

Tourism Research

Tourism Research:
An Interdisciplinary Perspective

Edited by

Nazmi Kozak and Metin Kozak

**CAMBRIDGE
SCHOLARS**

P U B L I S H I N G

Tourism Research: An Interdisciplinary Perspective,
Edited by Nazmi Kozak and Metin Kozak

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INTRODUCTION

Though tourism academicians widely view tourism as an independent discipline (Kozak & Kozak, 2011), there is much debate concerning the interdisciplinary position of tourism research and teaching. For instance, as tourism can be hardly described as a discipline in its own right (Tribe, 1997; Xiao & Smith, 2005) and also lacks a substantial theoretical underpinning (Barca, 2012), it has progressed as a multi-disciplinary field (Jafari, 2003; Xiao & Smith, 2006; Tribe & Xiao, 2011). As a result, tourism research has become a part of social-oriented disciplines that requires an emphasis both on industrial training and academic education. From the perspective of education, giving a practical example from both undergraduate and graduate programs, it is clear to see that there are many courses integrating tourism with many others, e.g. sociology, psychology, geography among others. Also, the quality of tourism education has progressed well under the leadership of non-tourism oriented researchers (*outsiders*) in order to lecture and supervise the future's tourism researchers (*insiders*). As to the research perspective, we have no doubt that the capacity of tourism literature has significantly grown both qualitatively and quantitatively with the contribution of these outsiders over the past four or five decades.

On the basis of this debate, there lies the fact that many disciplines play a significant role in the production of knowledge in tourism. In this respect, tourism research seems to have an interdisciplinary identity. Taking this consensus as a reference point, as being its first kind in tourism research worldwide, we felt the significance of introducing another academic event but from a different perspective. In saying so, with its specific name called as the 2nd *Interdisciplinary Tourism Research Conference* (its first series was held in Turkish, Cappadocia, 25 - 30 May 2010), the purpose of this conference was to emphasize the interdisciplinary nature of such a specific field as tourism to create an academic platform to bring together those scholars doing research directly or indirectly in these fields and also to create harmony within the standard of tourism research. The conference aimed to fulfil this purpose by attracting a selected list of participants in two categories. First, it was open for those faculty members and/or graduate students who had a background in a different discipline (*outsiders*), but had the willingness to expand their research interests into

tourism and related disciplines. This category welcomed the submission of papers with single or multiple authors. Second, for those contributors with a background in tourism (insiders), papers were expected to be complete by the cooperation of at least two multiple authors and each author represented a different discipline.

With this in mind, the conference was successful attracting over one hundred submissions representing various fields of tourism research such as planning, geography, economics, management, marketing, architecture, culture and communication among others. It also received the interests of interdisciplinary scholars affiliated with a large academic and geographic diversity, e.g. South Africa, Canada, USA, UK, Australia, Malaysia, Portugal, Poland, Iran, China, New Zealand, UAE, and Turkey etc. We are truly thankful and blessed to have had all the participants whose contributions made this academic event possible and a reference point for future discussions.

The conference program was also enriched with the participation of four distinguished scholars who were internationally well-known with their long standing contribution to the dissemination of tourism research and with their representations of different fields and institutions. John Urry, affiliated with the University of Lancaster (UK), represented the field of sociology and his contribution to the sociology of tourism is outstanding. Next, Jafar Jafari, University of Wisconsin-Stout (USA), has a background in anthropology and one of the prominent leaders of tourism research in its history. Third, with his specific contribution to consumer behaviour and marketing, Arch Woodside, Boston College (USA), has a background in psychology. Finally, Allan M. Williams, University of Surrey (UK), has published much to approach the debate from a geography perspective. We would very much appreciate their significant contribution to make the conference such a remarkable success as well as sharing their thoughts with such a diversified academic community.

Having said this, the book is compiled of 19 chapters altogether, selected among those papers presented at the Interdisciplinary Tourism Research Conference hosted in Fethiye, Turkey, 24-29 April 2012. With a diversified background of its authors, the overall of this book is enriched by including those chapters that have had a significant potential to address wider coverage of subjects such as geography, recreation, architecture, archaeology, and culture etc. The selected countries as case studies are also diverse including USA, Australia, France, Canada, New Zealand, India, Poland, Spain, Portugal, South Africa, Croatia, Italy, and Turkey. Therefore, its target readership includes both faculty members and

postgraduate students around the world whose research expertise is the field of tourism (both in tourism and other disciplines).

In sum, we hope that the output of this book would be of help to provide prosperity for scholars to expand their horizons and understand the significance of tourism research as the catalyst of other research fields.

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Co-editors

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CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND TOURISM: ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

METIN KOZAK

Abstract

Taking its departure from a close relationship between cultural heritage and tourism, the primary objective of this chapter is to stimulate the debate on cultural heritage from three major perspectives. First, the economic part of cultural heritage management is mostly taken in the context of national or international tourism activities in which cultural resources and values are seen as a source of revenue, contributing to the local or national economy. Second, the social perspective of heritage management is often neglected, although it is expected to make a greater contribution to the social development of a community that holds the heritage in their own hands or on their land. Finally, the political perspective should be cautiously considered by political instruments or public agencies as an important element in taking formal action to protect heritage sites in their original style. **Keywords:** Cultural heritage, heritage management, sustainable tourism, heritage tourism.

