

Tourism and Cultural Change



Cultural Tourism in a Changing World

Politics, Participation and (Re)presentation



Edited by

Melanie K. Smith and Mike Robinson

TOURISM AND CULTURAL CHANGE 7

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Chapter 1

Politics, Power and Play: The Shifting Contexts of Cultural Tourism

MIKE ROBINSON and MELANIE SMITH

Introduction

Contexts are important, not only because they embed specific phenomena in more general historical circumstances, but because they themselves change both in a temporal sense and also in their social and political validity as interpretative frameworks for actions and events. The emphasis in this chapter is to provide some degree of context for the concept of cultural tourism and the remaining chapters of the book, which explore the ways in which culture(s) is/are mobilised *for* tourists and read *by* tourists within particular settings. In utilising the term cultural tourism we are explicitly acknowledging both the cultural nature of, and the role of, tourism as a process and set of practices that revolve around the behavioural pragmatics of societies, and the learning and transmission of meanings through symbols and embodied through objects. In this vein it is useful to acknowledge the normalising perspective of Levi-Strauss (1988), which recognises the implicitness of culture not as something set against life, or overlain over it, but as substituting itself to life as a constructing power and transformational process which is processual, and practical; life builds culture, builds life. Tourism, as an expression and experience of culture, fits within this form of historical contextualisation and also assists in generating nuanced forms of culture as well as new cultural forms. In this sense it is not difficult to see that use of the term 'cultural tourism' is problematic. As Urry (1995) suggests, tourism is simply 'cultural', with its structures, practices and events very much an extension of the normative cultural framing from which it emerges. Cultural tourism *is* tourism, and clearly, as this book demonstrates, it is far more than production and consumption of 'high' art and heritage. It reaches into some deep conceptual

territories relating to how we construct and understand ourselves, the world and the multilayered relationships between them.

Tourism as an international system of exchange displays particular tensions around the interface between space and experience that reaches into the conceptual heart of globalisation. The global structural realities of tourism are very much framed by the idea of the nation state and have their roots in the modern political geographies and nation-building agendas of the late 19th, and the first decades of the 20th century. Despite growing interest in the notion of regionalism whereby the region acts as the focal point for 'culture building and identification' (Frykman, 2002), it is the idea of the nation that still holds primacy in the metanarratives of international tourism. Each nation, no matter what their position in any notional global political league table, promotes tourism as an actual and potential source of external revenue, a marker of political status that draws upon cultural capital, and as a means to legitimise itself as a territorial entity. Thus, national governments have offices for tourism that quite willingly promote the idea of a national 'brand'. Wandering around the World Travel Market in London, or the International Travel Convention in Berlin, one can be forgiven for thinking that ideas of mobility, transnational flows and deterritorialisation had no currency whatsoever. Exhibition stands forcefully exist as microcosms of nations, albeit with regional and subregional constituent parts. Tour operators act as buyers of essentially 'national' products. Developers negotiate with national government offices under national legislative frameworks. National airlines retain highly visible and symbolic meaning for both host community and tourists, and despite the presence of multinational hotel chains, many hotel groups remain firmly structured around particular national characteristics and ideologies.

Of course, a 'tourism of nations' perspective is riven with the fault lines of conflict and contestation. Nevertheless, it is a reality that maps onto Westernised cognitive frameworks of cultural resemblance, which have themselves been shaped by essentialising histories of the nation-state. Counter, and in parallel, to this metastructural view, are the social realities of 'doing' tourism and 'being' a tourist, which exist not within and between bounded territories but with far more immediate, intimate, and to the tourist, more meaningful spaces. Here the focus is upon experience and the *in situ* production of spaces that facilitates such experiences for tourists; a point largely accommodated by the babel of globalisation theorists who have challenged ideas of national boundaries. The thesis which proffers notions of boundary dissolution (language and religious boundaries included), the compression of time and space, and

the emergence of 'landscapes' fashioned along cultural and ethnic lines (Appadurai, 1990), positions the tourist as part of a larger 'flow' of people, ideas and objects. Things and containers such as 'Spain' or 'France', and even their regions, relinquish their importance in the light of processes and actions, and what become more important for the tourist are not the metanarratives and ideological frameworks of nationhood, nor the notions of cultural resemblance and difference, but rather the outcomes of individual and social encounter, interaction and engagement.

