

UNPACKING CULTURAL TOURISM

by

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Abstract

Mass tourism is arguably the largest industry in the world, generating billions of dollars in revenue and creating millions of jobs every year. Many critics, however, complain that mass tourism has caused unacceptable social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts, and therefore recommend and support alternative forms of tourism development as potential solutions.

Among these alternative forms is cultural tourism, which is a segment of the tourism industry occurring when people are motivated wholly or in part to explore or experience the different ways of life and/or ideas of other people, reflecting the social customs, religious traditions and cultural heritage which may be unfamiliar. Professed to have positive impacts, cultural tourism is believed, among other things, to establish and reinforce identity, preserve cultural and historical heritage and facilitate harmony and understanding among people, ultimately encouraging a less damaging and more sustainable form of tourism.

This thesis evaluates the claim that cultural tourism is indeed a less destructive and more sustainable form of tourism development. Using academic literature drawn from a variety of disciplines, including tourism studies, sociology and geography, as well as case studies and a variety of tourism industry documents, it is determined that cultural tourism is not a panacea to the ills of mass tourism. My review of published research

suggests that the negative impacts normally attributed to mass tourism are also present in areas where cultural tourism is developed. In addition, cultural tourism creates its own unique problems, stemming in large part from the commodification of culture for touristic purposes.

This thesis concludes with a proposal for a number of recommendations and strategies focused on increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs of cultural tourism development.

Dedication

For my Mom and Dad...no kid could ask for better parents.

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List of Acronyms

ASTA	American Society of Travel Agents
ATLAS	European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education
DCCC	Djabugay Cultural Coordinating Committee
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
FACIM	Foundation pour l'action culturelle en Montagne
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LAC	Limits to Acceptable Change
LDC	Less Developed Country
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NWHO	Nordic World Heritage Office
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	US Agency for International Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO	World Tourism Organization
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Introduction

Going on vacation is a regular part of life in contemporary western society. As Jost Krippendorf (1987) attests, going on holiday has "...become rooted in our thinking as something taken for granted as normal behaviour" (p.18). Indeed, millions of people every year leave their homes in search of everything from adventure to rest and relaxation. Tourism involves more than simply sunbathing on that perfect beach or climbing to the top of the Eiffel Tower, however. As the largest industry in the world, tourism is an important social phenomenon and economic enterprise.

The 1960s ushered in an era when tourism appeared as a significant force in the world. An outcome of key social, economic, political and technological influences following the Second World War, tourism became, and is still, an important part of the economy of most countries and in many cases is the primary source for generating profits, employment, private sector growth, and infrastructure development (Poon, 1993; Theobald, 1998; Gee and Fayos-Sola, 1997). As a development option, tourism is notably encouraged in less developed countries (LDC) or in peripheral economies where other forms of development are not commercially viable (Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). While the benefits can be substantial, tourism development is in fact a double-edged sword. Together with the benefits there have emerged a number of problems facing the industry in terms of the impacts it has on destination areas and their residents.

Disillusionment with tourism and the many problems it has generated has resulted in the criticism of past methods and directions of tourism development, giving rise instead to the support and promotion of new forms of tourism (Butcher, 2003; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Poon, 1993).

The perception that mass tourism has created social, cultural, economic and environmental damage is common among advocates of new tourism. These advocates argue that new tourism is an effective solution to the damage done, and presents a more benevolent and sustainable approach to tourism development. Examples of these new tourism types include adventure tourism, ecotourism and, of particular interest to this thesis, cultural tourism. According to a UNESCO report (2003), cultural tourism “has a positive economic and social impact, it establishes and reinforces identity, it helps build image, it helps preserve the cultural and historical heritage, with culture as an instrument it facilitates harmony and understanding among people, it supports culture and helps renew tourism” (p.5). If the description provided by UNESCO is accepted, cultural tourism could indeed be considered a promising solution to the mass tourism ‘problem’. But is cultural tourism really an effective alternative?

The purpose of this thesis is to evaluate and determine if cultural tourism, as a new form of tourism, is less destructive than its mass tourism counterpart, ultimately promoting a more sustainable form of tourism. Representing one-fifth of the tourism market with a growth rate of ten to fifteen percent per year, cultural tourism is an important niche market within the tourism industry (WTO, 2001). Rather than serving as a peripheral or added attraction on a travel itinerary, culture is now considered a major catalyst for an entire travel experience.

The Motivation for Writing This Thesis

In 1992, at the age of 16, I had the opportunity to spend three months living with an Italian family and attend high school in Viareggio, Italy. This first experience prompted me to return two years later and take the opportunity to travel to areas in Italy that I had yet to visit and spend more quality time with my Italian 'family'. This time spent abroad began my love affair with travel and a particular love for Europe. As a result, I decided to enrol in the European Studies programme at the University of Guelph which, in addition to providing me with a great education, allowed me to spend the third year of my undergraduate degree at L'Université Pierre Mendès France in Grenoble, France. While in France I was able to travel throughout the country as well as extensively throughout Europe.

This love of travel and meeting people from different cultures is what ultimately led me to write this thesis. Until taking graduate classes on tourism, offered by the Resource and Environmental Management Department (REM) at Simon Fraser University, however, I had really never given much thought to the scale of the tourism industry or to its impacts, whether positive or negative. The classes opened my eyes to tourism in a way not done before, compelling me to write a thesis on the topic. Once I decided to write a thesis on tourism, choosing to focus specifically on cultural tourism seemed a logical choice given my background and interest in European history and culture.

Statement of Approach

This thesis examines the phenomenon of cultural tourism in the broadest sense. While conducting research, it was discovered that few resources existed providing a comprehensive look at key issues in cultural tourism development. The literature available consists primarily of academic journal articles and chapters in books, most of which focus on cultural tourism development in specific destinations or discuss it in the broader context of alternative tourism. For this reason, rather than narrow my discussion of cultural tourism development to a specific country or theoretical approach¹, my objective was to survey the field of cultural tourism within the realm of tourism studies. In my view, more comprehensive examinations are needed in order to create a foundation from which more focused and targeted studies can draw.

The literature used in this thesis was drawn from a variety of academic and tourism industry sources. An initial search was conducted for material related to cultural and alternative forms of tourism in order to identify key issues and scholars in the field. The search yielded several important authors who provided me with a starting point for my investigation as well as dependable guidance to additional important sources. These scholars include: Erik Cohen (1979, 1988a, 1995), whose work on authenticity and commoditization proved invaluable; Greg Richards (1996), whose volume on cultural tourism in Europe was instrumental in highlighting the scope and significance of cultural tourism and provided a number of useful case studies to examine; and Mike Robinson (1999a, 1999b, 2001), whose work on cultural conflicts in tourism highlighted several

¹ It should be noted that my own background in political economy and cultural studies has influenced my approach to this topic. For example, the way in which the economy of tourism and cultural tourism affects culture is considered, specifically the effects of commodifying culture for the purposes of touristic consumption. Issues of identity also figure prominently, specifically with regards to the influence of cultural tourism on shared conventions on which identity is based.

major areas of tension and debate within the realm of tourism development. The seminal works of Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976, 1992), John Urry (1990, 1995) and Valene Smith (1989) were also consulted throughout the research process.

In addition, several major organizations committed to travel and tourism, including the World Tourism Organization, the World Travel and Tourism Council and UNESCO, proved essential sources for up-to-date information on international tourism projects, trends and statistics. Lastly, several key academic journals, including the *Journal of Recreation Research*, *Tourism Management*, the *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* and especially the *Annals of Tourism Research*, were recognized as authoritative resources in the realm of tourism studies and were continuously referenced as important sources of information.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter One of this thesis will provide the reader with a general overview of both the tourism industry and cultural tourism. The chapter will begin with a brief summary of the history of tourism, including a discussion of past and present trends, with a specific focus on the emergence of new forms of tourism. The chapter will then move into a detailed discussion of cultural tourism and its tourists. The principal function of this chapter is not to critique cultural tourism, but rather to lay the foundation for subsequent chapters where analysis will take place.

With the essential elements of tourism and cultural tourism outlined in Chapter One, Chapter Two will begin to evaluate the claims that new forms of tourism, specifically cultural tourism, are less destructive than their mass tourism counterpart. Both the positive and negative impacts of cultural tourism will be examined, including

economic and environmental impacts, as well as cultural tourism's involvement in the promotion of peace and understanding. Most significantly, detailed focus will be concentrated on authenticity and commodification and their attendant effects on cultural tourism.

The conclusions drawn in Chapter Two regarding the impacts of cultural tourism will be used to inform the third and final chapter. Focusing on sustainable development and sustainable tourism, Chapter Three seeks to provide recommendations and strategies specifically aimed at moving towards sustainable cultural tourism. Particular attention will be paid to the importance of local participation in tourism development, as well as the role of education and training and the interpretation and representation of cultural resources.

Chapter 1: The Tourism Industry Past and Present — From Mass Tourism to Cultural Tourism

“A restless activity has taken hold of the once so sedentary human society. Most people in industrialized countries have been seized by a feverish desire to move. Every opportunity is used to get away from the workday routine as often as possible.... Thus, year in year out, weekend after weekend, without any real necessity and without overt pressure, millions of people flock together to spend their precious free time”
- Krippendorff, 1987, p. xiii

Tourism is big business. Every year millions of people, spending billions of dollars, leave their homes and work in search of pleasure and leisure. It has become such an essential element of everyday life in the developed world that even the thought of staying home for one's annual vacation is considered unusual. Positioning tourism as an essential element in everyday life is a very recent phenomenon, however. It was not until after the Second World War that tourism exploded on a mass scale emerging as a major economic and social force in the world. It is this dramatic growth, and subsequent changes to the tourism marketplace, that are the focus of this first chapter.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand, it is meant to provide the reader with a greater understanding of the tourism industry as a whole, while on the other, it will focus on cultural tourism as a specific niche market. To accomplish this, the chapter will begin with an examination of past and future trends in tourism in order to

impress upon the reader the global scope and significance of this industry. This chapter will subsequently move into a discussion of the changes that have occurred in the tourism marketplace from the 1960s onwards, as a means to provide the background necessary to understand the appearance of new forms of tourism, namely cultural tourism. Attention will then turn to the emergence of cultural tourism as a distinct market segment, complete with definitions for both cultural tourism and cultural tourists.

A Brief History of Tourism

Travel is as old as civilization itself, with the earliest travel resulting from nomadic prehistoric human beings traversing great distances in search of food and favourable climates. As centuries progressed, the motivations for travel changed as people travelled for the purpose of trade, war, economic gain, religious conviction and study (Theobald, 1998;Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997).

Travel as we know it today, however, is a relatively recent phenomenon. Most often referred to as tourism, the idea of leaving one's home and work in search of pleasure and leisure is a distinctly modern occurrence. This is not to suggest that travel for pleasure did not occur in pre-modern societies, but prior to the nineteenth century, few people outside the upper classes had the opportunity to travel anywhere for reasons unconnected with work or business (Urry, 1990).

Tourism's antecedents can be found in the nineteenth century with the arrival of the Industrial Revolution.² Industrialization resulted in profound economic and social changes that lead to the creation of a new middle class and inexpensive modes of transportation. These changes meant that travel and tourism was no longer the preserve of the wealthy elite (Burkart and Medlik, 1981; Butcher, 2003; Theobald, 1998; Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997).

Said to be the father of modern tourism, Thomas Cook was the first to take advantage of the social and technological changes brought about by industrialization (Poon, 1993). Cook organized travel on a scale that had not yet been seen by offering packaged tours, first domestically in England, then to international destinations as far away as India and Egypt (Turner and Ash, 1976). The impact of Cook's entrepreneurship is obvious when one compares the average 257 people per annum who took part in the Grand Tour during the 1547-1840 period, versus the 20,000 people Cook took to the *Paris Exhibition* of 1897 (Poon, 1993).

While the foundation for tourism was laid at the end of the nineteenth century, it was not until after the Second World War that tourism exploded on a mass scale. Eadington and Smith (1992) provide the following explanation for the tremendous growth in tourism:

Higher discretionary incomes, smaller family size, changing demographics, lower transportation costs, improved public health standards, infrastructure development, and hospitable environments for tourists in many destinations

² Modern tourism has also been closely linked with the idea of the Grand Tour. Undertaken primarily, but not exclusively, for education and pleasure, the Grand Tour spanned the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Typified by long, expensive visits, to demarcated cultural sites in Europe, the Grand Tour was embarked on by the British elite with the intent to prepare them for diplomatic careers. While the quest for knowledge, culture and cross-cultural intermingling were supposed to be the primary motivators for the Grand Tour, contemporary accounts record less serious motivations and inappropriate behaviour (Craik, 1997; Poon, 1993; Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997).

have made tourism, especially long-distance tourism, an activity within the reach and desires of many members of many nations (p.1).

Eadington and Smith also point to shortened work weeks and increased leisure time as significant contributors to the development of mass tourism. In addition, paid vacations lengthened from two weeks to three, four, or more, and many national holidays shifted to Mondays for the creation of three day long weekends (Smith, 1989).

One of the more important elements associated with the expansion of mass tourism that deserves some attention here was the advancement in air transportation technologies (Poon, 1993; Swinglehurst, 1998). "The year 1958 ushered in a new era – the jet age – which revolutionized transportation the world over and changed long-held perceptions of time and space" (Robinson cited in Poon, 1993, p. 42). The efficiency of jet air travel produced lower fares, making travel available to more people, and allowed for a wider range of routes. In the period between 1950 and 1963, for example, it was observed that the number of passengers carried on air services had increased by 330% (Poon, 1993).

Air travel was particularly important for the growth of tourism in less developed countries. Due to the tremendous distances between most less developed countries and the tourist sending societies, air travel played a critical role in the creation of international tourism in the developing world (Poon, 1993). In 1977, for example, the share of air travel in international tourist arrivals was 65.2% for the Bahamas; 83.1% for Barbados; 89.3% for Kenya; 97.9% for the Philippines; but as little as 10.9% for Italy (Poon, 1993).

By the mid-1970s, mass tourism was well established, with approximately 158.7 million international tourist arrivals being recorded. Tourism has continued to grow

significantly in economic and social importance, as is evidenced by the ever-increasing numbers of international tourist arrivals.³ By 1980 arrivals had increased to 204.8 million, and by 1990 their number was as high as 425 million (Eadington and Smith, 1992).

Future Growth Prospects

Tourism has continued to grow, and with the support of major international associations such as the United Nations, UNESCO, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank⁴, tourism has become the largest industry⁵ in the world (WTO, 2003; WTTC, 2003; Wyllie, 2000). Despite the devastating terrorist attacks of 2001, tourism continues to grow and generate billions of dollars in revenue. In 2002, international tourist arrivals broke the 700 million mark for the first time, and tourism demand reached a total of US\$ 4,303.26 billion (WTTC, 2004). The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2004) predicts continued profitability, estimating that by the

³ The rapid expansion of hotel chains in the 1960s and 1970s provides further evidence of mass tourism's scale. According to Poon (1993), multinational hotel chains emerged primarily to satisfy the global demand that mass tourism fuelled, with thousands of properties built all over the world. "At the end of 1978, it is estimated that 81 multinational hotel chains from 22 countries were associated with 1025 hotels abroad and 270646 rooms" (Poon, 1993, p. 54). In the specific case of the Holiday Inn, 1952 marked the year of its first hotel being built. In 1964 the number increased to 500, and by 1968 unit number 1000 materialized. Nineteen sixty-eight was also the year the Holiday Inn opened its first hotel in Europe, followed by Japan in 1973, and South America in 1974. By 1981 the Holiday Inn had 212 hotels overseas in 58 countries (Poon, 1993).

⁴ International organizations such as the UN, the IMF and the World Bank support tourism development, particularly in less developed countries, because of its tremendous potential for foreign exchange earnings and job creation. The goal of the World Bank, for example, is to fight poverty and improve the living standards of people in the developing world through loans, policy advice, technical assistance and knowledge sharing services (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; World Bank, 2004). Tourism, with all its potential, is therefore seen as an industry worth developing. For more information on these organizations and their attitudes towards tourism development visit: www.worldbank.org, www.un.org and www.imf.org.

⁵ The tourism industry is in reality an aggregate of firms or industries that are perceived to be primarily in the business of selling to or serving tourists. "Hotels, restaurants, transportation and amusements are examples of the types of firms that comprise the tourism industry" (Davidson, 1998, p.23). Thomas Lee Davidson, however, feels that defining tourism as an industry is incorrect and demeans what tourism really is. "Tourism is a social/economic phenomenon that acts both as an engine of economic progress and as a social force. Tourism is much more than an industry. Tourism is more like a 'sector' that impacts a wide range of industries" (Davidson, 1998, p.28).

end of 2004, tourism will have generated close to 215 million jobs and US\$5,490.4 billion in economic activity. Further international growth is forecasted at an average rate of 4.6 per cent per annum, with the World Tourism Organization (2003) predicting that by the year 2020, international tourist arrivals will reach 1.56 billion.⁶ The importance of tourism to individual countries and destinations does of course vary. Tourism in the British Virgin Islands, for example, owes 95% of its total GDP to travel and tourism, whereas Australia, owes 12.3% (WTTC, 2004a, b).⁷

The Changing Tourism Marketplace

*G.A.P Adventures welcomes you to every corner of the globe with a new perspective. Whether it be a camel brigade across India, a trek in the Alps or traversing the plains of Africa, we have over 600 ADVENTURES that capture the essence of the real world. We are a company of travellers who are dedicated to showing you the world face to face in over 100 COUNTRIES. Our groups are small, our impact is low and sustainable tourism is on the forefront of our agenda. Defying the mainstream on a quest to define the spirit of adventure...
We are the Great Adventure People.
- G.A.P, 2004, p.36*

“Within a mere twenty years of the industry’s take-off, international tourism displayed nearly all the characteristics of its manufacturing counterpart – it was *mass, standardized and rigidly packaged*” (Poon, 1993, p. 29). The early days of tourism therefore lacked choice, individuality and personalized services (unless an exceptionally

⁶ The WTO and the WTTC statistics are used to demonstrate just how enormous the tourism industry actually is and should not be taken to mean that the impacts of tourism are limited to the economic sector. It is recognized that statistics do not tell the story of how this industry transforms the way people live, interact and influence each other - these impacts will be discussed in later chapters.

⁷ More detail on the importance of tourism in specific regions of the world is presented in Appendix A and B. If further information is required on how the WTTC compiles and calculates its statistics, please visit their website, www.wttc.org/2004tsa. Additional information on the role of tourism in individual countries is also available on the WTTC website.

large amount of money was paid). The holidays in this period were mass produced according to economies of scale, and consumed en masse, frequently with a lack of consideration for the norms, culture and environment of the receiving destinations (Poon, 1993). Turner and Ash (1975) comment that

The people-processors hate individual tourists, especially those with quirks and idiosyncrasies....The individual needs almost as much attention as a flock of mass tourists, so he offers disappointing returns. As the Vice-President of the Common Market Travel Association once put it: "The individual traveller could be described as "the idiot who has not moulded himself into groups" (p. 108).

In other words, everything was done to encourage the tourist to buy a package.