1. Introduction

Cultural heritage is a popular term featuring frequently in contemporary culture, and is defined as the legacy of physical artifacts and intangible attributes of a group or society that are inherited from past generations, maintained in the present and bestowed for the benefit of future generations (see e.g. Staiff, 2003). This definition refers to the classification of cultural heritage into two categories: tangible and intangible (Zeppel & Hall, 1991). Tangible or physical cultural heritage encompasses buildings and

historic places, monuments, artifacts, etc., which are considered worthy of preservation for the future (Greffé, 2004). These include objects significant to the archaeology (e.g. ancient cities), architecture (e.g. palaces, churches, and mosques), science, or technology (e.g. industrial factories) of a specific culture. Intangible aspects of a particular culture include social values and traditions, customs and practices, aesthetic and spiritual beliefs, artistic expression, language, and other aspects of human activity. Naturally, intangible cultural heritage is more difficult to preserve than tangible objects.

The primary objective of this chapter is to stimulate the debate on cultural heritage from three major perspectives. First, the economic part of cultural heritage management is mostly taken in the context of national or international tourism activities in which cultural resources and values are seen as a source of revenue, contributing to the local or national economy, for example, the Great Wall in China. Second, the social perspective of heritage management is often neglected, although it is expected to make a greater contribution to the social development of a community that holds the heritage in their own hands or on their land, for instance, the Pyramids in Giza, Egypt. Finally, the political perspective should be cautiously considered by political instruments or public agencies as an important element in taking formal action to protect heritage sites in their original style, e.g. the Heritage Site in Evora, Portugal. The political perspective also involves developing positive relations between different national or geographical regions sharing a similar or having a different historical or cultural background, but which all have a cultural connection with the heritage site, e.g. the Anzac monuments in Gallipoli, Turkey.

2. Link between Cultural Heritage and Tourism

From the general perspective discussed above, one may see that the term “heritage” is diverse with regard to the resources and attractions it covers, including natural heritage (e.g. national parks and biosphere reserves), built heritage (e.g. monuments and structures), and intangible heritage (e.g. culture and literature). Different countries may have distinctive features and strengths in different types of heritage. For instance, the US and Turkey are popular countries in terms of natural heritage, whereas the Czech Republic is a unique destination for built heritage. On the other hand, Russia and France have become popular for their intangible heritage resources. Findings of previous empirical studies have shown that, as enabling factors to tourism development, culture and nature are the major reasons for tourists choosing a destination to visit (e.g.

Kozak, 2001; Weber, 1997; Mao, Howard, & Havitz, 1993; Biran, Poria, & Reichel, 2006; Zeppel & Hall, 1991). Therefore, each country may have similar or distinct natural or cultural attractions that can be utilised to promote itself in international tourism.

As a result, over decades, it has become a necessity to establish a public organization which is in charge of promoting national culture both at the national and international level. Many countries have therefore launched a Ministry of Culture, e.g. Canada, Sweden, Spain, etc. The governments of various countries have tended to establish a link between culture and its minor or major fields, e.g. the Ministry of Culture, Arts and Heritage in Malaysia, the Ministry of Culture and Education in Finland, the Ministry of Culture and Communication in France, and the Ministry of Culture and Heritage in New Zealand, etc. More specifically, the link between culture and tourism has been established in official institutions. Heritage is also becoming an important part of the tourism industry and society as a whole, which is evident in some developing countries with the establishment of public organizations at the Ministry level, e.g. the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey, Malta, Moldova, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan. Whether initially seen as allies or enemies to each other, this interrelationship has led to greater integration of cultural heritage and tourism.

From an optimistic point of view, this development shows the government's recognition of this sector's role in generating income via the tourism industry and in maintaining the national legacy. Heritage resources are irreplaceable; they are non-renewable resources of conservation and tourism. Heritage provides a tangible link between the past, present, and future. Thus, maintaining sound management of heritage is crucial to sustaining these resources. If there is something wrong or misunderstood in the way that heritage is included as part of societal or economic values, the potential risk is that a significant portion of our heritage may be lost forever. There are many issues and challenges that threaten the sustainability of heritage assets, including modernization and tourism. Unfortunately, from a pessimistic point of view, tourism itself also poses a threat to heritage.

3. Three Perspectives on Cultural Heritage

This chapter argues that the stability of cultural heritage arises from the three major perspectives discussed above: economic, social, and political. The current debate claims that cultural heritage has become a commodity of national economies exploited in order to satisfy contemporary

consumption. When cultural heritage is taken into consideration within the perspective of tourism development in a specific location or country, it is possible to see the promotion of cultural heritage as a main source of revenue generation, through its ability to attract visitors from all over the world (e.g. Strauss & Lord, 2001; Richards, 1996; Peleggi, 1996), and thereby to create new job opportunities (e.g. Greffe, 2004). Although this is considered to be a positive impact from the economic perspective, there may also be negative side effects from the social perspective. Local people or visitors may perceive all such cultural values as economic assets, while neglecting their significance in terms of reflecting the cultural and historical background of the society. Especially in a number of developing countries, tourism organizations or governments take decisions or develop policies to motivate local people to protect such resources solely because of their positive contribution to the local economy. Although this tactic would be taken as a positive case from the political perspective, more examples can be given as evidence supporting the negative side, for instance the destruction of cultural monuments in Iraq or in Afghanistan due to political conflicts, either at the intra-national or international level.