This tension inherent in international tourism is not reducible to some binary opposition between modes of production versus modes of consumption. It is not some battle between historical fact and socio/anthropological interpretation. Nor is it about the relativism of where anyone happens to be standing. Rather, it is very much a movement along a continuum between two sets of equally valid, albeit discursive practices functioning at and between macro and micro levels. International tourism exists as a suitably vague umbrella term that is locked into the continuities of the modern nation-state *and* operates through the experiences and practices of the individual tourist. Cultural tourism is, *de facto*, caught up in the movements and flows of the world and this is evident when we come to look at the various cases set out in this book. For, despite having specific geographic foci and particular genealogies, the various cultural developments and conflicts discussed are sculpted through their exposure to, and encounters with, peoples from 'other' places and pasts.

Culture as Resource and the Resourcefulness of Culture

The most distinguishing feature of mature capitalist systems over recent decades has been the re-creation of economies around the symbolic value of culture(s). The political roles of culture as representing and enforcing national ideologies and particular hierarchies of power, together with its social roles as entertainment and as a form of communal intellectual glue, while still present, have been overtaken by its centrality in economic life. Scott (1997: 323) neatly summarises this fundamental shift arguing that:

...capitalism itself is moving into a phase in which the cultural forms and meanings of its outputs become critical if not dominating elements of productive strategy, and in which the realm of human culture as a whole is increasingly subject to commodification, i.e. supplied through profit-making institutions in decentralized mar-

kets. In other words, an ever-widening range of economic activity is concerned with producing and marketing goods and services that are infused in one way or another with broadly aesthetic or semiotic attributes.

Culture, in its widest sense, provides a set of material and symbolic resources that are abundant in supply (arguably infinite), and highly mobile (Rojek & Urry, 1997). The resource of culture is certainly at the basis of international tourism and indeed has facilitated its growth and allowed various societies and sections of societies to participate in the development process. However, in treating culture as a resource we should not neglect aspects of agency, as the value and priority of culture(s) relates not only to its intrinsic worth, but to the ways that it is used (Keating, 2001). This in turn begs questions about ownership of, and access to, culture (Robinson, 2001), and also raises issues with regard to the ways in which culture is 'read' by particular typologies of tourists. So-called 'cultural products', as Therkelsen (2003: 134) points out: 'generate associations and meanings that are influenced by the cultural backgrounds of the potential tourist.' In this sense, tourists do not encounter culture as some value-neutral form or process. Rather, they decode culture(s), in social spaces and times in relation to particular formal and informal knowledge regimes accrued through exposure to formulated tourism packages and through the normative processes of socialisation (Robinson, 2005).

In a European context, conventional conceptions of what we understand to be 'culture' have largely been dictated by our postenlightenment sensibilities regarding the romantic, the beautiful, the educational, and also, by extension, the moral. It is not surprising that what is now heralded as 'cultural tourism' broadly follows the patterns of the 'grand tour' of the 18th and 19th centuries indulged in by the social elite. Motivating factors of education, social betterment and basic human curiosity remain but have been complemented by a range of other factors which have assisted in the on-going development of cultural tourist centres. Importantly, the rise of the low-cost airlines across Europe has played a key role in stimulating tourism within more recently acknowledged cultural centres such as Budapest, Krakow and Ljubljana. Though well established cities of culture such as Paris, Rome, Venice and Athens maintain their primacy from the early days of tourism, cheap flights have created new opportunities for people to experience heritage and the arts, particularly in some smaller places such as Girona, Bratislava and Riga. This apparent democratisation of cultural tourism has also been helped

along by highly competitive and increasingly sophisticated marketing campaigns, mainly within urban contexts. The European Cities of Culture campaign, with its strong emphasis on destination branding, has been particularly successful in this way and has acted to endorse the idea that culture is a highly 'moral' product and also, through its ability to attract tourists, is economically beneficial.

In this vein, the concept of cultural tourism seems to be taking hold everywhere. Former heavily industrial centres have moved from being economies of production to economies of symbolic cultural consumption, and industrial heritage sites would seem to substitute all too easily for sites of manufacturing. The number of festivals and cultural events has increased exponentially over recent years and there has also been substantive growth in the number of museums and cultural attractions as destinations have sought to compete for the growing markets of culture-hungry tourists. But the on-going ferment and frenzy to create new displays of cultural capital and to attract the 'cultural tourist' – that is the well educated, largely White, high-spending, middle-class tourist – raises a number of longstanding issues relating to how we use culture to make sense of, and gain meaning from, a rapidly changing world.