The international tourism market has changed, however, with the development of new patterns of tourism consumption and production. A more demanding tourist, prompting the industry to diversify its products, characterizes this new pattern. A more flexible, sustainable and individual-oriented form of tourism, increasingly evaluated in terms of being rewarding, enriching, adventuresome, and/or a learning experience, has become the growing trend (Craik, 1997; Hall and Weiler, 1992; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Krippendorf notes that "people are becoming more determined to derive satisfaction from all areas of life, and travel must provide something extra to attract the potential tourist away from a fulfilling job and pleasurable home life" (1987, p.174).

A variety of terms have been used to describe the new direction that tourism has taken, including ethical tourism, responsible tourism, special interest tourism, real tourism and alternative tourism. Jim Butcher (2003) and Martin Mowforth and Ian Munt (1998) argue that possibly the best term that covers them all, and helps to identify what is distinctive about them taken together, is 'new tourism'.

Auliana Poon (1993, p.18) coined the term 'new tourism', and outlines its features as follows:

1. The holiday is flexible and can be purchased at prices competitive with mass-produced holidays.
2. Production of travel and tourism related services are not simply dominated by economies of scale. Tailor-made services will also be produced.
3. This production is increasingly driven by the requirements of consumers.
4. The holiday is marketed to individuals with different needs, incomes, time constraints and travel interests. Mass marketing is no longer the dominant paradigm.
5. The holiday is consumed by tourists who are more experienced travellers, more educated, more destination oriented, more independent, more flexible and more environmentally conscious;
6. Consumers of new tourism look at the environment and culture of the destination as a key part of the holiday experience.

The changes in tourism consumption and production can also be discussed in terms of the differences between Fordism and post-Fordism (Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Poon, 1993).

Fordism focuses on the mass production of standardized goods which are, in turn, assembled in large stocks. The emphasis is on economies of scale...Flexibility distinguishes post-Fordist production systems from earlier Fordist practices because, under this new system, the focus has switched to economies of scope...and high levels of product differentiation through small batch production of various specialized commodities targeting a multitude of market niches (Ioannides and Debbage, 1997, p.230).

Fordism is therefore related to the mass produced and standardized sun, sea and sand holiday packages of the 1960s and 1970s. Post-Fordism, by contrast, encapsulates the shift towards segmentation, differentiation and the unique personal experiences that characterize tourism from the mid-1980s onwards (Apostolakis, 2003).

It is evident that in addition to providing insight into the new direction that tourism is taking, Poon firmly believes that it is a direction that *needs* to be taken. “The tourism industry is in crisis...for it is mass tourism that has brought social, cultural, economic and environmental havoc in its wake, and it is mass tourism practices that must be radically changed to bring in the new” (p. 3). Indeed much of the commentary on ‘new’ tourism is dedicated to the critique of mass tourism and its tourists

These radical changes called for by Poon can be referred to as the moralization of tourism. Given the destructive path that tourism is said to be forging, moral regulation in order to preserve environmental and cultural diversity is thought to be necessary. Jim Butcher (2003) suggests that the moralization of tourism involves two mutually reinforcing notions.

First, Mass Tourism is deemed to have wrought damage to the environment and to the cultures exposed to it, and hence new types of tourism are proposed that are deemed benign to the environment and benevolent towards other cultures. Second, this ethical tourism is deemed to be better for tourists, too – more enlightening, encouraging respect for other ways of life and a critical reflection on the tourist’s own developed society (p. 7).

This new form of tourism is therefore seen as superior to, and as a remedy for, mass tourism.⁸

The Growth of Cultural Tourism

Within the general trend of new and ethical tourism, cultural tourism has appeared as a significant niche market.⁹ Showing a rate of growth at ten to fifteen per

⁸ As will be seen in Chapter Two, this new form of tourism is in fact not as benevolent towards other cultures or as benign to the environment as is often thought.

cent per year, cultural tourism represents one-fifth of the tourism market (WTO, 2001). While cultural tourism is far from being considered a new phenomenon, what is new is the extent of cultural tourism consumption and the forms of culture being consumed. Rather than just being a peripheral or added attraction on a travel itinerary, culture is increasingly becoming a major catalyst for the whole travel experience.

A number of reasons have been given for the popularity of this form of tourism, including a desire for diversity and a curiosity about how people live in environments different from one's own (WTO, 2001). Jennifer Craik (1997) supports the assessment provided by the WTO by highlighting the interest in 'otherness' displayed by cultural tourists. In fact cultural tourism is becoming increasingly associated with the ways of life of so-called 'exotic' and 'primitive' cultures, enticing individuals to visit before the wake of global monoculture engulfs these 'traditional' societies. Directly related to this possibility of cultural globalization, signalling the emergence of a single global culture, is the desire for seemingly authentic experiences that contrast the inauthentic and alienating nature of contemporary life (Apostolakis, 2003; Chhabra, Healy and Sills 2003; Cohen, 1979, 1988, 1989; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; May, 1996; McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Travel to 'developing' countries has therefore become a popular choice for cultural tourism. These "other cultures and environments are everything that our cultures and environments are not. Thus western lifestyles can be denigrated as empty, culturally unfulfilling, materialistic, meaningless,

⁹ For example, Tourism Research Australia claims that 80% of international visitors in Australia seek out cultural attractions such as museums, art galleries and theatres. They state that between 1997 and 2001, 21.8 million international and domestic visitors engaged in a cultural activity each year. More specifically, in 2003 Tourism Research Australia claim that 620,000 international visitors and 635,000 Australians experienced some indigenous culture during their stay, and that there were almost 5.3 million international and domestic visitors to Australian wineries (Australian Government, 2004).

while, on the contrary, Third World cultures can be bestowed with meaning, richness, simplicity and, of course, authenticity” (Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p.59).

Gordon Waitt (2000) also provides a list of factors explaining the demand for culture-based tourism, some of which include: an increasing awareness of heritage and culture, greater affluence, increased leisure time, and/or the need to transcend contemporary experiences to compensate for their deficiencies and demands.

Cultural Tourism

Although the statistics show a definite increase in the number of tourists participating in cultural tourism, actually defining this market segment is a challenge. While most definitions agree that cultural tourism involves the consumption of culture by tourists, a number of difficulties do exist. For example, what kinds of culture should be included within the scope of cultural tourism? Does a visit to a museum turn an entire trip into a cultural tourism experience? Are tourists who engage in cultural consumption actually culturally motivated? Does this even matter? (Richards, 1996b). To further complicate matters, cultural tourism is composed of two elements that are in themselves difficult to define: ‘culture’ and ‘tourism’.

The following section will arrive at a definition of cultural tourism beginning with an examination of the terms ‘culture’ and ‘tourism’. Rather than providing a detailed overview of all the various definitions that exist for these two elements, however, a discussion of the way they are used will be carried out instead. Reviewing ‘culture’ and ‘tourism’ in this way nicely leads to the ensuing discussion of cultural tourism as product and cultural tourism as process (Craik, 1997; Richards, 1996a, b; Robinson, 1999b).

Tourism

Overall, tourism is perhaps best conceptualized as a process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images and cultures (Lofgren, 1999; Meethan, 2001). When examined more narrowly, however, two types of definitions seem to dominate the literature: conceptual and technical. Burkart and Medlik (1981) suggest that the conceptual definitions of tourism provide a broad theoretical framework that identifies the essential characteristics of tourism including what distinguishes it from similar, sometimes related, but different activities. For example, Mathieson and Wall state, "tourism is the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places or work and residence, the activities undertaken during their stay in those destinations, and the facilities created to cater to their needs" (cited in Theobald, 1998, p.8).

On the other hand, the technical definitions of tourism enable the value and volume of tourism to be measured. According to Burkart and Medlik (1981), a detailed technical definition of tourism must incorporate three specific aspects. The first aspect is the purpose of travel or visit. "A technical definition of tourism must...first define the categories of travel and visits which are, and those which are not included for a particular purpose" (p.42). Secondly, the time element needs to be defined. "The minimum and maximum period, in terms of length of stay away from home or in terms of length of stay at a particular destination may have to be established for a particular purpose" (p.43). Thirdly, a technical definition "has to recognize *particular situations*...and it has to be determined whether they are or not regarded as tourism, for example sea cruises and transit traffic" (p.43). Burkart and Medlik therefore technically define tourism thus:

tourism represents various forms of short-term travel and visits and is variously defined for particular purposes, by reference to the purpose of travel or visit, duration and other criterion (p.319).

It should be noted that there has been considerable debate over technical definitions because they vary from country to country, and there are often different technical definitions appropriate for different purposes. Nevertheless, the definition provided by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) is widely accepted and frequently used (Richards, 1996b). According to the WTO tourism is “the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes” (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997, p.5).

Culture

Culture is a more complex concept than tourism, as is evidenced by the extent of the debate over the term and the hundreds of definitions that exist. Again, the purpose here is not to contribute to the debate or to provide an overview of the numerous definitions, but rather to examine the *ways* in which the term culture is used.

Upon examining the modern usage of the term culture, Williams identified three broad categories: “(i) as a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development; (ii) as indicative of a particular ‘way of life’; and (iii) as the works and practices of intellectual and artistic activity” (cited in Richards, 1996b, p.21). Over time, a shift in meanings has occurred away from the former and towards the latter two categories, resulting in two basic uses of the term culture in current academic literature: culture as process and culture as product (Richards, 1996b).

Culture as process is an anthropological and sociological approach which regards culture mainly as a symbolic system or codes of conduct by which and through which people create and recreate shared values, beliefs and attitudes allowing people to make sense of their existence and their experiences (Meethan, 2001; Richards, 1996b; Tomlinson, 1991). As Meethan states:

culture...is seen as a set of practices, based on forms of knowledge, which encapsulate common values and act as general guiding principles. It is through these forms of knowledge that distinctions are created and maintained, so that, for example, one culture is marked off as different from another (2001, p.117).

The culture as product approach regards culture as the product of individual or group activities to which certain meanings are attached. When reviewing existing literature, culture in this sense is often divided into the categories of 'high' and 'low'. 'High' culture includes such things as theatre, museums and architecture, implying elitism and the need for superior aesthetic appreciation:

In this sense, culture is concerned with the development of an aesthetic sensibility that enables the individual to appreciate the differences between good and bad art, to make value judgements on the basis of their superior knowledge of the accepted canons of good taste (Meethan, 2001, p.115).

'Low' culture or mass culture is, by definition, the opposite of 'high' culture, and might include such things as popular music, soap operas and Disneyland. It is not considered elitist, nor does it require any form of superior knowledge.

The culture as product approach is therefore both descriptive, as it tells us what culture consists of, as well as prescriptive, using value judgements as a means to tell us what is allowed and what is not (Meethan, 2001).

Cultural Tourism: A Definition

A review of existing definitions completed by Bonink reveals two main approaches to cultural tourism: the 'sites and monuments', or descriptive approach, and the experiential or conceptual approach. Some definitions are therefore focused primarily on the attractions visited (Fyall and Garrod, 1998; Hollinshead, 1998; Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997), while others choose to focus on visitors' motivations and perceptions rather than on specific site attributes (Poria et al, 2001; Zeppel and Hall, 1991). Echoing the previous discussion outlining the two basic ways in which the term culture is used, cultural tourism can also be separated into a product-based approach and a process-based approach.

Related to the product-based definition of culture, the first approach, the 'sites and monuments' or descriptive approach, typically outlines the types of attractions visited by cultural tourists. The definition provided by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) is a prime example.

Cultural tourism refers to a segment of the industry that places special emphasis on cultural attractions. These attractions are varied, and include performances, museums, displays, and the like. In developed areas, cultural attractions include museums, plays, and orchestral and other musical performances....In less developed areas, they might include traditional religious practices, handicrafts, or cultural performances (cited in Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997, p.120).

Similar to the technical definitions of tourism, the product-based approach is useful for quantitative research on cultural tourism as it allows researchers to identify, count and interview visitors at cultural attractions. The problem with this particular approach, however, is that most of the definitions are focused on what is considered to be 'high' culture, when in fact the forms of culture being consumed by tourists are expanding. In addition to seeking 'high' culture, through a visit to a museum or a play,

tourists are also engaged in forms of 'low' culture as well as activities such as simply 'soaking up the atmosphere' of a destination, or sampling the local food (Richards, 1996b).¹⁰

The second approach identified by Bonink is what is referred to as the conceptual or experiential approach, whose definitions tend to emphasize motivation and experience (CTC, 1999; Poria et al, 2001; Richards, 1996b; Zeppel and Hall, 1991). For example, the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education's (ATLAS) conceptual definition of cultural tourism is: "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs" (cited in Richards, 1996b, p.24). The ATLAS definition positions motivation as central, and also highlights an educational and learning component that is often considered important by cultural tourists. Another definition that makes clear the importance of motivation is that from the Canadian Tourism Commission (1999), which states that "cultural...tourism occurs when participation in a cultural or heritage activity is a significant factor for travelling" (p.2). A definition which places experience as central is provided by Borley, who states that cultural tourism is "that activity which enables people to explore or experience the different ways of life of other people, reflecting the social customs, religious traditions and the intellectual ideas of a cultural heritage which may be unfamiliar" (cited in Meethan, 2001, p.128).

The conceptual or experiential approach to cultural tourism is useful because it is not restricted by a checklist of cultural activities like the 'sites and monuments' or

¹⁰ In addition to 'culture' being difficult to define, the meanings attached to this term are always changing (Richards, 1996b). While at one time it may have been easy to draw distinctions between 'high' and 'low' culture, such distinctions have begun to blur. MacCannell (1992), for example, believes that *all* of tourism is a cultural experience and Urry (1990) goes so far as to say that tourism *is* culture.

descriptive approach, but instead allows room for changes in the variety of culture consumed by tourists. Furthermore, since most tourism could be considered cultural to some degree (in that visits will usually involve some exposure to aspects of other cultures), incorporating motivation as a central element is important. For the purposes of this thesis, therefore, when referring to cultural tourism, a simple visit to a museum is not enough to make it a cultural tourism experience. Instead, the desire to visit and experience culture needs to be of central importance to the tourist.

What remains, therefore, is to provide a concrete definition of cultural tourism. While the 'sites and monuments' or descriptive approach may be useful quantitatively, it is too restrictive and therefore a more conceptual approach is appropriate. A modified version of Borley's definition will be used here.

Cultural tourism is a segment of the industry occurring when people are motivated wholly or in part to explore or experience the different ways of life and/or ideas of other people, reflecting the social customs, religious traditions and cultural heritage which may be unfamiliar.¹¹

Cultural Tourists

With cultural tourism now defined, it is important to identify who participates in this market segment and the type of cultural tourists that exist. In addition to providing simple operational definitions that reflect the definition of cultural tourism (i.e. a cultural tourist is defined as someone who visits, or intends to visit, a cultural attraction and/or participate in cultural activities), a review of existing literature reveals that cultural tourists are identified using three different, although not mutually exclusive, approaches.

¹¹ Cultural tourism, as it is used here, is considered to be an umbrella term incorporating 'heritage tourism', 'historical tourism', 'arts tourism' and 'ethnic tourism'.

The first is the demographic approach, the second is the motivation approach, and the third approach places the cultural tourist under the category of moral tourist or traveller.

The Demographic Approach

Several studies have attempted to classify cultural tourists through the use of statistical data, of which education and socio-economic status are the most widely discussed.¹² Overall the results indicate that cultural tourists display similar demographic characteristics of higher education, a higher socio-economic standing and therefore higher income and higher cultural capital than their tourist counterparts.

To begin, education has been identified as one of the primary determinants of cultural participation (Bauer, 1996; Lord, 1999; Richards, 1996c; Roth and Langemeyer, 1996; van der Borg and Costa, 1996). In an examination of European museums, it was determined “that the difference in participation rates across educational levels is greater than across income levels, indicating that education is a better predictor of an individual’s probability of participation” (Schuster cited in Richards, 1996c, p.51). A study of cultural tourists in Germany also reveals that “compared to other forms of travel, the ‘highly educated’ group is most highly represented among cultural tourists” (Roth and Langemeyer, 1996, p.167). American studies further support this viewpoint with the statement, “education is the single most significant factor that influences cultural

¹² Age is also frequently discussed in relation to cultural tourism. It is often cited that older generations are typically those who take part, but growing evidence suggests that younger generations are becoming increasingly active in cultural tourism (Hjalager, 1996; Lord, 1999; O Donnchadha and O Connor, 1996; Richards, 1996c; Roth and Langemeyer, 1996). There is also growing evidence that participation in cultural activities occurs more frequently among individuals whose occupations are related to culture. Richards (1996c) uses a study done by ATLAS to support his findings, stating, “almost 20% of all cultural visitors interviewed had an occupation which was related to the cultural industries, and among specific cultural tourists, the level of culturally related occupations reached 29%” (p.53).

participation, affluence and travel, and educational attainment levels are rising” (Lord, 1999).

Richards (1996c) also points to socio-economic status as an indicator of cultural participation. Richards claims “people from higher social classes in general have greater access to the means of cultural tourism participation (such as higher levels of income and mobility) as well as having the cultural capital¹³ necessary to facilitate participation” (p.52). In order to support his statement, Richards cites studies conducted on museum visiting in the United Kingdom and in France, both indicating strong class stratification. In France, for example, a class divide was noted in art museum visiting with higher professionals (73%) being far more likely to visit than intermediate professionals (57%) or unskilled labourers (30%). A study conducted by the Department of Canadian Heritage further supports this notion when it states that cultural tourists are more affluent than ‘ordinary’ tourists (DCH, 2002).

Similar to the ‘sites and monuments’ or descriptive approach to cultural tourism, the focus of the demographic approach is almost entirely on what is considered ‘high’ culture and therefore attention tends to focus on the ‘elite’ cultural tourist at the expense of more broadly based strategies. As can be seen in the following quote from the Australia Council, ‘high’ culture is clearly believed to be the stuff of cultural tourism and therefore it is concluded that those individuals of lower socio-economic status and lower educational qualifications are unlikely to consume cultural tourism. Perhaps the most

¹³ Bourdieu (1984) argues that cultural expertise or capital is necessary to in order to understand, appreciate and interpret cultural products. “The possession of cultural capital is demonstrated through consumption, and those forms of consumption in turn act as a form of distinction, which can define both the individual and membership of a specific social group” (Richards, 1996c, p.48).

disturbing element in the quotation, however, is the reference to those who do not participate in cultural tourism as 'it', implying that they are somehow less than human.

It visits [galleries] irregularly, perhaps as a tourist, and it is likely to have lower income and education levels. It watches commercial television and listens to 'light' music on commercial radio. It does not support greater contextualization of art works, nor does it support greater display of work by socially or culturally marginal groups (cited in Craik, 1997, p.128).

With the kinds of culture consumed by cultural tourists expanding, a greater understanding of the diversity of the demographic profile of the cultural tourist is essential.

Motivation¹⁴

A second approach in the attempt to identify cultural tourists does not focus on specific characteristics, but rather focuses on levels of motivation. Silberberg (1995) and Lord (1999) identify four degrees of motivation for cultural tourists: greatly motivated, partly motivated, adjunct motivations and accidentally motivated. Greatly motivated tourists, representing approximately fifteen per cent of the non-resident market, are those who are specifically attracted to a destination or attraction because of its cultural opportunities. Those tourists who are partly motivated, approximately thirty percent of the non-resident market, are prompted not only by interest in cultural attractions and activities, but also for other reasons. The third group, representing twenty per cent of the non-resident market, is people for whom culture is an adjunct to another more important motivation. This tourist may therefore include cultural activities at a destination chosen

¹⁴ It is recognized that measuring motivation can be problematic and complex and that a number of motivation theories exist. It is not the intent of this section to provide an exhaustive review of motivation but rather identify those approaches that apply directly to cultural tourism and its tourists. For detailed information on motivation see Hudson, 1999; Mayo and Jarvis, 1981; Pizam and Mansfeld, 1999.

for other reasons. The last group, also about twenty per cent of the non-resident market, is what is referred to as the accidental cultural tourist. This tourist is not motivated by culture, and any cultural visits are unplanned. The remaining fifteen per cent of tourists are not interested in culture under any circumstances.