Currently, from the social perspective, there have been tremendous efforts to promote awareness by local citizens or service providers of their cultural resources, and to encourage them to increase their short-term and long-term revenues by displaying such resources as of economic value to those people visiting the location. This increases the spread of knowledge among local people as well as the transfer of knowledge to people travelling all over the world. The widespread nature of such knowledge capacity development leads us to talk about the domino effect of tourism which brings not only economic, but also additional, benefits for societal development. The main problem appears at the stage where the balance between economic and social benefits is not maintained for mutual benefit according to the social perspective. As long as economic benefits are given priority, then the economic perspective obtains more power to control or limit the social benefits of such resources.

From the political perspective, due to the sensitive structure of cultural heritage, when it is gone, there is no way of reinstating it to its original setting. In order to protect this cultural heritage, as indicated above, in many countries political institutions have had to take several political and legal actions, e.g. the Ministry of Environment and Heritage in Australia and the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Turkey, etc. In addition, further actions have been taken on a broader scale. For example, various macro organizations have been established to take a more active role in the international arena by forcing local and national authorities to give utmost

consideration to protecting their cultural heritage, e.g. the Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), UNESCO, and so on. At the country level, similar types of agencies have been developed at the local or national level to control both the local people and the responsible authorities in terms of their ability to comply with the laws and regulations in this respect, e.g. the Council for Protection of Natural and Cultural Heritage in Turkey, and the Directorate for Cultural Heritage in Norway. Such micro organizations are responsible for developing strategies and policies within the entire field of cultural heritage.

As a result of the global understanding of conservation being ahead of that in various individual countries, many organizations now promote the principle that natural and particularly cultural heritage is not specific to a country; instead it is a global principle under the responsibility of all human beings, and pertains to their common values. Such social and environmental associations as UNESCO, ICOMOS, the EU Culture Commission, and UNEP, developed within the concept of a worldwide conservation framework, have carried the issue of conservation into the international arena. Such associations, with their internationalist approach, manage the attention from the public at cultural sites not only by protecting a particular site or location, but by putting all similar places that are at risk on the agenda, with reports entitled “Heritage at Risk”; by responding to their problems; and/or by releasing obligations to include or exclude their names in the worldwide heritage list. Such punishments have forced the local and central governments to take further steps to reserve a place in the list. For example, the Governorship of İstanbul is currently desperate to find a solution to keeping the city in UNESCO’s world heritage list.

4. Relationship between Economic, Social and Political Perspectives

Figure 1 illustrates how the relationship between economic, social, and political perspectives is taken into consideration in this study. As indicated in Figure 1, the interaction between three of these perspectives is very intense. Firstly, both social and political instruments should be reinforced to protect cultural heritage and to obtain more economic benefits from such a relationship in the future, e.g. encouraging cultural tourism activities etc. (see aspect “a”). Secondly, recalling the memory of the past and the greater intention of experiencing nostalgia, both economic and political roles should be encouraged for local people to see the value of their cultural heritage and to pay more attention to its conservation, e.g. opening

museums, restoring historical buildings, demonstrating local traditions etc. (see “*b*”). Finally, the political side could be better organised to maintain the economic prosperity associated with cultural heritage and to encourage people to become more aware of such resources and their value for the future of their own community, e.g. giving financial and moral support and taking action to support cooperation etc. (see “*c*”).

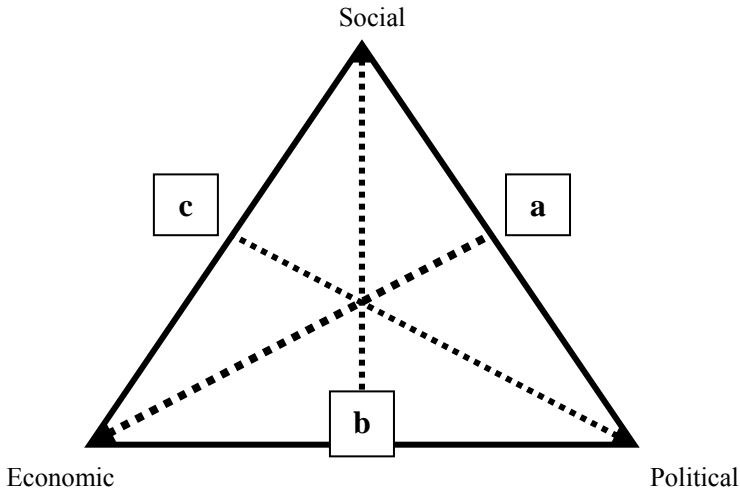


Figure 1 - Interdependence of Economic, Political, and Social Perspectives

The link between the economic perspective and the political perspective does not operate in a straightforward way (see “*a*” in Figure 2). As a direct consequence of tourism development, some tourist locations in Turkey, for example, have become more successful at attracting investment either from other sectors within the country, or from foreign capital. Such a development has led to an increase in the economic value of cultural sites or resources within the relevant areas. In this case, the main problem has appeared to be to find the best way to keep the balance between the economic perspective and the political perspective. In some cases, both the political authorities and the local people may agree to open these places for tourism development for the sake of economic growth in the local or national economy. In so doing, the political perspective will support the economic perspective, which will then manipulate the development of the social perspective in order to take a further step. In those places where the political perspective holds the power to support tourism, cultural heritage has become a significant marketing tool, or sometimes a brand name. A

number of governments, for instance in Hong Kong and Singapore, have begun giving strong support to the tourism industry and promoting their locations in terms of cultural tourism (Li, 2003).