An important point of perspective to bear in mind is that while cultural tourism is certainly a growing segment of international tourism, the vast majority of tourists could be said to be culture-proof (Craik, 1997) in that they are not seeking the exotic, culture or heritage, but relaxation, warm weather and various forms of hedonistic activity. Beach holidays remain as popular as ever with tour operators continually seeking to develop virgin stretches of coastline, while theme parks (50 years after the opening of Disneyland), as a destination and a model of tourism development, are flourishing. This is not to say that the individuals that go to make up so-called 'mass' tourism are somehow devoid of any interest in culture(s). But it does remind us that tourism reflects a certain degree of polarisation between the persistence of culture as somehow elevated and special in society, and the culture of the ordinary and the everyday.

Culture, as the social critic Raymond Williams pointed out, is one of the most problematic words to define, but despite elaborations and attempts by anthropologists over the years to widen our understanding of the term culture away from elitist notions, it would seem that, in the context of tourism we are, in the main, reproducing the idea of 'high' culture from the 18th and 19th centuries. Nor is this restricted to European tourism. We have exported our aesthetic preferences and conceptions of culture to other places. In the Middle East, for instance,

rich as it is with centuries of history and cultural diversity, we have inscribed our predilections for romantic ruins that we can recognise onto national tourist strategies. A country like Jordan, for example, is locked into the promotion of its Greco-Roman sites and the Nabatean city of Petra, as 'must-see' places. However, such sites are hardly representative of the culture(s) of the Jordanian/Arab peoples, shaped as they have been by Ottoman culture and complex historical relations with the West. At one level this is playing to the market. At another level it is obscuring the very essence of local and national identity.

We should not be surprised at our own preferences for culture as expressed in the iconic and the spectacular. As tourists we have but little time in any one location and instinctively we gravitate to what is heralded as being the exceptional, rather than the norm, and what we recognise through our own aesthetic frames. It is also not surprising that a destination eager to capitalise on the economic rewards of tourism should prioritise its cultural high points. The question, however, is one of extent. For in privileging some aspects of culture to tourists, we exclude others and close off tourism as a development option for some destinations and communities.

The Politics of Playfulness, Creativity and Change

Wallerstein (2000) writes of multiple temporalities, universalisms and particularisms in the context of cultural development in the 21st century. Although total relativism is not a necessarily desirable condition (universalisms relating to fundamental human rights might need to be prioritised, for example), this affords enormous scope for tolerance, political change and innovation. Though this can lead to a superficial democratisation of culture (Wallerstein, 2000), and problematises how we define who are 'we' and who are the 'others', it nevertheless forces our attention to the rapidity and restlessness of change and shifting power relations.

Relativism and pluralism go a long way in characterising culture(s) as a set of resources and it is thus not surprising that cultural tourism constantly seems to generate interconnected and apparently intractable moments of contestation in the way we represent and receive culture as both tourists and hosts. How, for example, how can we privilege womens' or Black history without doing the same for men or Whites? How can we balance the iconic signification of culture with the intimate? How do we celebrate cultural difference and diversity in ways that retain meaning for tourists and visited communities? Both relativism and

essentialism still create major challenges in the context of truth and reconciliation, especially when interpreting or representing one's past in the present. Alexander *et al.* (2004) note how cultural traumas (e.g. the Holocaust) leave indelible marks on their groups' consciousness, memories and identity, which can be both solidifying or disruptive, but rarely unanimous. People come to terms with their past in different ways, but the development of a (cultural) tourism industry also necessitates the acceptance of responsibility in terms of interpretation and representation of events. The 20th century is widely regarded as one of the most violent and tragic in modern history, thus there is much to come to terms with and to (re)present.