Bywater (1993) provides a similar analysis to Silberberg and identifies three types of cultural tourists: the genuine cultural tourist, who chooses a holiday because of its cultural opportunities; the culturally inspired tourist, who makes a once in a lifetime visit to a specific site or attraction, and; the culturally attracted tourist, who would like a few cultural attractions at destinations they chose for other reasons. In addition to Silberberg and Bywater, a study of heritage tourism participation in the American State of Pennsylvania identifies core, moderate and low heritage tourists, and an ATLAS study in Europe identified strong differences between 'specific' and 'general' cultural tourists (McKercher, 2002; Richards, 1996c).

Bob McKercher (2002) also favours the motivation approach as he feels that:

the inability to distinguish between different types of cultural tourists can lead to the formation of a misleading indicator of the importance of cultural tourism in attracting tourists to an area, as using a label infers causality when no such link can be justified. Stating that $x\%$ of tourists are 'cultural tourists' suggests that this many travellers are motivated to visit a region for cultural reasons (p.30).

In addition to motivation, however, McKercher adds the dimension of 'depth of experience', contending that:

the depth of experience, or level of engagement with the attraction, also must be considered when segmenting the cultural tourism market. Different people have different abilities to engage cultural and heritage attractions based on an array of factors, which include their level of education, awareness of the site prior to the visit, preconceptions of the site, interest in it, its meaning to them, time availability, the presence or absence of competing activities that vie for their time and a host of other factors (p.31).

When McKercher combines the two, motivation and depth of experience, he identifies five types of cultural tourists, the first four capturing the majority of tourists:

1. the purposeful cultural tourist – high motivation, deep experience;
2. the sightseeing cultural tourists – high motivation, shallow, entertainment-oriented experience;
3. the casual cultural tourist – limited motivation, shallow experience;
4. the incidental cultural tourist – little to no motivation, shallow experience;
5. the serendipitous cultural tourist – little to no motivation, ends up having a deep experience.

McKercher does recognize that the categories are somewhat simplistic in that it will not always be the case that high motivation is equated with a deep experience. Overall, however, he does feel that as the importance of cultural tourism declines as a motivator, there should also be a simultaneous decline in depth of experience – this is why the serendipitous tourist is considered rare.

Experience Motivation	Deep	Shallow
High	Purposeful	Sightseeing
Limited		Casual
Little to None	Serendipitous	Incidental

Table 1 Classification of cultural tourists

Distinguishing between the various levels of motivation is useful, especially for marketers trying to deploy strategies designed to resonate with specific types of cultural tourists. As Lord (1999) states, “the cultural tourism market is very large – but the issue

is one of degree. Successful promotion and packaging can expand the market sustainability by attracting travelers interested in culture to a lesser degree”. Additionally, as McKercher (2002) suggests, distinguishing between the various levels of motivation allows a destination to gain a greater understanding for just how important cultural tourism is in drawing tourists.

When reviewing the levels of motivation outlined above, the focus clearly tends to be on what is commonly referred to as ‘pull’ factors.¹⁵ In other words, the focus is on those factors that affect the choice of destination (in this case the cultural attractions and/or opportunities available) rather than those which determine the need for travel. The motivations for travel extend well beyond the benefits of a particular destination, however, and in the case of cultural tourism, Edwards (1996) states that “the motivations...are in themselves an area of complex subjectivity, motivated by culturally determined, often self-referential, Western notions of the exotic combined in many cases with a genuine desire to ‘know’...Exploratory behaviour or the desire for it is fundamental to...cultural tourism, an overt response to a novel or different environment” (p.199). This ‘genuine desire to know’ and the desire for a novel or different environment is frequently referred to as ‘wanderlust’, described as the “desire to exchange the known for the unknown, to leave things familiar and to go and see different places, people and cultures or relics of the past in places famous for monuments and associations or for their

¹⁵ Dann argued that there are basically two factors in a decision to travel, the push factors and the pull factors. The pull factors are external to the traveller and stress the benefits of a particular destination. They determine where, when and how a person vacations. The push factors, by contrast, are internal to the traveller and satisfy various psychological needs. These push factors instil a desire to travel (Hudson, 1999).

current fashions and contributions to society” (Markwick, 2001, p.421).¹⁶ As mentioned in the previous section on the growth of cultural tourism, this is directly related to the cultural tourist’s desire for the authentic, resulting from the perceived increasing homogenization of global culture.

The Moral Tourist and the Traveller

Tourists are vulgar, vulgar, vulgar.

- Henry James, cited in Urry, 1995, p.129

Cultural tourists can also be assembled under the larger category of moral tourist. Warranted or not, because cultural tourism is often associated with the emergence of a more responsible form of tourism, those tourists who participate are, by association, considered more moral than their mass counterparts. Based on his discussion of the moralization of tourism, Butcher (2003) provides an outline of the moral tourist beginning with a discussion of mass tourism, followed by a description of those traits moral tourists most like to be associated with (p.21-22).

For the new moral tourist, mass tourism is characterized by:

1. Sameness: It does not involve experiencing cultural differences, being based around a mass-marketed and consumed product in resort complexes, purpose-built for tourists.
2. Crudeness: It involves a lack of self-restraint – alcohol, sex and sunbathing, perhaps in excess.
3. Destructiveness: Mass tourism is deemed destructive in two senses. It is seen as paying scant regard to the environmental consequences of tourism. It is also held to involve the imposition of the tourist’s culture on to the host, as the former has

¹⁶ This is in contrast to ‘sunlust’ (primarily associated with mass tourism), which is defined as “a type of travel which depends on the existence elsewhere of better amenities for a specific purpose than are available in the domicile; it is prominent with particular activities such as sports, and literally, the search for the sun” (Markwick, 2001, p.421).

little interest in the latter. They are there as self-seeking/pleasure-seeking subjects.

In contrast to this, moral tourists associate themselves with:

1. **Difference:** The moral tourist wants to experience cultural and environmental difference and to encourage and sustain that difference.
2. **Cultural sophistication:** The moral tourist takes the trouble to learn about the host's culture and language. Aware of the importance of cultural difference in the host-tourist encounter, the moral tourist adopts a cautious approach, and is sensitive with regards to their behaviour.
3. **Constructiveness:** The moral tourist, where possible, will try to be constructive with regard to local cultures and environments. This will involve, for example, buying craft goods from local traders rather than souvenirs.

The moral tourist is also often referred to as the 'traveller'. Frequently presented as the 'thinking tourist', the traveller is "...someone prepared to strike out, experiment with different ways of life, and not be a part of a packaged product put together by global companies. He is someone who takes an interest in the culture and the environment of his host" (Butcher, p.41). The traveller is often viewed as an individual who wants to see the 'real' destination – the backstage – and as such, will avoid tourist areas and sacrifice comfort and convenience as a means to distinguish him or herself from the masses. This phenomenon of 'egonomics' is not particularly new, but is particularly pronounced in the promotion of cultural tourism. As Deblekha Guin (1998) points out, "steeped in the self-congratulatory rhetoric of nonconformism, it caters to people's desires to see themselves as rugged individuals – brave and 'special' enough to embrace the unfamiliar, unique enough to tower above the tourist masses" (p.14).

Conclusion

Cultural tourism has emerged as a significant niche market within the tourism industry. While far from being considered a new phenomenon, the increasing popularity of cultural tourism is directly related to the growing belief that mass tourism has damaged cultures and environments exposed to it. As a segment of the larger 'new' tourism market, cultural tourism prides itself on promoting sustainability centred on respect for the cultures of host societies. While this point of view is not entirely unreasonable, what should not be forgotten is that tourism has the ability to reshape nature and culture to its own ends, and from this, cultural tourism is not exempt.

The following chapter will therefore examine the impacts of cultural tourism with a specific focus on authenticity and the commodification of cultures and traditions, the alienation and the loss of cultural identity, the increased division between those who do and do not benefit from tourism, and the selectivity with which attractions are developed and how they are interpreted.

Chapter 2: The Impacts of Cultural Tourism

Mass tourism has long been the target of criticism. Even its strongest advocates acknowledge that mass tourism creates a wide range of problems, several of the which are outlined by Richard Butler (1992, p.33) as follows: price rises (labour, goods, taxes, land); change in local attitudes and behaviour; pressure on people (crowding, disturbance, alienation); loss of resources, access, rights, privacy; denigration or prostitution of local culture; reduction of aesthetics; pollution in various forms; lack of control over the destination's future; and specific problems such as vandalism, litter, traffic, and low-paid seasonal employment. As was seen in Chapter One, the belief that mass tourism has brought social, cultural, economic and environmental havoc, has led to calls for changes in tourism practices and the promotion of 'new' forms of tourism. 'New' forms of tourism have therefore emerged claiming that their impacts are less destructive than those of their mass tourism counterpart. As a development option, cultural tourism "has a positive economic and social impact, it establishes and reinforces identity, it helps build image, it helps preserve the cultural and historical heritage, with culture as an instrument it facilitates harmony and understanding among people, it supports culture and helps renew tourism" (UNESCO, 2003, p.5). While these claims have some merit, Butler (1992) believes that "to promote another form of tourism as a solution to the multiple

problems which can be caused by extensive and long term tourism development is somewhat akin to selling nineteenth-century wonder medicines, and such promotion needs to be evaluated carefully and objectively” (p.35). According to Butler, making simplistic and idealized comparisons between mass and new forms of tourism “such that one is obviously undesirable and the other close to perfection, is not only inadequate, it is grossly misleading” (ibid.).

Cultural tourism is among the ‘new’ forms of tourism that claim to be less harmful and more benevolent towards cultures. Cultural tourists participating in this form of tourism describe themselves as ‘thinking’ tourists who are more cautious, sensitive and constructive with regards to their behaviour. According to Brian Wheeler (1997) however, claiming a less destructive approach appeases the guilt of thinking tourists while they continue to spread global tourism.

The impacts of tourism are most frequently seen as economic, environmental and social and cultural, with the latter two often combined into one. In order to provide a balanced approach, this chapter will examine both the positive and the negative impacts of cultural tourism, with a specific focus on the socio-cultural impacts. To begin, however, this chapter will first examine the basic economic benefits and drawbacks of tourism and cultural tourism, including an explanation of the rationale behind the promotion of tourism as a beneficial form of economic development, particularly for less developed countries (LDC). The remaining sections of this chapter will evaluate the claim that cultural tourism, as a new form of tourism, is better than mass tourism. In order to achieve this, an exploration of cultural tourism as a promoter of peace and understanding will be undertaken, followed by detailed discussions of authenticity and

commodification and their attendant effects on culture. Lastly, a brief look at environmental impacts will be carried out.¹⁷

The Economic Impact of Tourism

As outlined in Chapter One, tourism is considered by many to be the largest industry in the world, with total tourism demand expected to reach \$5, 490.43 billion by the end of this year. No examination of tourism would therefore be complete without considering its economic effects. The purpose of the following discussion is to provide an overview of key economic impacts, applicable to both mass and new forms of tourism, with later sections in the thesis addressing economic impacts especially relevant to cultural tourism.¹⁸ The first portion of this section will provide a summary of the logic behind using tourism as a development option, while the second portion will explore some of the basic economic drawbacks of tourism, specifically the issue of dependency.

Tourism and Economic Development

In the 1960s tourism emerged on the global stage as a distinct form of development, especially for LDCs, as well as economically peripheral European economies such as Spain and Greece (de Kadt, 1979; Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; WTO, 2002). Even today tourism is promoted by the World Tourism Organization (2002) as a significant development option claiming that tourism is one of the most dynamic economic activities of our time and needs to be more effectively

¹⁷ After careful thought and consideration it was determined that this framework provided the best approach for offering the reader a clear understanding of the research under investigation. The categories constructed follow similar examinations of cultural tourism and its impacts provided by such authors as Robinson (1999, 1999a), Richards (1996b, c, d), Tucker (2001), and Mowforth and Munt (1998), and organizations such as the WTO (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997) and the NWHO (1996).

¹⁸ Subsequent sections will address the economic impacts associated with the commodification of culture and cultural revitalization.

harnessed in order to address the problems of poverty more directly. Tourism is extremely popular as a development option for a number of reasons. As Meethan (2001) outlines:

unlike other forms of development, tourism has one obvious attraction...in that it is an industry 'without chimneys' which requires relatively low capital investment. In addition, tourism is also a means of earning foreign exchange currency and, as such, it counts as an invisible export earner and can be seen as a relatively low-cost means of balancing payments. In some cases, receipts earned from overseas tourism can be considerable (p. 42).

The tremendous employment generating powers of the tourism industry, and the attributed increases in household incomes, is also an attractive prospect for many LDCs and in areas where development options are limited. As Archer and Cooper (1998) point out, in areas where many of the local people are subsistence farmers and fishermen, choosing a profession in the tourism industry becomes a popular option because their household incomes increase by a considerable amount.

Tourism is also popular as a development option due to the infrastructure development that is brought to a community. In many countries, highways and airfields, hotels and other facilities specific to tourism, are constructed primarily to cater to the tourism industry (Shaw and Williams, 2002). In theory this infrastructure development is what Archer and Cooper (1998) refer to as 'economically indivisible', meaning that in providing the infrastructure for the tourism industry, the facilities also become available for the local population.

Tourism and Dependency

Superficially the economic benefits of tourism are obvious. In recent years, however, growing concerns over the seemingly unrestrained use of tourism as a

development tool have been raised. In addition to the environmental and cultural concerns (as outlined in Chapter One and subsequent sections), dependency has also been raised as a significant area of concern. In ideal circumstances, the development of tourism would promote some form of 'trickle down' effect, benefiting the entire economy of the host community. The problem, however, is that in many instances, the profits accumulated leak from the national or local economy overseas.¹⁹ In addition, economic developments may only benefit existing national or local elites. In both instances, the economic relationships are uneven and often exploitative, and the local economy may suffer as it caters to the needs of the developed world (Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Shaw and Williams, 2002).

Turning once again to employment, it is clear that tourism has the potential to create jobs and increase household incomes. While this can certainly be a positive thing, it can create difficulties if established forms of employment are abandoned. Guin's (1998) case study in Ladakh, India, for example, discovered that tourism has replaced farming as the main source of income, to the point that food that was once locally produced, is now shipped in. This not only means that traditional forms of farming have not been passed on to successive generations, but the price of food has also increased. Furthermore, employment opportunities for local residents are often positions of little

¹⁹ The level of leakage that occurs is significant as it reflects the amount of power that is held by transnational companies (TNCs) relative to local communities and local governments (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). Mowforth and Munt (1998) cite a study done on Antigua which found high leakages from hotels in the form of commissions paid to travel agents, imports of food and beverages, interest payments to foreign banks, and repatriated earnings of foreign employees.

power, especially for women.^{20 21} As will be seen in subsequent sections, managerial positions and ownership of resources are frequently in the hands of outsiders.

Although not an exhaustive look at all the economic benefits and drawbacks of tourism, the preceding section has provided an overview of some of the key impacts applicable to both mass and new forms of tourism. As previously stated, subsequent sections will probe more deeply into economic impacts specific to cultural tourism, but prior to that, a discussion of tourism as a passport to peace and understanding will be undertaken, followed by an examination of authenticity and its relation to cultural tourism.

²⁰ According to Linda Richter (1998), inequality appears to be the norm in most sectors of the tourism industry, especially in developing countries. As Enloe (1989) reveals, at the bottom of the hierarchy are women performing the least venerable jobs, often similar to their roles in the family home, for low pay and few tips. Restaurant help, for example, tends to be dominated by women, with female cooks and servers being some of the lowest paid in the food industry. When it comes to fancier restaurants, however, where salaries and tips tend to be much higher, women are rarely even given an opportunity to fill the jobs and instead, men dominate (Richter, 1998). Additionally, in some regions women are relegated to jobs that replicate their domestic duties in part because the contact with tourists is minimal. In societies dominated by patriarchal concerns of honour and shame, men often argue that women should not enter the workforce at all, but if they do, it should be in positions that allow for only minimal encounters with tourists (Meethan, 2001). So while women may have access to employment in the tourism industry, they are generally at the bottom of the tourism employment ladder, often working only seasonally, part-time, or for minimum wage. Men, on the other hand, occupy almost all of the jobs at the middle and the top (Enloe, 1989; Richter, 1998).

²¹ When discussing issues of exploitation and dependency one of the more egregious examples is sex tourism. Sex tourism is a widespread phenomenon in developing countries, with local women and children (and increasingly men) rendered subservient to the desires of wealthy, powerful Western tourists (Richter, 1998; Smith, 2003). The number of tourists engaging in sex tourism is difficult to measure as are the number of individuals exploited for the purposes of sex tourism. It has been estimated, however, that in Costa Rica at least 5000 tourists arrived in 1999, most of who were from the United States, with the specific intent of exploiting children (ECPAT, n.d.).

Cultural Tourism as a Passport to Peace and Understanding

*I have watched the cultures of all lands blow around my house and other winds
have blown the seeds of peace, for travel is the language of peace.*

– Mahatma Gandhi, cited in Var and Ap, 1998, p.44

*Travel has become one of the greatest forces for peace and understanding in our
time. As people move throughout the world and learn to know each other, to
understand each other's customs and to appreciate the qualities of the individuals
of each nation, we are building a level of international peace and understanding
which can sharply improve the atmosphere for world peace.*

– John F. Kennedy, cited in Var and Ap, 1998, p.45

Among the various benefits attributed to tourism is its role in promoting goodwill, understanding and therefore peace between people of different nations and cultures. According to McIntosh, Goeldner and Ritchie (1995), tourism has the potential to be the largest peace-time movement in the history of humankind. The World Tourism Organization supports this vision in stating that “intercultural awareness and personal friendships fostered through tourism are a powerful force for improving international understanding and contributing to peace among all the nations of the world” (WTO, n.d.). If tourism in general has the power to promote peace and understanding, the cultural tourism market is in an even greater position to do so, as the desire for cultural encounters is a central motivating force for travel.

In their analysis of tourism and peace, Var and Ap (1998) claim that two perspectives dominate - the socio-cultural and the political. The socio-cultural perspective, considered to be the predominant viewpoint (and is echoed in the quotations from the WTO and UNESCO above), focuses on tourism as an ambassador for cultural encounters which provide an opportunity for better understanding as well as an opportunity to exchange ideas and information. By contrast, the political perspective

focuses on the importance of tourism as a means of establishing and improving political relations between countries.²²

Another approach to this issue is offered by Reisinger and Turner (2003), who use the contact hypothesis as a means to explore the relationship between tourism and peace and understanding. The positive outcomes of contact between people from different cultures are described as follows:

social contact between individuals from different cultures results in mutual appreciation, understanding, respect, tolerance and liking...develops positive attitudes...reduces ethnic prejudices, stereotypes, and racial tension...and improves the social interactions between individuals. It also contributes to cultural enrichment and learning about others (p.39).