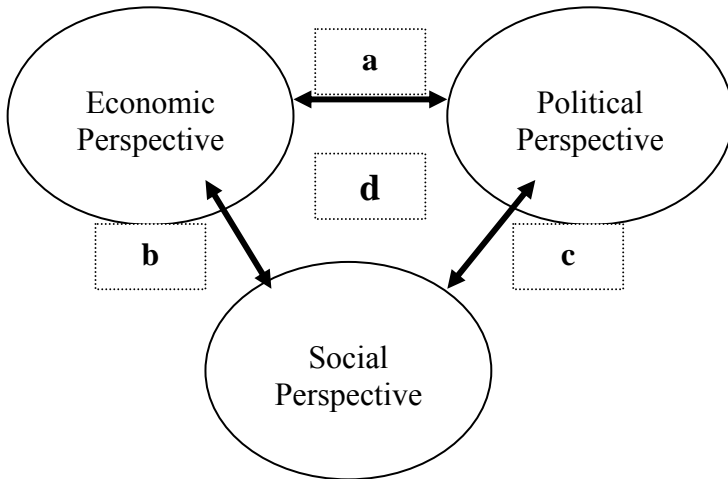


Figure 2 - Interrelationship between Economic, Political, and Social Perspectives

Looking at aspect “b” in Figure 2, the interdependence between cultural heritage and tourism makes these two terms sometimes allies, and at other times enemies to each other, depending on the context in which they are seen (McKercher, Ho, & du Cross, 2005; Staiff, 2003; Zeppel & Hall, 2003). Such interdependence brings some advantages to the local community from the economic side, as well as leading to several problems from the social side (Nuryanti, 1996). From the negative point of view, the literature has numerous examples of studies dealing with the side effects of tourism development, including the transformation of social values and the degrading of cultural heritage in many countries. Both in the literature and in practice, it is also possible to see many descriptions of how things change under the influence of tourism activities, a process that has been referred to as “tourismification” (Jansen-Verbeke, 1998) or “commodification” (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Urry, 1995). In particular, the challenge lies in the fact that the development of cultural tourism in historical cities initiates an irreversible form of change (Jansen-Verbeke, 1998). This will become a prime concern for local residents and service providers on how to keep the life of such places for the future. As noted, “the desire to earn more money will only increase with the possibility of developing tourism

in the area and some inhabitants are bound to be more interested in earning short-term gains from speculation rather than in the long-term development of their town” (Greffé, 2004, p. 309).

The locations where cultural heritage is demonstrated to visitors have become the centre of social transformation, which essentially means the degradation of local customs and social values. For instance, it is possible to observe people harassing foreign visitors to force them to buy their products and services in Turkey, Jamaica, and China. One may see people sitting in front of the Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris and asking visitors for money. In some cases, it is evident that people are carrying out trade in fake products of lower quality to be sold as gifts for international visitors in front of major cultural and historical attractions. From an ethical point of view, some shopkeepers or local agencies may charge at least twice the normal price for local visitors as an entrance fee or for products or services for those people visiting a cultural attraction as foreign tourists. The reason for all such cases is very simple: to obtain economic benefit from the advantages of the cultural heritage in their neighborhood through the business of tourism. Such a practice may also convey a risk for the positive development of social well-being within a community.

Examining the relationship between the social and political perspectives (see “c” in Figure 2), the benefit of demonstrating cultural heritage is to allow the people, either as locals or as visitors, to explore the differences or similarities between the past and “now (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999). This process includes numerous activities such as renovating historical buildings, opening museums, and organising festivals, in order to make a contribution to the promotion of their cultural heritage and the social values generated from the past. As a way of demonstrating one’s cultural heritage or social identity to outsiders, this would be a good example of how interdependence between the political and social perspectives could and should work together to prevent the disappearance of such resources in the future. For example, Ondimu (2002) notes that, in the case of the Gusii heritage in Kenya, people have become concerned about the future of their cultural heritage because they have failed to get enough support from the government. In short, due to the risks involved in developing cultural tourism, including the degradation of cultural heritage itself, the political perspective should be in charge of developing ways to enhance the awareness of communities of the significance of protecting the resources that are crucial to the success of heritage tourism at present and to its sustainability in the future.