Culture is a serious process and a serious state, and many of the chapters of this book bring out the ways in which the ephemeral tourist experience touches upon the deepest and most persistent of struggles. At the same time, postmodern societies are equally meant to be 'playful' in their approach to tourism (Rojek, 1993). As a leisure industry, tourism is based on a sense of escape from the existential burden of history and contemporary reconciliation. Human coping strategies also include the freedom and hedonistic expression afforded by tourism. The 21st century, and its concomitant globalisation born of new media, technology and regenerative creative industries, lends itself easily to a proliferation of exciting touristic developments. For example, Junemo (2004) describes how a growing destination like Dubai is the epitome of playfulness, a place where globalisation is not a threat, but has been embraced wholeheartedly both in urban and tourism planning. Sheller and Urry (2004) refer to the playfulness of places, which are always on the move, consisting of different mobilisations of memories, emotions, performances, bodies, etc. There are multiple contested meanings of place as described earlier with regard to interpretations of history, but these can also be used in creative ways to transform and regenerate, or even to create new destinations. More than one of the case studies in this book refer to the ways in which culture as heritage, and culture as contemporary creativity are being used simultaneously (not always without conflict) in the redevelopment or repositioning of destinations. Some of the more playful and creative aspects of cultural tourism development arguably need to take their place alongside the more sombre reminders of our dissonant pasts.

Mobility and playfulness are clearly still predominantly influenced by power and capital, but as Turner and Rojek (2001) note, there has been a democratisation of mobility, in which travel has become almost a citizenship right. It is worth noting too, that communities are as fluid

and mobile as their cultures. Many cultural theorists write of 'deterritorialisation' and groups occupying 'the borderlands' (i.e. those who do not fit into established master discourses of nation, race, ethnicity, etc). A sense of place is now as much a psychological concept as a physical or geographical one, especially for diasporic cultures. Place, like identity, is also constantly being negotiated. As stated by Meethan (2001), cultures and societies are not passive recipients of tourism, they are also sites of contestation and resistance. Postcolonial discourse often emphasises the 'loss' of cultures (usually referring to indigenous cultures), but questions should be asked about for whom it is a loss? There is a Western tendency to fossilise cultures as heritage and to prioritise the built environment. There is something of a postimperial obsession with physical symbols or legacies that represent the past (e.g. buildings, statues, memorials). Even where these are now displaced and dissonant (for example, in former communist countries), they may be preserved and placed in tourist 'statue parks' (e.g. in Hungary). By contrast, Fisher (2004) notes how indigenous peoples in neocolonial societies tend to describe their heritage more in terms of intangible, *precolonial* traditions or 'essence' of place.

It is in such contexts that we have to position cultural tourism as creatively evolving and evolving creatively. In doing so, what we refer to as cultural tourism is becoming far more inclusive, breaking away from some of the more established notions of culture as loci of symbolic power and elitist expressions of apparent 'good taste', and moving toward more inclusive, democratic and experiential interpretations. There are perhaps two key reasons for this movement, or, more aptly, drifting. The first relates to the nature of the tourist experience itself. Destinations, their peoples and cultures are *experienced* by the tourist and not just gazed upon. Observing tourists reveals that they actually spend considerably less time than we think in formalised cultural settings such as galleries, museums and historic buildings. Rather more time is spent in restaurants, cafes, bars, shops, the airport and the hotel. Indeed, tourists spend large amounts of time 'walking around' and 'people watching', and in the process observing and encountering aspects of the host's culture in the form of everyday practices and behaviours. Far from being culture proof, it is particularly these aspects of ordinary life that tourists absorb and on their return home constitute their narratives of memory of experience. From the point of view of the host community and indeed the host tourist authorities, this aspect of culture is easily overlooked as not being of any significance and hence devoid of political currency. It is informal, *ad hoc*, impossible to manage and control and yet it is of critical

importance in shaping the tourist experience. But it is easy to forget that what is considered to be ordinary in one cultural setting is exotic to another. As a normative part of the touristic process people encounter the cultures of others, through shopping, eating and drinking etc., but this in itself can become an out-of-the-ordinary experience. In Britain, for example, the still-popular activities of going to a pub or of eating fish and chips are transformed into special activities for many overseas tourists. Ordinary as they may be, these are authentic activities in themselves and can be said to be close to the heart of British culture, however they seldom appear on the cover of promotional brochures.

A second reason for the trend towards less elitist cultural forms relates to the realities of generational replacement and increasing distance away from so-called 'high-brow' culture. Each generation produces its own cultures, the potential of which has still not been fully recognised by the tourism sector. On the one hand this does create problems as various established cultural forms and traditions are becoming threatened with extinction. On the other hand, new cultural forms are created. Again, it is sometimes all too easy to dismiss these as being outside of 'culture'. In the context of European history and culture, the notion of fast food would seem to have little in the way of cultural value and any distinctive pull for tourists. However, in the USA, a nation with a relatively short documented history, the birthplace of Kentucky Fried Chicken in Corbin, Kentucky, boasts a museum and an authentically reconstructed cafe, and many tourists. Their cultural experiences revolve around what they can relate to and what they feel connected with, albeit in a different environment. This does not make them unappreciative of the other cultural products, but it does illustrate the point that cultures *do* change in relation to the market.

Recognising and promoting the culture of the ordinary and the everyday is not to deny the importance of the 'high' arts, heritage and classical performances. Rather, it is to recognise the realities of cultural change and different forms of creativity, and the importance of the overall experience in tourism. But what does all of this mean for the future development of cultural tourism and the communities and economies it purports to serve?

For the increasing number of tourists roaming the surface of the planet it creates an ever-expanding number of experiences and possibilities. All tourism is 'cultural' in this sense. As tourists, and as people, in a globalising world we are increasingly in contact with 'other' cultures, able to experience the uniqueness of each and the commonalities of all. Cultural tourism in this way can be a powerful mechanism to

understanding other places, peoples and pasts, not through selective, high-profile cultural sites and activities that may not necessarily be representative of the societies they operate in, but through a more democratic and ubiquitous approach to cultures. In these terms even mass tourism has important and forgotten cultural elements. Our first encounter with another culture is most likely to be with the menu, the waiter and the food in a restaurant near a resort.

It is 'popular', everyday culture that increasingly infuses domestic and international tourism patterns. Television soap operas now hold more influence on travel patterns than classical opera. Tourists are more likely to visit a destination with literary connections because they have seen a film than because they have read the book. Football, and sport generally, has the power to define new tourist opportunities. Different shopping and dining experiences are arguably more central to the overall cultural experience than museum visits. Now, all of this may not be a popular perspective with the guardians of 'high' culture, but for the tourism authorities of those destinations off the main tourist routes (and in many cases these overlap with the very places which need economic and cultural development), the everydayness of culture, in both material and symbolic ways, provides an important set of resources.

At one level the cultural landscape has transformed considerably since the early days of tourism and travel. The canvas of culture has broadened, become more accessible and more creative. On another level, the basics of culture have remained in place and its important dimensions relate to the changes it constantly undergoes and the fact that it is lived, experienced, shared and exchanged.

Themes and Cases

The rationale for this publication was that whilst there are several interesting books that cover the more theoretical aspects of cultural tourism and its relationship to heritage and the arts (see for instance: Hughes, 2000; McKercher & Cros, 2002; Smith, 2003), there are few books that provide detailed, supporting case studies. Those that do are built upon here in updated contexts, for example, the work of Richards (1996; 2001) and Robinson and Boniface (1999). In terms of geographical and spatial coverage, this book is not comprehensive, but it does take examples from all three worlds as described by Denning (2004); the capitalist, the communist and the postcolonial. Hopefully this will provide the reader with some awareness of the political, social and cultural frameworks that influence each of these worlds or regions.

Though the book is broadly divided into four thematic sections, covering cultural policy and politics, notions of community participation and empowerment, issues of authenticity and commodification, and interpretation in cultural tourism, they all point up the contested processes of transforming and mobilising culture for touristic purposes in relation to changing contexts. Each section is fronted with an exploration of some of the conceptual issues relating to these themes followed by illustrative case studies. The themes addressed here are clearly not exhaustive but frequently emerge as being key to any discussions relating to cultural tourism. Sigala and Leslie (2005) provide good coverage of the more managerial and commercial aspects of cultural tourism (for example, attractions management, marketing, sustainability, new technology).

In the introduction to the first section, *Politics and Cultural Policy*, Jim Butcher provides an overview of the links between cultural politics, cultural policy and cultural attractions. For Butcher, the contemporary policy and political settings for culture and cultural tourism *per se* are problematised by increasing pluralism, democracy and social inclusion. In a postmodern context, the rise of populism and political correctness increasingly raise questions relating to 'universal' versus 'particular' cultures. As mentioned above, heightened relativism, whilst able to generate new creative forms, may also lead to an overly narrow interpretation or representation of human cultures. It might also engender a decline in standards or an instrumentalist approach to cultural development.

The spaces that cultural tourism occupies are frequently shared with and/or inherited from other functions and other symbolic uses, and as such are subject to contestation. Catherine Kelly discusses heritage tourism development in the contested political spaces of Ireland. She considers the attraction of the Ulster–American Folk Park in Omagh, County Tyrone, which focuses on emigration trails to the USA, and compares and contrasts the viewpoints of visitor groups from both Southern and Northern Ireland. This exemplifies the varying perceptions of visitors when confronted with a dissonant heritage site in a politically sensitive location, and suggests strategies for interpreting and representing multiple cultures and identities.

Arvid Viken describes how the Rosendal Barony in Norway has been redeveloped as a museum and heritage attraction for tourism, focusing in particular on the implications for local communities. He highlights some of the tensions between conservation and local developments, and the elitism of the venue and its visitors, which are seen by some to perpetuate old social divisions. He argues that in this case social history

is generally underplayed or not critical enough and emphasises some of the ubiquitous conflicts inherent in national heritage developments, together with their local, social implications.

Barbara Marciszewska demonstrates how cultural tourism policy in post-1989 Poland is increasingly moving away from so-called 'high' culture and heritage towards more populist cultural activities. She notes that this is partly a result of low local incomes limiting cultural consumption, as well as a demand for new touristic experiences, especially in cities. The case also notes that a concerted effort is needed by governments to support and fund cultural development, and to make the necessary links to tourism policy.

All three cases in this section demonstrate different aspects of cultural tourism politics, but a shift can be seen in all three contexts away from a single definition of 'culture' or 'heritage' towards a more plural or populist approach. Increasingly, the viewpoints of different communities, audiences and visitors appear to be taken into consideration when developing cultural tourism policies and attractions and while government support is not always forthcoming, such issues are at least being raised on political agendas.

In the second section, *Community Participation and Empowerment*, Stroma Cole discusses 'ethnic tourism', and questions definitions and meanings of community, commodification and empowerment. Whilst it is often assumed that 'commodification' has a negative connotation, it can also engender positive changes. In addition, mechanisms for community participation are increasing, yet there is still a need to understand the true nature of empowerment and its impact on local communities. The case studies in this section focus on the complex inter-relationships between locality, community, traditions and identity, and though good practice is noticeable it is seen that the development of cultural tourism cannot be separated from the historical and contemporary political realities that impact upon communities and that can either help or hinder participation and empowerment.

A key issue within the context of postcolonial societies relates to the difficulties of reconciling global and local forces. This is explored by Rene van der Duim, Karin Peters and John Akama as they compare Maasai tourism projects in Kenya and Tanzania. In outlining the political and power structures that have traditionally framed much of the development of cultural tourism in Africa, they point to gaps between apparent local participation and true empowerment and the need for closer analysis of stakeholder relationships.

Overcoming long-standing imbalances of power between social groups is part of the groundwork for establishing cultural tourism. Also within this section Jennifer Briedenhann and Pranill Ramchander discuss the development of 'township tourism' in post-apartheid South Africa. They focus on the relatively under-researched aspect of local resident perceptions of the impacts of township tourism in Soweto, which reveals that although many of the positive impacts are recognised and appreciated, there is still clearly a need for better mechanisms for local community inclusion, participation and empowerment.

In situations where there is a more level playing field between stakeholders, cultural tourism is arguably easier to establish. Frances McGettigan, Kevin Burns and Fiona Candon discuss a case study of Kiltimagh, in rural Ireland, where European Commission initiatives have encouraged 'bottom-up' approaches to community development. Here a partnership approach provided an effective framework for community involvement and has demonstrated the increasing importance of the more intangible aspects of community and tourism development, such as quality of life and pride of place. Also in the case of an advanced political context, Satu Miettinen looks at the status of Lappish communities in Finland with regards to arts and crafts production, traditional heritage and tourism development. She highlights positive examples of small villages in which local producers have managed to improve their arts and crafts businesses as a result of training and networking, and how local women have been instrumental in developing cultural and heritage tourism. Overall, development has been largely successful due to high levels of community participation and empowerment.

Leading the third section on *Authenticity and Commodification*, Nicola MacLeod discusses the complex and contradictory nature of authenticity and commodification, which are recurrent themes in tourism literature. She revisits previous theories and sheds new light on these phenomena in a postmodern context, questioning the very premise on which concerns about these issues have traditionally been based. The case studies in this section illustrate the different ways in which both tourism products and tourist experiences are affected by these notions in contemporary contexts. Each questions changing perceptions of authenticity and commodification, both in theory and practice, suggesting that tourists often think that they want authenticity, but in fact are not all that comfortable when it involves too much 'reality'. Indeed, as Grünewald notes in this volume, many tourists are simply happy to take home beautiful souvenirs, however 'acculturalised' they may be.

For indigenous people, traditional (albeit changing) processes may constitute 'authenticity' far more than the products that are created.

Frans Schouten examines different forms of authenticity in both Western and non-Western contexts, focusing in particular on the souvenir industry in Bali and the Netherlands. He notes the very different perceptions of products and processes in terms of tradition and identity, and the power structures that determine the 'authentication' of tourist souvenirs.

Rodrigo de Azeredo Grunewald explores the ways in which tourism growth in regions of Brazil (namely amongst the Pataxó people) has altered arts and crafts production. He suggests that native objects are rarely imbued with the same 'functional authenticity', but they can still retain internal significance at the same time as acquiring new meanings. Conscious ethnic identity construction is an important element of social vitality, and tourism can often enhance rather than compromise this process.

Tanuja Barker, Darma Putra and Agung Wiranatha discuss Balinese dance and some of the difficulties of retaining indigenous meanings whilst providing touristic performances. It is clear that a divergence of opinions has emerged amongst local dance groups as to how far performances should be adapted to suit tourists' needs; however they note that much of the recent controversy relates to economic rather than social issues (e.g. the exploitation of dancers for low wages). They rightly conclude by emphasising the importance of respecting indigenous perspectives on authenticity and its manifestation in performing culture.

The final section focuses on *Interpretation* within cultural tourism and László Puczko provides an overview of the changing nature of interpretation within the tourism attraction sector. Using a framework of theory from applied psychology, he explains some of the tools and techniques that have been developed in recent years in order to refine the process of interpretation to meet the needs of both individual and collective users. He argues that interpretation requires a complex blend of both a scientific and a fundamentally human approach if it is to be successful. The case studies in this section go on to describe some of the difficulties of implementation, due to political agendas, social sensitivities and economic necessity. Together they highlight the ways in which cultural tourism attractions are being forced to reconsider issues of interpretation and (re)presentation in the light of new political and social agendas, the changing needs of visitors, and increasing competition. A certain degree of openness and flexibility is required on the part of managers as they adapt and respond to these developments.

Tamara Rátz examines the controversies inherent in managing dissonant heritage sites, focusing on a case study of the House of Terror in Budapest, Hungary. She emphasises problems of political bias and selective interpretation, issues of local resonance versus tourist detachment, and the limitations of representing complex historical events. Overall, her contribution highlights some of the common problems facing many heritage attractions that are based on the darker and more tragic elements in our collective pasts.

Josie Appleton suggests that some of the recent political agendas in the UK have led to a dilution and distortion of the role and function of museums, many of which have turned from traditional collections management towards social inclusion. Whilst this is arguably a noble intention, she contests the notion that museums should become all things to all people, and akin to other visitor attractions, which do not purport to have an educational function.

Anya Diekmann, Géraldine Maulet and Stéphanie Quériat discuss the extent to which caves in Belgium are being standardised as visitor attractions. Whilst they accept that it is often more difficult to differentiate between natural (as opposed to cultural) attractions, they question the need for more creative and innovative approaches to presentation. This includes the interpretation of the sites, provision of additional facilities, attractions or events, and marketing.

Marion Stuart-Hoyle and Jane Lovell discuss some of the issues that are common to many heritage cities, which are moving towards the development of more contemporary and experiential attractions. They examine some of the strategies being used to engage visitors, enhance their experience and lengthen their stay, at the same time as preserving the heritage.

Conclusion

This book does not claim to offer any definitive solutions to the issues that it raises. However, it does seek to locate the phenomenon that is cultural tourism as part of a wider set of contexts that are historically embedded but are changing constantly. This is the case for both the development of tourism 'products' as expressions of culture, and in the way that culture is consumed by the tourist. Moreover, it invites the reader to read cultural tourism as a political process, or at least a set of economic transactions that have political impacts. Many of the case studies considered here reveal an ongoing process of negotiation between different social groupings relating to access to various configurations of places,

peoples and pasts as cultural resources, and rights to utilise and express these in particular ways. As part of this process we can witness creative and innovative developments within cultural tourism, together with challenges and changes to the very political and social frameworks that shape it.

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