어떠한 일을 하고 있는지 설명해주십시오. 관광가이드의 역할이 무엇이라고 생각하십니까?
2. 관광객들에게 어떻게 인식/평가되기를 원하십니까?
3. 관광가이드라는 직업의 좋은 점과 어려운 점은 무엇입니까?
4. 관광가이드로서 가장 즐거운 일은 무엇입니까?

### 연구질문 5: 문화중개인 역할이 택시관광가이드에게 어떠한 의미인가?

1. 택시관광을 언제 시작하셨습니까? 왜 시작하게 되셨습니까?
2. 어떠한 요소가 택시관광가이드 일을 계속하도록 동기를 부여해줍니까?
3. 제주도의 문화를 다른 사람에게 공유한다는 것이 어떠한 의미입니까?
4. 관광객들이 제주도 문화에 깊은 관심을 가질 때 어떻게 느끼십니까?

### 연구질문 6: 지역적 출신배경이 관광가이드로서의 역할에 어떠한 영향을 미치는가?

1. 제주도의 문화에 대해 어떻게 생각하십니까?
2. 여러분의 어떠한 성향/성격/자질이 여러분을 훌륭한 관광가이드로 만들어줍니까?
3. 지역에 대한 애착을 가진 관광가이드와 그렇지 않은 관광가이드에 차이가 있다고 생각하십니까? 관광가이드 일에 있어 어떻게 다르게 영향을 미친다고 생각하십니까?