Istanbul, recently accepted as European Capital of Culture for 2010, is a fitting example to showcase the importance of benefiting from cultural

heritage from these three perspectives (see “*d*” in Figure 2). As outlined on the city’s website, “Istanbul, one of the most popular metropolises of all times, with its long and impressive history, is being transformed with the construction of universities, art galleries, museums, etc. In addition to suffering from massive flows of migration, the city still welcomes everyone”. The chairman of the Executive Committee of Istanbul's bid for the title of Cultural Capital of Europe for 2010 is convinced that Istanbul's long history has enabled the city to 'design a sui generis concept of cosmopolitanism.' In being named as a European Cultural Capital, the city serves as a showcase of living together. To gain both the social and economic benefits as given in Table 1, from the political perspective, the central government has put forward an amendment in law by bringing together the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Municipality of Istanbul, and Governorship of Istanbul to cooperate on this fruitful project.

5. Conclusion

This chapter has firstly emphasized the advantages of heritage management from the economic, social, and political perspectives, as well as the main problems faced in several countries in today’s world. Then, it has attempted to provide various practical examples identifying how the relationship between these perspectives operates in the context of tourism development. The social part of the triangle encompasses the preparation of strategies for identifying, conserving, and promoting cultural heritage. The political side includes providing a partnership between local authorities, landowners, and businesses for the protection of significant sites of cultural heritage. The role of such partnerships in cultural heritage is manifested in the processes of establishing museums and art galleries, publishing literature in book or journal form, making film documentaries, protecting the culture within its original setting such as local lifestyles, monuments, and buildings etc. The outputs will lead to benefits for all three perspectives of heritage management, increasing revenues and thereby enhancing local peoples’ quality of life from the economic perspective, strengthening their social values, and testing the effectiveness of political decisions.

From a comparative perspective to examining cultural heritage management versus natural heritage management, as outlined in this chapter, the authorities in some cases have a tendency to consider cultural heritage together with natural heritage. In practical terms, the globalization discourse is more prone to considering natural heritage as more important, due to its close relationship with economic growth. This is due to the

impact of the environmentalist movement on the development of industrialization at the international level. However, cultural heritage management does not receive enough attention, at least not economically, because it is very difficult, especially for developing countries, to fund cultural heritage management for either social or economic reasons. The protection of natural heritage appears to be easier and less expensive, and requires less time because the attractiveness of natural resources has become the number one reason for the majority of people to visit different destinations around the globe.

Conservation as an idea is generally applied to natural heritage sites and benefits from the environmentalist discourse, whereas the idea can also be used in a broader sense to encompass the conservation of cultural heritage sites. Although there has been a consensus within the community on the definition and specific meaning of cultural heritage as the aspects of our past that (1) we want to keep, appreciate, and enjoy today, and (2) to pass on to future generations, we mainly focus our efforts on the first part of this meaning, neglecting the second part. In other words, we just think about how to enjoy today by providing a link between the economic and political perspectives. Such an approach leads to the avoidance of the role of the social perspective for the future of cultural resources. The challenge lies in the fact that the development of cultural tourism in historical cities initiates an irreversible form of change (Jansen-Verbeke 1998). To achieve our objective, which is to pass cultural heritage on to future generations, the development of effective marketing and management strategies to control cultural heritage and to support heritage tourism will probably maximize the economic, social, and political returns to those interested bodies within the community.

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CHAPTER TWO

CULTURE OF TOURISM

MAURO DUJMOVIĆ AND ALJOŠA VITASOVIĆ

Abstract

In the context of globalisation and migration, tourism acquires new dimensions. It is our aim to reveal new trends in tourism and encourage readers to question the assumptions inherent in much writing about tourism. The chapter begins by defining the culture of tourism within the framework of contemporary society. Subsequently, the chapter considers some elements involved in the production of tourist places and the last part of the chapter highlights new trends in tourism related to embodied tourist practices. The central argument is that the traditional notions of tourism experiences and practices have been modified because of a range of contradictory socio-cultural developments occurring in the field of contemporary tourism. **Keywords:** Post-modernism, place, space, consumption, change.

1. Introduction

Tourism is of central importance to social, cultural and economic lives in the twenty-first century and it is one of the most exciting and relevant phenomenon in today's times of great mobility. In the context of a fast changing world and forces of geographical transformation, globalisation and international migration, tourism undoubtedly acquires new dimensions, properties and directions. Therefore, our intention is to question and challenge the overt rationality that pervades many tourism texts, and argue that there are many competing interpretations of the contemporary world. By utilising critical theory, it is our aim to reveal and indicate new trends and tendencies in tourism and encourage readers not just to understand contemporary tourism from the binary of supply and demand perspectives, but also to encourage them to begin to think

critically and question the assumptions inherent in much writing about tourism. We draw inspiration from Franklin's (2003) *Tourism* book and this chapter includes information and ideas from disciplines as diverse as human geography, literary criticism, history, archaeology, sociology, cultural studies and media studies.