Clearly there is widespread confidence in the power of tourism to change the way people view and understand each other for the better, but does it work? There has in fact been very little research done on the subject, and while some of the limited studies conclude that tourism helps promote mutual appreciation and understanding, the relationship between tourism and world peace is tenuous at best (Var and Ap, 1998). Studies conducted by Belisle and Hoy (1980), Liu et al (1987) and Var and Ap (1988) provide empirical data which indicate that through cultural exchange, an understanding and appreciation of people from different cultures does occur, in some cases resulting in the lessening of misconceptions or prejudices. Improving the atmosphere of world peace through tourism, however, is much more difficult to measure. In fact, a cross-national study summarized by Var and Ap (1998), in which respondents were asked to respond to the statement 'I believe that tourism promotes world peace', showed that a high degree

²² Var and Ap use the example of the People's Republic of China opening its doors to the Western world in the 1970s, suggesting that tourism in China has been an important avenue in establishing links with other countries.

of uncertainty was apparent, with one third of the respondents providing a neutral response.

So while the general conclusion drawn about the ability of tourism to promote international peace is one of scepticism, the potential that tourism can play in generating cultural understanding at an individual level should not be overlooked. With cultural tourism as a significant niche market, and therefore the desire to experience and learn about other cultures a significant motivation for travel, the possibility for a deeper and better appreciation and understanding of people from different cultures is considerable. Indeed when compared to their mass tourist counterpart, cultural tourists argue that they achieve a higher degree of understanding and insight, while mass tourists impose their culture on the host, whose culture is of little interest to them (Butcher, 2003).

This is not to say that all cultural encounters between cultural tourists and their hosts will result in greater appreciation and understanding. As was revealed in Chapter One, different people have different abilities to engage in cultural attractions and experiences based on an array of factors, “which include their level of education, awareness of the site prior to the visit, preconceptions of the site, interest in it, its meaning to them, time availability, the presence or absence of competing activities that vie for their time and a host of other factors” (McKercher, 2002, p.31). Furthermore, there are certainly those individuals who would suggest that the role tourism plays in generating cultural harmony is exaggerated and “out of step with on-the-ground developments in world tourism – an activity increasingly characterized by conflict” (Robinson, 1999a, p.3). As Robinson (1999a) attests, “...degrees of distance between the value systems, social class, attitudes and patterns of behaviour which tourism individuals

and groups possess, and those held by the host community...[are] all points of potential misunderstandings and conflict” (p.9). So although cultural tourists pride themselves on being aware of the importance of cultural difference in the host-tourist encounter and therefore adopt a more cautious and sensitive approach with regards to their behaviour, they are not exempt from conducting themselves inappropriately. While possibly more aware of cultural differences, cultural tourists are no more able to completely shed those value systems, attitudes, etc., that contribute to conflict, than are their mass tourist counterparts.

Additionally, as will be seen in subsequent sections, because cultural tourism contributes to the commodification of cultures, often what the tourist is seeing or experiencing has been fabricated for their consumption, and as such, “tourists get staged authenticity; instead of getting exotic culture, they get kitsch” (Robinson, 1999b, p.22). In this situation, three things may occur. The first is that if greater understanding does occur, one must ask if it has been based on a false representation of culture and therefore is this so-called understanding real? Secondly, most tourists visit a destination with an image already formed in their minds, and if what they see does not meet with their expectations, cultural harmony and understanding may instead be replaced with frustration and disappointment. Lastly, a certain degree of resentment on the part of the host community may occur as a result of the commodification of their culture.

Two key concepts introduced in the above section will now be examined at further length. Authenticity and commodification are central to cultural tourism and its impacts, and therefore deserve a great deal of consideration. The subsequent portions of the chapter will begin with an examination of the concept of authenticity and its

relationship to cultural tourism, followed by an analysis of commodification and its numerous impacts.

Authenticity

Cohen (1988a) suggests that most contemporary literature dealing with the impacts of tourism on host societies relies on several basic assumptions. First, tourism is said to lead to commodification, which is subsequently said to destroy the authenticity of local cultural products and human relations, resulting in staged authenticity, which is then believed to prevent the tourists' genuine desire for authentic experiences. The commodification of culture is therefore of central importance in tourism studies, especially cultural tourism, which considers authenticity a central element. Before discussing commodification, however, it is first essential to explore authenticity.

Over the past two decades, authenticity has been the catalyst for numerous lively discussions, debates and analyses, resulting in as many definitions as there are those who write about it. Taylor (2001) believes that this is not surprising considering "the persuasive force that the notion of authenticity wields in Western ideological discourse, and the many uses it may be put therein" (p.8). It is even commonplace to hear references to authenticity in everyday discussion. How often have we heard people refer to their travel experiences as real or unreal, authentic or fake, and how often are we presented with guide books and travel programs that endorse the search for real and authentic experiences? As Rick Steves (n.d.), host of *Europe Through the Back Door* claims, "you can go deeper than traditions put on display for tourists. A more intimate Europe survives. You find it best by becoming a temporary local [sic]. Make new friends where there are no postcards. Try the barnacles. Join the village parade... and do the

Slovenian polka". He further encourages viewers to "find your own back doors. Go down dead ends. Find places with no tour buses, no freeway access, and no hotels. Vernazza has no modern hotels, and that's good news. It keeps away that slice of the traveling public that demands all the four-star comforts" (Steves, n.d.).

But just what is authenticity? When reviewing the literature on authenticity and tourism, three broad definitional approaches are identified: the objective, the constructive and the existential (Jamal and Hill, 2002; Meethan, 2001; Wang, 1999).²³

Objective Authenticity

When outlining the objective approach, and indeed when discussing authenticity in tourism in general, one must begin with Dean MacCannell (1973, 1976). MacCannell, whose work on tourist motivation and authenticity is arguably one of the more influential in academic literature, claims that for Western tourists, the primary motivation for travel relies on a quest for authenticity that can only be found outside the boundary of everyday life.²⁴ The alienated modern tourist therefore looks for the pristine, the primitive, and the natural in other times, in other places, and in cultures that are as yet untouched by modernity. MacCannell believes, however, that the tourists' quest for the authentic is ultimately futile as their hosts begin, in an effort to fulfill the desire for the authentic, to

²³ It is recognized that authenticity is a complex concept with a long history. The focus here is not to provide an exhaustive review of authenticity and all its numerous interpretations but rather it is to explore the concept as it relates to tourism and cultural tourism specifically. The literature used to inform this section was therefore drawn from sources that discuss authenticity in the specific context of tourism. It is recognized, however, that there is a long tradition of ontological conception of authenticity ranging from Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, Heidegger, Sartre to Camus (Golomb, 1995; Wang, 1999). Authenticity has also been a long-term political concern dating back to Montesquieu and Rousseau (Wang, 1999).

²⁴ While MacCannell may have believed that all tourists are searching for authenticity, Urry has noted "the 'search for authenticity' is too simple a foundation for explaining contemporary tourism" (1995, p.51). Redfoot (1984) also noted that some scholars believe the tourist is generally uninterested in the search for the authentic. Although it is true that not all tourists are interested in authenticity, it is still relevant to cultural tourism and cultural tourists.

present a series of staged events in order to keep tourists from entering their world. Therefore, although tourists may believe that they have gained entry into a back (authentic) region, they have in reality entered into a front (inauthentic) region “that has been totally set up in advance for touristic visitation” (1973, p. 597). MacCannell therefore suggests that “tourists make brave sorties out from their hotels hoping, perhaps, for an authentic experience, but their paths can be traced in advance over small increments of what is for them increasingly apparent authenticity proffered by [staged] tourist settings. Adventurous tourists progress from stage to stage, always in the public eye, and greeted everywhere by their obliging hosts” (1973, p.602).

Central to this approach is the belief that authenticity can be measured by absolute criteria. Authenticity thus takes up a “given or ‘objective’ quality attributable by moderns to the world out there” (Cohen, 1988a, p. 374). This belief relates to the origin of the word authenticity, which, according to Trilling, is in the museum, “where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art [and by extension, ethnographic objects] are what they appear to be or are claimed to be, and therefore...worth the admiration they are being given” (cited in Cohen, 1998a, p. 374). In this approach, authenticity is frequently associated with societies prior to contact with the Western world, and in hand made objects manufactured prior to Western influence. Trilling indeed claims that “the machine...could make only inauthentic things, dead things...” (cited in Cohen, 1988a, p.375).

The objective approach has received a great deal of criticism owing to the belief that it simplifies the complex character of authenticity and does not allow for the

possibility that tourists may conceive of authenticity in different ways. We therefore turn to constructive authenticity.

Constructive Authenticity

The second form of authenticity that has been identified is referred to as constructive authenticity. According to Wang (1999), unlike the previous approach, the constructive approach does not rely on objectively measurable criteria by which to evaluate authenticity, but is the result of social construction. "Things appear authentic not because they are inherently authentic but because they are constructed in terms of point of view, beliefs, perspectives, or powers" (p.351). Authenticity is therefore negotiable and contextually determined. Overall, Wang (1999, p.355) believes that there are five important points to be made about constructive authenticity. The first is that there is no absolute or static original on which the authenticity of originals relies; secondly, origins and traditions are themselves invented and constructed in terms of contexts where one is and in terms of the needs of the present, involving power and hence a social process; thirdly, authenticity or inauthenticity is a result of how one sees things and of one's perspectives and interpretations (therefore if mass tourists experience the toured objects as authentic, then their viewpoints are real in their own right); fourthly, with respect to different cultures or peoples that are to be visited, authenticity is a label attached to the host cultures in terms of stereotyped images and expectations held by members of the tourist-sending society; lastly, even though something can initially be 'inauthentic' or 'artificial', it may subsequently become 'emergent authenticity' with the passage of time.

When discussing the constructivist approach to authenticity, Cohen's (1988a) perspective is one of the more frequently referenced. Believing that it is a negotiable

concept, Cohen chooses to place authenticity on a continuum leading from complete authenticity, through various stages of partial authenticity, to complete falseness. This approach suggests that tourists seek authenticity at differing degrees of intensity, depending on their degree of alienation from society.²⁵ For Cohen it is not whether an individual does or does not have an authentic experience, but rather “what endows his experience with authenticity is in his *own* view” (p.378). More specifically, Cohen claims that those tourists less concerned with authenticity will be more prepared to accept as authentic a cultural product or attraction that more concerned tourists will reject as contrived. Because it is negotiable, Cohen firmly believes that it is possible for authenticity to appear over time, a process he refers to as emergent authenticity. In other words, “a cultural product, or a trait thereof, which at one point generally judged as contrived or inauthentic may, in the course of time, become generally recognized as authentic, even by the experts” (p.379).

While Cohen’s viewpoint does contain some elements of constructive authenticity, he too conceptualizes authenticity in a true/false continuum therefore perpetuating the belief that there is an absolute, autonomous reality against which knowledge can be tested. “At least some individuals who seriously and strenuously seek authenticity, do occasionally succeed in penetrating beyond the limits of the staged tourist space, thereby gaining some ‘authentic’ experiences, in MacCannell’s sense” (1989, p.32).

²⁵ Alienation, according to Cohen (1988a), “...may well be a structural consequence of the pluralization of modern life-worlds...”(p.376). Not everybody is equally alienated, however, nor is everyone aware of their alienation. Cohen claims that those who reflect upon their life situation are more aware of their alienation than those who do not. Arguing that alienation and the quest for authenticity are related, Cohen claims that intellectuals (including curators, ethnographers and anthropologists) and other more alienated individuals will engage in a more serious quest for authenticity than rank-and-file middle-classes, and especially the lower middle class.

Existential Authenticity

The third approach to authenticity, as identified by Wang (1999), is existential authenticity, which involves personal feelings activated by the liminal process of tourist activities.²⁶ Wang contends that in such a liminal experience, “people feel they themselves are much more authentic and more freely self-expressed than in everyday life, not because they find the toured objects are authentic but simply because they are engaging in non-ordinary activities, free from the constraints of the daily” (p.351-352). As an example, Wang chooses to focus on Daniel’s (1996) work on tourism dance performances, suggesting that existential authenticity results from the tourists’ participation in the dance event rather than from being spectators of it:

Many tourists are drawn into participation by the amiable feelings, sociability, and the musical and kinaesthetic elements of dance performance. Often, not knowing the rules, they do not wait to be invited to dance, but spontaneously join in. They explore their rhythmic, harmonic, and physical potential and arrive at sensations of well being, pleasure, joy, or fun, and at times, frustration as well.... As tourists associate these sentiments with dancing, the dance performance transforms their reality.... As performing dancers, tourists access the magical world of liminality which offers spiritual and aesthetic nourishment. Tourism, in moments of dance performance, opens the door to a liminal world that gives relief from day-to-day, ordinary tensions, and, for Cuban dancers and dancing tourists particularly, permits indulgence in near-ecstatic experiences (cited in Wang, 1999, p.359).

²⁶ When discussing the implications of liminality for tourism, the work of Victor Turner (1974; Turner and Turner, 1978) is an important point of departure. Although Turner’s focus was on pilgrimage rather than tourism, it has been influential for work in the sociology of tourism. In the broadest sense, liminality refers to “any condition outside or on the peripheries of everyday life” (Turner, as cited in Lett, 1983, p.44). Everyday life consists of social, economic and political structures, which, in a liminal state, an individual is separated from. Through the separation, both spatial and social, the individual crosses the threshold of the ordered world into a state where ordinary roles and status obligations are suspended and where general bonds, rather than specific social bonds, are emphasized (Cohen, 1988; Urry, 1990). In this liminal state, an individual experiences what Turner refers to as ‘*communitas*’, an intensive bond with the group undergoing the ritual. It should be noted that the original usage of the term liminal was in the context of ritual, which, according to Turner, is obligatory in nature. The term liminoid was therefore coined to designate those activities that have liminal attributes but lack ritual associations (Cohen, 1988; Lett, 1983). Liminoid experiences are generally associated with leisure activities and generally centre upon activities that involve individual participation (Cohen, 1988; Lett, 1983).

Wang contends that because the dance event becomes an activity that the tourists can participate in, an alternative source of authenticity is generated separate from whether or not it is an exact re-enactment of the traditional dance. "Thus, even though this may be inauthentic or contrived in MacCannell's sense, it generates a sense of existential authenticity due to its creative and cathartic nature" (p.359).

In more basic terms, existential authenticity, as it applies to tourism, deals with the role of tourism in connecting a person with their 'true' self. As Sarup (1996) acknowledges, travel allows us to not only to enjoy and exploit the exoticness of the Other, but also allows us to discover our own identity. It is argued that the constraints, responsibilities and monotony of everyday modern life hinder one's ability to feel authentic in an existential sense and therefore one must search for it elsewhere (Smith, 2003; Wang, 1999). Tourism, regarded as a "...simpler, freer, more spontaneous, more authentic, less serious, less utilitarian, and romantic, lifestyle" (Wang, 1999, p.360), is in marked contrast to everyday roles, and thus the tourist role is linked to the ideal of authenticity.

Authenticity and Cultural Tourism

While authenticity may not be central to certain types of tourism, it is especially important within the realm of cultural tourism, and is a basic principle for this kind of tourism development. UNESCO (2003), for example, states that its role in cultural tourism will be to "devise cultural tourism policies which can sustain cultural pluralism and preserve cultural diversity as well as the authenticity of the living and monumental heritage". Gail Dexter Lord (1999) further suggests "that while significant opportunities

for cultural tourism emerge from identified trends and patterns, opportunities must be considered in the context of expectations held by the cultural tourist; for example, a desire for – and expectation of – experiences rather than objects, authenticity rather than fabrication, and the desire to contribute to a sustainable environment”.

Generally speaking, it is usually the museum-linked or objective usage of authenticity that has been extended to cultural tourism, asserting that the destinations visited possess some kind of static, immovable characteristics, disregarding the possibility that authenticity is a label attached to the visited cultures in terms of stereotyped images and expectations held by members of the tourist-sending society (Butcher, 2003; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). “For example, products of tourism such as works of art, festivals, rituals, cuisine, dress, housing, and so on are usually described as ‘authentic’ or ‘inauthentic’ in terms of the criterion of whether they are made or enacted ‘by local people according to custom or tradition’. [And in this sense], ‘authenticity connotes traditional culture and origin, a sense of the genuine, the real or the unique” (Sharpley cited in Wang, 1999, p. 350-351). Studies have further proposed that cultural tourists also view authenticity in this objective sense. Gordon Waitt (2000) suggests that the reason for this is in part because tourists are unfamiliar with the constructivist viewpoint, and are therefore more likely to understand authenticity within the true/false/continuum. Littrell et al’s (1993) study supports Waitt’s perspective, revealing that the respondents in their study tended to take an objective view of authenticity, citing factors such as handmade appearance, illustration of cultural and historical ties, written documentation of authenticity and time and location of production. Taking it one step further, May (1996) suggests that even individuals who have a relatively sophisticated

understanding of constructivism appear to abandon those understandings in the context of travel.

Furthermore, authenticity in cultural tourism tends to be viewed as synonymous with cultures that remain rooted in the past and the traditional, resulting in the belief that these cultures possess all the qualities that the West has lost (Cohen, 1988a; MacCannell, 1973, 1976; Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Waitt, 2000). This view is summarized by Taylor (2001) as follows:

the narrative of authenticity, when applied to culture, finds its corollary and model in the “tragic” experience of modernity. It is made to correspond to a perceived death in the Western psyche which has abandoned its authenticity in the quest of progress and technology....“They” [non-western] become the lost sacredness of Western culture, they become its Other, and they are ascribed a spiritual and physical authenticity which the materialist West has somehow lost (p.10).²⁷

It is clear that authenticity plays a crucial role in cultural tourism. Tourists in this market typically pride themselves on being interested in learning about the culture of their host in such a way as to ensure minimal impact on the host society. While certainly noble in intent, because they are frequently dissatisfied with so called ‘staged’ authenticity, cultural tourists will routinely seek out areas that have not yet been ‘polluted’ by hordes of mass tourists, which in turn creates the very situation they are trying to avoid. Cultural tourists will therefore often become unintentional pioneers of mass tourist penetration into previously ‘unspoilt’ areas, resulting in more covert and

²⁷ While the focus is primarily on non-western, non-white, and non-industrial cultures, it should be noted that attempts to find authentic traditional cultures are also made within the industrial world that have still to “succumb to the full structural differentiation of modern life, itself in part a product of the spread of contemporary tourism, as a new class of traveler seeks out the ‘undiscovered’ Greece or Spain” (May, 1996, p.710). This position is reflected in the quote provided earlier by the host of *Europe Through the Back Door* Rick Steves where he is clearly not talking about non-Western cultures, but rather the undiscovered Europe.

more insidious forms of staged authenticity, as compared to those typical of mass tourism (Cohen, 1989). Paradoxically, Cohen claims, this development takes place precisely because the principal 'commodity' that is offered is authenticity. Ros Coward sums it up nicely when she writes that the tourists partaking in new forms of tourism

...smugly believe that...problems are not created by their sort of holidays. They travel independently, [and] visit ever more remote places. The moral superiority of this tourism comes from the idea that it provides an experience of the authentic culture of the host community rather than its destruction. The...problems are blamed on the kind of holiday taken by [those]...who do not understand the true purpose of travel is to experience otherness....As a result, the discerning have to travel further afield (cited in Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p.60-2).

So while mass tourism is commonly blamed for environmental and cultural damage, new forms of tourism, specifically cultural tourism, also contribute to this damage. Mowforth and Munt (1998) comment that "...it is essential that we challenge the tacit assumption that the emergence of new forms of tourism is both designed for, and will result in, surmounting the problems that have been identified" (p.63-4). As cultural tourism continues to increase in popularity, and therefore cultural objects, activities and experiences become more highly sought after, commodification, resulting in a loss of 'authenticity', becomes a likely possibility.

Commodifying Cultures

Commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives.
- Greenwood, 1989, p. 179

They cannot represent themselves; they must be represented.
- Karl Marx cited in Said, 1985, p.1

As Appadurai (1986) points out, in the modern era markets have expanded, bringing about the commodification of an ever wider range of things and activities that would have otherwise been protected from commodification. Of particular significance is Appadurai's reference to the notable role that 'strangers' have in the commodification process. As Cohen (1988a) attests, "tourists in the modern world are particularly ubiquitous types of strangers, notorious for their propensity to precipitate, directly or indirectly, the commoditization of an ever wider range of things (and activities), many of which have been kept out of the domain of the market prior to the penetration of tourism, by rigorous normative prohibitions and taboos" (p.381). So while mass tourism has been frequently touted as the culprit in the cultural commodification process, cultural tourists ('strangers'), who routinely seek out areas as yet untouched by mass tourism, have perhaps a greater role.

Watson and Kopachevsky (1994) offer a detailed look at tourism as commodity, believing that modern tourism is best understood in the context of the commodification process and contemporary consumer culture. The authors briefly review Marx's original formulation on the subject, defining commodification as "the process by which objects and activities come to be evaluated *primarily* in terms of their *exchange value* in the context of trade...in addition to any *use-value* that such commodities might have" (their

emphasis, p.645). When applied to the specific context of tourism, Robinson (2001) defines commodification as “the process whereby ways of life, traditions and the complex symbolism which supports these, are imagined and transformed into saleable products for tourists” (p.43).²⁸ Cohen (1988a) suggests that it is generally local culture, in particular costumes and customs, rituals and feasts, and ethnic and folk art, that become the victims of commodification as they are produced and performed for consumption by tourists. The important question therefore becomes, what happens to the other meanings of things and activities once they become commodified? The simple answer, provided by the critics of the commodification process, is that once commodified, the objects and activities are rendered inauthentic and ultimately become tarnished if they are produced, not for internal use or enjoyment, but for external touristic consumption. Inauthentic representation can also mean that tourists perceive unfamiliar cultures as exotic and inanimate curios rather than members of a dynamic and complex culture, thus causing members of the host society to reject traditional culture itself (Dyer et al, 2003).

Greenwood (1989) completed one of the first studies of commodification of culture through tourism with his examination of the Alarde of Fuenterrabia, and therefore deserves some detailed consideration here. The Alarde is a recreation of Fuenterrabia’s victory over the French in the siege of A.D. 1638, involving most of the residents of the

²⁸ When addressing cultural commodification, Robinson (1999a) rightly points out that packaging and commercializing some aspects of culture are more contentious than others, and he therefore divides commodification into ‘weak’ and ‘strong’. According to Robinson, weak commodification is primarily associated with the presentation of culture in venues such as museums, where he maintains that the “...educational function can be liberating for local cultures, allowing them to exhibit their history and culture to a wider audience” (p.11). Robinson contends that this particular form of commodification carries a large measure of social legitimacy, particularly in westernized developed societies where formal display and exhibition are common, although he does leave aside interpretive issues in his discussion.

In contrast, Robinson connects strong commodification with ethnic groups and practices in non-westernized developing societies which generally do not outwardly exhibit their culture. In other words, Robinson associates strong commodification with local cultures that are exploited for economic purposes and simplified in order to conform to touristic expectations.

town both in preparation for and the enactment of the ritual. Of particular significance for Greenwood, is the audience for whom this ritual is performed. As a ritual whose meaning is situated in the involvement of the entire town and in the intimacy with which the participants²⁹ understand its major symbols, Greenwood suggests that it is a performance for the participants, not a show.

The turning point, according to Greenwood, came in 1969 when the Spanish Ministry of Tourism and Public Information, in promoting tourism in Fuenterrabia, decided that the Alarde should be given twice in the same day in order to allow everyone (re: tourists) to see it. It was at this point that the Alarde became defined as a “*public show to be performed for outsiders* who, because of their economic importance in the town, had the *right* to see it” (his emphasis, p.178). According to Greenwood, as a result of the decision made by the Spanish Ministry of Tourism, the town of Fuenterrabia began having difficulty convincing its residents to participate in the ritual. In the space of two years, the Alarde became an obligation to be avoided, as it was a performance for money.

The ‘staging’ of the Alarde, as maintained by Greenwood, ultimately destroyed the ritual’s authenticity, thereby damaging its meaning and its power for the people. Greenwood therefore believes that:

treating culture as a natural resource or a commodity over which tourists have rights is not simply perverse, it is a violation of the people’s cultural rights. While some aspects of culture have wider ramifications than others, what must be remembered is that culture in its very essence is something that people believe in *implicitly*. By making it part of the tourism package, it is turned into an explicit and paid performance and no longer can be believed in the way it was before. Thus, commoditization of culture in effect robs people of the very meanings by which they organize their lives (his emphasis, p.179).

²⁹ Participants also include those who, for months, had aided in the creation of costumes, directing marching practice and teaching music to the children.

The process of commodification described by Greenwood is by no means restricted to the Basque town of Fuenterrabia; such processes have been well documented by numerous academics conducting studies in developing and in developed countries (Dyer et al., 2003; Grunewald, 2002; Guin, 1998; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Joseph and Kavoori, 2001; Karpodini-Dimitriadi, 1999; Medina, 2003; Robinson, 1999b; Whittaker, 1999).³⁰ In addition to detailing the tangible changes made to cultural rituals and products for consumption by tourists, several studies also outline the contribution of commodification to the inaccurate portrayal of cultures. Of note are studies conducted on the representation of Australian Aboriginal culture.

The overall results of a study conducted by Dyer et al (2003), found that the commercial viability of Australia's Djabugay culture often overrode its 'authentic' portrayal, resulting in stereotypical images misrepresenting the vitality of the Aborigines by promoting images of the exotic and primitive. Whittaker's (1999) study supports these findings claiming that Aborigines "have become attractive mysteries, promises of spirituality, recipes for a better moral life and the harbingers of a new world, or perhaps a 'new age'. Encapsulating so much that is desirable, Aboriginal people have become the foci of promotion and marketing. They are presented as exotica, that cornerstone of global tourist expectation, and they are produced, one might even say 'manufactured', to fit the tourist gaze" (p.34).

As Robinson (2001) points out, much of the manufacturing or commodification that takes place begins well away from the actual cultural sites, often in the highly

³⁰ The sources provided is by no means an exhaustive list, but it does offer a good cross section of studies conducted in both developing as well as developed nations.

selective combinations of words and images in tourist brochures.³¹ “For tourists, the tourism industry’s selective packaging of culture(s) creates a significant degree of expectation, which emanates from the industry’s own value systems, which are carried to chosen holiday destinations. The outcome is that tourists develop contrived expectations of the cultures they visit, which are frequently idealized and inauthentic” (p.44). In the case of the host society, Classen and Howes suggest that “the simplistic and traditionalistic imagery of ‘otherness’ used in product promotions and travel advertisements hinders the inhabitants of the countries concerned in asserting an identity as modern, industrially developed or developing peoples with complex lifestyles” (cited in Robinson, 1999a, p. 13).³²

The examples and discussion above, demonstrating the effects of commodification, are an illustration of two significant issues in cultural tourism: who gets to develop and interpret cultural attractions and experiences, and which cultural attractions and experiences will be developed and interpreted.

The Development and Interpretation of Culture

On account of tourism’s power to “...reshape culture...to its own needs” (MacCannell, 1992, p.1), the rights and consent over the presentation and ownership of

³¹ The travel brochure is probably the single most important item in the planning of tourism marketing. It has long been regarded as one of the more influential and widely utilized means of destination promotion. The brochure establishes expectations of quality, value for money and product image and status with the use of full colour photographs and text laden with adjectives (Dann, 1993).

³² Turning once again to sex tourism, it too is a part of the process of ‘othering’ “...whereby local people are depicted (and sold) as being exotic/erotic objects of the tourist gaze. The Western obsession with the cult of beauty is fed through marketing campaigns containing explicit images of young, beautiful, ‘exotic’ natives” (Smith, 2003, p.50). There is also the problem of racism in the attitudes of some sex tourists who “...perpetuate the racist stereotype of the exotic and erotic black woman...” (Smith, 2003, p.50).

cultural property is one of the more significant issues surrounding cultural tourism. Mike Robinson (1999a) summarizes the issue as follows:

Culture, in terms of ethnic traditions, language, religious beliefs and community traditions, together with its symbolic expression in the form of 'cultural capital' are open to political manipulation by the state for both economic and nationalistic reasons. It is not solely the fact that commodification of culture takes place, we need to analyse the political basis upon which it occurs, the degree of selectivity involved, whether cultural rights are being transgressed, whether the 'owners' of culture receive the revenues generated by the gazing tourists, and whether communities possess a veto by which they could prevent exploitation (p.13).

Priscilla Boniface (1999) further outlines the importance of ownership and the power of information and knowledge, arguing that "having knowledge of the touristic situation involving a unique tourism resource or having rights to it and/or holding control of an item needed for tourism, all endow power and therefore provide capacity for influence" (p.297). In fact, the struggle to control how cultural resources are used and interpreted can create disagreements between tourist and host, between different cultural groups within a destination, between the governed and the governing and between the tourism industry and host community (Dogan, 1989; Robinson, 1999a, 2001). Indeed "the conferring of 'heritage' status, commodification, and the marketing of such symbols involves an inherent selectivity which promotes certain value systems over others and can result in the 'disinheritance' of non-participatory, marginalized groups" (Robinson, 1999a, p.20). While conflicts would certainly not disappear altogether should tourism be removed, it does have the ability to act as a catalyst "...because of its ability to contribute to the marginalization and trivialization of cultural groups, its innate selectivity, and its capability to shape the economic, environmental and political agendas of destinations" (Robinson, 1999a, p.20).

A particularly compelling example of conflict between the local community and the tourism industry is over Uluru, one of the more visited attractions in Australia. Otherwise known as Ayers Rock, the site is sacred to the local Aboriginal communities, who have requested that tourists refrain from climbing it by including a statement in the Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park Information Sheet which reads: "That's a really important sacred thing that you are climbing...You shouldn't climb...maybe that makes you a bit sad. But any way, that's what we have to say" (cited in Robinson, 2001, p.41). As Robinson points out, however, the Northern Territory Tourist Brochure encourages tourists to climb the Rock claiming, "local Aborigines can't see the logic in climbing the Rock. But when you've come this far it seems the thing to do" (cited in Robinson, 2001, p.42). In fact, the relationship between the tourism industry and the Aborigines in Australia provide important examples of how the cultural dimensions of tourism resources can be misunderstood and misused.

Turning once again to Dyer et al (2003) and Whittaker's (1999) studies of Aborigines in Australia, it becomes clear that control over indigenous culture in touristic situations is generally in the hands of non-indigenous people. Several reasons have been identified for this lack of indigenous control, including supposed poor education and business experience, as well as a lack of access to capital and effective autonomy (Dyer et al, 2003; Whittaker, 1999). Ultimately it is outside interests that benefit from Aboriginal tourism, as the indigenous population is rarely involved in tourism development issues.

In their specific examination of the Djabugay community and the development of tourism in Tjapukai Aboriginal Cultural Park, Dyer et al identify attempts to provide the

local indigenous population with more control over the ownership and presentation of their culture. An agreement between all shareholders in the Park was negotiated, including the establishment of the Djabugay Cultural Coordinating Committee (DCCC), with the purpose of guaranteeing cultural appropriateness and authenticity. The agreement was also to ensure that 50 per cent equity in the Park was given to the Djabugay people (with the eventual possibility of full ownership), as well as managerial positions, thereby ensuring freedom from economic and social exploitation. In spite of these attempts, however, Dyer et al found that the agreement was not adhered to, allowing for commercial viability to consistently override the portrayal of authentic Djabugay culture, with tourist feedback often dictating changes to cultural representations. Indeed Dyer et al found repeated dissatisfaction on the part of the Djabugay, claiming a serious lack of consultation between the Park management and the DCCC. Ultimately Dyer et al conclude that the popular perception that cultural tourism is the answer for indigenous advantage and dependency is faulty. They conclude that despite best attempts, "...the Djabugay people lack power and influence in the Park because of their minority shareholding, minimal voting powers, and lack of employee and managerial representation. Accordingly, they do not have the capacity to purchase a majority share in the Park" (p. 93). Indeed majority ownership of, or involvement in, the Park would improve cultural sustainability and allow the Djabugay people to withdraw from tourism should the socio-cultural costs become too extreme. As it currently stands, the Aboriginals have very little influence on how their culture is represented, and it is unlikely that they will regain exclusive rights to their intellectual property (Dyer et al, 2003).

While the Djabugay people have little control over their intellectual property and presentation of culture, there are, at the very least, attempts at some form of inclusion. In Ghana, however, the control over cultural sites is very different. The tourism resources in Ghana include beaches, rain forest, wild life, local cultures, festivals, rituals and the historic castles of Elmina and Cape Coast. According to Victor Teye et al (2002), the plan put forward by the Ministry of Tourism, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the World Tourism Organization, was to develop all of the resources, but with specific focus on the castles. With their designation as UNESCO World Heritage Monuments in the early 1970s, and their subsequent transformation into cultural attractions, the castles attracted growing numbers of tourists, increasing from 8,000 in 1990 to more than 30,000 in 1997 (Teye et al, 2002). The transformation of these castles into cultural tourist attractions has created serious resentment within the local communities, however.

Teye et al argue that the "...checkered history of the...castles, and of both communities, means that their residents attach individual and collective emotions to the transformation of these monuments into attractions.... In going from trading posts to slave dungeons to military fortifications and colonial administrative headquarters, and finally attractions, both castles served as locations for important community activities after independence" (p.672). These community activities have been relocated in favour of tourism development in an attempt to improve the towns' weakening economies. A significant problem, however, is that even in spite of the anticipated economic and infrastructural benefits, local residents are not being involved in the tourism development project, and are in fact being intentionally separated from the decision making as well as

the physical attractions. The project, being implemented by a host of international agencies and consultants, including USAID, UNDP, Shell (Ghana) Limited, ICOMOS (US Chapter), and the Smithsonian Institution, has created a certain degree of resentment within the community due to the required admission fees and the ban on entering castle grounds. In addition, there is belief from the local chiefs that the land on which the Elmina Castle sits belongs to the *stool*, or symbol of traditional rule, which requires payment of royalties.

It should be noted that issues of ownership, development and interpretation are not restricted to developing nations and indigenous peoples (Bauer, 1996; Richards, 1996b, c, d;). Using the European City of Culture Event as an example, Richards (1996b, c, d) addresses the interrelated problems of whose culture is being developed and for whom. Richards suggests that the growing economic focus of the event has led to the marginalization of local cultures in favour of the more globalized, thereby promoting the interests of the visitors instead of those of the local residents. The designation of Glasgow as the European City of Culture in 1990 is said to be the turning point in the event's history because of the city's use of the event as a vehicle for economic development and image-building rather than as a purely cultural manifestation. Many local advocates complained about the international flavour of the event, arguing that the money used to stage the event could have been better spent on basic services such as housing, or that the event should have been more culturally representative of Glasgow itself (Richards, 1996c).

In his study on cultural tourism in Savoie, France, Michel Bauer (1996) clearly identifies problems surrounding the interpretation of cultural sites. In order to promote

tourism in Savoie, a series of ethnographic routes were constructed, linking communities, attractions and tourists together, all managed by the Foundation pour l'action culturelle en Montagne (FACIM), a cultural organization funded by the regional government. Guide books are available for the routes, and a number of volunteers are also available to provide interpretation of the built heritage and also provide insight about daily life in the villages. In addition to the guides and volunteers, the local priests have also become involved in the interpretation of the religious heritage, which, according to Bauer, has begun to undermine the original aim of providing a coherent interpretation for the heritage of the region. In addition, several conflicts have arisen between the local authorities, the local priests and the FACIM, making a coherent management plan for the region difficult to implement.

While the FACIM may see the different views of Savoie heritage as an obstacle, it should not be forgotten that for the tourist, and even the local population, these different views could serve a greater educational purpose by exposing a number of different perspectives, hopefully reducing the possibility of promoting existing stereotypes or existing prejudices of the region.

What all of these examples demonstrate is that cultural tourism is not necessarily more benevolent towards local cultures, and may in fact not be a remedy to the damage created by mass tourism. While the issues surrounding interpretation will never entirely disappear, steps can be taken in order to reduce conflicts and misrepresentation, primarily through the involvement of all groups associated with a specific culture, exhibit, festival or site.

A Positive Side to Commodification?

While it is easy to condemn the commodification of culture for the purposes of tourism, it is certainly not all bad. Even Greenwood questions his original conclusions when he states:

Further reflection on what I wrote suggested to me the need to place the process described by the chapter [*Culture by the Pound*] within a broader context. After all, local cultures have been transformed by tourism, but so have they been by industrialization, urbanization, pollution, poverty, civil war, migration, and a host of other factors. Does tourism have unique effects? Are its cultural manifestations always negative? (1989, p.181).

In relation to the last question posed, Greenwood further questions whether it is safe to assume that all local cultural values are being destroyed under the weight of tourism. Indeed the notion that cultures lose their authenticity as a result of the commodification process has been increasingly questioned. Cohen (1988a) concludes that:

commoditization does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, neither for the locals nor for the tourists, although it may do so under certain conditions. Tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings for the locals, as they become a diacritical mark of their ethnic or cultural identity, a vehicle of self-representation before an external public. However, old meanings do not thereby necessarily disappear, but may remain salient, on a different level, for an internal public, despite commoditization...(p.383).

Cohen provides an example of Balinese ritual performances that cater to three different audiences, a divine, a local and a touristic, as a means to explain that performing the rituals for tourists does not destroy the meaning for the other two groups. "The touristic audience is appreciated for the economic assets it can bring...but its presence has not diminished the importance of performing competently for the other two audiences, the villagers and the divine realm" (McKean, cited in Cohen, 1988, p.382). Cohen further

references McKean in order to outline the fact that in performing rituals specifically staged for tourists, "...the funds, as well as the increased skills and equipment available have enriched the possibility that the indigenous performances will be done with more elegance, in effect conserving culture" (cited in Cohen, 1988, p.382).

Hazel Tucker (2001) supports Cohen's view that tourist-oriented products frequently acquire new meanings, arguing that new cultural forms often emerge through tourism itself. She further believes that cultural tourism should encompass and embrace these novel cultural forms. "There is a need to recognize cultural forms and differences not as continuity with prior traditions, but as novel forms which arise through and are the very product of those institutions which are generally thought to be homogenizing" (p.885). According to Tucker, sustainable cultural tourism will rely on adopting these new cultural forms rather than viewing them as inauthentic and casualties of commodification.

Cultural Revitalization

While tourism is frequently criticized for the destruction of cultures, it should not be forgotten that cultural tourism has the ability to revive cultural traditions and heritage and contribute to the restoration of monuments and buildings. In addition, cultural tourism can aid in enhancing a sense of identity of a community or region (Bramwell, 2003; Dogan, 1989; Grunewald, 2002; Guin, 1998; Halewood and Hannam, 2001; Karpodini-Dimitriadi, 1999; MacDonald, 1997; Medina, 2003; NWHO, 1999; Palmer, 1999).

In Halewood and Hannam's (2001) study on Viking heritage tourism, it was discovered that as a result of the interest and commercial opportunities created at Viking

markets, a number of Viking crafts and products once long forgotten were revived.³³ The Viking markets are further used as a means to educate not only tourists but also the local population, on their own history, craftsmanship and culture. Similarly, Laurie Kroshus Medina (2003), in her study on tourism and Maya identity, outlines the opportunities presented to the Succotzenos³⁴ to claim or reclaim Maya identity and culture as a result of tourism. Medina notes that as tourists began displaying interest in Mayan culture, and positive values were associated with the culture, a number of Succotzenos expressed a desire to learn of their heritage and traditions. As a result, a number of villagers have renewed the Maya tradition of stone carving, producing sculptures in a style that mimics images and inscriptions found at ancient Mayan sites. In addition, a ceramic tradition that had been lost 1,000 years earlier with the collapse of Xunantunich, a Mayan archaeological site near Succotz, was revived in the early 1990s, enabling villagers to generate income from the sale of pottery to tourists. Both the stone carving and pottery, in addition to being economically beneficial, enabled the artisans to learn something about Maya history all the while reviving important traditions.

Bill Bramwell (2003), in his study on Maltese responses to tourism, reveals similar findings as those arrived at by Medina. Citing a 1992 survey, Bramwell explains that when asked if tourism had improved national identity, 72.1 % of the Maltese respondents answered 'very much', and a high percentage of the respondents also believed that tourism had a good effect on their archaeological sites, local crafts,

³³ Viking markets are essentially craft fairs located in rural and historically accurate settings where goods, which replicate styles, patterns and techniques of the Viking period, are sold, and combat and horse riding skills are displayed.

³⁴ Succotzenos are the people who live in the Mayan town of Succotz.

culture³⁵, cooking and traditional customs. These results support earlier conclusions by Boissevian and Inglott (1979), who argue that as a result of tourists' interest in Malta, the local population's pride in their Maltese culture increased dramatically. "The genuine admiration of tourists has helped the Maltese appreciate their own cultural heritage and added another dimension in their search for national identity" (p. 281). Boissevian and Inglott further suggest that tourism "...has obliged the Maltese to formulate more clearly for themselves what they are and what they stand for – to think more consistently about their own culture instead of merely taking for granted or imitating foreign tastes" (p. 277).

Deblekha Guin's (1998) study in Ladakh, India, also reveals that the arrival of tourism, even while creating changes in festivals that had existed for centuries, was considered one of the best things to happen. Until the arrival of tourism, Ladakh was branded as 'backward', and the Ladakhi people were prone to believing that they were equally 'backward'. With the arrival of tourists, who celebrated the 'simplicity' of the life in Ladakh rather than being disgusted by it, the local people were able to restore faith in themselves and reinforce their identity.

Clearly, developing cultural resources for the purposes of tourism are not always a negative thing. Without tourism development, important cultural sites can run the risk of ending in ruins and traditions can remain forgotten. When compared to mass tourism, therefore, it can be argued that cultural tourism is indeed better suited to cultural revitalization if for no other reason than the fact that it is dependent on cultural resources for its success.

³⁵ According to Bramwell, culture, in the way it was employed in the survey, was meant to be things from the past that endure into the present.

Additional Impacts: The Environment

The impacts discussed in the previous segments of this chapter were chosen because of their superior importance to cultural tourism. There are, however, other impacts that deserve to be briefly outlined here, specifically environmental impacts.

As with any form of tourism, cultural tourism has a range of impacts on natural and built environments. As tourism in a region grows, pressure on natural resources increases, potentially creating serious problems. Each destination has limits of activity that cannot be surpassed without causing damage to the environment, and therefore limits to the carrying capacity of the environment need to be detected and addressed (Shaw and Williams, 2002). Possible harmful effects include water and air pollution, the destruction of ecosystems, inappropriate visual and structural changes and the depletion of a region's important natural resources (Archer and Cooper, 1998; Dogan, 1989; Shaw and Williams, 1992). Conversely, tourism, especially new forms of tourism, can aid in the conservation of the environment. In fact sustainable tourism is a central element for new forms of tourism, and is the focus of the next chapter.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine the various impacts of cultural tourism, and assess whether or not this new form of tourism is really less harmful and more benevolent towards cultures and host destinations than its mass tourism counterpart. In general, it was discovered that cultural tourism, while noble in intent, creates its own series of problems, in large part stemming from the effects of commodification and the reliance on authenticity as a central feature. In fact a main source of difficulty stems

from what Wood believes is an oversimplified view of what culture is and how it is affected by tourism.

The way questions are posed often suggests a billiard ball model, in which the moving object (tourism) acts on an inert one (culture), at best through the intermediary of a third object (culture brokers). The assumption is that culture is unitary, passive and inert. Such an approach to culture...misses the dynamic context tourism enters and the variety of active responses to tourism which shape its cultural meaning. To understand the relationships between tourism and culture, we need to recognize culture as internally differentiated, active and changing....We must also recognize that cultures are not passive, and must become more sensitive to the cultural strategies people develop to limit, channel, and incorporate the effects of international tourism (cited in Dogan, 1989, p.221).

As previously outlined, much of cultural tourism relies on the notion that destinations possess some kind of static, immovable characteristics, thereby discounting the possibility that authenticity is a label attached to the visited cultures in terms of stereotyped images and expectations held by members of the tourist-sending society (Butcher, 2003; Taylor, 2001; Wang, 1999). Indeed cultural tourists, in their search for difference, are unwilling to accept changes in the host destination that may contradict their already established expectations. This is especially true of cultural tourists in LDCs. In fact it is extremely common to hear comments from cultural tourists such as the following:

From a Belgian tourist in Goreme, Turkey:

Goreme isn't beautiful anymore, there are all the fairy-chimneys and caves which is nice, but everything is in English, and all the boards and of the *pansiyons*. ...Things like the Flintstones cave bar, I don't like it – it's for more typical tourists. ...I suppose it's good to have for those tourists who like it, but it's good to have more natural places. ...In ten years time, there will be more signs, neon, it will lose everything that *we* come for (her emphasis, cited in Tucker, 2001, p.884).

From a Canadian tourist in Bombay, India:

When I first arrived in Bombay, I thought, my god, they're more Western than we are, I mean, some of the clothes the girls were wearing, I wouldn't even wear....I mean it seems a little out of place in India (cited in Guin, 1998, p. 24).³⁶

While cultural tourists may see their aversion to change in host destinations as reasonable, suggesting that residents should not embrace elements of other cultures is unfair. Butcher (2003) acknowledges that the fact that the host and tourist may share common needs, desires and aspirations with regard to development is all too frequently ignored. Butcher (1997) argues that "the championing of 'authentic' culture in the face of commercialism reflects a lack of an expectation of growth, and implicitly accepts that these societies are going nowhere" (p.28-9). For Levi-Strauss, "we must accept the fact that each society has made a certain choice, within a range of existing human possibilities and that the various choices cannot be compared to each other" (cited in Butcher, 2003, p.89).

Obviously there are problems associated with cultural tourism and therefore promoting it as a potential solution to the damage created by extensive and long-term tourism development is unreasonable. Archer and Cooper (1998) believe that there is a case for new forms of tourism, but "...only as another form of tourism in the spectrum. It can never be an alternative to mass tourism nor can it solve all the problems of tourism" (p.78). While it may not be a solution, new tourism, including cultural tourism, has been

³⁶ In fact the locals' desire to imitate or adopt western values, behaviours and goods is a huge source of displeasure on the part of the cultural tourist. Referred to as acculturation or the demonstration effect, Pearce explains the occurrence as follows: "Emulating visitors, the residents may adopt new styles of clothing, begin eating and drinking the imported food and beverages favoured by the tourist, or aspire to obtain the...material goods so casually displayed by him" (as cited in Meethan, 2001, p.144). It has been argued that the tendency of the host population to imitate tourists, results in the loss of authenticity and identity of the traditional cultures (Dogan, 1989). Advocates of new forms of tourism, including cultural tourism, therefore generally perceive acculturation as negative, often pointing to mass tourism as the culprit.

important in drawing attention to issues of sustainability. The proponents of new tourism, who position culture and the environment as key components in their tourism experience, understand the importance of preserving natural and cultural resources, even if their attempts are not always successful. As Jones observes, “some of the clues and solutions from alternative tourism can be used to inform and advise policy and practice in the development and management of mass tourism” (cited in Murphy, 1998, p.184). The following chapter will therefore examine the concept of sustainability and provide an overview of the steps that need to be taken in order to adequately and properly conserve cultural resources.

Chapter 3: Sustainable Cultural Tourism — Selected Strategies

Since the Renaissance we have been constantly trying to go beyond our limits. Today we are trying to determine those limits. We have in fact reached the point where we have to ask, what lies beyond these newly identified limits.
—Erhard Eppler, cited in Krippendorf, 1987, p.1

From the time the potentially harmful impacts of tourism were first exposed, an enthusiastic debate about how best to achieve a more balanced approach in the development of tourism began. Initially, the focus was on the relationship between tourism and the physical environment, but by the 1980s, it was recognized that tourism also impacts, both positively and negatively, host societies and cultures, prompting the development of new forms of tourism as potential solutions to the problem (Sharpley and Sharpley, 1997). Chapter Two specifically evaluated cultural tourism and the claims that it was able to deliver a form of tourism less damaging than its mass tourism counterpart. While it was discovered that cultural tourism can promote greater understanding between people of different cultures and aid in the revitalization of various cultural resources, it is certainly not the promised solution to the mass tourism ‘problem’. What should not be ignored, however, is the attention that has been drawn to the excesses of unrestricted tourism development and the contribution new forms of tourism have made to the debate

on sustainable tourism. Furthermore, simply because new forms of tourism, specifically cultural tourism, have not lived up to their promises does not mean that attempts should not be made. The purpose of this chapter is therefore to provide recommendations and strategies that will facilitate a move toward increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs of cultural tourism development. Chapter Two identified many of the problems generated by cultural tourism, and it would be inappropriate to neglect exploring possible solutions.

This chapter will focus on sustainable development and sustainable tourism, with the ultimate goal of identifying elements with the potential to promote quality cultural tourism. The goal of this chapter is to identify relevant issues and principles important to cultural tourism from within the sustainability paradigm, rather than provide an exhaustive review of all elements associated with sustainability.³⁷ The elements chosen were done so based on the conclusions reached in Chapter Two and are supported with material gathered from tourism industry documents, case studies and academic sources.

This chapter will begin with an overview of the concepts of sustainable development and sustainable tourism, followed by a discussion of how they relate to cultural tourism. Subsequent sections will identify and discuss several principles felt to be essential in the quest to achieve sustainable cultural tourism including the creation of partnerships, education and training and effective interpretation and representation of images. Popular tools for impact assessment will also be examined.

³⁷ Further, it should be noted that the following is not to be considered a 'how to' guide but rather more of a 'what to consider' guide.

Sustainable Development

The paradigm of sustainable development gained worldwide attention in 1987 with the publication of *Our Common Future* by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED, also known as the Brundtland Commission), and was a central agenda item for the United Nations 'Earth Summit' held in Rio de Janeiro in June of 1992 (Berry and Ladkin, 1997).³⁸ Defined by the Brundtland Commission as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WTTC, 1995 p.30), sustainable development was used as a means to bring together the seemingly contrasting concepts of economic development and environmental conservation (Garrod and Fyall, 1998). Hence, while development is identified as necessary in order to meet the basic needs of much of the world's population, it is felt that it should occur in collaboration with the principles of conservation, ensuring the natural environment of the present and future remains uncompromised. More specifically, the WCED publication had three general objectives: "to re-examine the critical environmental and development issues and to formulate realistic proposals for dealing with them; to propose new forms of international co-operation on these issues that will influence policies and events in the direction of needed changes; and to raise the levels of understanding and commitment to action of

³⁸ While sustainable development entered into the popular lexicon on account of the publication of *Our Common Future*, the concept has a long history. Michael Hall (1998) offers a brief discussion of the early antecedents of sustainable development arguing that the present debate is a continuation of a debate that has been occurring in industrial society since the 1870s. Richard Butler (1998) also notes that sustainable development is not a new idea and that its fundamental principles have been well established and common to many societies for a long time. While the idea is clearly not a new one, Butler does suggest that it is the perception of newness that accounts for its current popularity. He claims "present-day society seems enthralled with identifying what are regarded as new concepts or ideas and imbuing them with overwhelming attributes and abilities to correct society's problems" (p.26).

individuals, voluntary organisations, businesses, institutes, and governments” (UNESCO, 2002).

Since its arrival into the mainstream, sustainable development has received tremendous support from governments and a variety of non-governmental agencies, as well as from the academic community and the public. Despite the appeal and promise of sustainable development, however, the uncertainty and ambiguity over the meaning has created difficulties in its implementation (Butler, 1998; Hall and Lew, 1998; Stabler, 1997). As the Nordic World Heritage Office’s (NWHO) report *Sustainable Tourism and Cultural Heritage* (1999) attests, the simplicity of the definition provided by the WCED allows for much about sustainable development to be contested, including who defines sustainability and what exactly is to be sustained. In fact, the generality of the concept has allowed it to be applied to any purpose thought appropriate. Indeed, sustainable development has evolved from its environmental perspective to include a broad range of economic, social and political issues, leading to the formation of hundreds of definitions (Stabler, 1997).

In addition to the variety of definitions that exist for sustainable development, there are also two major perspectives – weak sustainability and strong sustainability (Fyall and Garrod, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Stabler, 1997). The main difference between the perspectives deals with the form capital stock is in when passed on from one generation to the next. Advocates of weak sustainability believe that resources are highly substitutable and therefore compensation to future generations for the contemporary use of resources could consist of human-made or natural capital, or a mixture of the two. They do, however, support appropriate maximum and minimum limits on the substitution

of human-made capital for natural capital.³⁹ In addition, they prohibit the substitution of human-made capital for natural capital considered essential for human survival, such as basic life support functions like reserves of fresh water, the ozone layer, and keystone plant and animal species (Fyall and Garrod, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998). Advocates of the strong sustainability approach believe the form in which capital stocks are passed down from one generation to the next is crucial. Supporters feel that natural capital cannot be substituted by any other form of capital, only by other forms of natural capital. Furthermore, supporters of strong sustainability argue that not only must the natural capital stock remain constant from one generation to the next, but so too must the total capital stock (Fyall and Garrod, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998).⁴⁰

The weakness of sustainability, resulting from its various definitions and approaches, is also its strength. While sustainable development may still be a concept searching for a universal definition, its ambiguity allows the concept to remain flexible and adaptable, allowing it to encompass most eventualities (Milne 1998; Stabler, 1997). Indeed, Butler (1999) claims that most economic activities have been considered and discussed in the context of sustainable development, including tourism, which will be discussed in subsequent sections.

³⁹ Fyall and Garrod (1997) use the following example to illustrate their point. "An example might be the loss of countryside associated with the construction of a trunk road bypassing a town. Provided that the lower wellbeing [sic] brought about by the loss of natural capital (the use of that part of the countryside) can be compensated for by the additional wellbeing [sic] that will be associated with the trunk road (faster commercial journey times, a quieter town, fewer accidents, etc.), then the aggregate capital stock can be said to have remained *at least constant*..." (p.57).

⁴⁰ There are also variations within these two broad positions, identified as very weak and very strong perspectives (Turner, 1992). Supporters of very weak sustainability have similar views to their weak counterparts, although they do not place limits on the substitution of human-made for natural capital. Conversely, the strictest approach of all is very strong sustainability, believing that non-renewable resources should not be exploited at all as there are viable renewable resources that could and should be used instead (Garrod and Fyall, 1998).

Sustainable Tourism

As in numerous other industries, the paradigm of sustainable development has been applied to the tourism sector. It is considered an industry that lends itself well to sustainable development as it relies on a destination's natural and cultural resources as part of the tourism product. In fact Slee et al (1997) feel that "the rapid growth of tourism, the multiplicity of forms that it takes, and its wide-ranging ramifications on the economy, society and environment make the search for more sustainable forms an urgent task" (p.69). Similar to the concept of sustainable development, sustainable tourism does not have an all-purpose definition and is equally plagued by sceptics and critics. In spite of this, Garrod and Fyall (1998) claim that for the most part, "...the term has been used wisely, encompassing the issues of intergenerational and intragenerational equity as well as efficiency considerations, and focusing particularly on the impacts of tourism on its natural and social environments" (p.200). While there is no universal consensus on the definition, once again, this weakness can in fact be considered a strength, allowing the principles of sustainable tourism to be adapted to suit specific destinations and types of tourism. There is, however, general agreement that the time has come to move beyond the rhetoric and finally begin to implement sustainable tourism in practice (Fyall and Garrod, 1997; Garrod and Fyall, 1998; NWHO, 1999; Pearce and Turner, 1993; Wall, 1999). That being said, Fyall and Garrod (1997) suggest that the oversimplified and vague concept that is sustainable tourism helps to explain the limited extent to which it is being successfully implemented.

What is generally agreed upon, however, is that sustainable tourism encompasses more than an ecological perspective. In the application of sustainable development to the

tourism sector there has been a broadening of the environmental perspective in order to fully involve the economic and socio-cultural dimensions, recognizing that the survival of the industry depends on the well being of all three (Butcher, 1997; Meethan, 2001; Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997). The definition provided by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) is a prime example, supplying a definition that echoes the original concept of sustainable development, in addition to addressing the importance of economics, society, and culture:

Sustainable tourism development meets the needs of present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing opportunity for the future. It is envisaged as leading to management of all resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems (cited in WTTC, 1995, p.30).

In brief and general terms, economic sustainability is meant to guarantee the economic viability and efficiency of tourism development while ensuring that resources, both natural and human made, are managed appropriately so that they can support future generations (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997). Secondly, ecological sustainability, in very simple terms, is to ensure that tourism development occurs in such a way as to minimize negative ecological impacts, ensuring the protection of essential ecological systems, biological diversity and biological resources (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997). Not surprisingly this principle tends to receive the greatest amount of attention given the foundation for sustainable tourism is rooted in the ecologically focused paradigm of sustainable development. Lastly, according to the World Tourism Organization, socio-cultural sustainability is aimed at ensuring the cultural integrity and social cohesion of communities as well as increasing people's control over their lives (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997). Providing more detail on this principle is Mowforth and Munt (1998) who, rather

than combining the two, chose to describe social sustainability and cultural sustainability separately. Social sustainability is explained in terms of a community's ability to absorb or adapt to a variety of inputs, and is defined by Mowforth and Munt thus:

social sustainability refers to the ability of a community, whether local or national, to absorb inputs, such as extra people, for short or long periods of time, and continue functioning either without the creation of social disharmony as a result of these inputs or by adapting its functions and relationships so that the disharmony created can be alleviated or mitigated (p.106).

Cultural sustainability, very generally, deals with the ability of communities to retain or adapt aspects of their culture in the face of tourism (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). As previously discussed in Chapter Two, aspects of a host society's culture can be vulnerable to, and in some cases irreversibly altered by, the influx of the different values, behaviours and goods carried by tourists. Not all of these cultural changes and adaptations are negative of course, but unrestrained development of tourism can certainly contribute to the exploitation of cultures in an unacceptable manner, requiring the implementation of sustainability practices.

Butler (1999) and Wall (1997) take note of an important distinction to be made when discussing sustainability in the tourism industry – the distinction between a single sector and a multi sector approach. A single sector approach is defined by Butler as "...tourism which is in a form which can maintain its viability in an area for an indefinite period of time" (p.36). A multi sector approach, by contrast, is defined thus:

tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not de-grade [sic] or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well-being of other activities and processes (Butler cited in Butler, 1999, p.35-6).

Butcher and Wall argue that the latter definition highlights the fact that tourism does not occur in isolation. Tourism is not the sole user of resources in an area, and in fact often has to work within already existing or intended uses. The former definition, however, takes a single sector approach where the continued viability of the tourism industry is the central element of concern. Butcher and Wall both rightly argue that a multi-sector approach is essential, with Wall acknowledging that "...tourism is unlikely to be the sole user of resources and that a balance must be found between tourism and other existing and potential activities in the interests of sustainable development" (p.45).

To repeat an earlier point, sustainable tourism is a very broad concept that can be manipulated to suit a variety of purposes. While this can be viewed as a negative, it is argued here that sustainable tourism should be viewed as an 'emerging concept' whose meaning evolves from specific contexts, needs and interests. As Wall (1997) attests "...the ambiguity of the term...permits flexibility and fine-tuning to meet the needs of different places and cultures..."(p.43). The subsequent sections, while not focusing on any specific location or destination, will examine cultural tourism and discuss a variety of principles essential for its sustainability.

Sustainable Cultural Tourism

As was discussed in Chapters One and Two, there has been increased interest in cultural tourism by not only the public but also governments and a variety of organizations. In addition to being a popular choice for tourists, cultural tourism is considered an effective way of providing necessary funding for the rehabilitation, restoration and interpretation of cultural sites as well as acting as a catalyst for economic development. Relying on cultural resources for tourism, however, creates its own set of

problems requiring the implementation of a number of basic sustainable tourism principles. Although critics of sustainable tourism will frequently claim that achieving sustainability is a difficult if not impossible task, Bramwell and Lane rightly point out, “one must ask what the alternatives are to developing more sustainable tourism – presumably either to stand back and do nothing or else to criticise [sic] without offering any realistic, practical way forward” (cited in MacLellan, 1997, p.307).

Moving towards sustainability in the context of cultural tourism requires an approach with the objective of reducing tensions and friction created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors and the host community and ensuring the long-term viability of cultural resources (Bramwell and Lane, 1993). The primary focus is obviously cultural and social sustainability, but ecological and economic sustainability must also be taken into account.

Progressing towards sustainable cultural tourism means addressing several of the challenges posed by cultural tourism development. Chapter Two identified numerous obstacles on the road to sustainability, including the uneven distribution of economic benefits, cultural conflict, lack of local control, trivialization of authenticity and the tendency to freeze cultures in the past. The challenge therefore becomes finding ways to address these issues and make cultural tourism more sustainable in itself and contribute to sustainable tourism in general. There are several potential approaches to the development of more sustainable forms of cultural tourism, only a few of which will be discussed here. Partnerships, with a specific focus on local involvement and ownership, will be the first element discussed, followed by an examination of the importance of education and training and interpretation and representation of cultural resources. The

last section will consider several popular tools used to measure desired or acceptable conditions, including environmental impact assessment, carrying capacity and limits to acceptable change. Those selected were done so primarily based on the obstacles identified in Chapter Two and information gathered from industry documents, case studies and academic sources (Garrod and Fyall, 1998; Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997; ICOMOS, 1999; Jamieson, n.d.; NWHO, 1999; Swarbrooke, 1999; Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Wight, 1998; WTTC, 1995; Zeppel, 1998).

Partnerships: A Key Component

There are a multitude of actors involved in cultural tourism that have, to varying degrees, the ability to influence the process and consequences of tourism development. These stakeholders include tourists; tourist businesses (public and private); the host community and their governments (local and federal) (Liu, 2003; NWHO, 1999; Wahab and Pigram, 1997). Achieving cooperation and coordination among all of the actors is challenging because of their divergent interests, but it is key to sustainability. Liu (2003) states that "...the history of tourism developments has shown that all these groups are equally important and that long-range objectives and sustainability cannot be achieved if one group is continually subordinated to the others. Sustainable tourism...calls for the effective planning and implementation of collaboration and partnerships among various stakeholders in the process of tourism development" (p.467).

Of all the stakeholders it is the local or host community that will be the primary focus here. Although consistently recognized as being an important component in tourism development, it is generally their interests and opinions that are subordinated to the others (Dyer et al, 1998; Li, 2000; Mowforth and Munt, 1998). This is not to suggest

that the other stakeholders are not important, but in the context of cultural tourism, local involvement plays an especially important role given the type of resource being developed for touristic consumption.

Local Participation and Ownership

The issues of local involvement in tourism development and local ownership of cultural resources have become widely touted as significant elements in the quest for sustainability (Bramwell and Sharman, 2000; ICOMOS, 1999; Jamieson, n.d.; Marien and Pizam, 1997; Milne, 1998; Richards and Hall, 2000; Woodley, 1999). As was seen in Chapter Two, in the case of the Djabugay people of Australia, lack of consultation and lack of control resulted in the exploitation of their culture for commercial purposes. While participation and ownership alone will not address all the harmful impacts of tourism, it is an essential component on the road to cultural, social, economic and ecological sustainability.

Bill Bramwell and Angela Sharman (2000) identify several advantages to local participation in tourism development. They first highlight the potential for enhanced political legitimacy should community members have the opportunity to influence decisions that affect their lives. Furthermore, taking note of insights and ideas from a variety of stakeholders can not only build on the store of knowledge but also allow for a deeper understanding of issues affecting tourism development and contribute to better or more innovative policies. Liu (2003) further advocates the involvement of the local community arguing that the more they gain from tourism development the more motivation they will have to protect the area's natural and cultural resources. The NWHO (1999) explains the importance of local involvement thus:

at its heart sustainable cultural tourism recognizes the value of cultural diversity, and needs to provide local cultures with a forum in which they can participate in decisions that affect the future of their culture. In other words, host cultures should be empowered to say no or yes to tourism, and in the latter case, to set guidelines for tourism if they so wish (p.17-18).

As expected, there are those who question community or local involvement as an effective element in the quest for sustainability. As Mowforth and Munt (1998) point out, simply because there is local participation does not mean a balance occurs between the interests of the various stakeholders involved in tourism development. As previously pointed out, there will always be certain individuals or groups who retain a considerable amount of power in the decision-making process, thus influencing the outcome of policy initiatives. Hall, for example, argues that “power governs the interaction of individuals, organisations and agencies influencing, or trying to influence, the formulation of tourism policy and the manner in which it is implemented” (cited in Bramwell and Sharman, 2000, p.27).

Although local involvement does not guarantee the inclusion of community interests in the decision-making process, this does not mean that participation should be abandoned altogether. “Although complete integration of such diverse interests is unlikely in many destinations, sincere attempts at integration which include the involvement of local communities are more likely to be sustainable than development for which no effort is made to reach compatibility with local, economic, social and ecological conditions” (Liu, 2003, p.467).⁴¹

While participation is certainly imperative, Mowforth and Munt (1998) also take note of the importance of ownership, quoting Survival International who state that “it has

⁴¹ Obviously local participation can only effective if the community actually wants to become involved.

become fashionable for conservationists to talk about 'consulting' local people....This looks good on paper, but [is] hardly an adequate substitute for land ownership rights and self-determination" (p.239). ICOMOS echoes these sentiments, stating that "the rights and interests of the host community, at regional and local levels, property owners and relevant indigenous peoples who may exercise traditional rights or responsibilities over their own land and its significant sites, should be respected" (1999, p.5-6). Walter Jamieson (n.d.) further supports this view, claiming "residents of the community must maintain control of tourism development by setting objectives, identifying the resources to be maintained and enhanced, and developing strategies for development and interpretation; an assessment of what the residents feel are important in historical terms". It should be noted that local ownership is extremely important for economic sustainability. As was revealed in Chapter Two, all too frequently the profits generated from cultural tourism leak from the national or local economy overseas, or are placed in the hands of existing national or local elites. Maintaining control over cultural resources therefore allows for the possibility of better distribution of profits among all the relevant stakeholders (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Murphy, 1998).

An example of successful cultural tourism controlled by the local community is the Cowichan Native Heritage Centre in Duncan, Vancouver Island, Canada. The Native Heritage Centre is six acres on the north bank of the Cowichan River in Duncan. When visitors arrive at the centre they are given an introductory talk by a Cowichan guide on the history and culture of the Cowichan people at a traditional fire circle. The tourists are then able to visit a salmon processing site, view a demonstration of wool weaving and beadwork in a cedar Big House, visit a carving shed where new totem poles and canoes

are made, and view an exhibition of Cowichan-knitted wool sweaters (Zeppel, 1998). The Khowutzun Development Corporation, completely owned by the Cowichan Tribes, put this Heritage Centre into practice and although the project declared bankruptcy only seven months after it opened in 1990, it has since proven to be a successful business venture (Zeppel, 1998).

The importance of local participation and ownership is apparent, but if inadequately prepared, as the Cowichan Tribes were in the beginning of their tourism venture, local involvement may be completely ineffective. One proposed solution is educating and/or training key individuals in the tourism development process.

Education and Training

Education and training are identified as important elements in achieving sustainable cultural tourism (Boniface, 1995; Jamieson, n.d.; Krippendorf, 1987; NWHO, 1999). In addition to being important for successful local involvement in tourism development, education in particular has been identified as a crucial component for social sustainability.

Conservation and Effective Management

In Chapter Two it was noted that poor education and lack of business experience could affect the ability of indigenous populations to effectively participate in tourism development (Dyer et al, 2003; Whittaker, 1999). This problem is certainly not restricted to aboriginal communities, however. As a potential solution, Jamieson (n.d.), Boniface (1995) and the NWHO (1999) outline the importance of education and training for the effective management and conservation of cultural resources. Boniface argues that

training in a range of practical conservation and management skills is crucial if the public is to understand why cultural resources need to be cared for in relation to tourist visits. Jamieson echoes this sentiment believing that education and training programmes at the local and regional levels are essential for the achievement of quality cultural tourism. In addition, the NWHO believes that many countries lack the proper skills required to ensure appropriate cultural resource management and a high-quality tourism market and as such advocates training as an element on the road to sustainable cultural tourism. Examples of successful training programmes are First Host, a hospitality training programme, and a comprehensive accreditation system for cultural tourism by Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC) (Johnston, 2000).

Education and Social Sustainability

Chapter Two identified cultural conflicts arising from the differences in value systems and attitudes of the hosts and guests as a significant issue in cultural tourism. It was concluded that although cultural tourists pride themselves on having a high degree of understanding and insight into the culture of the host, the reality is somewhat different. Returning to a quote from Robinson (1999a), "...degrees of distance between the value systems, social class, attitudes and patterns of behaviour which tourism individuals and groups possess, and those held by the host community...[are] all points of potential misunderstandings and conflict" (p.9). These misunderstandings and conflicts can be considered a barrier to social sustainability, identified as an important element in the sustainability of cultural tourism. Returning to the definition provided by Mowforth and Munt (1998), social sustainability requires that the host community be able to function without social disharmony or be able to adapt its functions and relationships so that the

disharmony created can be alleviated. One of the suggested methods to mitigate potential disharmony is to educate the host community on tourists and tourism. According to Krippendorf, this education should inform the host about tourists as well as problems involved in tourism development. Indeed sustainable tourism will be difficult to achieve if the host destination is not aware of the issues surrounding tourism development:

By supplying the host population with comprehensive information about tourists and tourism, many misunderstandings could be eliminated, feelings of aggression prevented, more sympathetic attitudes developed and a better basis for hospitality and contact with tourists created....Such information should aim at introducing the host population – initially, all those who come into direct contact with tourists, but also the public at large – to the tourists' background: their country, their daily life...their reasons for travelling and their behaviour patterns. This also includes the presentation of both the advantages and the disadvantages and danger brought about by tourism. The means and channels of information have to be adapted to the needs of the various target groups. Ideally, tourist generating and receiving areas should co-operate in designing the information material (Krippendorf, 1987, p.143).

Education, however, should not be limited to the host destination. In fact the tourist should be informed on the cultural ways and norms of the host population (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). The third principle in the ICOMOS (1999) charter deals with this very issue, stating that “visitors should be encouraged to behave as welcomed guests, respecting the values and lifestyles of the host community, rejecting possible theft or illicit trade in cultural property and conducting themselves in a responsible manner which would generate a renewed welcome, should they return” (p.5). One method of raising public awareness and encouraging visitors to behave as welcomed guests, can be achieved through a code of ethics directly targeted at the tourist at the point of departure or arrival (Drost, 1996; NWHO, 1999). The codes can be very broad, designed to apply to the tourism industry in general, such as those from the American Society of Travel

Agents (ASTA)⁴² and the WTO⁴³, or very specific, created for a particular destination. Deblekha Guin (1998), for example, noted that Ladakh's tourism department felt it necessary to take steps to educate and inform the tourists on the necessity of being frugal in the use of water, electricity and petrol. Pamphlets outlining codes of conduct were also widely circulated, encouraging tourists to respect the culture. Several of the guidelines in the pamphlet, for example, reminded the visitors of the importance of conservation, asking them to "please...not rob Ladakh of its cultural heritage by shopping for real antiques. It is actually illegal to buy anything more than one hundred years old" (p.39). Guin does admit that it is difficult to say how effective these measures are, but did mention that many of the travellers she spoke with had taken note of them, and that she had learned a lot about the Ladakhi culture when she read the guidelines.

Interpretation and Representation of Cultural Resources

Sustainable cultural tourism is also dependent on the appropriate interpretation of cultural resources. As Gina Moscardo (1996) attests, "...successful interpretation is critical both for effective management and conservation of built heritage sites and for sustainable tourism" (p.376). Moscardo argues that effective interpretation has the ability

⁴² The ASTA proposed a series of ten commandments for tourists: respect the frailty of the earth; leave footprints, take only photographs; educate yourself about the geography, customs, manners, and cultures of the region you visit; respect the privacy and dignity of others; do not buy products from endangered plants or animals; always follow designated trails; support conservation-oriented programs and organizations; walk or use environmentally-sound methods of transportation; patronize establishments dedicated to strong principles of conservation; and identify those organizations which subscribe to ASTA Environmental Guidelines for air, land and sea travel (Gee and Fayos-Sola, 1997).

⁴³ The code of ethics for tourism developed by the WTO focuses on the following areas: tourism's contribution to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies; tourism as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment; tourism, a factor for sustainable development; tourism, a user of the cultural heritage of mankind and a contributor to its enhancement; tourism, a beneficial activity for host countries and communities; obligations of stakeholders in tourism development; right to tourism; liberty of tourist movements; rights of the workers and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry; implementation of the principles of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (NWHO, 1999).

to educate tourists about the host culture, inform them of the consequences of their actions, enhance their experiences and encourage them in sustainable behaviour. ICOMOS explains that “interpretation programmes should present the significance of heritage places, traditions and cultural practices within the past experience and present diversities of the area and the host community, including that of minority cultural or linguistic groups. The visitor should always be informed of the differing cultural values that may be ascribed to a particular heritage resource” (1999, p.3).

When it comes to cultural tourism specifically, interpretation plays a crucial role. As was explained in Chapter Two, those who control the development and interpretation of a cultural resource dictate the type of image projected. Conflicts and resentment are not uncommon if the culture on display is being improperly represented. As Yiping Li (2000) points out in his study of the tourism practice at Wanuskewin Heritage Park in Saskatoon City in the Province of Saskatchewan, Canada, members of the native community have shown concerns about how the park presents their image. Walter, a member of the native community proclaims: “my culture is my life. They take my culture from a thousand years ago and put it on display. They don’t put anything there about today. There is no continuation of my culture” (Li cited in Li, 2000, p.121).

Walter’s comment raises the additional point of cultures frequently being presented as static instead of dynamic. In fact, Swain (1989) identifies resolving tensions between the opposing forces of conservation and change as a significant challenge in the advancement toward cultural sustainability. With authenticity being so central in cultural tourism, and frequently viewed as being rooted in the past, the way real life is actually lived is often dismissed or presented in limited amounts (Guin, 1998; Li, 2000; Swain,

1989). Avoiding these kinds of problems returns to the need for local involvement and control. "In order to avoid the tendency toward freezing the local culture...control needs to be fully exercised so that people will have the real power to decide what is appropriate for presentation" (Li, 2000, p.125).

An example of a cultural tourism venture that has taken control of the images presented is Aros: The Skye Story, a heritage centre devised and put in motion by two local Gaelic speakers on the Isle of Skye, Scotland. The motivation to develop the heritage centre is best expressed by one of its founders Donald MacDonald who says that the central aim is to uncover the myths that are told about Skye history (MacDonald, 1997).⁴⁴ A particularly important feature of this heritage centre is its concern with drawing links between past and present. Rather than focusing solely on a nostalgic version of the past, the Centre presents a vision of a culture that is dynamic and changing. Summing up the importance of the local involvement in image formation is Sharon MacDonald (1997) who states that "to see local people as merely the passive recipients of an external world which impinges upon them is rather like the conceit of tourists who assign local people only the role of object of the tourist gaze. As we have seen here [Skye], not only may they [locals] be well aware of external images of them, they may also attempt actively to counter those images and to construct alternative visions of their history and culture" (p.175).

Another important issue concerns the images used to market a destination and the impacts they can have. William Gartner (1997) notes that "since sustainable development

⁴⁴ Myths in this context are explained by Sharon MacDonald (1997) as "...not simply accounts told from different vantage points (as are stories) but are factually incorrect and get in the way of a version of history both more authentic and more meaningful to local people. Myths are based on lies which should be revealed" (p. 162).

is a function of use and destination images can be used to increase use, there appears to be a direct link between how images are formed and the concept of sustainable tourism...”(p.180).⁴⁵ Gartner raises a valid point, highlighting the power images can have in attracting tourists to a destination. With more visitors more demands are placed on the destination, and unless prepared, can lead to unwanted impacts. In other words, a destination must determine if their resources are sufficient to support the images that they wish to project. Different images promote different experience expectations, and different tourism experiences will tax the local resources in different ways. In addition, returning to a point in the above discussion and in Chapter Two, there is also the possibility that the images presented promote an image that is not representative of that particular destination or culture, ultimately creating false expectations on the part of the tourist and frustration on the part of the host. Gartner’s solution is to have host communities become more involved in identifying the appropriate images to project, and decide which groups will be the recipients of the images.

In addition to marketing the appropriate images, there is also a technique referred to as de-marketing (Russo, 1999; Swarbrooke, 1999). De-marketing is used in order to discourage individuals from visiting specific destinations usually due to overcrowding. One of the more famous examples of de-marketing involves Venice, Italy. Inundated

⁴⁵ Destination image can be defined as “an amalgam of impressions, beliefs, ideas, expectations and feelings towards an area...suggesting the involvement of both cognitive and evaluative components” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998, p. 64). An image is therefore not only the individual traits or qualities of a vacation destination, but rather a collection of impressions gathered over time from a variety of sources, resulting in an accepted mental construct. (Mackay and Fesenmaier, 1997). In this respect, creating and promoting the image becomes paramount. “Promotion is the product as far as the tourist prospect is concerned. The customer buys a trip or a holiday purely on the basis of symbolic expectations established promotionally through words, pictures, sounds, images, etc.” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998,p. 45). Modern tourism advertising’s task is therefore to position the destination in such a way as to create a memorable image that will be recalled when the consumer must choose between destinations. It is therefore important to create a distinctive place in the minds of potential tourists thereby differentiating a certain destination from its competitors on attributes that are meaningful to the consumer.

with visitors, Venice has lost many of its services, such as schools and hospitals, in order to make way for tourist oriented and more cost-effective operations such as fast food restaurants and souvenir shops. As a result, the city's population has been steadily decreasing to only a third of what it was in 1951, and the pressure on the city's resources has been increasing (Russo, 1999). According to Antonio Paolo Russo (1999), Venice is therefore a good case of unsustainable tourism, claiming that the city's culture and heritage is under threat. One proposed solution is to produce a negative publicity campaign, aimed particularly at reducing the number of day-trippers. As a result, Venice hired photographer Oliviero Toscani, the man behind the Benetton clothes advertisements, to produce a campaign that featured images of garbage and dead pigeons. This is certainly a drastic measure, and whether or not it worked is questionable, but it is yet further confirmation of the importance images can play in the quest for sustainable tourism.

Tools for Impact Assessment

If a movement toward sustainable tourism is undertaken, the capacity of sites must be considered, including physical, natural, social and cultural limits (ICOMOS, 1999). Decreasing the potential for negative impacts and maintaining a scale and pace of tourism development compatible with the host destination requires the use of tools and processes able to assess at which point a destination or resource becomes unsustainable. Three of the more popular tools are environmental impact assessment, carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change. Mowforth and Munt (1998), Wight (1998) and the NWHO (1999) nicely summarize the techniques, and it is their summaries that have laid

the foundation for the ensuing discussion. It should be noted that the following are brief summaries as opposed to detailed descriptions of the tools and processes.

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA)

The first tool is the environmental impact assessment (EIA), which has become extremely popular in recent years being described as “among the foremost tools available to...decision makers in their efforts to prevent further environmental deterioration” (Sniffen cited in Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p.119). Generally used in the early stages of tourism development, EIAs are primarily used as a means to evaluate a project’s likely impact on the environment and identify ways to minimize any perceived adverse impacts (NWHO, 1999; Wight, 1998). “Only where the result of the EIA clearly demonstrates that the development will be environmentally responsible and sustain the destination’s primary tourism resources should planning permission to proceed normally be granted” (Goodall cited in Mowforth and Munt, 1998, p.119).

Not surprisingly, EIAs suffer from several limitations. The NWHO (1999) claims that a significant problem is the pressure to shortcut the process by those individuals or groups involved in development. Wight also points out that EIAs are frequently seen as a barrier to development “...a point-in-time obstacle to be overcome for project go-ahead” (p.80). The NWHO also notes that the EIA process does not deal well with impacts that are difficult to identify, quantify, those that require a lengthy period of time before being detected, and those that are cumulative in nature. Overall, however, EIAs play an important role in the development process. While they do not provide adequate guidelines on their own, in combination with proper strategy formulation, programme planning and project implementation, they can be extremely useful (Wight, 1999).

Carrying Capacity

The second tool is carrying capacity and is perhaps the most widely discussed tool in the context of sustainable tourism. Normally applied to the natural environment, carrying capacity has expanded to include four other elements: physical carrying capacity, cultural carrying capacity, tourist social carrying capacity and host social carrying capacity (Wahab and Pigram, 1997; Wight, 1998; Williams and Gill, 1998). The World Tourism Organization explains the five as follows:

Physical carrying capacity is the level beyond which the available space cannot provide for tourist visits without clear deterioration of the tourist experience.

Ecological carrying capacity is the level of visitation beyond which unacceptable ecological impacts will occur either from the tourists or the amenities they require.

Cultural carrying capacity represents the number of visitors beyond which the cultural, historical and archaeological resources start to deteriorate in time.

Tourist social carrying capacity is the level beyond which visitor satisfaction declines unacceptably because of overcrowding.

Host social carrying capacity is the level beyond which growth will be unacceptable in terms of detriment to the host community in its traditions, ethics, value system or quality of life (cited in Wahab and Pigram, 1997, p.282).

A major criticism identified with regards to carrying capacity is the perception that it is an objective measurement when in most cases it is a value judgment. The perception that carrying capacity is a scientifically objective concept may be part of its appeal, but the point at which impacts on a resource become negative depends on management objectives, expert judgments and broader public values, all of which inevitably change over time (Wight, 1998). For example, in the Galapagos, an original

limit to the number of visitors was capped at 12,000 per year in 1973, but by 1985 there were a total of 17,840. In 1981, the limit was extended to 25,000 visitors, yet by 1991 there were 50,000 (Wight, 1998). Lindberg et al (1997) further note that “while research can help managers who are concerned with carrying capacity by describing the consequences of alternative use levels, it cannot supply answers about what the carrying capacity of a site should be. The numerical references provided to facilitate carrying capacity determination may be useful as very broad guidelines, but they are also likely to mislead readers into believing that objective criteria exist and are transferable from site to site” (p.462). There is also the difficulty in arriving at a consensus among the various groups and individuals involved in the development process. For example, there may be consensus that overcrowding at a cultural site is unacceptable, but arriving at a specific limit to the number of visitors may cause some disagreements.

Carrying capacity should not, however, be cast aside as a completely ineffectual tool. Although arriving at specific levels beyond which tourism becomes unsustainable is not a simple objective, the fact that there is attention focused on limits to a destination’s growth is important.

Limits to Acceptable Change (LAC)

An alternative to the concept of carrying capacity is the limits to acceptable change (LAC). Determining carrying capacity in terms of a specific number of visitors to a particular site or destination is a difficult task, therefore rather than focusing on specific limits of acceptable use, LAC is a process that identifies desired cultural, social and environmental conditions in an area (Murphy, 1998; Wight, 1998). This process generally involves consultation with local residents, in addition to other stakeholders,

with the aim of designing a set of conditions appropriate for a specific area (Gee and Fyos-Sola, 1997). Similar to carrying capacity, however, determining these desired conditions and what constitutes acceptable change clearly relies on personal judgement. Another area of concern is who gets to decide what those conditions are. While local involvement is included as an important component of the LAC process, whether or not they have any power to influence decision-making is questionable.

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to explore ways to make cultural tourism more sustainable and identify some of the popular tools frequently used to assess the capacity of sites to sustain economic, ecological, cultural and social impacts. Although cultural tourism has generally been promoted as a benevolent form of tourism, evidence has been presented to the contrary. Chapter Two identified a number of barriers to cultural tourism's movement toward sustainability including inequitable distribution of profits, cultural conflict, lack of local participation and control, trivialization of authenticity and the tendency to freeze cultures in the past. As a result of these conclusions, it was determined that local participation, education and training, and interpretation and representation of images are some of the more important elements to be considered on the road to achieving sustainable cultural tourism.

It is recognized that the elements identified are by no means an exhaustive list. Other areas that deserve further consideration include the role of government, especially with regards to legislation, regulations and funding, the role of NGOs and the role of the

tourism industry. The importance of economic and ecological⁴⁶ sustainability could also be further expanded upon. It is also crucial that the sustainability of cultural tourism be examined within broader community interests. Returning to a previous point of discussion, Butler (1999) and Wall (1997) raise the importance of finding a balance between tourism and other existing and potential activities, recognizing that tourism does not occur in isolation.

Although the idea of sustainability has received its fair share of criticisms, and in some cases is thought to be an impossible task, it should not be dismissed as a completely ineffectual course of action. Because of tourism's ability to reshape culture and nature to its own needs, an effective tourism development plan must incorporate strategies with the aim of limiting negative impacts. It is recognized that achieving consensus on sustainability principles is an extremely difficult task, but certainly not one to shy away from.

⁴⁶ In brief, for some cultures, such as Aboriginal culture, nature plays a central role, and therefore becomes an important component in the cultural tourism experience (Li, 2000). In addition, the development of cultural resources for tourism will generally have an impact on the natural environment, both as a result of the development process itself and often because of increased visitation to a cultural destination.

Conclusion

Like all forms of tourism, cultural tourism is currently a growth phenomenon; hence numerous destinations are developing different forms of cultural tourism throughout the world. This might include city-based tourism, the visiting of World Heritage Sites, festival attendance, or trekking in the mountains, deserts or jungles, among other activities. The cultural tourism sector is potentially as diverse as any other; hence there is already a clear need for a more comprehensive analysis of the various facets of its development and management....It could...be argued that cultural tourism studies is one of the most fascinating and exciting new disciplines to emerge from the proliferation of tourism, leisure and cultural industries-based academic courses in recent years.

– Melanie Smith, 2003, p.x

This thesis examined cultural tourism as a potential solution to the damage done by mass tourism. As the frequent target of criticism, mass tourism has been held responsible for a wide range of social, cultural, economic and environmental problems. The purpose of this thesis was therefore to evaluate the claim that cultural tourism, as a new or alternative form of tourism, is less destructive and more benevolent than its mass tourism counterpart. Chapter One set the stage for subsequent chapters by providing the reader with an overview of both mass and cultural tourism. The first portion of Chapter One explored the history of mass tourism, provided insight into the magnitude of the tourism industry and highlighted changes occurring in the tourism marketplace. It was explained that the international tourism market has diversified, offering more than the mass produced and standardized sun, sea and sand holiday packages of the 1960s and

1970s. From the mid-1980s onwards, tourism had shifted toward segmentation, differentiation and unique personal experiences.

The second portion of Chapter One focused specifically on cultural tourism and cultural tourists. A definition of cultural tourism was provided following an extensive review of the terms 'culture' and 'tourism' and it was determined that a conceptual or experiential approach was the most appropriate. The focus of the chapter then turned to the cultural tourist, exploring three different approaches used to identify who participates in this type of tourism.

With the essential elements of mass and cultural tourism outlined in Chapter One, Chapter Two delved more deeply into both the positive and negative impacts of cultural tourism in an attempt to discover if indeed it was a potential solution to the mass tourism problem. The chapter began with a brief examination of the economic impact of tourism with a specific focus on issues of development and dependency. It was revealed that although tourism can be an effective vehicle for development in less developed countries and economically peripheral regions, there are significant concerns over the use of tourism as a development tool. In this particular section, the issue of dependency was examined, highlighting the fact that in many instances economic relationships are uneven and often exploitative.

The chapter then moved on to an examination of cultural tourism as a passport to peace and understanding. Tourism, and especially cultural tourism, has frequently been attributed with playing a significant role in the promotion of goodwill, understanding and peace between people of different nations and cultures. It was concluded that while tourism's ability to promote peace is doubtful, its potential to promote better cultural

understanding at an individual level is certainly possible. Although cultural tourists pride themselves on being more aware of and more interested in cultural difference, it was argued that they are no more able to shed their value systems and attitudes that can contribute to conflict than are their mass tourist counterparts.

Following the discussion of cultural tourism as a generator of peace and understanding was an examination of the significance of authenticity in cultural tourism studies. An overview of the three different approaches to authenticity, the objective, the constructive and the existential, was undertaken. It was determined that it is frequently the objective usage of authenticity that is attributed to cultural tourism, ignoring the possibility that authenticity is a label attached to the visited cultures in terms of stereotypes images and expectations held by members of the tourist sending society. It was further argued that authenticity is regularly associated with cultures that remain rooted in the past and the traditional which supposedly symbolize those qualities that the West has lost. As a result, cultural tourists will frequently seek out areas that have yet to be 'polluted' by the West and hordes of mass tourists, creating the very situation that they are trying to avoid.

Chapter Two then moved on to an analysis of commodification and its effect on culture in the context of tourism. It was explained that the critics of the commodification process argue that objects and activities are rendered inauthentic once commodified, and ultimately become tainted if they are produced for external touristic consumption. This chapter also discussed the inaccurate portrayal of cultures at the hands of the commodification process. Using Australian Aboriginal culture as an example, it was concluded that the commercial viability of these cultures often superseded its 'authentic'

portrayal, resulting in stereotyped images misrepresenting the vitality of the Aborigines. A discussion on the development and interpretation of culture was then conducted, highlighting the disagreements that can occur between the tourist and host, between different cultural groups within a destination, between the governed and the governing and between the tourism industry and host community as a result of the struggle to control cultural resources. It was concluded that more local involvement and control over the development and interpretation of cultural resources is imperative.

It was determined, however, that the commodification of cultures is not always negative. Indeed the notion that cultures lose their authenticity as a result of the commodification process has been increasingly questioned. Cohen (1988, 1988a), for example, argues that commodification does not necessarily destroy the meaning of cultural products, but rather creates new meanings for the locals. In addition, it was argued that commodifying cultures for touristic purposes can in fact help with their revitalization. Citing several examples from both the less developed and developed world, it was discovered that traditions and monuments can be revived as a result of their development for touristic purposes.

The last section of Chapter Two dealt very briefly with environmental impacts. As with any form of tourism, cultural tourism has a range of impacts on the natural and built environments. It was argued that as tourism in a region grows, pressure on the natural resources increases, potentially creating serious problems.

The objective of Chapter Two was to examine the various impacts of cultural tourism and determine if it could be considered a good solution to the damage created by mass tourism. With its own series of problems, some of which mirror those of mass

tourism, it was concluded that promoting cultural tourism as a solution to the damage generated by the extensive and long-term development of mass tourism is unreasonable.

This conclusion is similar to those reached by critics of new forms of tourism such as Butcher (2003), Butler (1992), Eadington and Smith (1992), Mowforth and Munt (1998) and Robinson (1999a, 1999b). The difference, however, is that through my use of academic literature and existing case studies specific to cultural tourism, in combination with more general literature on mass and alternative forms of tourism, I was better able to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the issues and impacts particular to cultural tourism development thereby allowing me to conclude that it does not mitigate the problems created by mass tourism.

Having concluded that cultural tourism creates its own set of problems, Chapter Three provided an overview of some of the steps that could be taken in order to promote a more sustainable form of cultural tourism and identified some of the more popular tools used to assess the capacity of sites to sustain economic, ecological, cultural and social impacts. The chapter provided strategies and recommendations to help facilitate a move towards increasing the benefits and decreasing the costs of cultural tourism development. The chapter began with an overview of the paradigm of sustainable development, followed by an overview of sustainable tourism and sustainable cultural tourism. The purpose was to provide the reader with a foundation for the ensuing discussion on specific sustainability strategies and recommendations, as well as highlight several issues surrounding the sustainability paradigm. The chapter then moved into a discussion of selected strategies aimed at promoting a more sustainable form of cultural tourism.

The first strategy discussed was that of partnerships, with a specific focus on local participation and ownership. It was argued that the issues of local involvement in tourism development and local ownership of cultural resources have become widely touted as significant elements in the quest for sustainability. It was recognized that while local involvement and ownership does not guarantee the inclusion of community interests, significant evidence suggests that it is necessary for sustainability.

The second strategy discussed was that of education and training and the role it plays in conservation, effective management and social sustainability. It was argued that poor education and a lack of business experience could affect the proper preservation and management of cultural resources, and therefore adequate training was deemed essential. It was further argued that education is important in the struggle to overcome cultural conflicts arising from the differences in value systems and attitudes of the hosts and guests. It was argued that these misunderstandings and conflicts can be considered a barrier to the social sustainability of the host culture and therefore educating the host community on tourists and tourism is, in some cases, necessary. Education should not be limited to the host destination, however. It was argued that the tourist should also be informed on the cultural ways and norms of the host population through pamphlets or documents outlining codes of conduct.

Chapter Three then discussed the importance of the proper interpretation of cultural resources for sustainable cultural tourism. It was argued that effective interpretation has the ability to educate tourists about the host culture, inform them of the consequences of their actions, enhance their experiences and encourage them in sustainable behaviour. It was also argued that proper interpretation and representation is

essential in alleviating conflict. As discussed in Chapter Two those who control the development and interpretation of cultural resources dictate the type of image projected. Problems can arise if the image is contrary to what the culture on display considers appropriate. Local involvement is therefore proposed a part of the solution to this particular problem.

The last part of Chapter Three dealt with a variety of tools for impact assessment. It was argued that if a movement toward sustainable tourism was to be undertaken, the capacity of the sites must be considered, including physical, natural, social and cultural limits. The three tools examined were the environmental impact assessment, carrying capacity and limits of acceptable change. All three examinations outlined the pros and cons and were meant to be brief summaries as opposed to detailed descriptions of the tools and their processes.

This thesis is, by design, an overview of cultural tourism and its impacts. In choosing this approach it is recognized that many issues related to, and resulting from, cultural tourism development cannot be treated in depth. I would argue, however, that an assessment of the broader themes and issues associated with new tourism and cultural tourism is crucial prior to delving into a more detailed examination. This is not to suggest that the approach taken in this thesis is better than a more detailed approach such as a case study analysis – both have an important part to play. In the case of cultural tourism, however, there is a lack of published research providing a comprehensive review of the major issues associated with its development. This thesis is therefore a useful starting point for further debate, reflection and research.

Appendix A: Regional Results For Tourism Employment

World Ranking	Total Tourism Employment ('000)	
	World	
	World	214,697.0
1.	Northeast Asia	71,746.1
3.	North America	21,576.0
4.	European Union	21,457.0
5.	Southeast Asia	19,821.8
7.	Latin America	11,458.0
8.	Sub-Saharan Africa	9,413.9
9.	North Africa	5,696.9
11.	Caribbean	2,416.5
12.	Other Western Europe	2,368.8
13.	Oceania	1,870.0

Source: WTTC, 2004a, b

World Ranking	Percentage of Total Tourism Employment	
	World	
	World	8.1%
1.	Caribbean	15.5%
2.	Oceania	14.9%
3.	European Union	12.9%
4.	North Africa	12.1%
5.	North America	11.7%
7.	Other Western Europe	8.5%
8.	Northeast Africa	8.5%
10.	Southeast Asia	8.1%
11.	Latin America	6.9%
12.	Sub-Saharan Africa	6.0%

Source: WTTC, 2004a, b

Appendix B: Regional Results For Tourism And Gdp

World Ranking	Tourism's Contribution to GDP (US \$ Millions)	
	World	
	World	4, 217, 730.0
1.	European Union	1, 422, 200.0
2.	North America	1, 407, 900.0
3.	Northeast Asia	679, 940.0
5.	Southeast Asia	103, 815.0
6.	Other Western Europe	97, 629.0
7.	Oceania	89, 609.2
8.	Latin America	82, 358.0
11.	Sub-Saharan Africa	35, 826.9
12.	North Africa	31, 839.0
13.	Caribbean	28, 428.0

Source: WTTC, 2004a, b

World Ranking	Percentage of Total GDP	
	World	
	World	10.4%
1.	Caribbean	14.8%
2.	Oceania	13.2%
3.	North Africa	13.2%
4.	European Union	11.5%
5.	Other Western European	11.4%
6.	North America	10.7%
8.	Northeast Asia	9.3%
10.	Southeast Asia	7.4%
11.	Sub-Sahara Africa	7.4%
12.	Latin America	7.3%

Source: WTTC, 2004a, b

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