Our understanding of tourism is premised upon the notion of the social construction of reality asserting that appearances of reality are influenced by thinking, writing, gazing and experiencing. It is clear that there are objective facts about the things in the world, but the meanings we place upon these things are socially constructed. Therefore, understandings and mental representations of a product or service may acquire new meanings as time goes by and as they are circulated between individuals, in the media and in society. As Franklin and Crang (2001, p.3) argue: "tourism has broken away from its beginnings as a relatively minor and ephemeral ritual of modern national life to become a significant modality through which transnational modern life is organised". Writers such as Lash and Urry (1994) argue that a significant change has taken place within contemporary societies, involving a shift from organised to disorganised capitalism or from Fordism to post-Fordism, that is a shift from mass consumption to more individuated patterns of consumption. These changes have been characterised by Poon (1993) as involving the shift from old tourism, which involved packaging and standardisation, to new tourism, which is segmented, flexible and customised. It is essential to point out that during organised capitalism tourism and culture were relatively distinct social practices in both time and space.

Tourism as practice and discourse involved clear specification in time (the week and the fortnight) and space (the specialised resorts and spas). It particularly involved the centrality of clock-time to its organisation. The holiday experience was remarkably regulated. It was almost impossible to book mid-week. Visitors were informed when they were to eat, what they would eat and exactly when they could use different facilities. 1990s marked a shift from the organised tourism to a much more differentiated and fragmented pattern of mobility. Tourism and culture now plainly overlap and there is no clear frontier between the two and they cannot be kept apart. This is because culture has come to occupy a more central position in the organisation of present day societies. Tourism fits in with trends in economic development towards service based, consumer oriented industries associated with the production of symbolic or cultural capital rather than material goods. The role of culture in this process is multi-faceted: culture is in the same time a resource, a product, an experience and an outcome. In addition, place marketing, the use of imagery and the

selling of places have become central theming, and components of the economy of tourism.

Contemporary society has experienced a remarkable time-space compression as people travel more conveniently and cheaply than ever before. As Celia Lury indicates: “both objects and people are increasingly mobile and such mobilities are culturally encoded”. (Lury 2000, p. 79). What John Urry (2002) has termed the tourist gaze is still a part of contemporary tourist experience and practices. However, the more recent interest in human body has focused attention on the other senses (smell, touch, sound, taste) and other embodied activities, which cannot be separated from wide structural and cultural developments within contemporary societies.

This chapter thus reviews some of the recent engagements with theory in tourism research from the interdisciplinary point of view. It begins by reviewing the global prominence of tourism and its postmodern paradigm characterised by the dominance of the global media sphere and spectacle as the most influential features of the contemporary tourism. Subsequently, the chapter considers some elements involved in the production of tourist places giving rise to the so called new economy of space and the last section of the chapter highlights new trends in tourism related to embodied tourist practices. The central argument of this chapter is that the traditional notions of tourism experiences and practices have been modified as a result of a range of contradictory cultural developments occurring in the field of contemporary tourism. If disorganised capitalism involves the predominance of culture, consumption, the global, that is, the dominance of non material forms of production, then all these characterise contemporary tourism as well.

2. Global Prominence of Tourism

We are much less rooted in time and space than were people in previous times. Huge numbers of people and places now are caught up within a more globalised tourism that is characterised by flow of images, people, objects and communications (Hannam, 2008). Tourism and more importantly travel is increasingly seen as a process that has become integral to social life. Everything seems to be in perpetual movement throughout the world and most people travel. Tourism is less the privilege of the rich few, but something involving and affecting many people. The amount of traffic along the infrastructures of the global travel industry including virtual travel through the Internet, imaginative travel through phone, radio and television, and corporeal travel has expanded and

intensified over the last decade. Although there are complex intersections between these different modes of travel, there is no evidence yet that virtual and imaginative travel is replacing corporeal travel. Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the current conditions of globalisation, with mobility and transience to the fore, allow for a much greater degree of mixing and interchange than was possible in the past, which clearly involves the transient mobility of tourism (Reiser, 2003)..

As a consequence of all these trends place after place is reconfigured as a recipient of such flows of tourists who mediate almost all societies across the globe (Burns, 1999.). Mobility is therefore responsible for the ways in which people experience the contemporary world, influencing and altering both their forms of subjectivity and their aesthetic appreciation of nature, landscapes, townscapes and other cultures and societies across the world. The proliferation of many forms of real and simulated mobility has contributed to the development of an aesthetic cosmopolitanism (Lury, 2000), defined as the ability to experience different cultures and societies historically and geographically, favouring transnational relations, organisations and exchanges, in which process the social organisation of travel and tourism has facilitated and structured such cosmopolitanism. Aesthetic reflexivity and cosmopolitanism are concerned with identifying a particular place's location within the contours of geography, history and culture that circulate the globe as well as identifying that place's actual and potential material and semiotic resources indispensable for the development of tourism.

Tourism's growth has coincided not only with the de-industrialisation of mature western economies, but also with the phenomenon known as postmodernism. As a movement postmodernism is perhaps most commonly known within the fields of architecture, literature and the visual arts, but it also has a number of prominent features which should outline any discussion of tourism as it has developed since the 1970s. Next section elaborates the complex notion of the changing culture of tourism by briefly analysing some prominent features of postmodernity and postmodern tourism brought about by the changes in contemporary tourism and travel and the cosmopolitan attitude.

3. Postmodern Tourism

Postmodernism is a popular theoretical perspective and it is often and easily applied to tourism. The fact is that there are profound differences among the major practitioners of postmodern social theory such as Baudrillard, Foucault, Lyotard, Jameson etc. (Brooker, 1992). The term is

often used in relatively loose and ill defined ways, leading to much confusion and contestation. Since the discussion about the nature and character of this term goes way beyond the scope of this chapter it is important to point out that under this term we imply a historical phase that follows modernity characterised by a set of cultural developments or what Urry has named “a new cultural paradigm” (Urry 2002, p.75). Postmodernism is a social consciousness organised around the economy of sign rather than an economy of commodities.

Postmodernism is marked by the breakdown in the distinctiveness of various cultural fields. Each merges with the other and most involve visual spectacle and play. This is seen most clearly in multi-media events where cultural production, especially via the central role of television, is difficult to categorise and place within any particular field (Pavlič, 2004). The real and the mediated, fact and fiction, document and spectacle irrevocably merge and implode. French sociologists and philosopher Jean Baudrillard (2005) argues that we live in the age where we consume signs and images rather than real things. These signs and images are copies of an original, but increasingly the idea of what the original actually was is lost. He thinks of the ways in which in the contemporary world we can produce copies of places and objects that may seem better or more real than the original (caves at Lascaux in France, replicas of Paris and Venice in Hangzhou in China, etc.). Everything is a copy of something that does not exist, or a simulacrum. This world of sign and spectacle is one in which there is no real originality, only what Eco (1986) terms travels in hyperreality (Disneyland, Las Vegas, Dubai, etc.). Tourism has always involved spectacle. Many professionals participate in the process of image creation: photographers, writers of travel books and guides, local councils, experts in the heritage industry, travel agents, hotel owners, designers, tour operators, TV travel programmes, tourism development officers, architects, planners, tourism academics etc. In contemporary tourism, these technical, semiotic and organisational discourses are combined to construct and sell visitor attractions. In the early twenty-first century almost all environments across the globe have been transformed, or are being transformed into diverse and collectable spectacles as local and national governments chase after tourist dollars. Tourism as an industry or cultural activity is thus very much tied up with the presentation of place, culture, heritage or events, and these presentations could be said to take place on stages that are created out of the interaction between destinations or attractions and their staff and visitors. The stages on which tourism takes place are created by the tourism industry itself, the media and the behaviour of tourists.

Every surface has been rendered consumable in a touristic way and there is a tendency to market almost every conceivable place, past, nature, culture and activity to tourists (Meethan, 2003). The once singular activity of the tourist, seeking authenticity and an authentic experience away from the work has been replaced by the whole series of experiences, knowledges, anticipations, activities and performances that constitute a postmodern tourism mixing texts into an elaborate wave of leisure practices distinct from a pre-packaged holiday. Authenticity was an “archaic tourist desire related to an impossible belief in the real and the original experience now clearly altered and enhanced by the omnipresence of the media in all its forms” (Rojek & Urry, 2000, p. 202). The quest for authenticity has lost its primacy, as a culturally legitimising principle of tourism; the hedonistic enjoyment and fun tends to take its place in post-modern tourism. Post-modern tourists or post-tourists comply with this assertion, turning from the serious quest for experiences of the authentic, to a playful enjoyment of surfaces imagining that simulated and otherwise contrived attractions are the real thing (Cohen, 1995).

We live in the hyperreal world where everything has a unique cultural content, even fakes. The so called landscapes of consumption including contrived attractions, such as theme parks, amusement centres, malls, reconstructed environments, and touristic festivals increasingly become the principal attractions of post-modern mass tourism. Post-tourists often seek familiar experiences on their trip (Ritzer 1999), deriving enjoyment from the quality of the offerings, rather for fun and of a playful attitude to the world. Therefore, tourism has become a series of simulations from which we build our own package. The post-tourist combines the imagined (dream of a destination, media representations, screen cultures), the real (actual travels, guides) and the virtual (myths, media, Internet) into a package that together construct their tourist experience. This view is supported by Chris Rojek who advocates the idea that with new communication technologies the individual is an active participant using computer technology to combine elements from fictional and factual representations into new practice described as collage tourism. That is, fragments of cultural information are assembled by the network user to construct a distinctive orientation to a foreign sight. Through television, radio and especially Internet we can practise collage tourism at home, which could even replace the necessity physically to visit the sight (Rojek & Urry, 2000). Post-tourist is creative rather than passive in receipt of the defined and pre-packaged experience propelled by the media.

Tourism is infused into the everyday and has become one of the ways in which our lives are ordered, in which consumers orientate themselves or

take a stance to a globalised world. Besides, most of the things we like to do in our leisure time double up as touristic activities and are shared spaces (fashionable cafes, local art exhibitions, museums, beaches, sporting activities, etc.) Many leisure investments made for tourists and tourism rely on the fact that local people will visit them too. Much of our everyday lives are spent doing what tourists do, alongside tourists and in a touristic manner. In a globalised world where old certainties and differences have disappeared and where new mixes and hybrids seem to be an increasing part of our experience, we draw on our experience and skills as a tourist to make sense of it and to consume it. Tourism is simply one manifestation of the spectacle and in the context of tourism, spectacles are more dramatic manifestations of images, ideas, events, cultures, people and behaviours with which tourists are already familiar.

The above discussion has demonstrated that there are many ways in which a holiday is not necessarily dramatically different from life at home, but that it could be seen to be a spectacular manifestation of the everyday or every week familiar in which people engage at home with often the same friends, in the same venues, listening to the same kinds of music, or visiting the same kinds of museums and galleries, eating the same kinds of foods, etc. It is clear then that boundaries between tourism and everyday life are being blurred. The line between home and away, between work and rest, between novelty and routine, between safety and danger, between the exotic and the ordinary, between the expected and unusual is gradually fading. These facts undermine the confidence in a theory that places the need for difference and the unusual as the principle motive for tourism. We have argued that in the contemporary world almost everywhere has been mantled with touristic properties and that our stance to the world we live in whether at home or away, has become increasingly touristic. It is obvious then that subjective intangible factors such as dreaming and the play of imagination remain central to the formulation of desire and place attraction and serve as a source of perpetual tourist yearning and fantasy.

4. Changing the Gaze

If all stated above might seem rather controversial and too abstract let's once again take into consideration a more plausible socio-cultural view which argues that demand for tourism results from a need to escape from the ordinary (work, domestic arrangements, etc.) into the extraordinary (what we seek when we go on holiday), and that this act of escape by tourists is driven and structured by culturally-determined notions of what is extraordinary and therefore worth viewing. It is true that tourism

involves travelling long distances and that people travel in order to be tourists. It is true that they look for pleasure and difference and that they need relief from the monotony of the ordinary life, but in doing so they are not passive and driven by forces external to and greater than them. Tourism does not exist externally to the individual, but the question is how an individual constructs and gives meaning to it. Tourists do more than just being pleased by the new and the unusual, they seek some sense of personal change, growth or transition and self-realisation. Travel and the knowledge and experience that come from travel became an important source of cultural capital (the concept was developed originally by Bourdieu (1978, 1984), and denotes the consumption and collection of commodities, social networks and cultural values intended explicitly to demonstrate taste, style, and status). However, tourism does not require us to travel very far in order to find objects, cultures, music, food, styles and people relevant for the acquisition of the cultural capital, because they all flow back into the origins of western tourism. There is no need to travel abroad, since abroad is travelling to you.

Therefore, functionalist explanations of tourism, which describe how tourism contributes to or relates to a social order, may be abandoned and tourism should be conceived as heterogeneous clusters of humans and non-humans comprised of touring humans and tourism objects. The mass tourism of cheap package tours, which characterised escape from the modern economy of Fordist industrial production, has given way to tourism based on the consumption of a broad palette of sights, attractions and, above all, experiences. The paradigm has shifted from the modern notion of mass tourism to the post-modern notion of lifestyle experience tourism.

Tourists consume signs and the media as a primary source of destination images. Our point is that post tourism in this manner contests traditional notions of tourist experience offering more than physical travel and the destination is inescapably bound up in very modern image markets. It is implicated in the society of the commodity and the society of the spectacle, and is a social and cultural construct, which is subject to a constant flux of production, consumption, reproduction, representation, commodification and transformation (Rojek & Urry, 2000). John Urry and Chris Rojek are notable innovators of what might be called visual theories of tourism, but in recent years, more emphasis is being given to embodied perspectives on tourism. This is a reaction to concerns that important aspects of the body were being ignored and despite the new virtual world a new tourism of the body has been emerging which has nothing to do with the limitations of the tourist gaze. It could be said that as the 1990s faded

into 2000s more people wanted to get their hands on the world, to taste it, feel it, smell it and do things with it instead of just looking at it. Before the further elaboration of this notion, in the next section, we are going to establish a connection between tourist places and embodied social practices implying that tourist places are produced spaces and that tourists are co-producers of such places.

5. Consuming Places and Consuming Spaces

Tourism destinations need to create unique identities and selling points as the basis of survival in an increasingly competitive capitalist global tourism marketplace. Such local competitiveness of place stems from globalisation, from time space compression of capital and travel, which forces many places to compete to attract investment, workers and visitors.

The spaces and places where consumption occurs are as important as the products and services consumed. Zukin (1990) states that cultural capital is not just of symbolic importance; it plays a real, material role in moving financial capital through both economic and cultural circuits. It is integrally involved in real investment and production. It creates real economic value. In addition, it influences trends in physical infrastructure as well as shaping new demands for labour. According to Jennifer Craik (1997) there are four main forms of cultural capital: built environments (amusement and theme parks; cultural centres, casinos, shopping centres); spectacles (events and festivals), property markets (internationalisation of real-estate speculation and development) and festival markets (dock redevelopments; tourist-oriented malls and entertainment centres) which do not only share a trend towards large-scale developments, multiple facilities and attractions but entail a blurring between tourist and everyday leisure activities. Sites and sights are increasingly used and planned for mixed purposes and diverse groups of users. Thus, the continued growth of tourism must be placed in the context of new forms of consumer development and in particular the convergence between patterns of consumption, leisure and tourism (Verbeke, 2007). This convergence creates destinations where cultural production, in the form of cultural industries, thrives and where cultures of production and consumption, more generally, predominate in ways both actual and symbolic. All these transformations and trends concerning the production of a destination have given rise to a new economy of space characterised by the following: