CULTURAL TOURISM: NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES

Edited by Greg Richards and Xerardo Pereiro

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Acknowledgements

Introduction
Cultural Tourism: Negotiating Identities

Greg Richards[1] and Xerardo Pereiro[2]

Cultural tourism: a negotiation of identities

Cultural tourism has long promoted intercultural communication between peoples, countries and regions. From this point of view, the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1990) interpreted tourism as an "ethnoscape", that is, a landscape characterised by the flux of goods, information, services and tourists, all crossing borders in a globalised world.

In our view, cultural tourism is a social relationship with other people. We understand cultural tourism as a system in which cultural diversity and exchange are very important. This sociocultural relationship has been constructed by politicians, planners, marketing professionals, hotels, transport providers, guides, travel agencies, writers, researchers and so on. They are the mediators between visitors and their hosts.

Cultural tourism is a meeting between cultures and social systems that produces changes in both of them (Smith, 1992). Almost all cultural tourism is a negotiation between identities of human groups in contact (hosts and guests). Cultural tourism is also a social practice that constructs and re-constructs identities (e.g. social identities, nationalism, transnationalism) and it contributes to the creation of a globalised world (Bauman, 1999: 103-133). In addition, cultural tourism is a very good arena for understanding discourses, images and representations of the "Other". These representations are an important element of the negotiation between hosts and guests and they in turn influence the contexts of interaction.

Cultural tourism is a movement of people which intensifies intercultural contact, and therefore can contribute to an appreciation of cultural differences and diversity,

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stimulating mutual respect between cultures. It can also be 'an opportunity for peace, understanding and knowledge between different societies and nations' (Brunt and Courtey, 1999: 217). From another point of view, some authors maintain that tourism is a threat which can destroy or pervert the host culture, subjecting them to postcolonial dependence and depriving them of their decision-making powers (Kripppendorf, 1986, 1987; Nash, 1992; Greenwood, 1992).

We must ask ourselves, however, if all tourists are equal. It is clear that there are different types of tourists, and groups of tourists from different cultures exhibit different travel habits and patterns of cultural consumption. There is a tendency for tourists to take certain elements of their culture with them when they travel, whether as tourists in general or as cultural tourists (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002; Richards 2007). It is therefore necessary to understand tourist diversity (Nash, 1994), in order to understand tourism. This diversity is determined by the tourist space, the interactions between hosts and guests and different groups of tourists, and their motivations and behaviour.

One of the first to study the situations of negotiation between hosts and guests was Emmanuel De Kadt (1979), who identified the following forms of encounter:

a) Purchasing a good or service

b) Encounters in a tourist space (e.g. the beach)

c) Exchanges of information and ideas

The first two were seen as the most common, and the most transitory and commercial in nature. Jafar Jafari (1989) also identified three types of culture-tourism contacts: a) local culture; b) touristic culture; c) cultural contact between local and tourists. These typologies of the tourist-host encounter imply that these meetings occur in different situations or spaces, and the context of the encounter is likely to shape the experience of the encounter to a large degree.

However, we also have to accept that the categories 'tourists' and 'locals' are socially constructed. The 'local' can no longer be conceived of as a geographically limited locality, but rather as a sense of place, a lifestyle, ethos or worldview. Increasingly processes of 'glocalisation' imply that the local adapts itself to the global, and vice versa (Franquesa and Morrell, 2007).

To be a 'cultural tourist' is therefore a socially constructed concept conditioned by wealth, nationality, sex, age, social position and social and cultural distance. By the

same token, to be defined as a tourist signifies the application of a brand, or a label, as a form of social classification.

As Boissevain (1996; 2005) points out, tourists are a social category which is transient in nature, and they assume different temporary identities and maintain unequal relationships with local residents. These social relations are conditioned by the binary oppositions of integration/separation and hospitality/hospitality. In a few cases these social relations are repeated and continued, and the work-leisure distinction is always present in relationships between the two. Their encounters are always transitory and instrumental, as are other types of social relationships.

In cultural tourism, the nature of the host-guest encounter has also been shaped by the changing role of culture in tourism, particularly as culture has become a major element in economic development strategies.

Development trajectories in cultural tourism – from economic to cultural to social development

According to Bonink and Richards (1992) there are two main perspectives which are usually adopted in studying cultural tourism:

a) The 'sites and monuments' approach, which sees cultural tourism simply as the process of consuming cultural attractions. The methodology adopted in such studies is usually quantitative and concentrates on activities and motivations of tourists.

b) A conceptual perspective, which attempts to interpret cultural tourism in a more qualitative way, observing tourists and their guests, and analysing the meanings, practices and experiences of cultural tourists in contact with other cultures and places.

From this second perspective we can understand cultural tourism in a different way (Pereiro, 2002): as a psychosocial experience, a cultural commodification process, a nostalgia for the past and cultural heritage, a process of curiosity and learning, an escape to the 'Other', a modern pilgrimage, an industry of cultural representations, a special way of travel, a particular mode of cultural consumption.

In our view, we think that a combination of these two perspectives and methodologies is desirable. In this way, research on cultural tourism could benefit

from a more complete interpretation of the relationship between tourism and culture as a social practice and phenomena.

Nowadays, the relationship between culture and tourism has changed. In the past, culture was predominantly supported by the economy (e.g. through subsidies), but today culture produces economy and we can speak about an 'economy of culture'. One of the forces behind this change is the growing role of cultural tourism as a strategy of development.

As Ray (1998) has pointed out, regions and cities are increasingly valorising the 'cultural capital' they possess in order to attract economic development and jobs. In many cases, this process involves the use of a specific cultural identity of a place in order to generate tourism.

Changing approaches to the relationship between tourism and identity

'There is nothing so strange, in a strange land,
as the stranger who comes to visit it'

(Cannibal Tours, by Dennis O´Rourke)

Identity has always been an important part of tourism production and consumption. However, the precise role of identity in attracting tourism has been re-evaluated over time. Early approaches emphasised the tourist search for difference, whereas more recent studies have also examined the search for the 'everyday' as a tourist strategy.

Urry (1993) underlines the fact that cultural tourists search for diversity because they have a special curiosity for the Other, something historically invented. But Priscilla Boniface (1995) claims that cultural tourism is an escape from one culture and society to another, changing daily routines, a universal human need (not a historical construction) from the perspective of Graburn (1983) and MacCannell (1976). Cultural tourism could be a modern answer to this problem.

Cultural Tourism and Identity

These days, it seems that cultural tourists and their hosts are engaged in a collective project of identity creation and mediation. The hosts want to assert their identity by attracting tourists who (as well as bringing money) legitimate the specificity of the local identity that attracts them. For their part, cultural tourists are happy to collaborate in the construction and reinvention of 'local' identity, because to consume them is to distinguish oneself as a cultural tourist.

The emergence of identity as a key element in cultural tourism has occurred through a convergence of factors:

a)   The need for regions to distinguish themselves

b)   The search for new forms of community

c)   The need to valorise culture

d) The shift towards experiential tourism

e) Postmodern/postcolonial reification of identity

a) The need for regions to distinguish themselves

Identity is a process of social construction of meanings that utilises cultural attributes. This social construction occurs in the context of power relations. Manuel Castells (2000) distinguishes between three basic types of identity:

a) Legitimated Identity: Created by dominant institutions to legitimate their power over other social actors.

b) Resistant Identity: A claim by social actors in low social positions who are stigmatized by the dominant groups. It is a construction of alternative social principles of organisation, it is more communal and represents a defensive identity against exclusion and domination.

c) Projectual Identity: Where social actors manipulate their cultural materials and construct a new identity that redefines their position in society and transforms the social structure.

Cultural tourism has a role to play in all these three types of identity: as a support for legitimated identity, for example in the promotion of 'national monuments'; as a source of resistant identity, for example in the creation of 'alternative' cultural itineraries and increasingly as a source of projected identity, for example in image change strategies for cities or regions.

Many regions have therefore used identity to position themselves on the cultural tourism map, but these regions have similar tourist products and they are trying to distinguish them from other regions with the objective of attracting tourists. In this process they use symbols of their identity and they re-construct it for tourism consumption. Identities have been transformed by the impacts of tourism in many places in the world, because tourism is one of the mechanisms of social and cultural change (Santana, 1997). In some cases cultural tourism can reinforce those identities (i.e.: ethnic identities), in other cases it can transform and add new meanings and senses to spaces and peoples. From a critical perspective, the commodification of culture can radically transform local identities and cultural tourism can became an adaptation mechanism to the present, but not without social costs.

Cultural tourism is often seen as the salvation of declining regions, although this doesn't mean it is a panacea. What Manuela Ribeiro (2004: 54) called 'the ideology of tourism', or the idea that tourism will bring development and wealth and therefore should receive priority over other strategies. In reality, cultural tourism is just one of the forms of development, often complementing others, and should be understood from an integral, endogenous and participatory perspective in order to really contribute to the sustainable development of communities.

b) The search for new forms of community

In many areas, traditional community forms are under pressure from globalisation, individualisation and loosening social ties. In particular, the decline of traditional family structures and forms of social organisation (such as associations and clubs), have meant that communities and individuals need to search for new means of defining their identities. Maffesoli (1995) talks about the rise of the 'neo-tribes', while numerous sub-cultures are being created or superseded. Old class structures are becoming less sound as foundations for identity, while new classes, such as Florida's 'creative class', are arguably gaining ground.

We think that cultural tourism is an arena in which to redefine the symbolic constructions of communities. From this perspective, cultural tourism could be seen as an ideological mechanism for reinventing community identities, but at the same time cultural tourism produces a new social space of relations between the local and the global, reinventing boundaries and borders between human groups. The use of identity in cultural tourism from this perspective becomes a way of creating, symbolising and projecting new communities.

c) The need to valorise culture

Culture has been converted into a commodity or product for tourism consumption. Nowadays we can identify an intensive process of commodification of culture and cultural heritage (Wright, 1998; García Canclini, 1989; Ashworth, 1994; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2001, 2004). This is better understood if we look at how culture is managed with economic and political aims.

From a marketing perspective, a product is something which can be offered in a market for attention, acquisition, use or consumption. It satisfies a desire or necessity, generates benefits and solves real, invented or imagined problems. The

success of a tourism product depends on what the producers see as the needs of the consumer. However, many tourist organisations are ignorant of the motivations of the people who purchase their products. First they design products and then they try and find buyers, instead of designing their products to meet the needs of the market (McKercher and Du Cros, 2002: 103-109).

To market cultural tourism more effectively, the developers of projects need to pay attention to three aspects: the products offered; the markets they will attract and potential competitors. This requires investing in research as a strategy of implementation and intervention (Mckercher and Du Cros, 2002: 206-207). Again, this process tends to privilege identity as an element of the cultural tourism experience, as it can provide an essential link between the cultural tourism 'commodity', its producer and its consumer.

d) The shift towards experiential tourism

Cultural tourism allows hosts and guests to experience alterity. But these experiences are plural, and we never know if we have really experienced the 'Other'. In some cases, the local people hide back regions of their lives. At other times, the tourist as a stranger invites local people to get to know them intimately. Hospitality, emotions and intimacy are cultural categories that contribute to a more experiential form of tourism.

According to Reisinger and Steiner (2005), the ritual experience of tourism can be seen from three perspectives: the modern, the constructivist and the postmodern.

The modern perspective, outlined by Boorstin (1964) and MacCannell (1976), for whom authenticity is synonymous with the genuine and the traditional. These authors maintain that cultural products encapsulate universal values which we learn to judge as true, genuine or authentic. This assumes that cultural products are immutable. Boorstin (1964) affirms that mass society is alienating and that tourists have to be satisfied with 'pseudo events', which are inauthentic, constructed and lacking in spontaneity. In this way, tourism is seen as an illusory experience. According to MacCannell (1976) the modern middle classes engage in tourism as an 'authentic' experience which they cannot find in their region of origin. The tourist lives in an inauthentic world, alienated from their home environment, and tries to obtain authenticity in their tourism consumption. Tourism becomes a compensatory escape from the unsatisfactory experience of everyday life. Along similar lines Turner and Ash (1975) argue that tourism is a superficial form of contact with the Other

which increases our stereotypical views of other cultures, while the tourism industry protects us from deeper cultural contacts. In contrast to the tourist, the traveller is seen as having a deeper and richer form of contact with local cultures.

From a constructivist standpoint, authenticity is seen as a social construction of reality, which therefore depends on the point of view of the observer. Bruner (1991) argues that authenticity is projected by the western consciousness and the stereotypical images associated with it. The images projected by the tourism industry become 'authentic' through the eyes of the tourists. Tourism products are perceived as authentic not because they are original or representative of local culture, but because they are symbols of authenticity (Reisinger and Steiner, 2005). This perspective emphasises that the significations produced and disseminated through tourism are perceived as authentic.

From a postmodern perspective, authenticity is not relevant. For authors such as Urry (1990) tourist experience is not governed by the search for authentic experience, but by the experience of difference. Tourists look for sites and experiences which are different from their everyday lives. Tourism is a search for the Other (Selwyn, 1996), which is explained by a growing search for intense emotions in routine societies, or the search for the 'safe danger' of controlled experiences with some risk or excitement (Elias and Dunning, 1990). The tourist is often conscious of the inauthentic nature of the experiences promoted by the tourism system, often with the intention of reducing the cultural and social impact of tourism on the host society.

These different views of the relationship between tourism and authenticity oblige us to question the way in which tourists are affected by their experiences. We also have to recognise that not all tourist experiences are the same, because not all tourists have the same values or worldviews. We therefore can't ignore the diversity of tourist experiences, as Cohen (1979, 1988) has demonstrated. Not all tourists are alienated – some just want recreational experiences and others seek intimate contact with local people and their culture. Some travel alone, others in a group, as a family, with friends or professional colleagues. This diversity of tourism experience underlines the fact that we are not just talking about the relationship between tourism and identity, but the relationship between different forms of tourism, different types of tourists and different identities.

e) Postmodern/postcolonial reification of identity

The tourism production system is arguably shifting from a fordist to a post-fordist model. The Fordist model (Vera, 1997) is characterised by sectoral specialisation based on natural resources such as beaches or mountains and characterised by a homogeneous product range and a mass market which is viewed as uniform and lacking diversity. The aim was to maximise the number of visitors, even at the cost of degrading the natural environment. This model concentrated tourist products in specific locations, increasing tensions between hosts and guests.

In contrast, the post-fordist model (Donaire, 1998) developed as a result of the crisis of the homogenisation and uniform nature of fordist tourist destinations. In the face of growing competition, destinations began to distinguish themselves by developing specific products for specific groups of tourists. This recognised the increasing individualised nature of consumption, in which consumers wanted to be seen as different from their peers, and to consume different things in different ways. The increasing valorisation of cultural heritage, the festivalisation of cities, the new ethics of ecotourism and business tourism were all reflections of this trend. These developments turned every space into a potential tourism space. Therefore cultural tourism is often more integrated into the everyday life of the host community, and may even become an aspect of its identity.

All of these trends taken together place more emphasis on the role of identity in cultural tourism. The contributions to this volume examine a number of different aspects of this developing relationship.

Structure of this volume

This collection of papers on the relationship between cultural tourism and identity has been organised into four sections, reflecting the main themes of the meeting.

The first part of this volume deals with the relationship between cultural tourism, heritage and the experience of identities. In tourism, identity has become an important issue for the tourist and the host. From the perspective of the tourist, the identity of the region visited is part of the experience to be consumed. The papers in this section illustrate that in a range of different contexts, the unifying feature of cultural tourism consumption is the search for aspects of local identity. In turn, it is important to tie the local identity into global circuits of cultural exchange. In Chapter 1 for example, Chin Ee Ong examines the way in which the shift from Portuguese

colonial rule to Chinese administration is reflected in the presentation of wine heritage in the Wine Museum of Macau. He demonstrates that in postcolonial Macau the presentation of the Chinese tradition of winemaking has appeared alongside the displays of Portuguese wine regions.

In Chapter 2, Jane James analyses the way in which narratives of identity have been used to interpret Australian heritage sites more effectively for tourists. She shows that thematic interpretation can play an important role in helping tourists to understand the sites they were visiting, as well as increasing appreciation of distinct narratives and identities.

Esther Binkhorst looks at the development of creativity in tourism experiences in Sitges in Chapter 3, in particular concentrating on ways in which consumers can become 'co-producers' of their own experiences. She emphasises the way in which Sitges is trying to change its identity as a tourist destinations, away from sun, sea and sand towards a more cultural product. Image change is also a central theme of Katleen Vos' contribution the cultural heritage of spa resorts in Europe in Chapter 5. She argues that in order to survive increasing competition from within and outside Europe, traditional spa resorts have to develop a new image which underlines the 'story' of the spa, and its relationship to cultural and natural heritage.

Ángeles Rubio Gil argues in Chapter 6 that tourist destinations around the world have to capitalise on the growing market of people searching for their roots and cultural heritage. The alienation of postmodernity produces a situation in which people are searching for their origins and identity, increasingly through tourism consumption.

In Chapter 7, Anna Papa looks at the way in which cultural tourism has been promoted by the public sector in Italy, particularly through the development of 'cities of art'. This in turn creates problems of management, as growing numbers of visitors begin to impinge on the daily lives of residents.

Part 2 considers the way in which (material) heritage is used in identity formation, based on two case studies from the North of Portugal. In Chapter 8 Joana Neves and José Sirgado look at the role of cultural routes on the identity of tourist destinations. They look at the development of a Romanic route in the Sousa Valley, and argue that cultural tourism development reinforces the identity of the region as well as improving attractions.

Fátima Selas and Domingos Lopes analyse tourism activities in the Alvão Natural Park in Chapter 9. They argue that transmitting the identity of the area requires

guides with a tourism background. In this way, information can be transmitted about the identity of the region, and visitors can improve their creative skills.

Part 3 analyses the production of images. Arguably there is a shift away from the material aspect of culture and heritage towards the symbolic, intangible aspects, but this has to be discussed in the light of the examples presented. Note that all the examples are cities – is this a particularly urban phenomenon, stimulated by inter-urban competition?

In the Dutch city of Maastricht, the local authority is trying to establish an identity by placing cultural biography on the Internet. In Chapter 10 Marjan Melkert analyses the use of cultural biography as a tool for transmitting multiple identities to tourists. Javier de Esteban Curiel assesses the images of Madrid held by cultural tourists visiting the Prado Museum and Reina Sofia Museum in Chapter 11. He shows that the images of the city are above all connected with active learning rather than visits to passive sites, once again emphasising the important role of education in cultural tourism.

The preservation of cultural identity in cities in the developing world is an issue in many countries. In Chapter 12 Gloria Lanci analyses the case of Salvador in Brazil, where tourism development is building the city image as a lively, atmospheric place, through the 'spectacularisation' of everyday life. This may provide short term gains, but the question is whether such exploitation of the intangible heritage is sustainable.

Part 4 looks at the importance of identity and its presentation to tourists as part of the project of creating or sustaining collective identities. These can be local, regional, national or transnational. In Chapter 13 Joachim Kappert points out that national identity depends on the production of stereotypes, which are sustained by a variety of mechanisms. These stereotypes can then become reproduced through cultural tourism consumption, for example by tourists visiting major national monuments or performances of 'national' dances. The same mechanisms also increasingly operate at regional level, as Greg Richards points out in the case of Catalunya in Chapter 14. He argues that regional and local governments are increasingly using cultural identity as a conscious means of tourism promotion, even talking about 'identity tourism'. However, he raises the question of whether the projected identity of local places is known by, or attractive to, cultural tourists.

Finally, Catarina Antónia Martins, Aida Maria Oliveira Carvalho and Elsa da Encarnação Gonçalves Tavares Esteves analyse the situation of cultural tourism in the Northern East Region of Portugal in Chapter 15. They find that the main motives for

cultural tourism in the area are meeting new people and other ways of living. As with many other contributions to this volume, they argue that tangible heritage alone in not sufficient to generate repeat visitation.

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PART 1:

Cultural Tourism, Heritage and the Experience of Identities

Chapter 1
The Cultural Tourism of Museu do Vinho Macau: Negotiating Postcolonial Identities and the Nature-Culture Divide

Ong Chin Ee

Introduction: Identity and Postcolonial Macau

The relevance of identity negotiation in cultural and heritage spaces has been well-demonstrated by systematic and scholarly studies in cultural tourism (c.f Friedman, 1994; Picard, 1997; Stebbins, 1997:451) and heritage studies (c.f McLean, 2006; Karp and Lavine, 1991, Howard, 2003, MacDonald, 2006, O'Neill, 2006; Jones and Shaw, 2006, Urry, 1996). Particularly, edited books and special journal issues by Kaplan (1994), Boswell and Evans (1999), Fladmark, McIntyre and Wehner (2000), McLean (2005) and research efforts by Mason (2004), Munasinge (2005) McLean and Cooke (2000) and McLean and Cooke (2003) have generated debates and insights about cultural heritage spaces and national identity. These studies point to the key role non-work activities perform in the shaping of identities in individuals, communities and places. Particularly, Urry reminds us that:

> "…identity is formed through consumption and play. It is argued that people's social identities are increasingly formed not through work, whether in the factory or the home, but through their patterns of consumption of goods, services and signs" (Urry, 1994: 235).

Building upon these earlier efforts, this paper considers the performance and negotiations of a specific form of identity, that of the postcolonial, of peoples colonised and their relations to the peoples, representations, transformations and performances of the coloniser. The issues of postcolonial identities in Asian landscapes have also attracted the attention of some scholars in the fields of heritage and cultural tourism. For Singapore, Henderson (2001a) examined the specific case of Raffles Hotel – a colonial-style upscale hotel and heritage tourism attraction and the broader relationship between cultural tourism and British colonial heritage

(2004). Focusing on the former British colony of Hong Kong, Henderson (2001a, 2001b), Teather and Chow (2003) and du Cros (2004) examined identity conflicts and constructions in the now Special Administrative Region of China as a result of the use of cultural heritage spaces as sites of public education and cultural tourism.

Less though is known of China's other Special Administrative Region – Macau. Once a part of the Chinese Empire, Macau then became a Portuguese colony and changed its status again on 20th December 1999 to that of a Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China. The implications of this history for heritage and cultural identity are still little known (one notable exception to this is Chaplin, 1996). This is especially so for with particular reference to their representation and promotion as tourist attractions.

In the 1980s, Macau was described as a "pre-industrial city" (Sjoberg 1960 cited in Duncan, 1986) inheriting narrow roads built during the colonial days and urban development largely restricted to the confines of the old city walls. Today, land reclamation has increased the area for urban development outside the old city walls, but areas within the old city core still resemble the pre-industrial city Duncan wrote about in 1986. The population and infrastructure remains small but tourist arrivals are high. A new record of 18 million visitors to Macau was reached in 2005 and this figure is expected to climb. These tourist arrivals consist of arrivals from predominately Chinese and Asian markets: mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan, Korea and secondary markets exist in the diverse markets of Europe, North America and Australia (MGTO Marketing Plan, 2006).

Mainland Chinese domestic tourism, to SARs such as Macau and Hong Kong and to autonomous regions such as Tibet, is on the rise due to affluence and increasing connectivity. However, mobility at international level, while on the increase, is still largely restricted. This is due to strict travel visa requirements and extra procedures Chinese nationals have to undergo in order to travel. While the factors constituting the growth and "boom" of such travels has been well-documented (for example, Zhang and Lew, 2003), the profound social and cultural nexus of Chinese travels remained little known (one notable exception and pioneering work can be found in Oakes, 1998). This increase in Chinese tourism is formed in the context of a rise of Asian tourists travelling in Asian destinations. Asian countries have been projected to be the world's fastest growing tourist generating places (WTO, 2005). The complex social and cultural changes brought about by their new-found affluence and mobility has only recently gathered academic attention. The need to understand Asian tourists in Asian places has been stressed by some researchers in geography and

sociology (for example, Ong, 2005, Teo and Leong, 2006 and Muzaini, 2006). To this point, Macau can serve as a good site for understanding not just the performance and implications of domestic Chinese travel, but could also prove to offer insights concerning the projected rise in Chinese international travel. By this, I mean a consideration of the Portuguese postcolonial condition.

What is of concern here is the formation of identities within the context of postcolonialism. By postcolonialism, I mean firstly an intellectual consideration of that has its central concern with the impacts of colonialism and its negotiation on both the colonising and colonised peoples. I am concerned with the ways in which the representations, transformations and performances of colonial relations effect and implicate the future. This, however, does not imply the adoption of a linear approach to the history of colonisation and post-colonisation or a single conception of postcolonialism. Rather, the paper is informed by Sidaway's (2002) suggestion that there is no single postcolonial condition but an array of which consists of imperialism, once-colonised societies, neo-colonialism and internal colonialism. The aims of an intellectual project on the performances of postcolonialism should seek to locate:

> "A specifically anti- or post-colonial discursive purchase in culture, one which begins in the moment that the colonizing power inscribes itself onto the body and space of its Others and which continues as an often occluded tradition in the modern theatre of neo-colonialist international relations." (Sleman, 1991).

In particular, Sidaway (2002:12) reminds us that the key to a critical of postcolonialism lie in the investigation of "the experience and exercise of continued neo-colonial or imperial power". Rather than advocating a mere territorial reclamation and entangling with the issues of 'whose space this is', research should attend to the "wide corpus of colonial knowledge, policies and frameworks" (Yeoh, 2003: 370). What appears to be a mystic and complex colonial project then, as succinctly unpacked by Teo and Leong (2006:112), is simply "the conquest of territorial and indigenous epistemological spaces so that it carries Western-centred loci in its imaginings, which have specific materialistic outcomes as well". The wine museum of Macau, I argue, is a focal point of such imaginings and key node orchestrating the performances of a symphony of postcolonialisms. This symphony of postcolonial conditions, however, should not be seen in isolation. Rather, it poses interesting questions for the management of cultural attractions and is shaped by an array of shifting tourism discourses. In what follows, I consider the shifting paradigms of cultural tourism attraction research.

(Re)viewing Cultural Tourism Attraction Research

Globally, the tourism industry is developing into a major economic force. There is a widespread recognition that the tourism spaces we inherited have undergone vast transformations. For instance, Milne and Ateljevic (2001:387):

> A new configuration of articulated economic spaces and scales of governance is emerging in the tourism industry. Our challenge as tourism researchers is to embrace this complexity, and not shy away from dealing with a world of constant evolution and change.

The new tourism spaces are rendered with complexities and are constantly undergoing transformations and changes. In order to further our understandings of tourism development in what can be called a globalised age, we need theoretical perspectives that can attend to the diverse ways in which such spaces are regulated and the ways in which the scale of tourism development is shaped and governed.

To date, research on Macau's tourism attractions including museums and heritage spaces have largely drawn upon the life-cycle model, impact assessment audits and methodologies and the SWOT analysis from business studies. These frameworks and schools of thoughts have help shed light on the life-cycles of tourism attractions and heritage places (McCartney, 2003), assess tourism impacts (Du Cros and Kong, 2006) gauge tourism carrying capacities (IF Research Team, 2003). For cultural attractions, Loi and Kong (2003) have conducted preliminary SWOT analysis on Macau museums and Kong (2004) has furthered the strategic marketing perspective by a detailed profiling of museum visitors. McCartney's (2003) analysis of the relationship between economic 'rejuvenation' and the gaming tourism is premised largely on the modernisation theory which has assumed a prescribed path for attractions and has failed to account for alternate developmental pathways and has silenced local agency. Constructed within the framework of impact assessments the Macau heritage attraction study conducted by du Cros and Kong (2003) has taken an-overly pessimistic and reductionist view of the relationship between tourists and travel destinations in which tourists and tourism are seen to *impact* and *weigh* on a passive and fragile local community and on heritage resources. Approaches deriving from strategic marketing (Loi and Kong, 2003 and Kong, 2004) has provided some business insights but is unable to further our understandings of the broader cultural politics shaping museums and other cultural attractions in Macau.

While these approaches have provided some insights for tourism development in Macau, the systematic and scientific study of tourism development in Macau would

benefit from a greater adoption of what can be called a post-structural cultural lens. Such an analytical lens may come in the forms of an integrative approach which brings together the concerns of both the top-down expert view stressing the roles of global actors and influences and the bottom-up community perspective engaging with local issues (Chang *et al*, 1996). Milne (1998) further emphasises the need to seek a balance between structure and agency. Springing from what has been termed the 'cultural turn', an intellectual shift in the human and social sciences which has put culture at the vanguard of intellectual inquiry (see for example McDowell, 1994), there is a rise of approaches that seek to address both the 'material condition and specific experience of individuals, while at the same time situating the individual within political and economic structures of power, conflict and resistance' (Ateljevic, 2000 in Milne and Ateljevic, 2001: 380). Approaches inspired by the cultural turn in social sciences have the potential to unlock the stalemate between approaches stressing global structures and that which privileges the local agency. Some of our theoretical myopia in the study of tourism attractions, I contend, can be corrected with such a specially prescribed cultural analysis.

Using 'cultural turn'-tinted analytical lens, the cultural analysis I have prescribed for Museu Do Vinho Macau is as follows. First I consider the discourses that shape the construction of a Portuguese cultural space in Museu Do Vinho Macau and how these get (re)shaped after the handover and how the World Heritage Brand and its "East-meets-West" rhetoric created a more inclusive museum space. This, of course, is not a retreat into textualism. Of relevance here is the performativity of the texts and cultural objects in the museum. Specifically, I would also investigate the ways in which it performs firstly a Portuguese identity and how these are re-tweaked to convey a World Heritage message. Then I will discuss the identity negotiations some visitors experience as a result of the cultural tourism of Museu Do Vinho Macau. In examining the promotion of Portuguese wine and rural culture and later the inclusion of Chinese vineries in the Macau Wine Museum, this paper considers the representation and promotion of Portuguese colonial heritage within the context of cultural tourism and investigates the extent to which the identity of Macau residents are expressed and the ways in which these constructed identities are negotiated.

Before I proceed to examine the production of the cultural space of Museu Do Vinho, I detail some methodological notes. This research takes the form of in-depth interviews with museum curator, staff and visitors and participant observations of visitor behaviour in the museum galleries. Twenty in-depth interviews were conducted between May and August on weekends when the museum is the most

visited. The museum curator interview is crucial here as he is a key agent in the shaping of the cultural space of Museu Do Vinho Macau. Museum displays, exhibits and texts in specific and tourism promotion and marketing materials in general are also content analysed to shed light on the discourses shaping the museum place identity.

Shaping the Wine Museum and the Performance of a Cultural Heritage Space

Created on the 15th December 1995, Macau's Wine Museum (Museu Do Vinho) is a Portuguese themed wine museum built before the tiny enclave of Macau returned to Chinese rule close to 500 years as a Portuguese colony. It is located in the Macau Tourism Activities Centre and together with its sister museum The Macau Grand Prix Museum is managed by the Macau Government Tourism Organization (MGTO). The Wine Museum has been envisioned as a space of recreation and culture where the "visitor has a date with the history of the Wine and the Vineyard" (Visitor Brochure, Museu Do Vinho) and seeks to be a key tourist attraction with a focus on the cultural history of vinery:

> "Macau Wine Museum is the focal point in the history of wine and vineyards, as well as a place of cultural, leisure and didactic characteristics unmissable to those who visit the territory." (Morgado, 1997:1).

The museum is the brainchild of oenophilist Francisco Esteves Gonclaves. He elaborated the concept to the then-Governor, Vasco Rocha Viera and won the support of the Macau Government Tourist Office. Together with Jose Alexandre Braga Gonclaves, the museum's curator, Esteves created the first Portuguese themed wine museum in the region. This creation of this museum is not motivated by mere knowledge and "passion" of wine and vinery. It originated from a desire by the cultural elites to showcase Portuguese culture to the Chinese population in pre-handover days:

> "Why not a wine museum in Macau? Why not? Wine is present in our culture… Ten years ago (1996) [it is necessary to] construct one wine museum where it is possible to see one activity [or] activities important to Portuguese, Portugal." (Interview with Jose Alexandre Braga Gonclaves, the museum's curator, Esteves conducted in August 2006).

While historical records do tell us about the brief moments in Chinese history of the production of grapes in the Chinese Imperial Courts and the Chinese Aristocracy

(and we can learn about this in the historical information gallery in Museu Do Vinho), grape growing and the production of wine based on grapes have never been a key part of Mainland China's or the dominant Han Chinese cultures in Chinese history until post 1995. Even the ethnic minorities of the Chinese territory have their gastronomical cultures based on the consumption and rituals of wines fermented from rice rather than grapes. Wine, however, is a pertinent component of Portuguese culture. From rural peasants to the urban bourgeois, wine has played an important in the lives of Portuguese. It has also featured strongly in the history of its economic developments and has currently accounted for close to 30% of its GDP.

Today, however, there appear to be signs of a desire to create a less Portugal-centric museum space. New exhibition panels illustrating the historical geographies of Chinese vineyards (see figure 1) have been introduced in the historical information gallery and this greater engagement of the "Chinese":

> "Macau, let's understand, is best of places… it is China but add one symbiosis of culture – Chinese, Portuguese they present long time. It is important, Macau with image, symbol of culture… Portuguese, Chinese." (Interview with Jose Alexandre Braga Gonclaves, the museum's curator, Esteves conducted in August 2006).

Figure 1: New text panels on the history of Chinese grape-based wine-making

So where did this image of a harmonious Portuguese-Chinese encounter and experience take its roots from? Such an image, I postulate, derives from the prevalent UNESCO World heritage-sanctioned discourse. The old urban area approximating what used to be the hub and core of the Portuguese colony was, at the 29th Session of the World Heritage Committee in July 2005, approved to be

inscribed on UNESCO's World Heritage List. The Historic Centre of Macau is seen by the Macau tourism promotional agency, The Macau Government Tourism Organisation (MGTO), as both an "invaluable cultural heritage" and a "crucial asset of our tourism industry" (Joao Manuel Costa Antunes, Speech at Launch ceremony of "2006 Macau World Heritage Year, February 18, 2006, see Figure 1). To reinforce Macau's appeal as a cultural tourism destination, the MGTO has also set year 2006 as "Macau World Heritage Year" (ibid) and also introduced the Macau Heritage passport, a travel-to-destination-and-chop marketing gimmick. While this UNESCO intervention and support did bring about improvements in the management of heritage resources in Macau, the ways in which the tourism industry has went about promoting the Macau World Heritage brand, is problematic.

Tourism applications of the Macau World Heritage brand has over-privileged Portuguese architectures, squares and buildings and has championed the Portuguese-Chinese cultural connections at the expense of other cultural and historical links. This is problematic as, for one, the encounter between Portugal and China in Macau was far more complex. From the initial days of squatting and occupying the Chinese Peninsula to paying rent for the land of Macau to seizing the territory via armed violence, the relationship between the two cultures should never be simplified as one of a harmonious symbiosis. Also, it ignored the presence of other cultural fusions and interactions in Macau's history. Macau has historical connections to a collection of cultural influences, for example, Japanese and Dutch (Lam, 2005) and maritime links to various the ports of Southeast Asia. The cultural space of the wine museum exemplifies this tourism-adaptation of the Macau World Heritage Brand and has pursued a narrower Portuguese-Chinese cultural agenda in its exhibition of Macau culture. In this respect museum curator Braga Gonclaves' noted:

> In general, Macau is symbiosis of two cultures. I want the museum, this museum, to have the same idea, same attitude… inside this place have information about China, Portugal… about the same love, same product, same activity – wine.

Tourism development discourses aside, the greater engagement with Chinese visitors can stem from practical concerns such as the need to increase the number of Chinese visitors. To do this, the museum needs to attend to the rise of Chinese vineyards and the growing expectations of affluent Chinese consumers and visitors who would want to see and learn more about recent developments in Chinese vinery. In the next section, I proceed to discuss the ways in which the Chinese-majority visitors travel in this Portuguese cultural heritage space, paying attention to

the tourist behaviours exhibited and the identity negotiations some of them experience.

Travelling in the Portuguese Cultural Heritage Space: Negotiating Postcolonial Identities

A typical visit to the museum begins with the appreciation of an ox-drawn cart for the collection and transport of grapes from the wine harvest and a tile panel depicting the vineyard of the 18th century in the Historical Information Gallery. There, visitors stroll down the corridor gaining knowledge about the evolution of vineyard from the Caucasus, around ten thousand years B.C., to the present and witness the ways in which vine spread across the globe through the ages. The museum seeks to create an appreciation of the vast and extraordinary transformation that the wine and vineyard culture underwent including the changing technologies in wine production. This small section attributed countries of Southern Europe, with an emphasis on the Iberian Peninsula and particularly Portugal for generating the transformation. While some visitors spent considerable time reading the text panels, many breeze through this gallery in search of a more photo-friendly spot. Of those who spent some time reading the panels, Feng, a mainland Chinese on a package tour, commented:

> It is nice to know they included a write-up about the history of Chinese grape growing…I also like it that they illustrate the locations of Chinese vineyards such as Ya Tien. However, perhaps more could be elaborated? Most of the write-ups are still about Portugal. This is a bit imperialist. Macau is now China and has always been part of China.

This sentiment is shared by Li, an independent Chinese tourist from Taiwan:

> I read about this from the internet and came for a visit. I had wanted to find out more about Chinese wine… but there isn't much displayed here about that.

However, there are some who appreciated the rich information on Portuguese vineyard history: For instance Wang, a package tourist from Beijing commented:

> I have learnt lots from this short visit. My tour guide says I have only fifteen minutes here. But I argued with him. We should spend more time here. You can learn about Portuguese culture and also about wine. I don't like racing cars so the Grand Prix museum doesn't appeal to me. This museum is very well-managed. There is a lot of information.

From the historical information gallery, visitors then find themselves in the Cellar Museum. Here the dimmed lighting and the arches are staged so as to replicate the setting of old cellars in Portuguese manor houses. The gallery starts with an introduction to the vineyard. Exhibits tell the visitors the different ways of growing grapes and even the soil-science behind vinery. The Cellar Museum also houses some rare museum pieces associated with the evolution of technologies in wine production. These include the rare 200 year old press and spindle, the ribaejano "aranhol" or a transport car for one barrel, the compressor, the still, the packing section, an area reserved for machinery for the corking and bottling process and barrels of various makes. Next to these exhibits on production technologies are kept some of the finest and oldest Portuguese wines in Macau. Some of these rarest wines included a 1815 "Madeira". Different phases of wine production are shown in a detailed 3 dimensional model. Together with the audio-visuals, the visitor potentially leaves the Cellar Museum with an improved knowledge of wine production, Portuguese-style.

However, the audio-visuals did not really achieve their intended goals. Most tourists do not have the patience and time to watch the videos. Some did not even notice them. The larger number of tangible museum props and pieces do, however, facilitate ample photo opportunities. While there have been many critics of tourism sociologist John Urry's postulations of "tourist gaze" and the workings of the visual in tourism behaviour and experience, visual experience certainly predominates in the Cellar Museum of Museu Do Vinho.

Next, the visitor enters the wine exhibition room. The wine exhibition room houses more than 1050 marks of wine, of which at least 300 are collector's items. A collection of over a hundred utensils related to wine culture and Portuguese tiles illustrating the theme of wine and the vineyard. Some of these tiles are originals still used in vineyard while others are exact replicas. A walk through the wine display gallery serves to reinforce, in the minds and hearts of the visitors, the significance of Portuguese wine and vineyard in the historical geography of wine-making and also the geographical uniqueness of various Portuguese makes. There, visitors are introduced to the world of Portuguese grape growing, wine-making and the culture of its production and appreciation in Portugal.

While the Cellar Museum provided photo opportunities, the Wine Exhibition Room appear to provide a more complete cultural tourism experience. Mannequins donning the traditional costumes of Portuguese regions associated with the labour

and culture/nurture of specific Portuguese wines help showcase the cultural diversities of Portugal peasantry (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Mannequins and the wine display in the Wine exhibition Room, Wine Museum of Macau (Source: author)

These are reinforced by the use of audiovisual system which help to geo-reference and 'fix' wine production to the culture of each specific region in Portugal. Visitors seem to appreciate this part of the museum very much. Tammy, a visitor from mainland whose primary travelling motivation was to attend a summer school workshop in Macau, commented that she enjoyed the feeling of being "transported to Portugal" and that she likes the European "feel and ambience" the museum creates. This she noted is something cultural attractions rarely provides in China. When asked whether she feel that the museum should come out with more exhibits on China vineyards, she gave a firm "no" as an answer as she feels the museum should keep its "Portuguese identity". The colonial history of Macau, she argues, should not bother Chinese tourists as she feels the Portuguese and Europeans have helped "modernised Macau" and added variety to the Chinese peninsula. "It would be boring and stale" she continued, "if everywhere [in China] looks the same". Of the possible violence and exploitation brought about by the unequal relations of power in the colonisation of Macau, Tammy concluded:

> So much is said about colonisation. It [colonisation] might be true that it is not a good thing to do. Maybe some people are killed and harmed. But some people profited from it too…the trading and business. And anyway, it is all in the past and we live in the future now…no more looking back.

Not every visitor agrees with Tammy though. Vong, a Macau resident who witnessed the pre-handover days argued:

> They [the Portuguese] profited from us. Unlike the British [in Hong Kong] they did little but spend all our tax money on building stupid sculptures and now this silly museum. Why don't

> they build this in Portugal if they want it to be so Portuguese? It is a waste of our money to promote their culture. Why don't they use it to promote Macanese or even Chinese Art? Or build better roads?

Vong's views echo some of the concerns of Macau residents on pre-handover civil construction and 'artistic' spending. Cantonese radio call-in programmes often have listeners air their displeasure with the public spending. For a territory with constant fiscal surplus, Macau's investment in public school and healthcare has disappointed many residents. Intangible heritage such as the Cantonese Opera and the *Patua*, unique Portuguese-Cantonese fusion language, has thus far, received little governmental support for their preservation and promotion. In Vong's opinion, the wine museum stands alongside a series of inappropriate and irrelevant 'white-elephant' projects Macau can do away with.

The wine display ends with a small display on Chinese vineyards and wine-making and the tasting of selected Portuguese wines. Of the younger wines, about 50 are available for tasting. The staff conducting the wine tasting will introduce some of the techniques of wine recognition and appreciation. Some visitors did not notice the display of Chinese wines while the majority interviewed expressed the desire to see a more complete display of Chinese wine. Visitors of Macau origins seem to take a more ambivalent and middle-ground approach to the contestation of identity in the museum. They appear to identify neither with the Portuguese nor mainland China. Most of them take pride in their superior or more intimate knowledge of Portuguese cultures than their mainland counterparts but are acutely aware of the exploitation during Portugal's occupation of Macau. While delighting at the opportunities brought about by the economic development in the mainland, most of the Macau visitors interviewed do not identify with mainland China. Lam, who has chosen not to visit the museum in his 24 years of residence in Macau, conveyed this most succinctly:

> We're not China and we do not think Macau is a Portuguese place anymore. Macau is Macau and nothing more. They should put things in the museum that interest us that relate to life in Macau, not things China or things Portuguese.

Lam's non-visitation of the wine museum is instructive. Like some Macau residents who chose not to visit the museum on knowledge of its postcolonial tendencies, and/or lack of exhibits that "interest them" or "relate to their life", Lam hopes the museum would create a cultural heritage space that is more inclusive and more representative.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have considered the ways in which the museum visitors, objects, tourism discourses and site-manager perform and the ways visitors negotiate this fractured and foliated postcolonial space connecting Macau and Portugal. The proximity of a border has had a number of effects and consequences for attractions in many parts of the world including the European Union. New forms of transnational identities could have emerged as border crossings have appeared to prove less of an obstacle for if I may use the term 'global citizens'. Macau, of course, is not geographically or politically Europe and neither is the enclave a part of EU. Yet the former colony is still very culturally-connected, representationally-speaking, to colonial Portugal via the wine museum. This, I have demonstrated, is the work and performance of the postcolonial texts and objects in the museum

I have postulated that a Museu Do Vinho visit can be likened to be a Portugal-Macau border crossing. While the museum visit does not necessarily create postcolonial identities, it serves to remind the now Chinese citizens of the qualities and experiences Macau has as a result of her history as a Portuguese colony. What role, then, does cultural tourism and visitation have for such a postcolonial landscape? Cultural tourism at cultural heritage attractions has implications going beyond the everyday operational concerns of visitor numbers and museum membership schemes. A museum is, undeniably, a cultural project. Such cultural projects have to attend to the postcolonial and on-the-ground concerns of not just visitors but also people who elect not to visit it.

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Chapter 2

National Cooperation to 'Tell the Story', Integrate Heritage More Effectively in Tourism and Add Value to the Visitor Experience in Australia

Jane A James[1]

Introduction

The Australian National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Framework (NHTTIF) was the result of the 'Telling the Stories: Integrating Heritage More Effectively in Tourism' project, carried out for the Australian Federal Department for the Environment and Heritage (DEH) in 2004–05 (James & Wild 2005). It developed a thematic interpretation framework methodology that could be used to enhance the visitor experience, while fostering the conservation and protection of natural and cultural heritage.

Recent tourism and heritage initiatives in Australia have included:

- the Australian Historic Themes Framework (Australian Heritage Commission 2001)—an historic heritage assessment and management concept that encouraged the use of themes in relation to place;

- the Tourism White Paper (Australian Government 2003), which created Tourism Australia;

- Brand Australia—the international campaign which promoted an image of Australia based on seven brand values2 and the two tag lines of Brand Australia: 'Australia. A Different Light' and 'Storytelling—Australia through Australian eyes';

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[1] Head of Cultural Tourism, Flinders University, South Australia.

[2] The seven brand values are inclusive, irreverent, optimistic, mateship, grounded, original, and candid.

- the 'telling the story' opportunity identified by the National Tourism and Heritage Taskforce3 (2003b);

- the Distinctively Australian Program in conjunction with the creation of the National Heritage List (via amendments to the EPBC Act 1999 in 2004) which intends to identify, manage and promote national heritage places.

The Aims of a National Framework

The 'Telling the Stories' project used thematic interpretation (Ham 1992), where heritage values are a core concept, as the foundation of the framework. The case studies demonstrate how themes and story-telling can assist in presenting heritage assets and enhance the visitor experience by integrating heritage into the stories of Australia.

The framework also fosters protection of natural and cultural heritage by demonstrating the value of links between heritage and tourism. Heritage values add depth and meaning to stories and interpretation experiences, which, in turn, can add value to a tourist's experience. If people ascribe to the values of heritage significance, then they are more likely to care about heritage.

The National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework (NHTTIF) end users fall into two groups:

- Tourism operators, product development planners, organisations, interpreters and guides, heritage managers and presenters, host communities, local government and regional development organisations who are the people who will 'tell the stories' or develop and deliver them.

- Audiences and visitors who will 'hear the stories', or receive them in some way, as part of their experience at a site, a place, in a region or town, and in Australia.

Project Methodology

A review of the literature, consultation with specific experts, fieldwork, site visits, and 'on-the-ground' collaborative workshops with both the heritage and tourism sectors, established that knowledge and implementation of interpretation, including in heritage management, is extensive in terms of both volume and longevity

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3 The taskforce established by the Environment Protection and Heritage Ministerial Council

(Australian Heritage Commission 2001; Burra Heritage Charter 1992 and 2001 discussed in Walker & Marquis-Kyle, P. 2004; the related ICOMOS Ename Charter for the Interpretation of Cultural Heritage Sites 2004; Black & Weiler 2003; Department of Conservation and Land Management 1998; ICOMOS 2002, 2004; Ham 1992, 2003; Ham & Weiler 2004; Ham & Krumpe 1996; James 1995, 1996, 1999; Levy, Lloyd & Schreiber 2001; Moscardo 1999; Pastorelli 2003; Tilden 1957; Veverka 1994; Uzzell 1984). Good interpretation with accurate and authentic information for visitors will establish a 'sense of place' (Ambrosi, Marshall & Wong, date unknown; Carter 1997), and add value to the visitor experience.

It also established that different values are placed on heritage by different stakeholders - for example, tourism operators, state tourism bodies, host communities, visitors, heritage organisations and conservation agencies (Australian Heritage Commission 2001; Burra Heritage Charter in Walker & Marquis-Kyle 2004; Gale & Jacobs 1987; DEH 2004b). Heritage is valued or considered important at a number of levels, from the global significance of World Heritage sites, to community level appreciation of history, objects and sites.

The NHTTIF framework recognises that 'stories' are just one of a number of ways to communicate with tourists. Signs, trails, guided tours, interactive displays, web sites etc. are all equally valid forms of delivery of a heritage interpretation theme for visitors.

Case studies used to develop and test the framework included:

- Tasmania at a state level with site-specific themes at the Port Arthur Historic Site (cultural heritage focus).

- Naracoorte in South Australia at a regional level with site-specific themes linked to the Australian Fossil Mammal Site World Heritage Area (natural heritage focus).

- Brambuk Aboriginal Cultural Centre in the Grampians, Victoria, at a site level, with a focus on Indigenous heritage (natural and cultural heritage focus).

The National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework
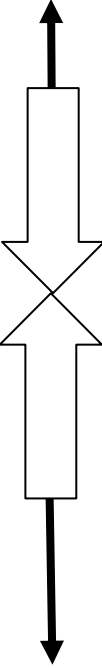
The key elements of the NHTTIF as shown in Table 1 and Figure 1are:

- **Interpretation Themes**: that recognise heritage values and link heritage and tourism goals and objectives. Thematic interpretation (Ham 1992) is the basis for theme development, where there is a main point or message being communicated.

- **Framework Levels**: the five levels - national, state, regional, local and site - parallel jurisdictional and stakeholder interests in tourism and conservation of natural and cultural heritage. There may be a sixth international level for World Heritage Sites.

- **Potential Partners and Stakeholders**: the organisations, associations and individuals who develop the interpretation themes or deliver the tourism experience. The goals and plans in both the heritage and tourism sectors are available from this group.

- **Processes and Vehicles for Interpretation**: theme development, planning processes and the coordination of tourism information will result in a range of delivery options ranging from national signs to stories told to tourists at a specific site.

Individuals and stakeholders may simply have a good idea for a theme or story about their place and can then enter the framework at local or site level to see how it might link to regional or state themes. At a national level, topics such as 'Peopling Australia'; or 'Building Settlements and Towns' (Australian Heritage Commission 2001) may be the starting point for developing interpretation themes which link to similar or complementary themes at State ('down' the framework) or international ('up' the framework) levels.

Figure 1 traces a linked theme through the NHTTIF framework illustrating how it may be used to link interpretation themes across levels, vertically and laterally, both 'top down' and 'bottom up' in a web of possibilities.

Table 1: National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework

Interpretation Themes	Framework Levels	Potential Partners and Stakeholders	Processes and Vehicles for Interpretation
National Themes which match national tourism goals with national heritage protection goals *Themes of significance to Australia; or Australia and the international community*	**A National** (links to international themes and B)	Federal/National Ministries: tourism, heritage, environment Tourism Australia	National Planning and theme development *eg National signs, maps, brochures, websites*
State Themes which match State tourism goals, assets and attractions with heritage protection strategies. *Themes of significance to the State and link to those of Australia*	**B State** (links to A and C)	State tourism & heritage agencies; state planning; tourism organisations, heritage protection groups	State wide Planning and theme development *eg State signs, maps*
Regional Themes which recognise the unique heritage of the region within a State and across borders and match tourism and heritage goals *Themes of significance to the Region and link to those of the State or Australia*	**C Region** (links to B and D)	Regional government, economic development and planning agencies; Tourism/business associations	Regional Planning and theme development *eg Regional Trails, brochures, guides, signs*
Local Themes which recognise the unique heritage of a place and match tourism and heritage goals *Themes of significance to Local Communities and link to those of the Region, State, or Australia.*	**D Local** (links to C and E)	Local: councils, communities, businesses, experts, landholders, 'knowledge keepers'	Local Planning and theme development *eg Local trails, brochures, guides, signs, map, tours*
Site Themes which recognise the unique heritage of a specific site and match tourism and heritage goals *Site specific themes that link to themes of the community, the region, the state or the nation.*	**E Site** (links to D)	Site manager, site specialists (eg historians), tour guides, interpreters, local communities	**Themes** delivered using various techniques: *eg Panels, signs, stories, tours, brochures, guides*

Top Down

Bottom up

International Themes

A = National Themes

B = State Themes

C = Regional Themes

D = Local Themes

E = Site Themes

Story

Story

Story

Story

Story

- Each level (A – E) has any number of possible themes
- ▬▬▬ Pathway of one theme from an international level to a site-specific story
- ——— Other possible themes at each level creating a multi-dimensional web
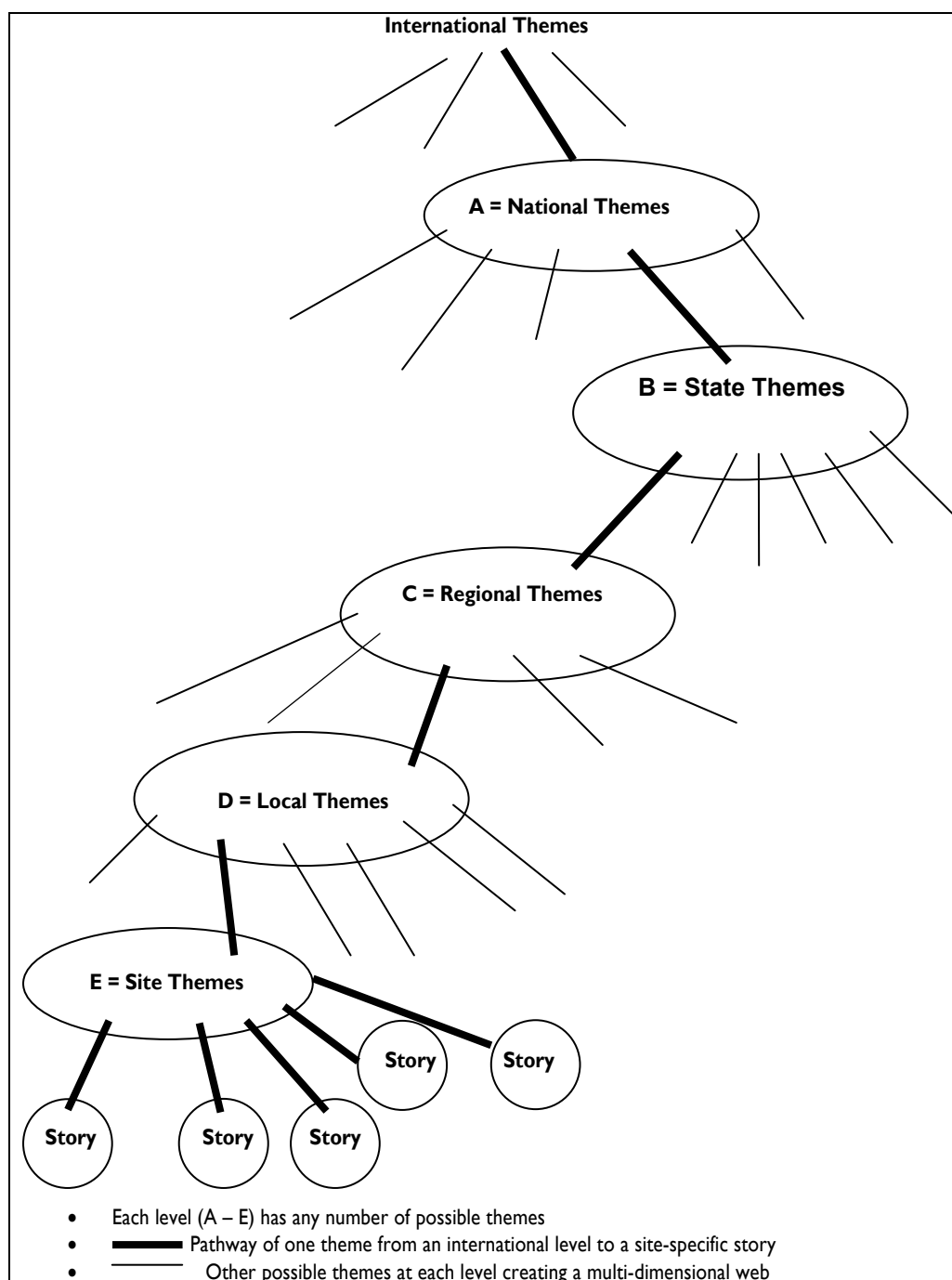
Figure 1: Tracing a Linked Theme through a Generic Thematic Interpretation Framework

Applying the NHTTIF to the Port Arthur Historic Site, Tasmania

One of Tasmania's key tourist attractions is the old penal settlement, dating from early European settlement of Australia in the 1800's, at the Port Arthur Historic Site, on the Tasman Peninsula.

The Tasmanian illustration of the NHTTIF framework (see Table 2) uses heritage information with a cultural focus, with themes that link to Australia's social history, to the 'Peopling Australia' topic (Australian Heritage Commission 2001) at the national level with a further link to 'Coming to Australia as Punishment' (Australian Heritage Commission 2001) with reference to the convict history of Port Arthur.

Table 2 illustrates just one possible path of linked themes through the framework. A whole range of stories (as panels, tours, trails, brochures etc.) could be told at Port Arthur, based on a variety of themes. Some could have a natural focus, for example outlining the natural beauty of the coastline, the islands offshore and the harbour. Others could combine both the natural and cultural heritage of the site, for example the narrowness of the neck (isthmus) of the Port Arthur peninsula, where entry and exit is easily controlled and the convicts easily guarded, making it an ideal penal colony site. The framework also enables telling the story of Port Arthur's contemporary massacre (April 1996) in a sensitive way that provides authentic and accurate information, without glorifying the event and being mindful of the still very present sensibilities of people involved at the site. Figure 2 illustrates the notion of 'one place—many stories'. On site the thematic interpretation includes guided tours, signs, trails and the Visitor Interpretive Centre, where, after drawing a card from the deck offered as you enter the site, visitors are able to follow the course taken by individual inmates in the 1800s.

Other themes could be created for the Pt Arthur site using the framework to link upwards to, or downwards from, state and national themes related to the social evolution of Australia or to other themes with a more natural focus (see Figure 2).

This research did not determine a list of definitive national or state interpretive themes. It used the topics listed in the Australian Historic Themes (Australian Heritage Commission 2001) to develop examples of interpretive themes, which are demonstrated in this case study at the Port Arthur Historic Site.

Tourism Tasmania is using thematic interpretation to enhance visitor experiences throughout the State (Tourism Tasmania 2004). The intention is to connect all the

different experiences that visitors have as they travel from place to place, enhancing and building their sense of connection to the people and places of Tasmania. As the 'keepers of the stories', Tasmanians play an important role in personalising visitor experiences. Local tourism development initiatives have developed at the grass roots (bottom-up approach) aiming to 'meet in the middle' to link with state themes. Tourism Tasmania sees thematic interpretation as a way to align tourism products and interpretation to the state's brand—Experience Tasmania.

Port Arthur Historic Site

Convict History   Geographic Isolation   Coastal Landscape
Recent History   (natural and cultural focus)   (natural
focus)
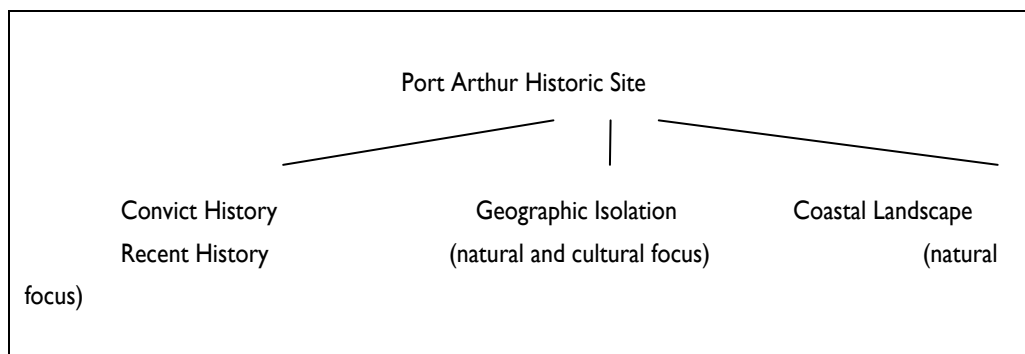
Figure 2: Same Place, Different Focus, Different Theme Potential, Different Stories

Table 2: Case Study: Pt Arthur Historic Site National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework

	Interpretation Themes	Framework Levels	Potential Partners and Stakeholders	Processes and Vehicles for Interpretation
Top Down	**National Theme** 'Australian social history is unique and interesting' *Theme of significance to Australia* *Links to national topics:* 'Peopling Australia' 'Building Settlements and Towns' 'Coming to Australia as Punishment'	**A National** (links to international themes and State themes B)	National Dept of the Environment and Heritage Tourism Australia Convict descendents	National Planning and theme development National signs, maps, brochures
	Tasmanian State Theme 'Tasmanian social history has an aspect that is rooted in convict incarceration.' *Theme of significance to the State and Australia*	**B State** (links to A and C)	Tourism Tasmania State Dept Environment & Heritage and NPW State tour operators	State wide Planning and theme development State signs, maps, publications
	Tasman Peninsula - Regional Theme 'The isolation of the Tasman Peninsula and Tasmania itself made it an ideal place to inter other countries' misfits and social outcasts (bad blood / poor sods!)' *Theme of significance to the Region, State and Australia*	**C Region** links to state B and national A	Regional Council Regional Tourism Associations Regional Business Association	Regional Planning and theme development Regional Trails, brochures, tour guides, signs
	Port Arthur - Local Theme 'Van Diemen's land was one of cold, hunger and harsh punishment. Convicts sent to Port Arthur had little hope of a better life, yet they helped found an island State.' *Significant theme: Local Community, Region and State*	**D Local** (links to C and E)	Local Community (all) Local businesses and Tour Operators	Local Planning and theme development Local Trails, brochures, guides, signs, maps, tours
Bottom Up	**Port Arthur Historic Site Theme (Story)** - convict specific 'George Hunt, sent to Port Arthur for petty theft, received a sentence of 100 lashes and hard labour after attempting to abscond twice.' *Site specific theme that links to themes of the community, the region, the State and the nation.*	**E Site** links to D and international links	Port Arthur Management Staff Site Guides Historians and researchers Visitors	**Themes** delivered using various techniques: Panels, signs, stories, guided tour, brochures, trails, 'deck of cards' and Visitor Interpretive Centre

Figure 3: Tracing a Linked Theme at Pt Arthur Historic Site through the NHTTIF

A = National Theme
'Australian social history is unique and interesting.'

B = State Theme
'Tasmanian social history has an aspect that is rooted in convict incarceration.'

C = Regional Theme

'The isolation of the Tasman Peninsula and Tasmania itself made it an ideal place to inter other countries' misfits and social outcasts (bad blood /

D = Local Theme

'Van Diemen's land was one of cold, hunger and harsh punishment. Convicts sent to Port Arthur had little hope of a better life, yet they helped found an

E = Site Theme
'George Hunt, sent to Port Arthur for petty theft, received a sentence of 100 lashes and hard labour after attempting to abscond twice.'

Story

Trail Map

Tour

Deck of cards

Sign

- Each level (A – E) demonstrates a possible theme
- ▬▬▬▬ Pathway of one theme from an international level to a site-specific theme and a variety of ways of 'telling the story'

The Value of a National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework

The NHTTIF allows any individual or organisation wanting to integrate heritage and tourism, to find an entry point into the framework and be able to see ways in which their strategies or ideas integrate into the layers and multiple themes of Australia's natural and cultural heritage. This holds true whether the entry level into the structure is at the top (national level) with links down to site level, or at the bottom (site level) with links upwards to the national level, or at any level in between. The top-down/bottom-up/enter-at-any-level approach permits evaluation from many perspectives, for example:

- from an international to a national perspective

- from a national perspective to a specific site

- from the largest organisation to the smallest tourism operator

- from a heritage and tourism collaborative partnership

- from a natural or cultural focus

- from a combined natural or cultural focus
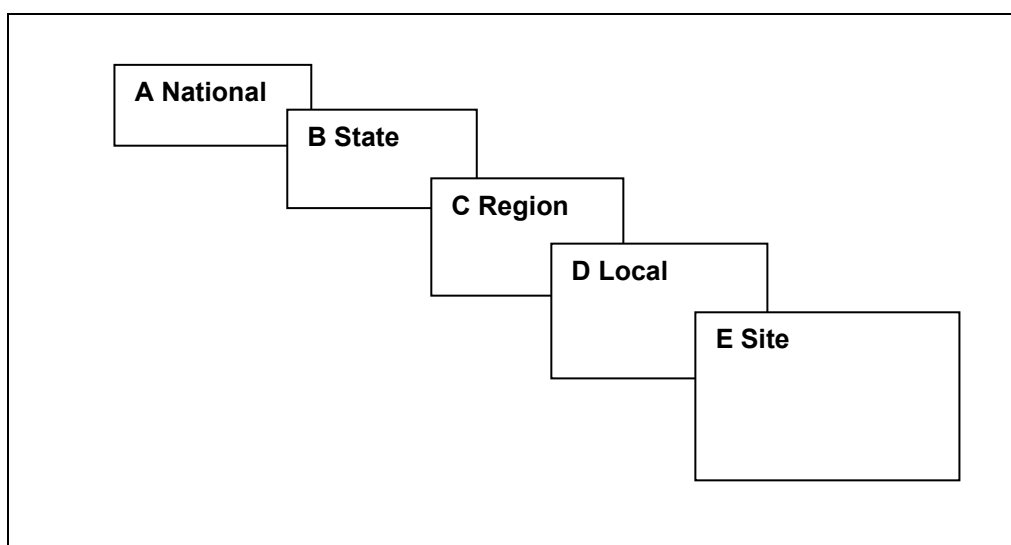
Figure 4: Interconnected Levels in the Thematic Interpretation Framework

Figure 4 demonstrates the interlocking and overlapping nature of the different levels of the National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework. The increasing size of the boxes A to E represents the increased array of themes (and potential 'stories') at each level, as themes become state, region, local or site specific. Not shown here are the potential sideways links at each level (for example between regions, locations and sites).

A key benefit of applying the NHTTIF is the ability to align themes at different levels. Organisations at any jurisdictional level can see, at a glance, if themes reflect their goals and whether they are aligned with the objectives and strategies of other stakeholders for heritage and tourism.

The result is an integrated approach to heritage interpretation and tourism development that should add value to the visitor experience and protect the heritage.

Conclusions and Implications

The principle outcome of the 'Telling the Stories: Integrating Heritage Themes and Stories more Effectively in Tourism' project is an interpretive planning methodology in the National Heritage and Tourism Thematic Interpretation Framework, that allows heritage to be effectively and sustainably integrated into tourism. Interpretation of heritage has the potential to add depth and meaning to visitors experiences. This paper has demonstrated the application of the NHTTIF at the Pt Arthur Historic Site.

The NHTTIF will facilitate the development of unforgettable (in the very best sense of the word) visitor experiences across Australia as part of Tourism Australia's proposal to tell the stories of 'Australia through Australian eyes' and foster an empathy with both the natural and cultural environment which means that it is valued and preserved.

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Chapter 3
Creativity in Tourism Experiences, A Closer Look at Sitges

Esther Binkhorst[1]

1 Introduction

When the next occasion for a holiday occurs, people start wondering whether they would like to go to the mountains, the city or to the beach, what culture they have not explored yet, what cuisine they would like to taste now, whether they should 'take' a boutique, design or an ice hotel and what experiences would really make their trip a memorable break. How they exactly end up doing what they actually do is quite a studied but still a mysterious topic. It has become clear during the years that, particularly the experience environment of free time that is filled with leisure and tourism experiences, has become a basic contributor to the quality of life (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003, Urry 1990, Richards 1999). It is particular in the experience environment of free time when people are in quest of fulfilling their (latent) needs that may vary from having fun, being (physically) challenged, relaxing, learning, interacting with local people and the like.

Modern consumers are said to want context related, authentic experience concepts and they want to be in charge (Poon 1993). Very much staged, 'first generation' experiences are not what today's consumers are after. 'Second generation' experiences, based on co-creation between company and client, appeal to the future consumer. These experiences enable dialogues in neither a supply nor a demand driven experience environment (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004). This deserves to be

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[1] ESADE/St.Ignasi & Co-creations. Co-creations, founded in 2006 in Sitges, is a knowledge-based independent company operating in the fields of events and tourism. Academic research and creativity go hand in hand and are the basic ingredients for innovation.Carrasco i Formiguera, 32; 08017 Barcelona; T: +34 936 023 030; F: +34 936 023 006; esther.binkhorst@stignasi.fje.edu; esther@co-creations.es.

studied within the field of tourism as it is closely linked with the concept of creative tourism (see also Binkhorst 2005).

Creative tourism was first introduced to the field of tourism by Richards and Raymond (2000) as to define the trend of *'tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken'*. This definition reflects the growing interest among individuals to creatively construct their own 'narrative of the self' as to personally develop themselves (Giddens 1990). The application of creativity in the process to reorient cultural tourism towards creative tourism can be achieved in various ways as Richards and Wilson (2006) depict:

- creative spectacles: the production of merely creative experiences for passive consumption by tourists;

- creative space: the development of a spatially demarcated creative 'enclave' populated by creatives to attract visitors[2];

- creative tourism: a more active involvement of tourists, not just spectating or 'being there' but reflexive interaction.

Creative tourism thus refers to activities undertaken during holidays in which often both the tourist and the host community participate, or better said, co-create the tourism experience. Besides, creative tourism provides tourism destinations explicitly with opportunities to link up with their local culture in order to guarantee a unique offer. It therefore seems to be a great alternative for tourism destinations to escape from the reproduction of culture. Besides, it could be a great resource for the creation of experience environments in which various actors of the tourism experience network (virtually) meet.

But where and when does creativity in tourism experiences actually occur? Is it at the destination, during some of the cultural tourism activities undertaken? Or does it

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[2] Almost any city today wants to profile itself as a 'creative city'. The creative industry contributes. significantly to the economy and, in line with Florida's creative class (2002), cities are interested in facilitating the role of pioneers of creatives in the city. What exactly is a creative city? The mayor of Amsterdam says '*the creative city must be attractive for people who deal with their talents in a non predictable non standardised way. I prefer to take a broad perspective because it includes scientists, people who deal with design, art and culture. But as well I would include lawyers and the financial market. People with knowledge, a background and skills that make them invent something new all the time*' (Huisman 2005:36, EB).

start previously in the home environment before the actual travel? Does it then stop after returning to the home environment or does it continue somehow? Are tourism destinations aware yet of the empire of co-creation tourism experience environments and how do they develop strategies to really embrace creative tourism?

The tourism stage for this paper is located in Spain, in a littoral village called Sitges not far from Barcelona. Sitges tries hard to come up with alternatives to its traditional image and tourism supply of 'sol y playa'. The set will be described first: what is on offer in and around Sitges? The supply of tourism experiences basically based on desk research illustrates a movement from 'sol y playa' towards cultural tourism. But can it be called creative tourism? A study among visitors undertaken during the summer of 2006 will tell what happens with tourists when they enter the Sitges tourism stage. How did they end up in Sitges? What experiences were they after? What (active or passive) role did they play on the tourism stage? And finally, was it worth it, their Sitges tourism experience?

2 The tourism stage of Sitges

2.1 Plan of Excellence

Sitges is a Spanish coastal town a little south of Barcelona. As a typical destination of 'sol y playa', it fights the mass tourism developments of the 60s that made the destination suffer from problems such as overcrowding. Its population has grown rapidly during the last 10 years; from 12.000 inhabitants in 1990 to approximately 20.000 inhabitants in 2000 (Ayuntamiento Sitges). This number increases during weekends and in summer because of the flows of people who own second houses or spend the weekend in rental accommodation. The local economy drives on tourism and industry. Tourism is basically concentrated in the centre of town with a lot of tourist facilities including three harbours. Sitges is basically known for its beaches and palm tree boulevard with picturesque church, its art and galleries, the traditional celebrations, the parties, its numerous events, its gay scene, the boutiques, 19th and 20th Century modernist architecture, and its international and cosmopolitan atmosphere.

In 2004, the Plan of Excellence was launched by the 'Patronato Municipal de Turismo' to relocate services and amenities, to create new products adapted to current trends in demand and to work towards enhancing natural resources. The plan

consists of four programs focusing on 1) the creation and consolidation of tourist products (product portfolios of cultural tourism, gastronomic events, active tourism and company related products), 2) tourist promotion and publicity (the Sitges brand, infrastructure and services, a marketing plan), 3) strengthening tourist commercialisation (new promotional DVD, new website) and 4) improvements of beach services (services, accessibility and sustainability).

Some recent initiatives show how tourists are being offered cultural and natural related experiences by inviting them land inwards to experience the 'other side of the beach'. The current tourism supply ranges from merely standard tours to innovative and context related activities and can basically be categorized around the following topics that are sometimes mixed in the same activity:

- Cultural heritage (more passive sightseeing to museums, art galleries monasteries, markets, etc. and routes along modernist buildings)

- Festivals and events (more observing, spectating activities)

- Gastronomy (more active participation in wineries and other F & B related settings)

- Nature (both more passive and/or active activities in and/or related with the National Park Garraf)

- Adventure (more active sightseeing like hot-air ballooning, helicopter tours, sailing trips, 4*4 excursions, etc., or activities like carting, skydiving, etc.)

To get familiar with the tourism experiences that are currently being offered in and around Sitges, some examples are being described in the following paragraphs.

Looking at Sitges from an international point of view, however, there are two topics that should be mentioned here because they characterize Sitges as a tourism destination but they are not explicitly investigated in this study. This is first of all the immense and very near by resource of the city of Barcelona. The city of Gaudi is certainly a very important add on destination for those who visit Sitges. The other way around, for many tourists visiting Barcelona Sitges is an important add-on destination[3]. However, it would be a study on it's own to include Barcelona. Secondly, Sitges is an internationally very well known Mediterranean gay destination.

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[3] A recent study among tourists in Barcelona shows that Sitges is the most favourite destination for a day trip outside the city during their stay in Barcelona (Aranda and Colomer 2006).

For the purpose of the current study, however, this segment is not singled out. Nevertheless, a specific study about Sitges as a gay tourism destination and all of the impacts it brings along, would be very interesting.

2.2 Sitges cultural heritage experiences

Within town the cultural heritage highlights are the three museums of Sitges. The museum of Cau Ferrat is the former house and studio of artist and painter Santiago Rusiñol. He bought this old house of some fishermen in the year 1894 and he transformed it into a meeting place for artists and intellectuals of the time. Later it was transformed into a museum where works of El Greco, Picasso, Miró, Rusiñol, Utrillo and others are exposed. Today it is one of the icons of Catalan Modernism. Visitors may enjoy the cultural spirit of the era during concerts organized in the museum Cau Ferrat. The Romantic Museum shows how a Sitgetan family lived at the end of the XIX Century. The museum also houses an interesting collection of dolls, a donation of the writer and illustrator Lola Anglada. In summer outdoor opera concerts can be enjoyed. The Museum Maricel houses three art collections and forms, together with the Palace Maricel, a building constructed at the beginning of the XX century by the American collector Charles Deering with the help of the engineer and art critic Miquel Utrillo, an impressive entity of modernist architecture right at the sea in the old town centre. In summer, music of composers such as Bizet and Albéniz can be listened accompanied by castanets and a glass of cava (Sitgestiucultura'06). Furthermore, cultural heritage sights in Sitges are the churches of Vinyet and Sant Bartomeu and Santa Tecla and the modernist architectural route along the villas of the Catalans who made their fortune in America.

2006 is being dedicated to Santiago Rusiñol, the artist and painter who is generally be held responsible for the transformation of Sitges from a fishing village into a meeting place for artists building the foundations for the magic attractiveness to Sitges until today. 75 years after his death, the municipality of Sitges commemorates the spirit of the modernist celebrations symbolically and wants to strengthen the image of Sitges as Santiago Rusiñol created it, an image of art and culture, of civilization, of modernity and, moreover, a European image. In this respect, the municipality organizes a range of activities from June 13 2006 to June 13 2007 such as conferences, courses, symposia, itineraries, web pages, book (re)editions, documents, and moreover, the restoration and improvement of the architectural and cultural heritage in town (Ayuntamiento de Sitges 2006).

In the area around Sitges, markets, castles, monuments and monasteries can be visited as well as, obviously, the very nearby city of Barcelona with its numerous cultural sights and attractions.

Sitges' cultural heritage can basically be experienced by passing by and watching the buildings from the outside, joining a guided sightseeing tour or joining one of the events organised by the museums. Through seeing, listening and a bit of tasting, tourists can familiarize themselves with the town's cultural heritage.

2.3 Sitges festivals and events

'Sitges es una fiesta permanente' (Patronato Municipal de Turismo de Sitges 2005) expresses the calendar of local, national and international events that are celebrated in Sitges. Whether it is a traditional celebration, cinema, theatre, music, dance, gastronomy, etc., Sitges hosts events of all kinds and sizes. Some of the principal events are the Carnival, the Vintage car rally, Sant Jordi book and rose day, the celebration of the 'Corpus Christi' flower carpet competition, the annual festival in honour of Sant Bartomeu the town's Patron Saint 'Fiesta Major', the 'Fiestas de la Vendimia', i.e., the grape harvest festival, Santa Tecla, and the International Film Festival of Catalonia (Patronato Municipal de Turisme de Sitges 2006). The events guarantee a continuous flow of visitors to the village. Tracks of events announced weekly in the local newspaper 'EcoSitges' reflect the nature of Sitges as a creative space.

Lately, Sitges is also increasingly developing as a conference and meeting destination. The recent opening of the Dolce Sitges Conference Centre and the establishment of the Sitges Convention Bureau professionalize this segment even more. Companies like Porsche, Nike and others come to Sitges to celebrate all kind of events like product launches, conferences, team building activities, etc. Located next door to Barcelona, Sitges has the advantage of the increase in popularity of Barcelona as an event destination.

2.4 Sitges gastronomic experiences

Boosted by the year of gastronomy in Catalonia in 2005, the area of gastronomy is being exploited more than ever before in the creation of cultural tourism experiences. As the senses of taste and smell are explicitly involved in gastronomy, it is a very valuable resource to create meaningful experiences.

In a recent interview with the Gremio de Hostelería de Sitges (Arenas 2006), the President argues that the level of gastronomy in Sitges has increased tremendously during the last twenty years. Gastronomy seems to be a year round reason for people to visit Sitges. '*Sometimes clients come to Sitges just to have a good lunch*', he says. Therefore, some of the restaurants in Sitges have more work during winter than during the tourism season. '*Most of the clients are of Spanish origin that tend to spend more on food generally*' (Arenas 2006:14).

'El parc a taula' ('Park at your Table') for instance, is part of the project 'Viu el Parc' 'Enjoy the park'). It is aimed at sharing the significant aspect of Catalan culture, e.g., gastronomy, with visitors to the park Garraf. Twelve restaurants offer specially prepared dishes with products that are typical of the park and cooked by experts. In 2005, the wine and cava producers of the municipalities in the park have also joined the project to complement the Garraf gastronomic experience.

On winery excursions, people come to see, smell and taste diverse wines besides learning about the thousand-year-old tradition winemaking and viticulture. A winery experience in the surroundings of Sitges usually includes a walking or 4x4 tour of the vineyards with its chapel, tower and cellar, where tourists can learn about viticulture from a qualified oenologist who guides the wine tasting. To get a taste of the typical local cuisine, a Catalan lunch is often served.

At the most representative winery of Torres (www.torres.es) the one hour tour begins inside the 1300 m² visitors' centre, with the screening of a video which explains the Torres history. The Estate can be visited where the mythical Mas la Plana was born. The secrets are shown of the Torres way of planting and picking grapes. Visitors can see the arrival of the grapes, the fermentation process and visit the ample underground cellars. Then they will be able to walk amongst the casks, smell the wine whilst it ages and understand the secrets of this work. After a wine-tasting session at the end of the tour in the vaulted-roofed tasting hall, people will leave the Penedès with the Torres taste. The Torres family ensures that their vocation does not lie in the restaurant industry but in the production of wine. However, the customer has the opportunity to accompany his wine with some gourmet dishes, essentially based on selected products of the "Torres Real" brand, also owned by the family, including asparagus, tuna, olives, etc. "La Vinoteca Torres" is a space of modern design where one can taste any of over the 50 wines and brandies produced by the Torres family in Catalonia, Penedès, Conca de Barberà, Ribera del Duero, Chile and California. Wines of the PFV (Primum Familiae Vini) association to which the Torres Family belongs, may also be found. Also at Jean Leon

(www.jeanleon.com) a winery founded in 1963 in the Penedés in Catalonia that also belongs to Torres, they succeeded very well in creating an experience environment in which visitors are being exposed to the legend behind the brand by guiding them through different experience spaces. Visitors arrive at a brand new modern visitor centre at the heart of the Penedès, perched on top of a hill with views of the entire valley. A movie shows visitors the fascinating life of Jean Leon, a Spanish immigrant who, with his extraordinary and unbreakable willpower, made it through a relentless string of adventures until he saw his most desired dreams become reality. The museum contains a mine of information visualizing Joan Leon's path of life on the one hand, and informing about the viticulture in different areas of the Joan Leon's vineyards on the other hand. Obviously, visitors are then taken on a guided tour through the vineyard and bodega with explanations of viticulture and the different winemaking techniques. Besides, there are opportunities to taste several wines and lunches can eventually be served.

Remarkable, however, for all of the above mentioned gastronomic experiences, is that the participation of the visitor is still limited to seeing, listening, smelling and tasting. There are no options yet to be completely engaged in, for instance, the Torres brand through the principle of co-creation.

2.5 Sitges nature experiences

Sitges is located in between the Mediterranean Sea and the National Park Garraf. The Park Garraf is located between the regions Baix Llobregat, l'Alt Penedès and El Garraf. It borders with the inland area of Llobregat, the Mediterranean Sea and the Penedès. The Park Garraf occupies 12.820 hectares and its two highest mountains tops are 'la Morella' (594,6 m) and 'el Rascler' (572 m). Some interesting examples of creative tourism environments can be found in the park.

'Jafra Natura' (www.jafranatura.com), a governmental body of the 'Diputación de Barcelona', organises guided walks along the coast to observe transformations of the landscape. They also organize specialised guided tours in the natural park Garraf to discover its flora and fauna, its history, its inhabitants, its fruits and vegetables, etc. with a link to Catalan cuisine. For the more adventurous tourist they offer guided sailing and catamaran tours at sea to experience the national park's coast line from the sea, as well as excursions in 4*4, BTT, climbing, etc. Experiencing the park is creatively linked with gastronomy in 'El Parc a Taula' (see 2.4).

Besides various educational centres, the National Park Garraf houses 'Vallgrasa', an experimental centre for the arts that was established some twenty years ago. In 2001 it has been transformed into an innovative project based on both the natural surroundings of the Park Garraf and the Mediterranean cultural identity. It is a meeting point for artists and visitors, a gathering place for creativity and observation. '*It is a place where the universal, open language of today's art allows for the discovery and integration of the soul of the Park of Garraf. (…) It is a meeting point and a departure point too, where bridges are created to connect the Park and its surrounding territory through workshops, seminars, exhibits, poetry recitals, music concerts,…*' (Vallgrasa 2005). One of the workshops that Vallgrasa organises is set up around the sense of smell in which emotions and sensations will be given form arising from the experience of nature through different smells that can be found in the park Garraf such as rosemary, pine sap, sea, etc.

The above described examples show that the natural heritage of Sitges and its surroundings can be experienced in a more participative way. A more in-depth analysis of the supply side will tell us who the visitors are that actually sign up for these experiences. From the results of field work undertaken during the summer of 2006 in the centre of town, it is not (yet?) a well known or very common experience to undergo during a stay in Sitges.

2.6 Sitges adventurous experiences

The typical more adventurous experiences that are currently being offered in Sitges are hot-air ballooning, helicopter tours, carting, sailing, surfing, 4*4, skydiving, etc. Sitges can as well be explored by bike. The bicycle has become a more visible element in town. Recent infrastructural transformations show how cycle tracks are becoming part of Sitges' street scene. 'Sitges Bike' (www.sitgesbike.com) now makes it possible for tourists to experience the village and its surroundings by bike.

'Garrafactiu' (www.garrafestiu.com) is a company specialized in sport activities in the Park Garraf. Through activities like a quad ride, archery, kayaking, orientation games on mountain-bikes, horse riding, discovering all the secrets of the Park Garraf while trekking, and other personalised activities, emotions are touched while people are in contact with the natural environment. The experiences they offer are fun and educational at the same time.

As the above described examples are sports and adventurous experiences in which the participant is personally and actively involved, the level of participation is

obviously higher than in some of the other tourism experiences mentioned before. A more in-depth analysis of the suppliers in this category could shed light on the question 'who are the tourists that sign up for these adventurous experiences'? Again, from the results of field work undertaken during the summer of 2006 among tourists in the centre of town, it is not (yet?) a well known or very common experience that tourists have heard of or actually practice during their stay in Sitges.

An even more interesting question for further research would be 'what are the impacts on future tourism behaviour of the various tourism experiences'? The hypothesis is that the higher the level of active participation or even co-creation in the design, undergoing and evaluation of the tourism experience, the more engaged they are, the more memorable the tourism experience is and the more attached they become to the Sitges brand. If this is the case, a coherent portfolio of real and virtual Sitges tourism experiences, targeted at different markets with varying interests, could really brand Sitges as an innovative and creative tourism destination.

3 Methodology

The above described analysis of the supply side is mainly based on desk research. To study visitor's profiles or travel behaviour, no recent and reliable data were available. In order to get insight in the characteristics, motivations and behaviour of cultural tourists who visit Sitges, it was decided to conduct the ATLAS[4] visitor questionnaire. The advantage of using this questionnaire is to have own data at one's disposal, being able to control the data collection and moreover, to be able to compare the data of this sample with the worldwide ATLAS database. A disadvantage, however, is the more or less fixed structure and content of the standard questionnaire. Some specific questions about the tourism supply in Sitges were added but, to be able to compare the data with the rest of the database and to prevent the questionnaire from being too long, the basic content of the ATLAS questionnaire was followed. A tailor-made questionnaire and in-depth interviews among a number of tourists and suppliers would be very interesting to get insight into more specific topics, especially when it comes to the impacts of the various tourism experiences that people undergo.

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[4] ATLAS is the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education. The Cultural Tourism Research Programme of ATLAS has monitored visitor surveys and studies of cultural tourism policies and suppliers over the past 15 years (see www.tram-research.com/atlas/).

The survey was conducted in Spanish and English among 350 international tourists in Sitges from mid July to mid August 2006. Two students of ESADE/St. Ignasi[5] were instructed to approach tourists throughout town, along the boulevard and on the beach, either in the morning from 10 am to 2 pm or from 5 pm to 9 pm in the afternoon. Due to insupportable high temperatures during the month of July, an exception was sometimes made and field work was conducted later at night at lower temperatures. Generally, tourists were quite willing to participate and to tell about their holidays. Nevertheless, as the survey was conducted among all tourists and not limited to those who were leaving cultural attractions at the moment of interviewing, some of the questions were not applicable or did not fit in the tourist's mindset at that time.

The results will be described in paragraph 4. Due to the limited time after completing field work and writing this paper, analyses are limited to basic statistics.

4 When tourists enter the tourism stage in Sitges during the summer

4.1 Visitors profile

The total sample consists of 350 people who spent their holidays in Sitges during the second half of July and/or the first half of August in 2006. Two thirds of them were male and one third was female.

10% came from the local area (basically Barcelona, those residing in Sitges were excluded from the survey), 41% from the rest of Spain and 49% from abroad. The sample represents a very international visitor's profile. The majority of those who came from abroad (81%) came from other countries within the European Union, most of them from France (23%), followed by the UK (18%), Germany (11%) and the Netherlands (10%). Other European countries that tourist less frequently originated from were Andorra, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Switzerland and Sweden. From the visitors originating from non-European countries 11% came from the USA and others (small percentages of 1 or 2 %) came from Argentina, Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, Colombia, Japan, Kuwait, Russia and Uruguay.

Almost one third of the total sample of tourists was 30-39 years old, closely followed by the categories 40-49 and then 20-29. Only a few of them were younger than 20 years or 50 years and up. There are generally no significant differences in age regarding the country of origin. However, among the tourists from the local area, the youngsters (20-29) were overrepresented. The sample in general represents a quite high educated group of visitors. A quarter of the sample completed vocational education and another quarter a masters or doctoral degree. Remarkable is the high percentage of visitors from outside of Spain with a master or doctoral degree (45%) (compared to 7% for people from the local area and 5% for the rest of Spain with this type of education). Most people from the sample were employees (54%) or self employed (19%) while there were also a lot of students around (17%). Less frequently, people who visited Sitges during the summer of 2006 were retired (4%), dedicating themselves to domestic and family tasks (4%) or unemployed (2%). Of those with a paid job 34% were professionals, 19% worked in administrative jobs, 17% had technical professions, 16% in service and sales, 12 as manager or director and 2% as manual or crafts worker. The vast majority (85%) of the sample indicated that their current or former occupation is not connected with culture. 27% of the sample indicated an annual household gross income level of 40.000-50.000 Euro. About a quarter of the sample indicated a level of 20.000-30.000 Euros. Only 8% indicated an income level of 60.000 Euro or more.

The following results can be mentioned about their travel style. 36% of the sample travelled with their family, 31% with their partner, 19% with friends, 14% alone and not even 1% with a tour group. Looking at the total sample, most tourists stayed in a hotel (57%). For local, Spanish and foreign tourists this was the most popular type of accommodation during their stay in Sitges. 30% of the local tourists from Barcelona, however, stayed in a second residence and 11% of them stayed with family and friends. When looking at the people coming from other places in Spain, also self catering accommodation like apartments (19%), caravan or tent (10%) and staying with family and friends (10%) were popular. For those who orginated from outside of Spain there was only one type of accommodation besides staying in a hotel (64%) that they frequently mentioned, namely staying in a caravan or tent (15%).

The majority of those who booked their transport separately (N=252) indicated that they did not book it in advance (61%). Many of them probably came with their own car from other places in Spain or Europe. 21% arranged their transport via Internet. When looking at how they booked their accommodation (N=256), 30% indicated that they made their own travel arrangements directly (by phone or fax), 27%

booked accommodation via Internet, 26% did not even book their accommodation in advance and 17% booked through a travel agent or tour operator. The average length of stay for the total sample was of 6 nights.

At the moment of writing, the data of this survey are not entered in the overall ATLAS database yet. It would be very interesting to compare the results of the Sitges sample with data conducted in other (coastal and/or cultural) tourism destinations.

4.2 Why did tourists visit Sitges in the summer of 2006?

When asking tourists about the main purpose of their trip to Sitges, the vast majority (63%) answered that they came for a holiday. Other options they could choose from were 'for a cultural event' (answered by 12%), 'visiting relatives and friends' (5%), 'for business' (5%), 'for a sports event' (6%), 'for shopping' (3%) or for 'other', unspecified, reasons (6%). The fact that 12% visited Sitges for 'a cultural event' in first instance shows that there is quite some interest for cultural tourism in Sitges. Obviously, all of the other than holiday mentioned main purposes of their trip will probably take place during their holidays. The percentages, however, reflect the specific interest that people had when choosing Sitges as a holiday destination.

When reflecting upon their holiday in Sitges, most tourists (61%) described it as a sun/beach holiday. Especially for the tourists originating from the local area this was the most important category (74%), while for tourists outside the rest of Spain and foreigners this was mentioned by 61% and 60% respectively. 15% of all tourists in the sample indicated that their trip to Sitges could best be described as a cultural holiday. Remarkably here, is that out of the local people very few characterise their holiday in Sitges as a cultural trip (3%), the tourists from the rest of Spain a bit more (12%) while 19% of the foreigners described their trip to Sitges as a cultural holiday. Categories like health/sports holiday (6%), ecotourism/nature holiday (2%), rural holiday (1%), touring holiday (1%), city trip (7%), or other (7%) were not mentioned a lot.

From these results it can be concluded that according to the tourists themselves, Sitges is basically described as a sun and beach holiday destination. Only a small minority characterizes their trip to Sitges as a cultural holiday.

4.3 What cultural experiences were tourists after when they came to Sitges?

Tourists were asked about their plans during their stay in Sitges to visit cultural attractions such as museums, monuments, art galleries, religious or historic sites, theaters, cinema, pop concerts, traditional festivals, gastronomic events, etc. Remarkable is that more than one third of the sample did not visit or did not plan to visit any of the 14 cultural attractions mentioned in the questionnaire. 20% planned to visit one cultural attraction, another 19% planned to visit 2 cultural attractions and 11% indicated to visit 3 cultural attractions. All in all not too much of enthusiasm for cultural tourism experiences can be discovered among the sample.

An important and case specific question that was added to the ATLAS questionnaire was to find out more about the awareness among international tourists of some specific cultural attractions in and around Sitges that were previously described in the supply analysis in paragraph 2. Tourists were asked whether they had heard about and (planned to) visit(ed) sights like the Park Garraf, 'El Park a Taula', wineries, the three museums of Sitges, activities regarding the year of Rusiñol, the event called the 'Fiesta Mayor', having lunch or dinner with local people, or other sights or events they came up with (see paragraph 2). The following Figure 1 shows the results for this question.
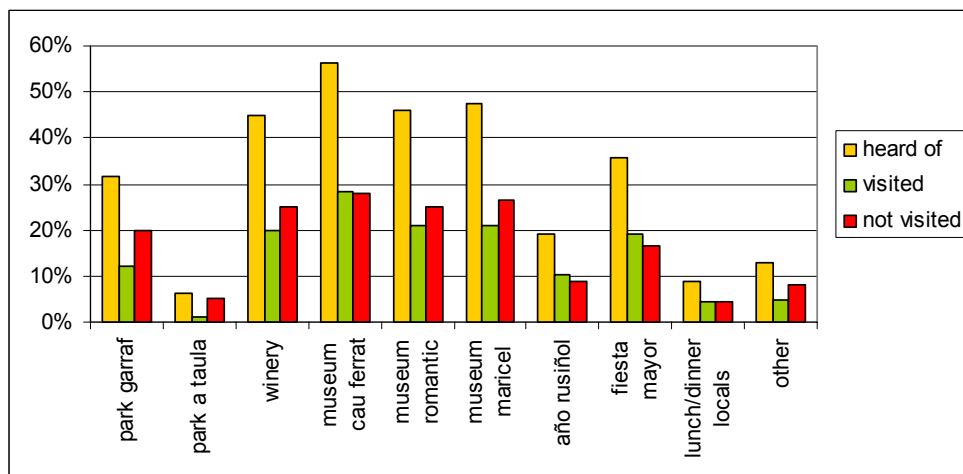
Figure 1 Awareness and visiting behaviour of cultural sights in Sitges for those who indicated to have heard about at least one of the cultural attractions (N=259)

First of all it is important to note that 26% of the total sample had not heard about any of the cultural sights in Sitges at all. 55% of the sample had heard about 1, 2, 3, 4,

or 5 and another 19% indicated being aware of 6 to 10 of the cultural sights mentioned. Figure 1 presents the percentages of tourists who, out of those who mentioned having heard of at least one of the cultural sights, had heard of, had heard of and indeed visited and had heard of but not visited the sight. For many of the cultural sights, although tourists might have been aware of their existence, they did not visit them. The three museums, wineries, the 'Fiesta Mayor' and to a lesser extent the Park Garraf, are the most well known cultural sights among tourists. Tourists were less familiar with the gastronomic project 'El park a Taula', the year of Rusiñol and having lunch or dinner with locals. Still, the numbers of tourists who indeed visited for instance the three museums, are low (28%, 21%, 21% N=259). 'Having lunch or dinner with locals' is obviously not very well known, due to the fact that it does not exist (yet) as a cultural tourism experience. It seems that the 'Fiesta Mayor' is visited by many tourists. This is remarkable because most of the tourists were questioned during the days before the Fiesta Mayor. This percentage, thus, reflects probably a lot of people who visited the Fiesta Mayor during other years. Gastronomic experiences in the Park Garraf and activities organized around the year of Rusiñol do not seem to be reaching the tourism market as almost no one had heard about it. A more in-depth analysis of supply could perhaps explain this.

In general, it seems that not too many people are aware of the range of cultural tourism experiences in and around Sitges. More remarkable, however, is that a lot of people who indicated being familiar with them, did not visit nor plan to visit them. Are they happy lying on the beach? Let us have a look at how tourists evaluate their trip to Sitges.

4.4 How do tourist evaluate their Sitges tourism experience?

The fact that more than half of the sample (55%) were repeat visitors to Sitges, tells something about the significant number of people that must be highly satisfied about their tourism experience in Sitges. 93% of the tourists coming from the local area (basically Barcelona), 55% of the Spanish tourists and 49% of the foreign tourists indicated that they had been on a holiday in Sitges before. Most of them came 1 to 5 times before, while 6% came 6 to 10 times before, 8% came 11 to 20 times before and 4% indicated that they were in Sitges more than 20 times before. Some

extremely high scores have been eliminated from the database[6] but still a high level of repeat tourism can be observed.

The following Figure 2 shows to what extent tourists agreed or disagreed with some statements about Sitges as their tourism destination. Again, tourists are extremely positive about Sitges. The average rate of the total sample for their overall satisfaction of their visit to Sitges is 8.5 on a scale from 1 to 10. Local, Spanish or foreign tourists do not differ in their satisfaction about Sitges.
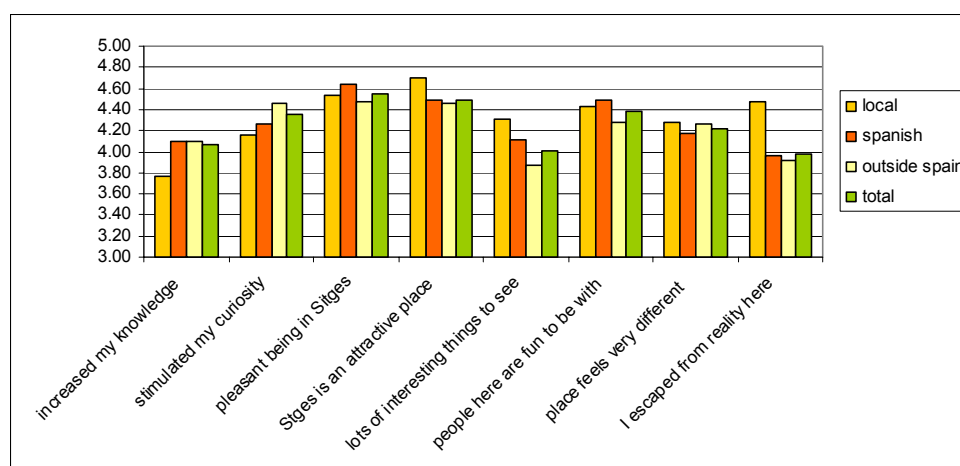
Figure 2 Extent to which tourists agreed with statements about Sitges (N=350)

Most of all, tourists indicated that it was very pleasant being in Sitges (average rate 4.55 on a scale from 1 to 5), that Sitges is a very attractive place (4.49) and that the people in Sitges are fun to be with (4.38). 'My visit to Sitges has stimulated my curiosity' was rated with 4.35. Although a little less rated, 'this place feels very different' still had a score of 4.22 out of 5. Again a little lower was the score on 'my visit to Sitges has increased my knowledge' (4.07). Tourists agreed with an average score of 4 out of 5 that there are lots of interesting things to see in Sitges. The lowest score was on 'I completely escaped from reality here' (3.97).

Further analysis as well as comparing this sample with other tourism destinations, could give more insight into the coherence between the various statements. Moreover, the various visitor profiles could then be linked with the results of these statements to discover the needs of various groups of visitors.

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6   Someone of the age of 60 said he had been going to Sitges yearly since the sixties. Another person had been to Sitges 90 times already. Obviously, these few exceptions have been eliminated from the database although they show a great attachement to the place.

5 From 'sol y playa' to cultural or creative tourism?

5.1 Tourism experiences in Sitges

According to the tourists themselves, Sitges is basically seen as a sun and beach holiday destination and not too many tourists indeed visited cultural sights and attractions. Looking at the supply side, there are many other experiences on offer. They are not very well known yet, at least not among tourists of this summer sample. To really develop as a cultural tourism destination and to attract cultural tourists following the trends as described at the beginning of this paper, cultural and natural heritage could probably be exploited in a more engaging way. An innovative perspective on creative tourism could help Sitges develop as a creative tourism destination, with both real and virtual tourism experiences.

Regarding the gastronomic experiences, for instance, a range of more participative and engaging – and therefore more memorable - tourism experiences could be implemented like preparing a typical Catalan dish in an authentic local setting, helping with the grape harvest, making wine, an option to stay temporarily on the authentic Torres territory to live the life of a Torres winegrower. Besides, one can think of an immense range of virtual winery or gourmet experiences that could enhance gastronomic tourism experiences, even before arriving at the destination and again after returning home.

The natural heritage of Sitges and its surroundings can be experienced in a more participative way. However, from the results of field work undertaken for this study, it is not (yet?) a well known or very common experience to undergo during a (summer) stay in Sitges. A more in-depth analysis of the supply side, however, will tell us who the visitors are that actually sign up for these experiences and when they sign up.

Tourists were extremely positive about Sitges as their holiday destination, with an average rate of 8.5 on a scale from 1 to 10. This result was produced, however, by a group of visitors of a certain visitor's profile. To attract cultural tourists and to develop Sitges as a creative tourism destination, many more initiatives could be explored and implemented to really share Catalan culture with the visitors and to make them attached to the Sitges brand.

5.2 A creative future for cultural tourism in Sitges?

'Sitges, the art of living' is the new slogan to brand the village as a tourism destination. It refers to the Mediterranean life style, captures its arty image and takes it even up a level higher as to express a way of living. At the same time, it expresses the magic that surrounds the village of Sitges. Sitges is a highly popular town as the growing number of inhabitants, flows of immigrants and tourists and visitors reflect.

Sitges is definitely a 'creative space' that therefore attracts many people who like to visit the town during the weekends, holidays or even for some years. Creative tourism in Sitges, however, can basically be found in the first two spheres of 'creative spectacles' and 'creative space' while the more active form of 'creative tourism' is not very much developed yet. Although there is an increase in alternatives to the core of 'sol y playa', very few alternatives are created yet with the aim to have tourists actively participated during their stay in Sitges, let alone during the preparation of their visit or after having returned home. Rather, tourists are restricted to passive consumption through sightseeing or spectating.

Much research though needs to be done here. To begin with, data are hardly available on the visitor profiles, their motivations, their time-spatial patterns, etc., and the demand for, use and satisfaction of the traditional tourism supply and recently developed alternatives in Sitges. What strategies could be developed to achieve a more creative tourism? It would be interesting to conduct, after a basic and year round study on the tourist profile, a time-spatial analysis of tourism behaviour in the village and to have a closer look at peoples' interests for and evaluation of different experiences in the area. This study and preliminary findings through participant observation show that most tourists are hardly aware of the alternatives off the beach. The other way around, it is doubtful whether creators of tourism experiences realise that a significant market is now passing by. Often, 'not knowing about' or not being able to understand promotional material due to language barriers keeps people on the beach, in the shops, bars and restaurants. This leaves the other side of the beach unknown while Sitges in fact has a rich cultural and natural heritage that provides the town with an indefinite resource for creative tourism experiences.

6 Limitations of this research and recommendations

6.1 Limitations of this study

This research has some limitations. Firstly, field work was only done during the summer. On the one hand this encourages tourism of 'sol y playa' to be the most

typical type of tourism in Sitges with all its beaches and sunny days. On the other hand, the results cannot be explained for a 100 percent by the timing of the field work; the possible tourism experiences described in paragraph 2 could very well also be undertaken during the summer. A year round survey of the same nature could tell us the answer.

Secondly, the research is limited because the questionnaires are conducted only in the centre of Sitges. Consequently, none of the locations where cultural, natural, gastronomic, sports and adventurous tourism experiences are offered were included. This increases the chance of having a sample of tourists only walking around in town or lying at the beach. This risk is being taken care for, however, by including questions about the cultural, natural, gastronomic or adventurous sights and attractions they had heard about or planned to visit during their stay.

6.2 Recommendations for further research

As mentioned before, there is still a great lack of data about the tourism, hospitality, and related sectors. Some basic demand and supply side studies are necessary to get insight into this area.

An interesting question for further research related to the world of experiences and creative tourism would be 'what are the impacts on future tourism behaviour of the various tourism experiences'? The hypothesis is that the higher the level of active participation or even co-creation in the design, undergoing and evaluation of the tourism experience, the more engaged tourists are, the more memorable the tourism experience will be and the more attached people become to the Sitges brand. If this is the case, a coherent portfolio of real and virtual Sitges tourism experiences, targeted at different markets with varying interests, could really brand Sitges as an innovative and creative tourism destination. A great challenge for an innovative and creative future!

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Chapter 4
Re-Imaging the Cultural Heritage of SPA Resorts in Europe: A Survival Strategy

Katleen Vos[1]

1 Introduction

1.1 Theme

Traditional spa resorts can be considered as belonging to the past, whereas wellness tourism and medical tourism in exotic destinations seem to become the winners of the future.

What are the challenges for traditional spa resorts in this new competitive arena?

How to compete with the newcomers in this niche market?

What are the assets of traditional resorts? What are the USPs[2]?

1.2 Structure

After the description of the field of study and the concepts used to assess the rejuvenation potential of spa resorts, the second section presents the comparison of four traditional spa resorts in Europe. The third section describes the rejuvenation strategies worked out by these four spa resorts. The fourth section the paper presents the conclusions.

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[2] USP: Unique Selling Proposition.

1.3 Study area

The key issue is how to (re)valorise cultural heritage elements in a process of rejuvenation of traditional spa resorts. This challenge is on the agenda in many places in Europe, particularly in Central Europe with its strong concentration of traditional thermal resorts. This is illustrated on Peter Jordan's map of international tourism attractions (1999) that shows a relatively high density of spa resorts in Germany, Austria, Hungary and the Czech Republic.

The main purpose of the map is to compare the density and the relative value of lesser- known tourist attractions in the former Communist countries of East Central-and South Eastern Europe with the better known and better frequented Western tourist destinations in Italy, Greece, Austria, Germany and Turkey. This map is the result of the cooperation of a group of tourism geography experts from that region (Jordan, 1999).

From the wide range[3] of European spa resorts a selection of four traditional spa towns has been made: two of them, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně, are located in Central Europe; two others, Bath and Spa, in Western Europe. These four spa resorts were renowned in the 18th and 19th centuries, when they were the fashionable meeting points of aristocracy, politicians, artists, composers and writers. In the course of history, each resort knew a different development, especially because of the political context in which they were set. By the end of the 20th century, these spa resorts were left with a downgraded infrastructure and a poor image due to political changes (Rulle, 2004).

After the opening of the Iron Curtain, the 'Velvet Revolution' and the introduction of the Czech Republic into the European Union, it is a challenge for the well-known spa resorts of the Old Europe to find their place in the New Europe.

Karlovy Vary and *Mariánské Lazně* together with Frantiskovy Lazně belong to the 'Bohemian Spa Triangle'. However, of these three, only Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně have been chosen as study objects for this paper. Both spa towns have a long tradition as thermal resorts; Karlovy Vary is actually the oldest and the most visited spa town in the Czech Republic.

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[3] Rulle (2004) mentions that the European Spa Association counts at least 1200 spa resorts, which indicates a high concentration and hence a strong competition among them.

Furthermore, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně have a central location in the 'new' Europe and can both be considered as traditional thermal resorts with a relatively high tourism potential (Jordan, 1999).

From the Western European spa resorts, *Spa* has been selected as one of the oldest spa resorts in Europe, the one that gave its name to thermal resorts as such. Similarly, *Bath* has been chosen as a spa town with a long thermal tradition that dates back to Celtic times. Moreover, in 1987, Bath was named as a World Heritage Town by UNESCO.

During the last decade, major policy investments were made to rejuvenate the four spa resorts under review.

1.4 Principles for rejuvenation policies

To assess the critical success factors for rejuvenation of traditional spa resorts, a systematic analysis of their tourist opportunity spectrum is desirable. Concepts such as hardware, software, orgware and shareware (Jansen-Verbeke et al., 2000) can be useful in this analysis:

> *Hardware* can be understood as the natural and 'human made' resources in the spa resort, as well as the accommodation and the transport infrastructure.

Software consists of the positioning, the packaging, the images and the marketing

> The *orgware* is the way tourism is organised in the spa resort; this in terms of policies, human resources and knowledge, of public and private alliances and of stakeholders' interaction.

> *Shareware* is interpreted as the networks in which spa resorts are engaged, as well for promotion as for product development. They are the partnerships that sustain the development process of the destination.

If traditional thermal resorts want to stay competitive and if they aim to preserve their cultural heritage in order to re-use this heritage in the future, we assume that it is necessary that they continue to direct it towards a sustainable development. Therefore, a profound analysis of their tourism potential is needed to assess which heritage elements are to be selected for the transformation into (cultural) tourism products.

In order to be able to compare the four spa towns in this paper and to locate the cultural heritage resources at regional level, the database with basic data of the ESPON[4] 1.3.3. project "The Role and Spatial Effects of Cultural Heritage and Identity" (2005) was consulted. Furthermore, data were collected from the websites of the statistical service of the Karlovarsky Kraj Region as well as from Eurostat and through contacts with local and regional tourism authorities (Vos, 2006).

For the selection of the Czech spa resorts, Peter Jordan's interactive map of international tourism attractions of Central, South Eastern and Eastern Europe was used (http://pentium7.gis.univie.ac.at/mapserver/atos/htdocs/prototyp/).

This map shows international tourism attractions, indicated as circular symbols in different colours and sizes.

The colours represent the kind of attraction (e.g. health resort, attractive cultural landscape), the size of the symbol indicates the ranking of the attraction in terms of its capacity to attract visitors from abroad (Jordan, 1999).

Because this map demonstrates clearly where the tourism potential of Central-and Southern Europe is situated, it is an interesting tool for the kind of research undertaken for this paper. In places with a high density of different types of attractions, there is a possibility for diversity in the tourism offer. This diversity can be an important asset for the rejuvenation of spa resorts.

2   Comparing four examples of spa resorts

According to Ansoff (1965, in: Jegers et al., 2000), a product that reaches the stagnation stage of its lifecycle can opt for 5 strategies to stay competitive. As traditional spa resorts have reached this stage of their lifecycle[5], they can implement several rejuvenation strategies. These are mainly based on 4 possibilities: the renovation of the existing built environment, the extension of the market (in order to attract new target groups), the development and the diversification of the tourism product.

Most of the traditional spa resorts count on product diversification. In this way, they can also respond to three recent changes in the tourism demand: the ageing population, the search for wellness and health (body & mind care), and the search for

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[4] ESPON: European Spatial Planning and Observation Network.

[5] cfr. For a spa resort this 'product' life cycle is in fact the 'TALC', Tourist Area Life Cycle (Butler, 1980).

meaning. Some of the spa resorts shift from the traditional 'medical treatment' (drinking cure and hydrotherapy) towards the 'wellness' product line. Others try to find a solution in the creation or re-creation of cultural tourism products based upon the rich cultural heritage they possess. Other spa towns combine both possibilities.

The combination of thermalism and cultural tourism can be a fortunate one, as both types of tourism are associated with 'quality tourism' that generates high expenses that in turn can be invested in the rejuvenation of the resort. Furthermore, cultural tourism and thermalism are both not influenced by seasonality. Besides this, cultural tourism can provide the opportunity to extend the offer with other 'experiences' that respond to the increasing demand for entertainment and edu-tainment.

2.1 Spa resorts as carriers of cultural heritage

Graham *et al.* (2000) consider cultural heritage as an important resource for the creation of cultural tourism products. The selection of (heritage) resources is a crucial step in this process. The selected resources are being transformed into (cultural) tourism products through interpretation and packaging, whereby specific tourism products are created for specific target markets. The way in which the different resources are combined, defines the end product.

The traditional spa resorts in Europe can be seen as carriers of similar cultural heritage resources. Traditionally a distinction is made between tangible and intangible elements, and between natural and cultural resources.

All thermal resorts have one important natural resource in common: their thermal springs. These are essential for their existence. In this respect, Karlovy Vary has 132 springs, of which 12 are used in thermal institutions. In Mariánské Lazně there are more than 40 thermal springs. Spa has 16 mineral springs and Bath has 3 mineral springs.

The setting in a natural environment -mostly surrounded by rivers, lakes, forests- and the landscape is also an important asset in the tourism offer of spa resorts. The four spa resorts in this paper are set in a relatively 'green scenery' surrounded by hills. Furthermore, they possess a wide range of 'human made' resources, material cultural heritage elements. These are often organised according to a similar scheme and concern: spa buildings, hotels, colonnades, concert halls, theatres, (often) a casino, museums, religious buildings, parks, art galleries, castles, monuments and sites (De Monbrison-Fouchère, 2004).

In all four spa resorts that were investigated, it is remarkable that most of these attractions are situated within walking distance from each other in the city centre, which make them especially interesting for an elderly public.

The physical and the organisational access of the destination can be considered as other human made resources of the destination. In Spa as well as in Karlovy Vary, cable lifts connect the city centre with thermal or accommodation facilities, or with viewpoints on the hills around the town centre.

A special type of thermal heritage are the 'spa souvenirs' (Osborne, 2000). They are the 'tangible memory' of moments in the past, such items as: travel guides, diaries, glasses (often in Bohemian crystal), wooden craftwork (as in Spa), spa wafers (e.g. Bohemian Oblaten), liquor (Spa Elixir, Becherovka, ...) and of course the water itself.

2.2 Similar problems, different strategies?

The main point of difference between the four thermal resorts is the use of their cultural heritage, their software. Much attention is being paid to the restoration and refurbishment of the material heritage. During the last decade reconstruction works have been going on in all four thermal resorts. But less care has been taken of their intangible heritage, that could be used to bring new life into the towns. Traditional thermal resorts could use their history and their medical tradition and expertise as important assets in the competition against the more 'exotic' newcomers in the market.

As mentioned above, software is about the packaging, the combination of resources and the interpretation in order to create memorable experiences. One way to do this is through history by storytelling or creating 'living history'. Another way is in the organisation of festivals and events. A third possibility is the use of expertise in medical treatments and thermal therapies. In Europe – as in the four spa resorts investigated here – a shift is noticeable from traditional therapies, based on the use of water towards more complementary, naturopathy treatments like the Indian Medicine Ayurveda or the traditional Chinese Medicine (Rulle, 2004). As far as the cultural aspect is concerned, a change towards 'edutainment' activities is seen.

Compared to the other three spa towns, Bath seems to be the most successful in telling (and selling) its story through a strong product development. This could be explained by the British tradition of respecting its heritage, but also by the shift in focus within the tourism offer. From 1978 to August 2006 the thermal activities

were interrupted and the main tourism product was based upon culture, especially when Bath became a World Heritage Town. Examples of this 'story telling' are the audiotour in the Roman Baths museum (www.romanbaths.co.uk), the living history at the Jane Austen Museum or the Bizarre Bath guided tour (www.visitbath.co.uk).

Spa has created a similar product: the 'Spa Raconté', a walking tour guided by a story teller dressed in a period costume (www.spa-info.be). Besides that, for its presentation Spa counts mostly on its international fame in Formula 1 racing and its history as a spa town. However, since the opening of the new thermal complex in 2004, Spa is placing thermalism in the spotlights again.

Mariánské Lazně is rather focused on balneotherapy in a historical setting, with an architecture that evokes the atmosphere of the heydays in the 18th and 19th centuries (www.marianske-lazne.info).

Karlovy Vary is not only internationally renowned as a spa resort, but is also famous for its international filmfestival and its yearly Tourfilm festival (www.karlovyvary.cz).

Considering this positioning of Bath, Spa, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně, we could assume that Bath shifts from cultural tourism towards thermalism, and that the other three position themselves between cultural tourism and thermalism, of which thermalism dominates. Of those three, Karlovy Vary shifts the most towards cultural tourism.

In order to assess the tourism perspectives of Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lazně, Bath and Spa, a SWOT analysis has been undertaken (Vos, 2006). The main results are illustrated below.

2.3 SWOT-analysis

Strenghts

Hardware

The strengths of the four cases rely on their natural and cultural heritage: the thermal springs and the cultural heritage that is present in the town centres and in their surroundings.

The ESPON 1.3.3 database (2004) and the map of tourism attractions of Eastern and Central Europe (Jordan, 1999) also show a large number and a high density of cultural resources at regional level.

The attractiveness of Mariánské Lazně and Karlovy Vary was enhanced by the renovation of their hardware since the 1990-ies. Investments were made to upgrade the thermal infrastructure, the accommodation facilities and the leisure facilities.

Spa and Bath both boast a new thermal complex, equipped with modern technologies.

Furthermore, the four spa towns offer accommodation in all price ranges and they are relatively easy accessible by road, by train and by air.

Software

The main common strength of the four spa towns is their international reputation, thanks to the visits of famous (historical) figures: as e.g. Peter the Great in Spa; Goethe in Karlovy Vary, Chopin in Mariánské Lazně, and Jane Austen in Bath. Furthermore, Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lazně and Bath were background to international movies, while Spa is renowned for its GP Formula 1 races. Another asset of the four towns is their medical expertise.

Orgware

In terms of orgware, Bath has a comprehensive system of visitor management. Stakeholders from private and public organisations are the stewards and the promoters of the tourism development in the town. For this sake a management plan has been elaborated by the 'City of Bath World Heritage Steering group', which is an association of local and national organisations and representatives of different sectors in town (cfr. Shareware) (www.bathnes.gov.uk).

A public-private partnership (Aqualis) organises the promotion and the product development for Spa.

In Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně efforts are made at a regional level to stimulate public-private-partnerships by means of discussion forums.

Shareware

Spa, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně are located in border regions, which creates possibilities for cross-border cooperation.

Especially Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně have created an extended walking and biking network on regional level. They both cooperate with spa resorts in their region and in the Euregion Egrensis (cross-border cooperation with German spa resorts, with European funding). In this framework Mariánské Lazně cooperates with a thermal resort in Neualbenreuth in Germany. Another example is the 'Spas in the heart of Europe'[6] project.

As mentioned before, Bath is also part of a extensive network of private and public partners for the management and promotion of its cultural heritage.

European networks around quality management, competition and sustainable product development do exist, as there are the Royal Spas of Europe[7] and BISA[8].

Weaknesses

Hardware

Karlovy Vary has renovated its city centre but not the 'concrete' suburbs around it.

Furthermore, the city centre often struggles with parking problems.

In Bath the tourism cultural heritage is concentrated on a small surface. This results in congestion on peak days.

A weak point noted in Spa, is the bad road signalisation, which hinders the accessibility of the spa resort.

Software

The main weakness for the Eastern European cases is the lack of knowledge of foreign languages. The staff (medical and other) should be more service-minded.

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[6] Spas in the Heart of Europe: is a project aimed at the promotion of 12 spa towns in de Euregio Egrensis (www.karlovyvary.cz)

[7] Royal Spas of Europe: organisation of traditional spa resorts, counts 8 spa resorts in Europe (Germany, Hungary, Finland, Spain and Czech Republic) (www.royal-spas.net)

[8] BISA: British International Spa Association, organisation set up by professionals in order to establish quality standards for spa resorts

In Mariánské Lázně there is a need for evening entertainment.

Spa lacks local initiatives to use the 'cultural resources' for tourism development.

Orgware

The management and organisation of Karlovy Vary is a complex construction, e.g. the management of the springs is divided over four different partners from local to national level. The strategic management of the spa resort is organised at regional level.

The local focus on competition with surrounding regions, instead of cooperation for product development and promotion, is a handicap for Spa.

Shareware

A network based upon the common heritage of the traditional spa resorts in Europe doesn't exist yet. Nevertheless, this could become an extra tool for rejuvenation.

Opportunities and Threats

From the market side the four spa resorts are confronted with the same kind of opportunities and threats.

Opportunities

An opportunity is the ageing population, and a growing market for wellness, cultural heritage and golf. The latter is especially interesting for Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně as they invested in the renovation of their golf courses.

Karlovy Vary, Mariánské Lazně and Spa are situated next to the border with Germany, a country with a large market for and a tradition in wellness and health tourism.

For Spa a combination of thermalism and medical tourism is an opportunity, as the spa town is located in a region that boasts 4 university teaching hospitals and is recognised as a 'health region'.

Threats

Traditional thermal healing looses its medical meaning and shifts more towards wellness. In this market segment, the traditional resorts compete with more 'exotic' destinations that offer wellness at lower prices.

Guests also need entertainment; therefore a wide range of leisure activities must be on offer.

Furthermore, within the framework of the European enlargement, economically weaker regions could be tempted to use their cultural resources for a fast development of tourism whereby quick hit and run activities are chosen above the sustainability of the cultural heritage in the region.

Another threat is that foreign investment for tourism development aimed at creating job opportunities very often brings management under foreign control.

To tackle the above mentioned threats, the spa resorts could cooperate and learn from each other. In this way, new shareware is developed.

3 Rejuvenation strategies: 4 R's

As the 4 case studies are set in an urban environment, one can assume that the rejuvenation of these spa resorts follow the same pattern as the rejuvenation of cities.

Urban rejuvenation consists of a search for sustainable reinforcement of economic activities, respecting the quality of the built environment and the public space, in harmony with the sustainability of the enterprises and the quality of life of the inhabitants (Jansen-Verbeke, 2000)

The process of rejuvenation of towns and of spa resorts is defined by their context: the springs and the intangible heritage (hardware) are the reason of their existence as spa towns. They make them unique. The strength of the traditional spa resorts relies on their history and on the possibility to create cultural activities around this history (De Monbrison-Fouchère, 2000). This can thus be used in the creation of their USP. At the same time, spa resorts are the matrix for the music-, theatre- and film scene and for other creative industries (software).

3.1 Rejuvenation through hardware: "Re-novation"

De Monbrison-Fouchère (2004) argues that it is the role of the government to initiate the urban rejuvenation of thermal towns. The refurbishment of 'important landmarks' of the thermal resort, renovation of houses and shopping areas can cause a leverage effect on the revival of the thermal resort. He mentions several examples of refurbishment of the hardware: creating a convention centre in an old opera house, installing a tourist information centre in a museum. The latter is the case in Mariánské Lazně, where the tourist office is situated in the Goethe Museum. In Friedrichsbad (Germany) a tea-house has been integrated into the old thermal buildings.

The hardware, the infrastructure is the main resource to the whole tourism scene in the spa resorts. The thermal springs are the core product of the destination, the hotels and the surrounding infrastructure can be considered as the 'decoration'. All four spa towns, selected for this paper, have gone through a recent period of major refurbishments and renovations.

We already mentioned the new buildings in Spa. Three years of renovation of 3 thermal buildings (the Cross Bath, the Hot Bath and the New Royal Bath) in the city centre of Bath resulted in a brand new complex 'The Bath Thermae Project' which opened in August 2006.

Also in Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně major reconstruction works have been undertaken in order to make the city centre more attractive, especially since 1990, e.g. of 63 hotels in Mariánské Lazně, 17 were built after 1990. In Karlovy Vary the renovation of the old theatre took place in 1995, and the refurbishment of the cable lift between the Sanatorium Imperial and the city centre was finished in 2003.

3.2 Rejuvenation through software: "Re-imaging"

Apart from the renovation and the refurbishment of the hardware, it is also crucial to rejuvenate through the development of the software. The interpretation of the cultural heritage resources is a major aspect for creating a tourism product with its own identity.

Common traps in this development are imitation and standardisation.

Very often, successful formulas from other destinations are copied, but they lose their attraction relatively quickly when their uniqueness disappears (Rulle, 2004).

Nevertheless, a certain level of standardisation is necessary in order to install and maintain a high quality level of services.

Moreover, thermal resorts have their own, unique story. Even the story of the water can act as a source of inspiration for the creation of a tourism product. Creativity and innovation are the key elements in this respect. This creativity can be expressed in the product mix, by using the cultural identity of the place, the 'genius loci' in order to create unique experiences. In Karlovy Vary, for example, each year the spa season is opened with a special event (www.karlovyvary.cz).

Mariánské Lazně has the oldest golf course in the Czech Republic and the second oldest in Europe. As golf is getting more popular, Mariánské Lazně is re-creating the golf tourism 'product' combined with thermalism (www.marianske-lazne.info).

Spa creates a link with its international reputation for Formula 1 racing and its history, through the organisation of races for old timers (www.spa-info.be).

The creativity and innovation can also be expressed in the presentation or in the use of new technologies. For example, visitors of Bath get the opportunity to download two city tours on a mp3 player (against payment). (www.tourist-tracks.com).

In the same style, walking or biking tours could be created in and around Spa, Karlovy Vary and Mariánské Lazně, with a 'storyteller'- gps system.

3.3 Rejuvenation through orgware: "Re-organisation"

For their rejuvenation, getting re-organised is necessary in most of the traditional spa resorts.

We noticed clear differences between the 4 cases. Bath, for example, has a comprehensive management and organisation system, with responsibilities shared by stakeholders at local, regional and national level working in public-private-partnerships around culture, tourism and thermalism. Therefore, one can assume that in the other resorts a new balance needs to be found between culture and thermalism. This could be translated in new policies for destination management and visitor management.

Public-private partnerships seem to be valuable instruments to increase the involvement of all stakeholders in the rejuvenation process of the spa town. In this way differing viewpoints can merge and a controlled development can lead to a sustainable visitor management.

3.4 Rejuvenation through shareware: "Re-lation"

Rejuvenation through shareware represents a new challenge for the traditional thermal resorts. Vertical and horizontal integration are common policies in the tourism business (Rulle, 2004). Different alliances are created within the tourism sector but also between the tourism sector and others, for example: the tourism sector and the medical sector. Cooperation with the cultural sector is another approach for the development of products concerning the cultural heritage: thematic routes around museums, castles, viewpoints, for example. Thus, innovation and creativity are also necessary instruments in this process.

Spa resorts can also be engaged in cross border cooperation policies, as is the case for the Czech spa resorts. In this way costs for product development and promotion could be reduced.

The creation of strong inter- and intra-sectoral networks and cross-border networks (cfr. supra) could reinforce the traditional spa resorts in their competition against newcomers in the market.

4 Conclusion

This paper discusses how four traditional spa resorts in Europe can use their cultural heritage in order to be competitive on the global market.

It has become clear that thermal resorts have initiated their rejuvenation policy. Although they are facing the same kind of problems, different strategies are implemented.

In most cases, the rejuvenation policy is concentrated on the renovation of the hardware. However, it is the software that carries the largest potential for traditional spa resorts to strengthen their position in the emerging new wellness market.

We suggest that the strategies for rejuvenation of traditional spa resorts could rely on: 're-novation', 're-imaging', 're-organisation' and 're-lation'. 'Re-imaging' could be the most feasible and the most efficient strategy for spa resorts to face the challenges of global competition.

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Chapter 5
Tourist Attractivity as an Expression of Searching for the Roots and Cultural Heritage

Ángeles Rubio Gil[1]

1. Introducción

Tourism as an issue of social behaviour, goes beyond the consumption of leisure services, because human nature is expressed through the desires that motivate travelling. Such nature, as most of the consumption behaviour, has a psychobiologic and evolutionary component, as well as another dimension anchored in heritage and culture which determines the purchasing decision.

From tourism theory, the approach to understanding the attractivity of a destination has been carried out through the concept of "demand", in order to eliminate the subjective burden that derives from terms as necessity. However, the demand understood as perfectly measurable and quantifiable, falls in this paradox field where it must been found a possible demand, not articulated and that does not really exist as itself, defined by three elements: the motivation, the marketing, and the socioeconomic factors and characteristics of the destination.

In this case, the aim of this paper is to go deep into human perception and look at what constitutes tourist attractivity and what are the psychosocial grounds of motivation, which is essential to be able to understand current and potential cultural tourism.

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2. Consumption tourism behaviour as searching for origins

Most of the time, the behavioural sciences consider consumption from different perspectives equally useful to understanding tourism motivation and behaviour. In this context, these could be classified from two different points of view (Thomae, 1988); on one hand the *homeostatic* (psychobiologic approach, psychoanalyse, behaviourism and existentialism –theory of necessity- where the motivation arises from the internal aspect); and on the other hand, the *cognitivist* (which argues the activation, the explorative behaviour and the competence).

With regards to the first one, the psychobiologic approach starts from the application of the evolutionary theories of psychology which consider a commercial stimulation as a biologic process of the filogenetic heritage. Such a biological-psychological "interface" implies the nervous system and the cerebral structure, so shaping those products or messages that stimulate us, concentrating our attention, memory and purchasing decisions.

The tourist attractivity and the decision to travel are the result of our biological structure and, in this sense, we could see the influence by preferring nomadism, the fresh and plentiful jungles (sell-service and all-inclusive) from where the primates departed with the climate change of Miocene, and which could been produced the original social change: the hominisation, that is, the searching of the filogenetic origin of these things which satisfy us because they answer our psychobiological needs.

Following these premises, tourism is satisfaction for men and women themselves, as it supposes a search for new environments, movements and physical and psychological well-being in discovery, change and relaxation. The motivation for the whole travel industry, and in particular for cultural tourism, recreates the humidity of the jungles, for instance nature tourism, ecological, sun and beach, adventure, etc.

From the psychoanalytic point of view, physical and psychical well-being is also the source of tourist attractivity, since it can be argued that in tourism behaviour, the beginning of pleasure could give preference to the beginning of reality, and then explaining the relaxation of principles and customs. The intrapsychical conflict described by psychoanalysis, will be kept in the holiday stage sorted out in the side of "it" or satisfaction of the instincts, against the norms (super "I"). The preference for the freshness, the encounter with the family, the day-off and the food provision without struggles, has absolute connection with the psychological well-being that produces to some extent a return to childhood.

The autorealisation, as the last necessity, leads us to the searching of the spirit through the production or recreation of cultural tourism, hence making more human the experience, and entering with it into the real essence of the man and the woman.

The conductism and the theory of reinforcement of Skinner consider that the behaviour is shaped by the answer generated by the human being in reaction to external stimuli, that is, the incentives or rewards which replies to the tourism activity as they are understood as an incentive relative to working life. So the tourist attractivity of a destination depends on how it is perceived as a grateful possibility: nice, pleasant, funny… a gratification for the senses (gastronomy, hotels, comfort), but also as the assessment that we make, for instance, of the cultural heritage, monuments, arts, considering as a "prize" its practice and grateful experience. The fact of being connecting with the past of humanity and cultural heritage, supposes a particular incentive which derives as much from our cultural background related to internal processes, as to the supply of cultural objects.

The *cognitive theories* developed since the 1950s, have paid attention to the influence of the mental processes needed for motivation. Berlyne (1960) focuses on the distinctive explorative behaviour of human being, as a consequence of curiosity and need to discoveri the world. In fact, the tourism motivation is related to the information processes which allow us to catch the attention, to have the knowledge of a fact, to perceive it as interesting, to keep it in the memory, to expose it… So, the thing is how such information finds out the dilemmas offered to us or the problems of each moment. Thus, tourist attractivity and behaviour will be found associated with the available information, its processing and how this can meet our interests.

The idea of the travel as a discovery and the conceptions about the past of the humanity, have been permanently linked with the early explorers, where the stimulation that the mythical notion of Paradise has exerted into the tourism companies, is as old as history. Therefore, the tourism industry has been formed since its origin around the need for adventure and factor of the social change. Nevertheless, this has produced advancement towards the future as humanity has considered to be anchored in its past.

The first travel known was the one of our parents Adam and Eve, when they were expelled from the Garden of Eden, marking a trace in the collective unconsciousness in its way for searching the eternity and the returning to the area near the "sacred", through the purification of the moving penitence. That is why pilgrimages and religious tourism could be considered as the prelude of modern tourism.

Columbus, for his discovering plan, used information sources as the History Rerum Ubique Questarum of pope Pio II, and the Imago Mundi of the French Cardinal Pierre D'Ailly, from where he extracted very precise references about biblical places located in the Far East, such as the Earthly Paradise, the Garden of Eden, Tarris and Ofir, the Kingdom of Saba, the Mounts of Sophona or the Amazon Islands, that Columbus situated in the different Indian areas representing this imprecise Far East. The spiritual dimension, both the travel and the renovation, as the collective experience that accompanies him as highly transformation experience, take part not only in the Catholic dimension, but also in other religions such as Islam or Buddhism. Even the Aitreya Brahamana said that "there is no happiness for the person that does not travel"

The metaphors used in the Sacred Texts and by theologians as Joaquin de Fiore to speak about the Paradise as a destination for the "right persons", means, even in the consumer society, that there is a close sky through earthly elements as exotic and luminous landscapes and the pleasure of the five senses (a nice meal at the park, good weather, freshness, relaxtion…). Indeed, these metaphors lead one to think about the leisure that the whole humanity has always yearned for; the aim pursued by the travels; and the way that humanity has put into practice by the formula of tourism.

Finally, from the perspective of the social psychology, it has been said that the influence of the group on the community is decisive in the behaviour of buying, but also in tourism, as beyond its symbolic and filogenetic content, tourism will continue to influence the life of contemporary persons to the extent that it is still considered socially relevant. Hence, far from the standardisation of mass tourism, the new supply fits in a segmentation of the market typical of the post-industrialisation, with products delivering "social distinction"(Bourdieu, 1998): more and more elitist, and discerning the searching of the origins of the humanity in all its extension, as well as the pioneer spirit of the first trips, such as the overnight in an igloo in the north of Finnish Lappland, routes on the pathways more exciting in Africa, Asia and Latin America, long-distance cruises to exotic islands managed by American tour operators *Space Island, Virgin Galactic y Space Adventures.* In this line, if it is finally carried out, Spain could become the European reference of the "submarine tourism", with a hotel in the coast of the Bahía de Palma de Mallorca built 20 metres below the level of the sea.

3. Conclusion

To sum up, it can be said that travel has been a factor for social change, just when a search for the origins of humanity has been aroused. Taking into consideration these requirements, cultural tourism not only presents an active searching of the past, but also contact with its significance through monuments, the arts, its spiritual dimension and its connection to other societies that share something in common and a space for intercultural communication.

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Chapter 6
Cultural Tourism in Italy. Multilevel Governance and Promotion of Community Cultural Identity

Anna Papa[1]

1. Introduction

In Italy, the relationships between cultural heritage and tourism can be considered "unfinished", although Italy is among those nations with the biggest number of monuments that can be visited and it is one of the top five tourism destinations in the world. Indeed, until recently there has been a lack of policy specifically related to "cultural tourism" and more in general to the enjoyment of the cultural goods. The scarce development of cultural tourism has been caused in the past by many factors. We mention two of them in particular.

a. Firstly, policy and as a consequence legislation have always preferred the preservation of goods, in the matter of cultural heritage, more than their exploitation. Furthermore, it's a legal matter that gets to the roots of a tradition of preservation of the real patrimony, which is strongly marked in the Italian people that has made possible the transmission of its important heritage of the past. However, the policy of protection has limited the right to the enjoyment of the cultural heritage. Many monuments were not (and are not) made accessible to the public for the fear of damage, in addition to the never solved problems of straits. On the conceptual level, the opinion that the enjoyment of art belongs to the "elite" has negatively weighed, for the bad concept that art was reserved only to those who were able to appreciate the beauty and the cultural value of a work of art. This philosophy has of course delayed the introduction of incentives to visit cultural monuments, like the extension of the opening hours of museums, monuments and archaeological sites, opening during the holidays, the setting up of

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book shops and cafeterias, and the presence of tourist guides or of audiovisual aids. Only in 1993 (L. 14 January 1993, n. 4) the introduction of additional services were promoted in the places of art, managed also by private people.

b. The second reason why the lack of a definition of a policy in the field of cultural tourism is related, on the contrary, to tourism itself. The latter has been for too long badly considered as a phenomenon bound to individual needs and not to flows that could be planned and boosted. This is of course a paradox, in a country like Italy that has always been destination of tourists, not only for sun and beach or for the presence of one or many monuments of historical, artistic and archaeological interest. Italy has been destination of tourists above all for that "continuum" that binds roads, buildings, cultural traditions and history of each town, all together. A "continuum" that has led to the definition of Italy as an "open-air museum" (Settis, 2002). Indeed, the cultural tourist wants to discover and know historical cities and their cultural sites. He also show an interest in landscapes, popular celebrations, gastronomy, typical folklore and other cultural representations such as concerts and artistic exhibitions (Dominguez S.-Valdez M., 2004).

During the last few years, many signals of changes on the legislative and organizational level can be recorded, thanks to different reasons, among which the most relevant is the willingness to underline the role of the cultural heritage as a symbol of cultural identity (Papa, 2006).

2. Cultural goods as a testimony of civilization

Cultural goods are defined as "a material testimony" carrying on the value of civilization, that's why they play an important role for the exploitation of cultural identities. They bring values belonging not only to their own community in a "res" (nature, object), moreover to those who are able to perceive their historical, artistic and archaeological importance.

So, there's the birth of a double notion of cultural goods. The former is universal and pre-law (Giannini, 1976). Indeed, sciences like history, aesthetics and architecture qualify goods as cultural ones. According to this first evaluation, law is alien. A work of art, in fact, can be universally considered as a cultural one, even if the government

of the country to which it belongs, doesn't recognize and protect it. These are only few examples.

Indeed, every nation has its own definition of cultural goods or at least its own list of categories of cultural res. In most of countries, furthermore, it doesn't matter the property of the cultural goods. All of them, private or public property, contribute to create the national cultural patrimony.

The legal notion of cultural goods is generally more reduced than the universal one and it varies according to every legal system, coherently with the fact that each population ascribes to its cultural patrimony a specific value and binds it to its own national traditions (Ainis, 1991; Marini, 2002).

Let's consider, for example, the case of the Afghan Buddha statues, carved in the rock, universally recognised as the World Cultural heritage, that were destroyed by the Taliban Government that considered them as the expression of a culture that the Government didn't accept.

3. Cultural heritage and community cultural identity

The recognition of cultural heritage as a testimony of civilization emphasizes the existence of a strong bond between works of art and the community where they had been produced.

Indeed, each small or big community reveals its inclination to express values, traditions, in other words, a common identity, transforming them into cultural goods, aiming at the definition of its own patrimony.

Each county has its own history and its monuments that describe it. According to this point of view, cultural goods are like instruments of identification of a community that won't be recognised only for its political, organizational, economic, social aspects, but also for its "culture" that it's able to express (Catelani-Cattaneo, 2002).

For this reason, every community chooses those cultural goods that best represent it and protects them, forbidding their destruction or export. It's for the same reason that it uses them to reveal its own cultural tradition to the other countries. There is no doubt, indeed, that the historical and artistic patrimony of a country is the main reason why many citizens from other nations come and visit it.

The bond between works of art, culture and identity, finds its own exploitation in a democratic system, which places the human person in the heart of its system. In democracy, indeed, a prefixed conception of culture or identity doesn't exist, because they are developing ones that arise from the personal progress of all the community members (Ainis, 1991).

This principle belongs to the Italian Constitution, too. Indeed, in the same way as democratic systems, also the Italian one, assumes culture as a value and includes among their basic principles the order that binds the Italian Republic to promote its development. Expressing this principle in the article 9 of the Constitution, culture has been given the role of characterising our Republic, with the task of undertaking, among its essential duties, the promotion, the development and the cultural raising of the Community (Giannini, 1976; Marini, 2002; Papa, 2006).

A dynamic process is so realized, thanks to which every individual grows up culturally, thanks to the socio-cultural context surrounding him and, in the same time, contributes to modify and develop it (Viola, 1999). This happens either in the local communities, when they are present, or in the national community. So, we can assert that in the nations with a pluralist structure, next to the cultural identities of the single and different groups that eventually live together, we find also an overall identity, able to adopt the features of a "national identity", that is, from some points of view, separated from that one of its own single component (Donders, 2002; Melegari, 2002).

4. The "national" feature of the historical-artistic patrimony as an element characterising the Italian legislation of the XX century

The assertion of the importance of the bond above mentioned, between cultural goods and the promotion of the identity of a community, leads to the question of what are its roots and to which historical memory we want to report.

In Italy, the tradition about this matter, that became popular after Unification (1860) emphasized as much as possible, the national projection of the historical-artistic patrimony of the country. The need to build a unitary Government that had been inexistent till then in every field (political, economic and cultural) has brought to emphasize the "national" sight as much as possible, often artfully built, of the common cultural patrimony, too. The choice of the national lawmaker, at the beginning of the XX century, was such a clear and conscious choice, because there

was the necessity to assert the still weak unity and the cultural identity, even if some decades had passed since unification (Pizzetti, 2005).

This statement has strongly conditioned all the following development of the sector of the cultural heritage. In the relationships among different territorial levels, it has brought about the firm belief that the State is the only owner of cultural heritage. In the relationships between public and private property of the works of art, it has led to the supremacy of the former, as the expression of a nation.

In the organizational field, it has mainly brought about the institution of Territorial Authorities interested to those themes and the opening of public museums fit to manage not only a wide cultural patrimony, but above all the fruit of the historical traditions that are often different, like those of the pre-unitary States.

But, the main consequence of this centralized direction of cultural heritage has been the levelling of the cultural interest expressed, considered by every body the national one. The advantage of this statement is of course the singling out of the elements of historical-cultural uniformity. Among the various parts of the country, the disadvantage is the missing recognition of the important relationship between the cultural goods and their context.

Considering the enjoyment of the cultural goods, the lack of a territorial diversification of the policy of exploitation has produced two classes of cultural goods. The former, composed of buildings and other properties, that expressed a national relevance, has been preferred by the state in the exploitation policy. The second class that expressed more local than national traditions, hasn't been rightly exploited, because of the "lack of concern" by the responsible subject (the State) and for the lack of the necessary instruments by those subjects which were interested from a cultural point of view [Regions (Districts) and local authorities].

The birth of such a problem and of those ones bound to it has provoked tension between national and regional authorities, giving evidence of the necessity to reconcile both the national interest to express one cultural patrimony and the interest of the other local authorities to exploit the cultural goods that better represent their history and traditions (Bilancia, 2005).

Furthermore, the increasing demand for culture, as it has been expressed by not only the citizens, but also by tourists, has brought about a reflection, first of all of the organization of the cultural offer – by the introduction of many support services to the visitors – and then the re-definition of the relationship between protection and exploitation.

The outcome has been the adoption, within a short period of time, of some reform acts related to cultural heritage. In the same time, the legislative discipline about tourism has been reformed.

5. The change of the Italian legislation in matter of tourism and the cultural heritage in the last decade

The change of the Italian legislation in matter of tourism and the cultural heritage involved both the Constitution and the formal legislation.

a. The tourism reform in the Italian Constitution in 2001 (Constitutional law 18 October 2001, n. 3) has awarded to the Regions the legislative competence and control. Nowadays, it is up to the Region the duty of drawing up a policy fit for their necessities. On a formal level, it doesn't represent a big change in comparison with the past time, because the actual constitutional text already gave the legislative jurisdiction about this matter to the Regions, even if in competition with the State. Practically, on the contrary, this change is meaningful because it lays the foundations for a drastic reduction of State assistance, that during these years has disciplined by law not only all the principles about this matter, but also the most specific aspects that concerned the Regions. Few months before the Constitutional reform, the State had approved a Law (L. 29 March 2001, n. 135) that now on is destined to be misapplied because of the competence of the Regions to make laws.

b. The real change is above all in the field of cultural goods. The Regions have now, indeed, the legislative power to bind tourist planning and exploitation of the cultural goods. As regards the latter, the Constitutional reform has modified the sector of competences between State and Regions. Until 2001, all the main competences about this matter belonged solely to the State. This was the consequence of a centralizing vision of the State organization and of the political will to establish the presence of only one cultural tradition in the Country. After the reform, the State preserves its exclusive competence about the matter of the protection of the cultural heritage, but the duty to regulate the exploitation is given to the Regions (Aicardi, 2002; Poggi, 2003). The latter will be able to choose which goods should be exploited and in what way. Just to make an example, the Region of Lazio, in 2001, has passed a law that protects its "historical clubs" (also cafés, restaurants, old shops) financing their preservation and opening them to the public.

As regards the legislation, in 2004 the State Legislator has modified the legislative policy of this sector, by approving the *Code of Cultural Heritage and Landscape* (Legislative Decree (D. Lgs.) 22 January 2004, n. 42), later modified and integrated in 2006 (D. Lgs. 24 March 2006, n. 156). This Code regulated the protection of the cultural goods in an exclusive way and fixed the main principles regarding the exploitation that the Region will have to respect.

Beside the specific aspects of this new topic, which we can't deal with here, it's important to underline that either the Constitutional reform or the ordinary law introduce a new principle for this sector. This principle is the devolution of the government levels qualified to "receive an interest" for the cultural heritage (Sciullo, 2001).

This political choice is based on different elements and it has some important consequences. First of all, it lets the carrying out of the principle of vertical subsidiarity that represents by now, not only a principle of the Community, but also a principle of the Italian roles system. Furthermore, on the sphere of the principles, it represents the acceptance, by the state, of the promotion legitimacy of the local identities and the recognition that these identities are not contrary to the national ones, but they fulfil them. Last but not least, in the organizational field it enacts the recognition of a bond between goods and territory that leads every local authority to promote the exploitation of the cultural goods present on the territory.

6. The increasing multicultural governance of cultural heritage

The reasons for leading the devolution of the policy and competences about tourism and cultural goods are various. Some of them seem to predominate over the others.

a. First of all, there is the State awareness of being not able to manage all the cultural patrimony of public property in a homogeneous way. The spreading of the cultural heritage of the overall national territory and the large number of categories it is composed of, need different policies taking different aims.

b. Secondly, we see the bearing of a trend that recognizes the cultural heritage as an economic good, too. The widespread presence on the overall national territory of goods, that represent half of the "World Cultural Heritage" as the UNESCO has pointed out, is more and more perceived as an economic resource to exploit. Being careful as well towards policies of "mise en valeur", an important value is recognized to culture by now regarding the choices of political economics,

considering the relapses that the actions in the cultural fields have on the economic development of a community.

c. Next to these two first reasons of actual interest towards the cultural heritage, there is a third one that is very important, of "identity" origin. The cultural goods are always more and more recognized as instruments of cultural improvement of a Community (learning by knowing) to give new definitions to topics like " cultural identity" and " civilization", that are living a deep crisis and perhaps for this reason they are subjects of great topical interest.

d. In particular, on the level of the relationship among peoples, in front of the growing phenomena of the international integration and inter-changes among cultures, the national cultural patrimony plays a role of witnessing the identity of a Country. But, in the same time, it's a model of the natural trend of cultures to meet and "contaminate" each other. Besides, on the internal level, each cultural moment represents a mean to recover the memory of the local history.

7. The present "internal" structure of the multilevel governance in the field of tourism and cultural heritage

In compliance with the regulations in force now in Italy, according to which there are no signals of changes in the short-medium period and with the present distribution of the competences, we can outline the actions of the different territorial authorities in the matter of cultural goods and more in general for the promotion of the cultural tourism as follows:

a) The local authorities (Town Council and Region Council) have no legislative competence in the matter of cultural goods and tourism. They can manage their own cultural goods and plan activities that boost the cultural tourism on their own territory. As already pointed out, an element of tourist interest is the bond between goods and territory with its cultural, local traditions. Latest inquiries about this matter show how the tourist-cultural impression that Italy gives of itself abroad is bound not only to the historical-artistic patrimony, but also to gastronomic and folk traditions. It is true not only for the big towns, but also and above all for the small centres that have by now since many years the legislation instruments to draw policies aiming at their needs. It's the case, for example, of the agreements with other territorial authorities or with private enterprises to manage services or promote activities. The exploitation of the cultural patrimony

has a double aim for the local authorities. Here is without doubt, indeed, an economic interest, bound to the will of promoting the territory development. But, besides that, there is a deep identity factor, linked to the will of promoting the cultural traditions and the history of so many Italian Town Councils (Papa, 2006).

b) Stronger powers in comparison with the local authorities are due to the Regions. According to what is foreseen by the Constitution and the ordinary legislation, these authorities have the responsibility to manage and increase the value of their own cultural goods. But, above all, they have got the power to make laws to promote the exploitation of the public and private cultural goods present on the Region territory. This legislative power must be asserted on the base of the principles established by the State Laws. The Regions have, furthermore, the exclusive legislative competence in the matter of tourism, for which they are obliged to observe only the Constitution. Joining the two competences (cultural goods and tourism) it's clear that the Regions are those that can better act in the matter of cultural tourism, drawing policies of boosting the actions out.

According to this, the awareness that it's necessary that the Regions don't manage in a direct way the cultural goods present on their own territory, but that they work out above all policies in the matter, whether making laws or entering into agreements with other public or private enterprises (Barbati, 2004). They can act by means of different tools: the approval of tourism developing plans; coordination of the different institutions - private and public - present on the territory; the financing of projects of development; promotion of the Region touristy image both in Italy and abroad. Unfortunately, while the town Councils are showing in the last years a great liveliness in the matter, the Regions don't seem to be still able to accomplish this role in an incisive way.

c) The role of the State in matter of cultural heritage and tourism has been reduced by the Constitution reform of 2001 and by the last legislative act in the matter. In the field of the legislation discipline of cultural goods, the State is no more the only body qualified to act in this matter. It preserves the exclusive competence in the matter of protection of the cultural heritage, but it can only fix the basic principles in matter of exploitation. Though it can establish the roles to manage its own cultural goods, as the Italian Constitutional Court has established. In the matter of tourism, the role of the State is more complex. It preserves, indeed, the competence to discipline the aspects of the private law in this matter (tourist

status, discipline of the contracts, etc.). It has no more legislative competence in the most relevant field of this discipline, such as advertising, from which the policies in this matter arise. As already said, this competence belongs to the Regions. Though, actually, we can't say that the State has given up to act in the matter. For example, we can remember the latest Reform of the National Authority for Tourism (ENIT), which is a State authority entrusted with the duty of coordinating the actions in the matter of tourism promotion. The authority in particular is entrusted to exploit cultural tourism.

The State's will to preserve a central role in the sector of the cultural heritage and tourism has internal and international reasons.

On the internal level, the State shows a deep will to set itself up as a factor of synthesis of the cultural pluralism that belongs to Italy like the majority of Western democracies. We can say, indeed, that in these States there are two identity levels. The first one is that of the identity of each territorial reality present in it. The second one is that of the State identity that takes on the features of the national identity and emphasizes the common features of the community.

On the international level, the role of the State is relevant as well. Its function of protection aims at avoiding not only the damage, but also the illegal getting out of the cultural goods from the national territory. As it is well known, while Countries like Italy, Greece, Spain have a legislation aiming at avoiding the getting out of their own cultural goods from the national territory, other Countries have a more liberal position towards the international flow of the cultural goods. So, the role of the State is the protection. The Italian State, indeed, has always affirmed the will to consider its cultural heritage as its own "private possession" by comparison with the other Countries and as the testimony of its identity. So, it plays its role of safeguard of the National Cultural Patrimony.

8. The international and European part of the multilevel governance in matters of cultural heritage

The common position of the States to consider their own cultural heritage as a "private possession" hasn't prevented an increasing International and European interest in cultural heritage.

The international community, in particular, thanks to UNESCO, is interested above all in the protection of the cultural goods: in case of war, but also to contrast the

international illegal trade. The main reason that is on the basis of the international law, as regards this matter and the others, is the prevention of struggles among the States. There is, furthermore, in this specific case, the will to safeguard the national cultural patrimonies or those belonging to native minorities. There is no will, on the contrary, in the international community to point out in different cultural patrimonies some factors of universal identity. The same identification of some goods as "mankind goods" aims at the preservation of these moments in respect to the State supreme authorities more than to the creation of an ideal world cultural patrimony.

Very different, is, instead, the reason for the rising care of the E.U towards the cultural goods. The Union has, indeed, reached the awareness of the necessity to create an "idem sentire" (the same perception) of all the citizens in the Community, arising from not only economic reasons, but also from feelings of common origin. It is so trying to find common cultural values, based on past testimonies, on which we can base the principle of "unity in diversity" that represents the principle on which the Union wishes to base itself in the future (Luther, 2004; Fantin, 2005).

Formerly, the EU has avoided to interference in the matter of cultural goods, also when it was its duty. Indeed, the prohibitions established by many States against the getting out of their territory of their cultural goods can be considered as a breach to the principle of free flow. But, above all, in past times, the EU has let the principle of "private possession" predominate and let the State's right safeguard its own cultural patrimony.

Within the last decade, the situation has been changing.

For some years, the EU has been trying to take care of tourism and promotion of cultural patrimony. As far as tourism, its actions are still very restricted, because the Union can't finance this sector for which no competence is foreseen in the Treaty. It can also make indirect actions.

In the sector of the cultural heritage the case is different. Some laws of the Community discipline the flow of cultural goods inside the EU They complete the national laws, but they fix some limits, too. Furthermore, in these laws, we can see the rise of the attempt to make a first definition of "European Cultural Patrimony". Indeed, the Community legislation doesn't protect the cultural patrimony of the member States in their entirety, but it distinguishes some categories of goods it means to protect. This represent a first step towards the definition of the idea of "European Cultural Patrimony" that doesn't represent only the sum of each State,

but chooses the cultural goods that witness moments of common life in the European History. The European Commission and the Council of the EU seem to take this way up. In their policy in the cultural matter is indeed evident the will to reach the definition of a European cultural dimension, that is in the same time, culture of the "differences" and of the "homogeneities". The birth of a European cultural identity can't indeed be based on the homology of different national cultures. On the contrary, it should be based just on the recognition of the existing differences among the cultures of different European peoples. But, it's important to promote the knowledge of these cultures and of their main expression: the cultural goods. The knowledge of the tokens containing the value of civilization produced by each country that form the Union contribute of course to the common perception of the common elements that characterize the different European Civilizations.

In this field, the role of the Union can become decisive when it will be able to finance not only activities of protection, but also forms of knowledge and enjoyment of the patrimony of each European State by the citizens of the Community.

Actually, the body of legislation of the Community doesn't refer to the enjoyment of the works of art, but some decisions of the Court of Justice of the European Communities have settled that all the advantages foreseen for each State to promote the admittance to the cultural heritage should be applied for all the citizens of the Community. For example, those advantages for the access to museums to the national citizens or the residents over or below a certain age have been considered by the Court of Justice as (economic) discriminations and the states involved have had to spread them out to all the citizens of the Community (Capuano, 2003). The outcomes of these decisions by the Court of Justice are important because of the reached results. Indeed, every form of facilitation in the enjoyment of the cultural goods by the citizens of the Community contributes to the spread of the knowledge of each national culture. And this is as already mentioned, a first step towards the creation of a European culture.

Neverthless the reference of the Court of Justice to the breach of the free flow of services grants the economic aspect of the problem, setting the enjoyment of the cultural heritage in the field of the economy rights. On the contrary, more properly in each State, the enjoyment of a work of art is a cultural right, bound to the citizenship. According to the point of view of the birth of an ideal European cultural patrimony and of its homogeneous enjoyment by all the European citizens, a reference to the Court of Justice would have been more suitable for the European citizenship than to the free flow of services.

On the other hand, in its decisions, the Court makes reference to the tourist of the Community and not to the tourists in general and this still more emphasizes how the enjoyment of the works of art on the European Territory is already bound nowadays not to the free flow – that the Court more and more extends to people outside the Union, but to the European citizenship.

9. A short conclusion

The attention that in the latest years as been paid towards the cultural heritage and in particular to the enjoyment of the works of art has many reasons. As already underlined, there is of course an economic factor. But besides, there is also the will to exploit the presence of different cultural identities, whether inside each State or inside the European Union.

The cultural goods represent an important item in the process of exploitation of the cultural identity, because they are "res" able to express values.

Through the cultural heritage, the citizens have the opportunity to know their own history, their traditions and culture. For the citizens of the Community, tourism is on the contrary important to develop social and civil values and to promote the European integration and the dialogue between people and civilizations. The development of the European identity can't leave a deeper knowledge of the countries aside, not even their cultural traditions and the differences that form the European mosaic. Furthermore, the cultural tourism is very important also for the relationships with the extra-community citizens. The knowledge of cultural patrimony becomes an instrument of knowledge of a different culture for those tourists coming from these countries. In a moment like the actual one, where the multicultural society lives a period of deep difficulty, also cultural tourism can carry on an important role to promote the knowledge and the dialogue among cultures. So the necessity to develop policies in this matter rises from the will of the States that wish to democratically open themselves to the knowledge of their cultural tradition. This involves, just to make some examples, a widening of resources, the planning and promotion of the sector of tourism, the exploitation of the cultural goods by the organization of enterprises related to them, the development of the small centres rich in works of art, through the creation of networks, the widening of services useful for the visitors, whether inside the monuments or more in general in tourist areas. Besides, this asks for a strong cooperation, outside the competences foreseen

by law, either among the territorial authorities or between the public and private sectors.

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PART 2:

Cultural Tourism and (In)Material Cultural Heritage

Chapter 7
The Role of Cultural Routes in the Identity of Tourist Destinations: A Prospective of the Romanic Route of Sousa Valley – North of Portugal

Joana Neves[1] **e José Sirgado**[2]

1. Cultural routes and Territorial Identity

The thematic routes as a way of structuring the cultural touring have been acquiring a greater importance on the development of some tourist destinations in Europe and around the world (Neves e Sirgado, 2006; Richards, 1996; Bonink and Richards, 1995). This development is broadly due to the recognition that a growing number of tourists prefer an independent travel experience (Hardy, 2003) and an offer "à la carte", especially within post-tourist's field of vision (Urry, 1990). Local communities and players also recognise that tourism can be a real economic alternative to the relative decline of traditional sectors and that it contributes to well-being and quality of life of local people. On the other hand, Thematic Routes, connecting with different attraction focus, tourism motivations and interests, have an influence on destination identity matrix and positioning, as well as it stimulates cooperation and partnerships between local communities and border regions (Briendenhann and Wieckens, 2004).

The topic about territorial identity has been producing a wide body of bibliography, depending from the perspective of each author. For example, according to Foudin (1994), the identity effort is mainly based on the passage from the cultural to the economic, through the support of social actors, once the reality of each territory is socially shaped. In other words, the work of media and destination communication strategies gives to the society certain images that shape destination identity. Paillart

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(1993) postulates that regional identity is based on territory unity and coherence, producing a notion of proximity. Charle (1980) states that criteria used to frame a regional identity are connected with peculiarities and regional issues or with some pieces of its history and cultural traditions, functioning to raise and to maintain a regional belong feeling. According to Schlesinger (1990), identity is built in an active way, what means that identity is neither landscape nor territory traditions alone, but rather result from the decision and from the projects carried out by local and regional players. Hence, territorial identity is framed in an active and dynamic way (Draï, 1991) and it is also a result from the interrelationship between other geographical spaces or peculiar identity products. On the other hand, we must take into account the perceived psychological components (perceptual/cognitive and affective) which are a valuable contribution to the formation of destination's image (Baloglu and McCleary, 1999; Lubbe, 1998; Echtner and Ritchie, 1993). Thus, considering a likely indivisibility of factors that contributes to the formation of a territory corporate's identity (Melewar, 2002), the Romanesque Route of Sousa Valley (RRSV) performance, its relationship with local people and visitors and its dynamic of action, are all parts of a single concept – identity. Corporate identity is thus built up from physical, functional, socio-psychological characteristics, which are closely interrelated (Olins, 1989; Topalian, 1984).

The purpose of this study is to identify the perspective of Sousa Valley players in what refers to the change of this region's identity supported by the dynamism of RRSV. Specifically, we want to identify the structural dimensions of tourism's identity of Sousa Valley, their components and, at the same time, to identify the impacts that RRSV may has on tourism development, as well as on its identity.

2. The Romanesque Route of Sousa Valley

The RRSV is a project promoted by the Commission of Coordination and Development of the North of Portugal (CCDRN) since the 1990s, with the purpose of valuing the RRSV, in what refers to culture and tourism. The model developed to RRSV is based on an offer "à la carte" to different potential publics that should enjoy it, being expected different levels of relationship between tourists, Romanesque heritage and the territory. We identify the relevant factors of Sousa Valley tourism's identity and potential relationships that the Romanesque Route predicts. These factors take into account three models that differentiate this route formed by 21 Romanesque monuments:

(i)   the general model with 16 monuments;

(ii) the extended model, aggregating the total of the 21 selected Romanesque monuments and others supplementary attractiveness focus.

(iii) the specialized model, based on 8 Romanic monuments, which should constitute the driving force to RRSV tourism and cultural enjoyment.

3. Objectives of the Study

The objective of the here present paper is to know the perceived tourism identity of Sousa Valley region by local players and to understand the role that RRSV can has on the tourism development of this territory, as well as on likely changes of actual identity. Specifically, this paper seeks to answer the following questions:

- Which are the structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity that contribute to its attractiveness?

- Which are the specific components that identify Sousa Valley region as a tourism destination?

- Which are the impacts that RRSV should have on tourism development of this territory and on its own identity?

4. Methodology

Sample: the research population (N= 128) is composed of Sousa Valley local players like tourism companies, tourism regions, mayors, students of MBA courses, ecclesiastical entities, hoteliers and local and regional agencies of development. This is a convenience sample formed from an exploratory panel of 36 validate respondents, through interviews by a query.

Research instrument: the query has five sections, namely: (1) respondents identification; (2) structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity; (3) specific components of Sousa Valley identity; (4) holistic image of Sousa Valley as a tourism destination; (5) impacts of Romanesque Route of Sousa Valley on the territory.

Construct measurement: the construct "structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity" was evaluated using a Likert-type ten-point scale (1=unimportant, 10=extremely important), including 8 items: means of transport and accessibilities, territory geographical and physical characteristics, cities, traditional villages and other

places, tourism supply, building cultural heritage, cultural traditions, food and wine, events and famous figures of Sousa Valley history and culture.

The construct "specific components of Sousa Valley identity" was evaluated using a Likert-type ten-point scale (1=strongly disagree, 10=strongly agree), including 13 items: health, events and animation and wine tourism, furniture and shoes industry, agriculture, Citânia de Sanfins and Castro do Monte Mozinho (Roman castle), Romanesque heritage, sanctuaries and other sacred places, manor houses and farmhouses, famous figures of Sousa Valley history and culture, religious popular traditions, typical gastronomy and handcraft and typical products.

The construct "holistic image of Sousa Valley as a tourism destination" was evaluated using descriptive statistics based on two additional approaches: evaluation of overall impression of Sousa Valley region as a tourism destination, using a Likert-type ten-point scale (1= very good, 10=very bad) and identification of relevant Sousa Valley tourism identity elements, through a synthesis grid as a result of a maximum of three open questions.

The construct "impacts of Romanesque Route of Sousa Valley on the territory" was also evaluated through a synthesis grid, based on positive and negative aspects identified by respondents.

4.1 Analysis of Results

The results are arranged in four axis: (i) respondents identification; (ii) MCA – Main Component Analysis to reduce complexity of data; (iii) Cronbach's Alpha to check factor consistency; and (iv) analysis of frequencies variables to identify and to interpret main occurrence of answers about the constructs "holistic image of Sousa Valley as a tourism destination" and "impacts of Romanesque Route of Sousa Valley on the territory".

(i) <u>respondents identification</u>

Most respondents (44,5%) are MBA students in Sousa Valley region. 22,2% of the respondents work in town councils and have functions in tourism departments, 11,1% work in regional agencies of development, 11,1% work in Rural Tourism, 5,6% work in Tourism Regions and 5,5% are hoteliers. Concerning places of residence, 33,3% comes from Penafiel, 22,2% from Felgueiras, 13,9% from Lousada, 11,1% from

Paredes, 8,3% from Paços de Ferreira, 5,6% from Braga, 2,8% from Aveiro and 2,8% from Castelo de Paiva.

(ii) "structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity"

The value obtained from KMO=0,780 and the Bartlett test resulted in a value of TB=139,009 and in a null associated significance level. We identify two main components that explain 70,1% of variance. The first main component accounts for 51,4% of the explained variance and the second main component accounts for 18,7%. Both main components show values above 1. The existence of these two main components was confirmed by varimax rotation, which converged in three iterations. Table 1 presents the component analysis factor loadings and communalities.

Table 1: Structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity

Component analysis	Variables	Load.	Communalities
1. Culture and tourism supply	Cultural traditions	0,908	0,843
	Gastronomy and wines	0,891	0,798
	Events and famous figures	0,669	0,549
	Building cultural heritage	0,635	0,664
	Tourism supply	0,592	0,566
2. Geographic character and infrastructures	Physical and geographical characteristics	0,892	0,806
	Cities, traditional villages and other places	0,841	0,769
	Means of transport and accessibilities	0,746	0,571

The "Culture and tourism supply" main component, formed by five variables, is considered by respondents to be the most important. This highlights the importance of cultural traditions, gastronomy and wines, as well as events and famous figures, building cultural heritage and tourism supply. These results clearly show the important role of attraction components of Sousa Valley cultural heritage, confirming Foudin's perspective (1994). This author states that a strong effort has been made to identity tourism destinations and to value their cultural heritage economically. On the other hand, gastronomy and wines be acquiring a considerable importance on destination identity, on the level of daily life, as well as valuing the experiences offered to tourists and visitors (Hall and Mitchell, 2006).

The "Geographic character and infrastructures" main component has three variables, what shows the importance that physical and landscape picture, main urban centres, traditional villages, road and rail accessibilities have on constructed image of this

territory. These results confirm the actual validated knowledge about the importance that geographic factors – physical and human – have on cultural destinations tourism identity, as Lozato-Giotart (2003) refers. Road and rail transport are also essential elements of travel and tourism (Graham, 2006).

After this, we applied Cronbach's Alpha Test to all variables of this construct (α= 0,8477), as well as to each main component (α_{mc1}= 0,8229 e α_{mc2}= 0,7928).

iii) specific components of Sousa Valley identity

The value obtained from KMO=0,735 and the Bartlett test resulted in a value of TB=217,178 and in a null associated significance level. We identify four main components that explain 73,0% of variance. The first main component accounts for 37,3% of the explained variance, the first two main components account for 53,2% and the first three main components account for 64,0%. All main components show own values above 1. The existence of these four main components was confirmed by varimax rotation, which converged in six iterations. Table 2 presents the component analysis factor loadings and communalities of this construct.

Table 2: Specific components of Sousa Valley identity

Component analysis	Variables	Load.	Communalities
1. Furniture and shoes industry and agriculture	Shoes and furniture industry	0,910	0,838
	Agriculture	0,783	0,765
2. Attraction products of health, wines and animation	SV is identified by health tourism	0,845	0,724
	SV is identified by wines	0,694	0,775
	SV is identified by events and animation tourism	0,622	0,534
3. Traditions and Manor and farm houses	SV is identified by religious and popular traditions	0,831	0,784
	SV is identified by typical gastronomy	0,826	0,743
	SV is identified by handcrafts and typical products	0,759	0,756
	SV is identified by manor houses and farmhouses	0,722	0,689
	SV is identified by famous figures of Sousa Valley history and culture	0,620	0,656
4. Building Heritage	SV is identified by Citânia de Sanfins and Castro do Monte Mozinho	0,830	0,754
	SV is identified by Romanesque heritage	0,799	0,706
	SV is identified by sanctuaries and other sacred places	0,653	0,779

The "Furniture and shoes industry and agriculture" main component is formed by two variables, being considered by respondents to be the most relevant. It is obvious

the role that these activities have on Sousa Valley identity, which constitutes the main driving force to pull visitants to this region, usually joined to business tourism and professional activities.

The "Attraction products of health, wines and animation" main component, with three variables, corresponds to tourism products: health, wines tourism and events and animation tourism. This main component shows the relevance that the development of tourism products supply has on actual identity of this destination.

The "Traditions and manor houses and farmhouses" main component is formed by five variables, namely religious and popular traditions, typical gastronomy, handcrafts and typical products, manor houses and farmhouses and famous figures of Sousa Valley history and culture. These results reinforce the relevance of cultural heritage components to the identity of this tourism destination, especially if we take into consideration the results obtained from the "Structural dimensions of Sousa Valley tourism identity" construct (main component 1).

The main component "Building heritage", is formed by three variables: Citânia de Sanfins and Castro do Monte Mozinho, Romanesque heritage and sanctuaries and other sacred places. The results reveal a clear relationship with the emergence and the recent development of cultural tourism in Sousa Valley, for which the implementation of RRSV, taking place actually, constitutes indisputable evidence as a determinant potential.

Therefore, the results of this construct show that more important than the attributed role to economic activities of Sousa Valley matrix identity, should be to value the cultural resources of this destination that through the Romanesque Route will certainly contribute to its sustainability as a cultural tourism destination. Several authors refer that is strategically relevant to value new spaces and cultural values on tourism destinations, from which can arise positive impacts to their identity imaginary (Sigala e Leslie, 2005; Richards, 1996; Bonink and Richards, 1995; Schlesinger, 1990).

The results obtained from the Cronbach's Alpha Test α=0,8334 (total of variables) and α=0,7711 (component 1), α=0,6653 (component 2), α=0,8539 (component 3) and α=0,7759 (component 4).

iv) holistic image of Sousa Valley as a tourism destination

The overall image of Sousa Valley as a tourism destination, evaluated using a Likert-type ten-point scale (1=very bad, 10=very good) is globally medium, once the most expressive frequencies of the given answers are situated on the 6 and the 7 classes of this scale, representing 52,8% of the total of the answers. Even though this general image, it was also possible to identify four structuring axes on the tourist image formation of Sousa Valley, underlining the previous importance given in the context of the constructs 1 and 2, namely:

− Natural and landscape heritage (referred by 44,7% of the respondents)

− Romanesque heritage (referred by 66,6% of the of the respondents)

− Gastronomy (referred by 27,7% of the respondents)

− Other architectural heritage (referred by 27,7% of the respondents)

These results may seem to contribute to the consolidation of the idea that the cultural heritage components are extremely important to the image construction of this tourism destination, once they are linked to the tendencies recently studied by the mentioned authors in what refers to the cultural tourism development. On the other hand, we can conclude that the development of RRSV will give an important contribute to the reinforcement of tourist identity of this destination, once it gives evidence at Romanesque heritage and other complementary monuments.

(v) RRSV potential impact on the territory

This construct is constituted by a total of five axes that refers to the potential benefits that RRSV development can generate on this tourist destination:

− Economic development (referred by 47,2% of the respondents)

− Increase of tourism attraction potential (referred by 33,3% of the respondents)

− Reinforcement of Sousa Valley notoriety (referred by 30,5% of the respondents)

− Cultural, social and civic development (referred by 27,7% of the respondents)

− Recovery and valuing heritage (referred y 22,2% of the respondents)

The reference to eventual negative impacts made by RRSV has little importance on identified factors and also on the frequency of answers, what reflects the respondents' knowledge of a new cultural product that will contribute to the sustained development of this region.

5. Conclusions

The study of Sousa Valley tourism identity – structural components and specificity components – and of the potential changes that the development of Romanesque Route will cause, revealed some important results based on the data gathered through a panel of 36 respondents in July 2006. In what refers to the three analytical goals proposed, we could reach some relevant scientific results, such as:

– From the eight identity dimensions that were studied, the cultural and geographical dimensions, as well as those related to tourist offer are the ones that structure the tourist identity of Sousa Valley. In what refers to cultural dimensions we have to point out the cultural traditions, the gastronomy and the building cultural heritage; the most important geographical dimensions are the physical components and the landscape, the main urban centres and traditional villages. These results reveal a heterogeneous tourism destination on its identity, where the cultural elements and the territory are essential.

– The analysis of identity specificities indicated four important groups of elements that reveal a certain internal coherency, once they are linked to very important components of Sousa Valley, letting us understand that:

- The shoe and furniture industries, as well as the agriculture are the main productive activities on this territory;

- The cultural traditions – popular, religious, typical gastronomy, handcrafts and typical local products – the manor houses, farmshouses and wine tourism give, essentially, a rural dimension to this tourist destination;

- From the building heritage we can detach three specific elements: the Romanesque heritage, Citânia de Sanfins and Castro do Monte Mozinho. The first one makes part of the development of the Thematic Route and the following elements are relevant landmarks on the identity of this tourist destination, because they receive visitants regularly, they have an interpretation centre and offer guided tours to groups;

- The health, event, animation and cultural tourism are the most popular tourism and leisure products.

– The most expressive results obtained on the two constructs were reinforced by the analysis of the overall image of Sousa Valley as a tourist destination. We identified four identity and structuring axes:

- Natural heritage

- Romanesque heritage

- Traditional gastronomy

- Elements of building heritage

– Finally we identified different positive impacts of RRSV on the economic, social and cultural development of Sousa Valley and it is possible to understand that the implementation of this Thematic Route will bring the reinforcement of the Romanesque heritage identity to this destination, as it will generate the valuing of some complementary effects to RRVS, specially the gastronomy, cultural traditions and other patrimonial focus.

This exploratory research has shown that Sousa Valley has an identity structure relatively complex that links different specific and relevant components, what could be related to the low level of structuring that tourism has today. We can observe this fact by the modest supply of tourist services and products or by the weak generation of tourism fluxes in this region.

In fact, the development of RRSV is a project with relevant potential of cultural tourism development on this destination what will obviously valuing the cultural heritage – specially the Romanesque – in what refers to Sousa Valley identity as a tourist destination.

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Chapter 8
Tourism Activities in a Natural Park in the North of Portugal: The Importance of a Guide with a Tourism Background

Fátima Selas and Domingos Lopes[1]

1   Introduction

Thinking actually in tourism activities inside natural protected areas and sustainable development, means that something has moved in recent years in the consciences and also in the scientific background. These changes have occurred mainly in all civil society, but were also absorbed by the economic agents and particularly by the Institutions and State Departments, dealing with these subjects.

During a long past period, tourism was considered as a "clean industry" thus, with no negative impacts, in a cultural, ecological and social perspective.

After the 1970s some denouncing voices, alerting for the negative effect of tourism activities, started to appear.

In the end of the 1980s the concept of sustainable development merged with tourism activity started to be considered as a useful instrument, which could promote the development of local populations and also the conservation of nature.

This research is related with this merging, and more specifically is focusing on the analysis of tourism activities and its importance, and also if tourists are open to merge recreational activities with environmental educational activities and environmental preservation perspectives.

This way, the present paper presents the preliminary results of a study undertaken in Alvão Natural Park. The main goals are to characterise the profile of visitors and additionally to understand the relevance of a guide with a scientific background to

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point them. For the first goal some official statistics were analysed and for the second one an inquiry was done during summer period and its results were analysed. This direct inquiry is still occurring thus the present results are really preliminary but can, anyway, give some important clues for tourism investigators and managers of this natural Park. Besides that conclusions can help and be extrapolated for other preserved areas, mainly in the interior of Portugal with similar characteristics of PNA.

2   Alvão Natural Park

Alvão Natural Park (PNA) is located in the north of Portugal, in the province of Trás-os-Montes e Alto Douro, in the Vila Real district (0). The Park is within the mountain range of Alvão and Marão, mainly on Alvão Mountain, but also includes part of the intermediate and undefined zone between these two mountains.

The total Park covers an area of 7220 hectares, which mainly coincides with the top of the basin of the Ôlo River, a tributary of the Tâmega River.

Until the moment were inventoried and reported about 486 plant species, being 25 Iberian endemism, 6 Lusitanian endemism and 23 possess in a conservation statute.

In terms of fauna, actually are inventoried about 200 species: 117 (58%) are in annex II of the Bern Convention; 44 (22%) are integrating the list of species threatened of the Red Book of the Portuguese Vertebrates; and 10 (5%) are Iberian endemism.
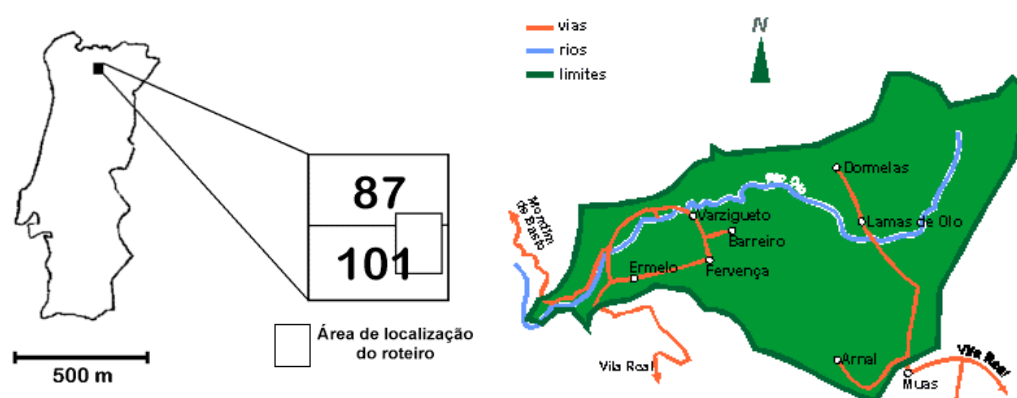
Figure 1 Location of Alvão Natural Park

Objectives of the PNA

In line with worldwide conservation objectives, the Park intends to maintain ecological processes, preserve genetic biodiversity and protect species and ecosystems upon which they depend.

The Park intends to promote:

- The conservation of the natural heritage and ecological balance;

- The conservation and development of traditional cultural values;

- The improvement of the welfare for the resident population as regards environmental quality, economic improvement and improved generic living conditions;

- The environmental education;

- The scientific research;

- Tourism consistent with other sustainable objectives, such as farm tourism, organised visits, handicraft industries and sport within nature.

This protected area is located in the interior of Portugal and covers a area smaller than other protected areas although, but possesses a number of peculiar potentialities and resources, which amplifies its potential for tourism activities and environmental educational activities. Among a vast number of peculiarities, the most relevant are the following ones:

- Its strategically geographic position

- Its natural landscape

- Its nature (geology, fauna and flora)

- Its cultural patrimonial

- Its traditional parties, called in Portugal the "Padroeiro"

- Its regional products and handicrafts are important complements of the tourism activities

- The competition of a local species of cattle (the Maronesa – the name comes from Marão, the name of the highest mountain from this region)

- Its animation services and activities offered by interpretation musicological centres, and guide visit services, and nature sports, which can stimulate tourism activities

3   Background

Sustainable Development and Ecotourism

In the fifties and sixties started the alerts and ecologist movements focusing on environmental problems because of the pollution effects, which have conducted into a devastation of extensive zones, mainly on tropical forests. The ONU Stockholm conferences on "Human Environment", carried out in 1972, have chosen the Environment as a reference in the politics of all countries. In 1993, the European Community has published the Program "In Direction into a Sustainable Development", which reports the main instruments and goals to integrate environmental politics and economy, agriculture, industry, energy, transports and tourism.

The World-wide Organisation of Tourism (OMT, 1995) declares that "sustainable development is to improve the quality of life human being, while it is still inside the load capacity of support of ecosystems

According to Tsaur *et al.* (2006), Ecotourism is usually considered to be more than just nature-based tourism. The World Conservation Union's (IUCN) Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas defined it as "environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features-both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor negative impacts and provides benefits for local populations".

Blamey (2000) affirms that Ecotourism is based on nature and presents the following dimensions:

- Education and Interpretation
- Based in the Nature
- Sustainable Directed
- Small Groups personalised

4   Methodology

This study is based either on data supplied by the PNA director's office (official statistics), mainly related with the number of visitors and their nationality, and as well based on inquiries made specifically for this research. This way, 31 surveys had been filled by tourists who were visiting PNA, mainly in Lamas d'Olo and Fisgas de Ermelo. These are two typical villages inside the PNA and are two of the most important places for visiting. The surveys were collected during August 2006, a period with less affluence of foreigners, thus, was not possible to survey foreign visitors. Anyway the number of surveys is still too small. However, the analysis of these data was still considered relevant.

5   Results

Figure 2 describes the evolution of the number of visitors across 2004 and 2005, based on statistics from the PNA. From its analysis we can concluded that the most important fluxes occur between March and June, with differences between the two analysed years. In 2004 the maximum values occurred in March while in 2005 was in May. Generally in 2005 more people have visited the PNA
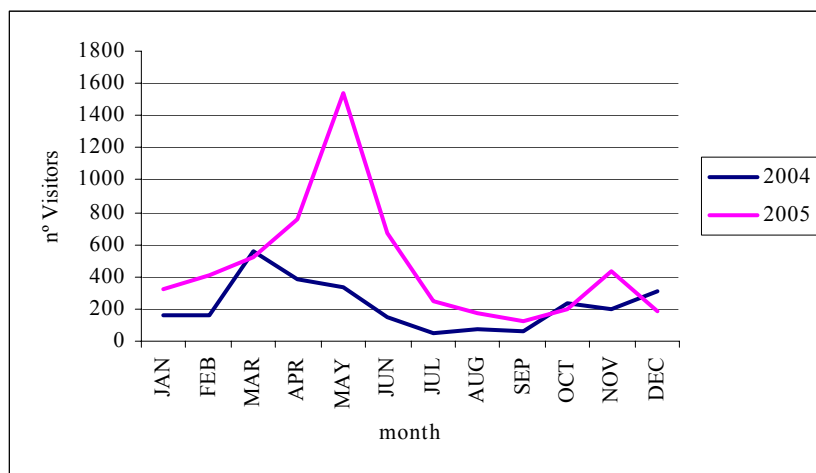
Figure 2 Evolution of the number of visitors during the year

Figure 3 analyses the nationality of visitors and from its analysis we can conclude that almost of them are Portuguese. Spain, UK and German are the European countries with more visitors. Once again these data were obtained from official data given by the PNA director office.
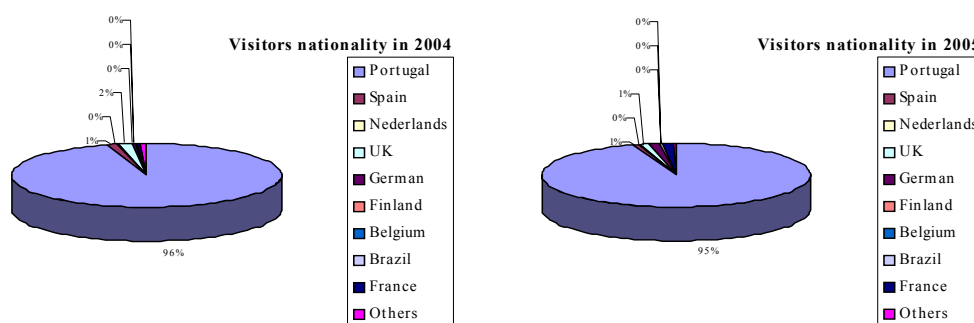
Figure 3 Visitor nationality

In terms of age and from figure 4, we can observe that this park is mainly visited by young people with a majority between 21 and the 30 years old. Only a small group is more than 60 years old. This information was already obtained from the analysis of inquiries done specifically for this research.
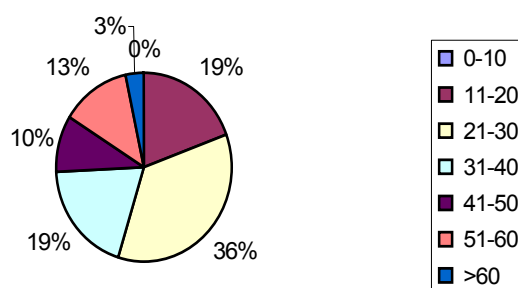
Figure 4 Visitors by age group

When analysing the academic background of PNA visitors, from figure 5, we can conclude that the majority only have the academic background that Portuguese government considers as minimal and compulsory (9th year). There are no visitors without any academic background but only a few are or were at university level.
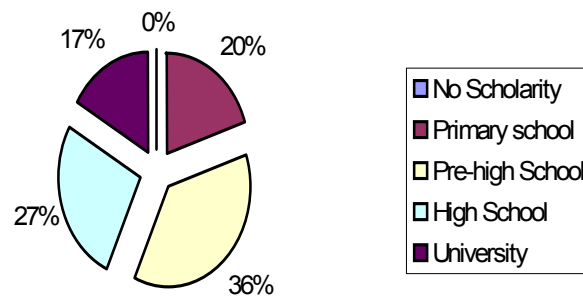
Figure 5 Visitors' academic background

Starting the answers directly related with the PNA, half of the visitors consider that in general the PNA could be better preserved (Figure 6). The other half of visitors is divided between a good preservation and a bad one, the "well preserved" responses being double those who disagree.
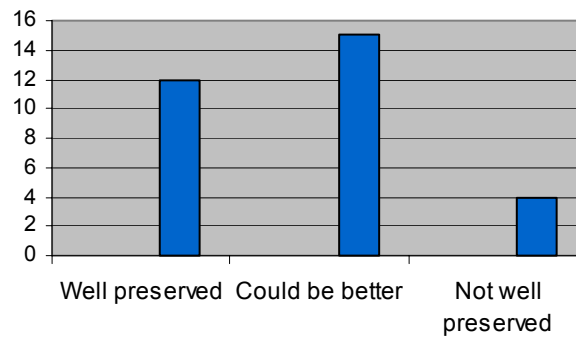
Figure 6 Visitors' opinion about the preservation status of PNA

Figure 7 shows clearly that, being inside a protected area, visitors have in mind that they must take special cares with their conduct and move across the area. This result shows that visitors can understand the importance of natural resources preservation.
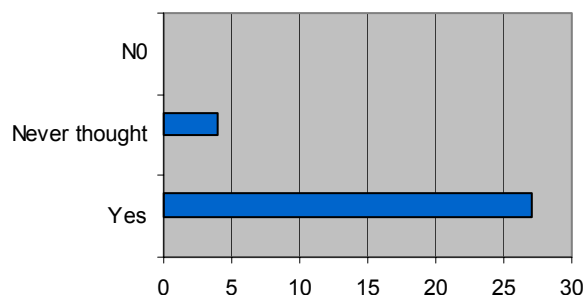
Figure 7 Need of special cares because visitors are inside a natural park

When trying to understand what kind of behaviour is expected from visitors, we can conclude that a great number of them understand the importance of take with them the produced litter. A considerable percentage also understand the need to take care with the fire to cook and not to go collecting plants and animals. Finally, a substantial number of visitors also considers as important to preserve the privacy of the PNA inhabitants. Curiously, there are two aspects only a few numbers of visitors do not take care: to respect the tracks when walking and to make little noise not to bother the animals.
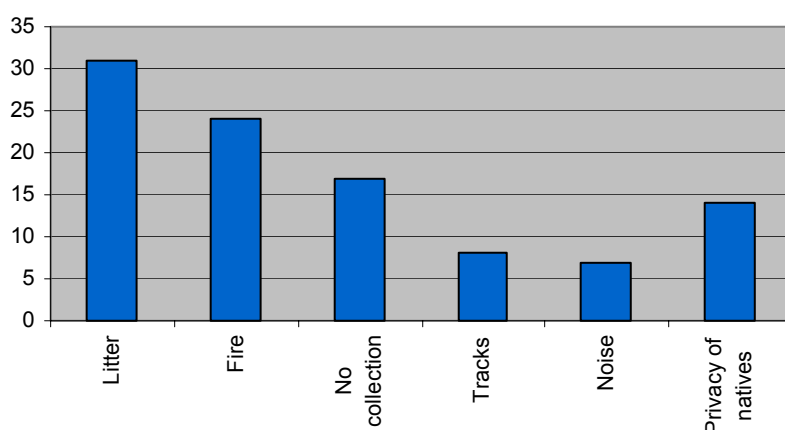
Figure 8 Important aspects of visitor behaviour

From figure 9, we can see that almost all visitors would prefer to visit PNA followed by a guide. This guide should explain the specificities of this protected area and at the same time she should teach about nature and ecology subjects (Figure 10). Visitors of

this natural park are available for increasing their scientific knowledge and, this way, merging tourism with educational skills.
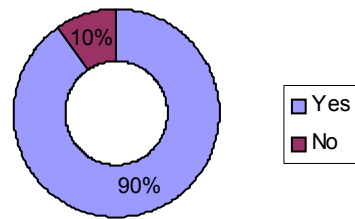
Figure 9 Visitors' opinion about having a guide with a scientific background
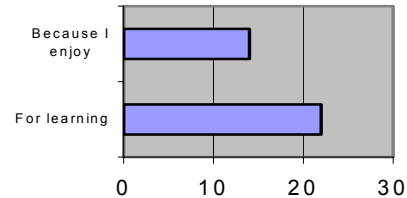
Figure 10 The reason why the guide is important

According to the inquired sample, the most important characteristics of this guide would be their scientific background, their knowledge in terms of tourism background and their efficiency doing their job (Figure 11). Not unsurprisingly, the delicacy was also considered important by a significant number of inquiries.
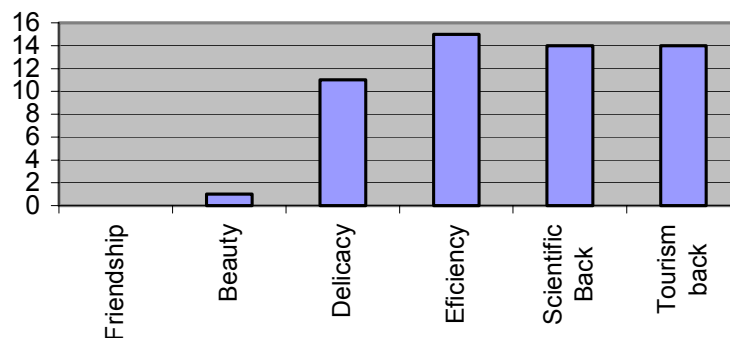
Figure 11 The most important characteristics of the guide

6   Final comments and conclusions

Analysing the available official data, we could detect a relevant increase in the number of visitors in PNA, almost duplicating between 2004 for 2005. With period of the year with the biggest fluxes occur between March and June, with the maximum peak of 2004 in March and of 2005 in May. The months with fewer figures

occur between July and September. In the remaining months the search levels do not oscillate significantly.

The visitors who visit this protected area are mainly Portuguese (96% in 2004 and 95% in 2005). The foreigners are normally European, even so also have some from other continents.

From the analysis of the direct inquiries and from the characterization of PNA visitors, we could concluded that visitors are mainly young people and only a small percentage is more than 60 years old. In terms of scholar background, we observed that the majority has only the basic level (but in Portugal unfortunately in general there is still low scholar background, and obviously governments are till trying to reverse this situation).

When analysing visitors' point of view in terms of PNA preservation, a significant percentage on the inquiries indicated that PNA could be better preserved. Even so, this was no unanimous and the idea that it is well and bad preserved are still detected (with the good opinions presenting a slightly percentage than the bad ones). These results could be related with the increasing importance that nature and its preservation have for humanity. This can be true if have present that when asking if there is a need for special cares when visiting or developing activities inside a protected area, almost 100% answered affirmatively. Later when enquired what kind of cares, 100% answered that not to leave litter in the area and a considerable percentage said to have care with the fire when cooking and also not collecting plants.

It was also concluded that only a few know the protected species in this natural park and do not know many general details about this area. This way they would prefer to be followed by a guide, during their visit. This guide would give them more generic information about the park and scientific information about nature and ecology. The elected guides' characteristics by the inquiries were: efficiency, scientific and tourist knowledge and delicacy.

As a summary, we can conclude that the tourists care about the conservation of this natural park and care about keep it clean and well preserved. On the other hand, they have curiosity in knowing more about this area and nature in general, where a tourism guide could be very helpful.

Every topic reported during this paper is related with sustainable tourism, ecoturism and tourism in nature. These can only become true instruments of sustainable local

development, if all responsible and intervenient will acquire a fully conscience of the principles and goals that must guide the sustainable use of our natural and cultural resources. In this new approach of development, it is also indispensable the establishment of partnerships between the local populations, development local agents, tourism operators, the experts in conservation and the valuation of the natural and cultural patrimony.

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PART 3:

Cultural Tourism, Images and Identities

Chapter 9
From Content to Content, the Cultural Biography of Maastricht on the Internet

Marjan Melkert[1]

Maastricht: cultural as well as border city

Until the 1960s Maastricht could be characterized as a sleeping beauty in many ways. The population lived an 'inner directed' life and only had the Maastricht ceramics industries for international trade contacts. Tourism had developed on a larger scale in the small neighboring town of *Valkenburg aan de Geulle*. Maastricht had been advertised emphasizing its Burgundian lifestyle, but -until then- that had not had the rich and flamboyant ring it has today. A whole range of changes started in the 1970s. The founding of the Maastricht University and consequently the settling of different European and international institutes opened the city to Europe and the world. The restoration of the *Stokstraat* district from rags to riches and the installation of a pedestrian area marked the start of the enormous physical changes the ancient heart of the city has seen. One should also mention the restoration of major monuments like the tower of the St. Johns church and the Saint Servatius Basilica, the *Spaans-Gouvernement* --a Renaissance building, turned into a museum-- and the *Generaalshuis*, a small city palace, which became the Theatre at the *Vrijthof*.

It has been researched what those changes have brought to Maastricht, as a cultural and tourist city, and the conclusions have been presented in a city marketing report from the Dutch bureau of Berenschot in 2005[2]. A small selection of some of the strong dimensions of the city may demonstrate that it has a lot in store for the cultural tourist. Maastricht offers top level music and dance festivals with e.g. Musica Sacra on the one hand and the Dutch Dance Days on the other. Furthermore,

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[1] E-mail: mmelkert@planet.nl.

[2] Berenschot: Gehrels, C.; Munster, O. van; Duyvesteyn, B. and Knotter, L.(Utrecht 25 februari 2005) "De Europese Belofte, Merk- en Reputatiemanagement Maastricht". Appendix 4.

TEFAF (The European Fine Art Fair) is a major art event that attracts exhibitors and visitors from all over the world. There are various theatre companies, an opera company (Opera Zuid) and a symphony orchestra in the city. 'The Vincent', a biannual European art prize is awarded in the field of contemporary art. The Centre Céramique, the public library, offers a vast range of (cultural) activities. The Kruisheren hotel and Hotel Bergère offer design accommodation as members of 'Design hotels of the world'. The ancient streets, a small labyrinth on its own, got dotted with diverse quality shops resulting in Maastricht becoming more fondly known as 'Best shopping town in the Netherlands'.

Maastricht is not only a cultural, but also a border city. It is surrounded for almost two thirds by borders at just three kilometers from the city center. These borders are from two regions in Belgium: Flanders and Wallonia. At thirty kilometers from Maastricht you can find the border with the German Bundesland North Rhine-Westphalia. Therefore there are some major foreign cities near Maastricht: Liège, Hasselt, Bad Aachen and Cologne. Besides, the Ruhr area is nearby. Brussels, the capital of Belgium, lies at an hour's driving distance. If you compare this to the distance to other Dutch (tourist) cities of importance - Utrecht a two hours drive, Amsterdam and Rotterdam two and a half, The Hague three - it becomes clear that Maastricht is not so much a Dutch town but in essence a really international European border town.

This situation of Maastricht as a border town can be underlined by a short glance at its (military) past when the borders were redefined many times making the city at times Spanish, French and Dutch. The last two centuries have seen the emergence of the Belgian and German border on national, and the Flemish and Wallonian border on regional scales. Maastricht, however, remained Dutch.

The the regional inhabitants awareness of the special nature of their region has emerged since the 1958 publication of the book "*Land zonder grens*", (Country without border). This book by the Walloon author Jean Lejeune explains in three languages in one cover, that the importance of the region originates from Carolingian times. Under the reign of Carolus Magnus it was the cultural, economic and social heartland of Europe. It was undivided and this notion has taken over the heads and hearts of the locals ever since the book appeared. Informal cross border contacts have always been frequent and led to cross-border marriages as well as moves. But acknowledgement of the fact that at one time it was undivided, has led to more formal contacts as well. The formation of a partnership called the Euregio (Euroregion) Meuse-Rhine is one of the most important of them all. The partners are

Flanders and Wallonia in Belgium, North Rhine Westphalia in Germany and the province of Limburg in the Netherlands.

The 'cultural biography' as an innovative cultural tourism medium.

The IDZO concept of 'cultural biography'.

In the 1990s attention was drawn to the many layers of memory that are to be found when 'reading' landscapes.[3] A question arose as to how these layers can be rendered legible. The concept of the 'cultural biography' is one of the answers. It has been developed in the Netherlands by the Identiteitsfabriek Zuid Oost (IDZO), the Identity Factory Southeast. This project, in the region around the Dutch Town of Eindhoven, is focused on the construction of a 'cultural infrastructure' that should make the landscape, its history and ethnology easy to 'read'.

A 'cultural biography' defined by IDZO, is the whole set of traces that people, who lived and worked in a certain region, have left behind. These traces can come in many forms: memorials, monuments, archeology, objects in private collections or public museums, contemporary art, stories, customs, rituals and (land) marks in the landscape. But the region is no more than a repository of fragments because not all traces are preserved and many are distorted. Therefore it is difficult to 'read' the traces and, consequently, strategies have to be developed to make them legible. These strategies can range from traditional ways of heritage education to the newest technologies with the use of Internet, GPS (Global Positioning System) and palm-tops.

When offering material for a mindscape, IDZO does not work from the supply side to make the traces available, but from the demand side. Information of all sorts is gathered digitally and arranged under metaphors that cluster bits of information that can be related to each other. By means of a GPS or Palmtop it is made available at any time and any place. Locals and visitors find their own way through the collection of fragments, virtual and real, weaving their own web, confronting the traces every time in a different way and therefore making new connections. There are no safe-stories but a lot of surprising possibilities for a contemporary interpretation of the past. The IDZO philosophy has been applied in diverse disciplines; education,

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[3] Simon Schama's "*Landscape and Memory*" (1995) is one of the first important studies that describes the relation of man to the surrounding landscape, that drew great attention to this theme.

museums, tourism and leisure, meeting the need for quality of the modern cultural traveler. "What is the visitor looking for? He or she wants a highly flexible product, which can be personalized to his or her own standard or needs. Furthermore a high quality level has to be guaranteed: leisure time is quality time".[4]

The Maastricht vision of the 'cultural biography'

In Maastricht, a true treasure-trove for history lovers, the notion of 'cultural biography' has been chosen to present its cultural heritage in a new way. "With aid of modern, technologically advanced image, communication and storytelling techniques, the 'cultural biography' of Maastricht should make one imagine what has happened to people in Maastricht during the last two millennia."[5] The 'cultural biography' of Maastricht is based on a contemporary interpretation of the culture and history of the city by means of objects, texts, images, buildings etc. These are presented as the traces that people have left in their environment. It should foster the consciousness of, and the will to attach a meaning to the culture and history of Maastricht.

The content of the 'cultural biography' of Maastricht has the following three functions.

- Antiquarian: the nostalgic experience of the past.

- Critical: fostering an analytical and critical attitude.

- Monumental: inspiring visions for the present.

The content should invite people to attach a meaning to what is presented. Therefore it has to meet certain criteria.

- Positioning the stories well in their historical context is the first one.

- Confronting them with the present through reflection on the past is the second criteria.

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[4] Rooijakkers, Gerard. " *Identity Factory Southeast, Towards a Flexible Cultural Leisure Infrastructure.*" In: Dodd, D. and Hemel, van A. (eds.). (1999) *Planning Cultural Tourism in Europe. A Presentation of Theories and Cases.* Amsterdam. Page 105.

[5] The Maastricht vision of a 'cultural biography' is described in a policy document of the community of Maastricht, Department of Culture, January 2005.

Additional to these demands there is an oral history project: people from Maastricht give meaning to the traces. Finally: reflection by means of art.[6] Most of these criteria and how they can be met are being further developed further while the project is in progress.

The 'cultural biography' of Maastricht is divided into two projects: a website and a pilot project of the organization of all sorts of events that are linked to the cultural heritage of Maastricht. The digital 'cultural biography', the website, visualizes the many layers of the biography of the city by means of themes and subjects that are related to four identities of the city: 'the Roman City', 'the Religious City', 'the Fortified City' and 'the Industrial City'. The website should also feature unexpected places within the city and all these items have to be regarded all from different points of view. In the short run the construction of the website is urgent. It should present information and objects from public and private collections, reflecting the city's collective memory. It should also lure people to visit the places in the city that are linked to the various stories that are connected to it. There should be virtual walks through the town. The website should also tell tales that link facts and events with buildings and that also add images, literary texts and oral history as well. Finally links to heritage institutions should disclose their collections, digitally and real, to the public as well.

The pilot project is to be regarded as a period of four years in which it will be possible to experiment with different forms of cooperation, between culture and heritage institutions in Maastricht, in organizing events for a program. Each year there will be a special theme for the program of events, which will also serve as basis for several items in the website. This year the theme is "Sphinx, place of memory" to commemorate the departure of the "Sphinx" ceramics industry from the center of this town, after 170 years.

Later on it should be possible to experiment with up-to-date reflections that may be offered by art disciplines. In the long run a multidisciplinary event should be organized, once every four years, which should take place throughout the city. A cultural history information point should be constructed either in an existing building or in a new pavilion. This visitors meeting point should be transformed into a 'virtual lab' or 'permanent cross roads of information'.

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[6] Unfortunately, this idea is not explained any further in the policy document.

Culture as a product and culture as a process

The 'cultural biography' itself is a product. It is the product of a group activity to which certain interpretations are attached. But 'cultural biography' itself is much more about culture as a process: the process with which people make sense of themselves and their lives. [7] The 'cultural biography' deals with the traces of a region starting from culture as a product and moving into the direction of culture as a process. The same can apply to the cultural tourist. The tourist comes for the product --say the 'cultural biography' of Maastricht-- and then finally he finds himself in the process of attaching meaning to the culture and history of the place.

High culture and low culture

The 'sites and monuments' approach of cultural tourism research, that is very useful for quantitative research, restricts the analysis on specific sites and tends to regard culture as 'high culture'.[8] Firstly, the 'cultural biography' can include far more elements of the cultural heritage such as 'collections, private and public', especially archives, as it does not have to take into account whether these places are interesting to the tourists market or not. Secondly: the 'cultural biography' is not only about the 'high' but also about the 'low' culture. You can find Roman religious sculpture and a Roman soldiers shoe side by side.

The 'cultural biography' of IDZO and Maastricht compared to the typology of cultural tourism resources

The content of the 'cultural biography' of IDZO and Maastricht is rendered in an unstructured way. When comparing the items that make up the content of the 'cultural biography' of IDZO and of Maastricht to the typology of cultural tourism resources, it becomes clear that the 'cultural biographies' cover the complete range. It also underpins that Maastricht is the treasure-trove that it is claimed to be.

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[7] Richards, G. (1996 ed.) *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. CAB International, Wallingford. Page 22.

[8] Richards, G. (1996 ed.) *Cultural Tourism in Europe*. CAB International, Wallingford. Page 23.

General typology of cultural tourism resources [9]	IDZO	Cultural biography Maastricht
1. Attractions		
a. monuments		
Religious buildings	+	+
Public buildings	+	+
Historic buildings	+	+
Castles and palaces	+	+
Parks and gardens	+	+
Defences	+	+
Archeological sites	+	+
Industrial-archeological buildings	+	+
b. Museums [10]		
Folklore museum	+	-
Art museums	+	+
c. Routes[11]		
Cultural-historic routes	-	+ Pilot
Art routes	-	+ Pilot
d. Theme parks[12]		
Cultural-historic parks	+	-
Archaeological parks	+	-
Architecture parks	+	-
2. Events		
a. Cultural historic events		
Religious festivals	+	+ Pilot
Secular festivals	+	+ Pilot
Folk festivals	+	+ Pilot
b. Art events		
Art exhibitions	+	+ Pilot
Art festivals	+	+ Pilot
c. Events and attractions		
Open Monument Days	+	+ Pilot

Items with '+' are included in the 'cultural biography'.

Items with '+ Pilot' are included in the pilot project when they match the chosen theme.

Items with '–' are not included in the 'cultural biography'.

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[9] Munsters, W. "Cultural Tourism in Belgium." In: Richards, G. (1996, ed.) *Cultural Tourism in Europe.* CABI, Wallingford. Page 81.

[10] N.B. Maastricht has no folklore museum.

[11] N.B. The IDZO 'cultural biography' does not include routes but enables people to make their own tour. The 'cultural biography' of Maastricht pilot project offers routes that match the chosen theme.

[12] N.B. Maastricht has no theme parks.

The international dimension of the four identities of Maastricht

As mentioned above, the website constructed to represent Maastricht is designed around four identities. As you may remember these are 'the Roman City', 'the Religious City', 'the Fortified City' and 'the Industrial City'. The proximity of borders is not chosen as one of these identities. Although these identities do not point directly at the borders that surround the city, it may be said in defense that this does not matter because it is indirectly indicated by means of their contents. This relationship shall be explained in the following exemples:

Roman city. Maastricht was an unimportant town on the road from Bavay in France via Tongres in Belgium to Cologne in Germany. A bridge was constructed across the river the Maas, which gave Maastricht its name: Mosae Trajectum. When the town became fortified, it lay in the first line of defense behind the Limes, the Rhine border defense of the Roman Empire. It became slightly more important when the Limes declined in function.

Religious city. Servatius, the first bishop of Maastricht, originally came from Armenia. He traveled through Rome northwards and moved the bishop seat from Tongres in Belgium to Maastricht. Later the seat was moved again, this time from Maastricht to Liège in Belgium. The shrine of the saint attracted many pilgrims, that traveling via Bad Aachen to Cologne to worship at the shrine of the Three Magi in Germany[13]. Maastricht was also one of the cities to be visited on the pilgrims road to Santiago. Pilgrimages fostered trade and trade fostered international contacts. [14]

Fortified City. The High Middle age's and Renaissance period bring Maastricht in the heart of many wars. This had phsychological and material effects. The local population developed an inner directed attitude, as a result of seeing too many foreign masters in three centuries. The fortifications didn't just only lock the enemy out but also the citizen within the city walls. Roads to other regions were underdeveloped to hinder the transportation of troops. The river was too shallow

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[13] In the framework of the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project 2004, Ankie Hoefnagels, member of the Center of Expertise for Cultural Tourism of Zuyd University, has carried out a survey among the visitors of the Heilidomsvaart, the pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Servatius, patron saint of Maastricht, which takes place once every seven years.

[14] Henric van Veldeke, the poet that translated the Latin 'Legend of Saint Servatius' into common speech between 1170 and 1183, speaks of contacts as far as Denmark and Hungary. The Scoense Verderen, a guild of shippers between 1200 and 1400 A.D., fared as far as South Sweden: the island of Skåne.

and no works were undertaken to allow transport there either. This identity opposed to regional, national and international contacts of Maastricht.

Industrial City. The industrialists in the nineteenth century insisted with the authorities that the city should be opened up again. Time was on their side. In 1867 the city was removed from the list of fortified places and its city walls were demolished. Roads got paved, the river was canalized for transport and extra waterways were dug. Later tramways and railways were constructed too. Maastricht became increasingly better linked to nearby and far away towns than ever before.

If some identities have been elected to represent Maastricht, other identities have temporarily been put aside. Two of those identities are the 'Border city' and the 'European city'. This omission is often and strongly resented and regretted by members of the local organization of the society that researches the history of the province of Limburg: the '*Kring Maastricht*' of the '*Limburgs Geschied- en Oudheidkundig Genootschap*'. It is possible that these identities will evolve, in their own right, in the future. What is more, in 2007 'Europe and Maastricht' will be the theme of the mix of events of the pilot project of the 'cultural biography'.

The shift to a more international approach of the 'cultural biography' appears also from the fact that the budget for the near future should reserve money for versions in three other languages: French, German and English. Firstly, the texts of the multi-media items should be translated, both in spoken and in written form. Then the spoken texts, to be made available on mobile phones should be presented in the other languages too. Last, the larger body of texts in the 'deeper' layers should be translated.

The 'cultural biography' of Maastricht and the development of the cultural tourism market

It is interesting to compare the construction of the 'cultural biography' with the results of the last ATLAS cultural tourism survey (2004) to see if and how supply and demand match.

Geographical coverage

According to the ATLAS cultural tourism survey (2004): "The survey results show that more than 70% of respondents at the cultural attractions were tourists, the

majority coming from abroad (41,9%) with the major origin of countries being France, Germany, Spain, Holland, UK, USA and Italy. Almost 30% of respondents were domestic tourists and over 28% of respondents lived in the area where the surveys were held." [15]

The domestic market together with visitors, from the area, account for more than 50% of the visitors, so these two groups are very important for most cultural tourism attractions. The website of the 'cultural biography of Maastricht is built in Dutch: people from Maastricht (local), the Netherlands (domestic) and Flanders (local) can understand its contents. Thus the website covers the whole of the domestic and part of the local area market. The translation in French and German will enormously increase the reach of the website in the Euregional area. It will also reach people from farther away in France and Germany. Translation into English will be more important mainly for tourists from continental Europe, the UK and the USA. So with translation into the three last-mentioned languages the foreign markets will be covered as well.

The web site should generally address the public at large. Easy accessibility of the items on the website is therefore of utmost importance. The items should lead the visitor into the deeper layers in which information becomes more intricate, more difficult to grasp.

Age and digital information

Older people tend to have a greater interest in history than younger people. The fact that the bulk of information in the website is about the history of Maastricht, suits this group very well. The multi-layered website also matches as the items are easy to enter, but they give access to 'deeper' layers in which more texts are presented on the subject. These texts should satisfy the demand for more information that also tends to be of a more complicated nature. The younger tourists are a very important segment of the total audience and they are to be the repeat visitors. The use of Internet as a medium matches this group well and the design of the items such as multi-media and intricate-flash presentations only emphasizes this. The 'top' multi-media layers will be presented in an entertaining way about the 'what' and 'where' of things and the deeper layers shall be more about the 'how' and especially about the 'why'.

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[15] Richards, G. and Queirós, C. (2005) ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project, 2004 survey report. ATLAS, Barcelona. Page 7.

Cultural attraction supply

According to the ATLAS website: "The 'traditional' attractions, such as museums, galleries and monuments are still the most important sites visited by tourists. (…) However, there is evidence of a trend towards greater dispersion of visitors among different cultural attraction types in the destination, and in particular a shift from 'heritage' attractions towards 'arts' attractions. The figures for 2001 show museums having no growth in the proportion of visitors since 1997 and monuments losing share. On the other hand art galleries, performing arts attractions and festivals have all increased their share of visitors in recent years.[16]

Cultural tourists are often looking for a mixture of culture, entertainment and relaxation, not just traditional 'high' culture products. The fact that the contents part in the website is attached to physical traces in the city suits this information nicely. The items start from these traces: monuments, historic buildings or sites and objects in museums and collections. They can be seen virtually on the website and for real in the city, with information on the 'cultural biography' on Ipod or mobile phone. The pilot project with the events matches well too because it presents a mix in which performing artists, musicians and people from art and heritage centers come together to organize events around the chosen theme.

Information sources

According to the ATLAS cultural tourism survey (2004): " The data on information sources and booking channels show that Internet is still more important as an information search medium for most tourists". [17] According to the ATLAS website: " The Internet is rapidly becoming a major factor, already being consulted by 17% of tourists in 2002, the same proportion as those using tour operator brochures and more than tourist board information (14%)." [18] The choice to construct a website for the 'cultural biography' in order to inform visitors, matches again with trends and tendencies in the cultural tourism market.

The researchers who develop the concept of the 'cultural biography' and the builders of 'cultural biographies' are mainly (cultural) historians. Their discipline is

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[16] ATLAS website.

[17] Richards, G. and Queirós, C. (2005) ATLAS Cultural Tourism Research Project, 2004 survey report. ATLAS, Barcelona. Page 13.

[18] ATLAS website.

History and not Cultural Tourism. They are aware of trends and tendencies in cultural tourism but they are product, and not market, oriented. The need to build bridges between the world of cultural tourism research and the people that produce for the cultural tourist market is felt here yet again. In practice the product may still match the market either because the historians will be cultural tourist when traveling, or because they themselves are organizers of cultural tours and city-trips. They are the content managers choosing those items that will appeal to the cultural tourist, because they have the same interests. Hopefully, the Dutch proverb "*de soep wordt niet zo heet gegeten als zij wordt opgedient*", things are not as bad as they seem, may apply here.

Conclusion

Maastricht has a lot to offer for cultural tourists. If we match the plans for the 'cultural biography' of Maastricht with the results of ATLAS cultural tourism surveys, we see that the cultural biography should be attractive for cultural tourists as well. The website is a medium that may prove to be useful to lure them to visit Maastricht. And even though the builders of the cultural biography, are no experts in the field of cultural tourism marketing and management, the results of their work matches the demands of the postmodern cultural tourists.

In order to underpin the above statements, a survey, of the visitors of the 'cultural biography' and website of Maastricht, will be necessary. This can clarify whether the 'cultural biography' is really successful as an information medium, for cultural tourism. How the gap between the product oriented historians and market oriented researchers of cultural tourism can be bridged has to be carefully considered too.

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Chapter 10
An Assessment of the Image of Madrid by Contemporary Cultural Tourists

Javier de Esteban Curiel[1]

1. Introduction

Cultural tourism, one of the fastest-growing industries in Europe, plays an important role in urban image creation processes, providing a major rationale for the aesthicisation of city landscapes, as well as in shaping the urban environment to meet the needs of visitors and residents. Its growing share in the tourism market currently and in the immediate future has become aware experts in a need for information on the motivations and images of cultural tourists. In fact, understanding the behaviour and the gaze of this type of tourist is a starting point required for the management, marketing or planning of the tourism industry and tourism policy in order to improve the quality experience of the visitor in an urban environment. In this sense, the main purpose of this research is to investigate the motivation, socio-demographic profile, consumption patterns and image, held by tourists visiting contemporary cultural attractions in Madrid.

In terms of defining the concept of cultural tourism, there exists a wide range of activities from traditional to innovative that are now considered to be part of this growth phenomenon. This diversity demonstrates the complexity of cultural tourism product. In fact, this multi-disciplinary subject covers not just the consumption of the cultural products of the past, such as archaeological sites, but also of contemporary culture, such as fashion and design museums. In this context, Richards (2001) states that "cultural tourism can be seen as covering 'heritage tourism' (related to artefacts of the past), 'arts tourism' (related to contemplation and contemporary cultural

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production) and 'creative industries' (related to participation and contemporary cultural production)". On this point, this research takes this definition as the conceptual framework and it focuses basically on the analysis of visitor's characteristics drawn mainly by contemporary culture. Paraphrasing Baudelaire (1846), this research seeks to consider the idea of *'be of your time'*. Indeed, it seems more relevant to analyse contemporary cultural tourism as the tourists can reflect and interact with the culture's own time (and often place).

2. Research Aim and Objectives

This research will investigate the motivation, image, socio-demographic profile opinions and consumption patterns of contemporary cultural tourists visiting Madrid City Hence, some objectives that must be achieved to fulfil the research aim are:

–   To examine the different consumption patterns of residents, national and international visitors with respect to contemporary cultural tourism in Madrid.

–   To compile a profile of tourists visiting contemporary cultural products as a condition to explain the different range of images of Madrid as a destination.

–   To explore the use of tourism intermediaries and suppliers (tour operators, travel agent suppliers) by contemporary cultural tourists and their influence on the perception of the city of Madrid.

–   To understand the images of contemporary cultural tourists visiting the urban space of Madrid, including the importance of city image in the decision process.

3. The Inner Circle and the Outer Circle of Cultural Tourism

Richards (2001) states that "cultural tourism can be seen as covering 'heritage tourism' (related to artefacts of the past), 'arts tourism' (related to contemplation and contemporary cultural production) and 'creative industries' (related to participation and contemporary cultural production)". In this sense, Figure I illustrates how the concept of culture is defined for this study, according to the definition proposed by Richards. Culture is separated into an inner and outer circle. The inner circle represents the traditional culture, the old elements of culture representing the past in cultural terms. The outer circle represents the new elements, namely the contemporary culture and the way of life or lifestyles of a place or region. Above all, the outer circle is object of research for this dissertation.
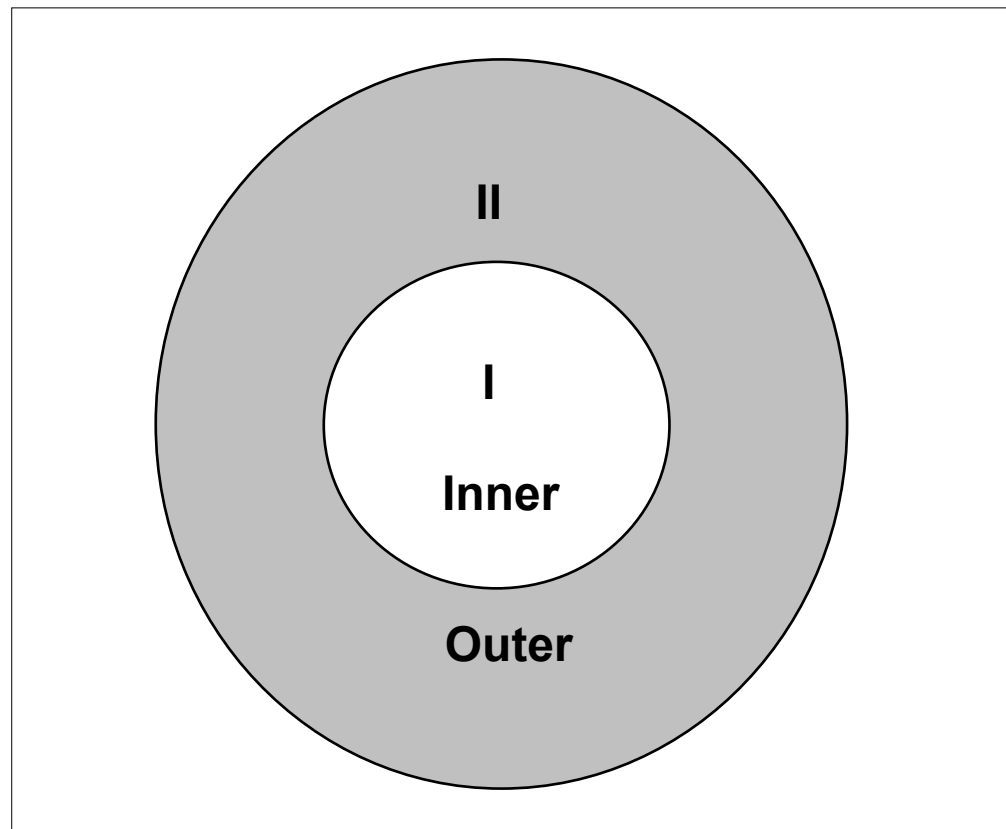
Figure 1 The inner and the outer circle of cultural tourism

i. The inner circle represents the traditional elements of cultural tourism, namely *heritage tourism* (cultural heritage related to artefacts of the past).

ii. The outer circle represents the new elements of cultural tourism which can be divided into two aspects, namely *contemporary culture or arts* (such as design museum, electronic music concert, graffiti, etc) and *lifestyle or creative industries* (elements such as beliefs, cuisine, traditions, folklore, etc.)

In many places the inner and the outer circles are increasingly converging and from the point of view of the cultural tourist they form often an inextricable whole. Florida (2002) shows how in cities, traditional culture and the contemporary culture increasingly influence and depend upon each other, and 'creative centres provide the integrated eco-system or habitat where all forms of creativity- artistic and cultural,

technological and economic- can take route and flourish' in order to provide more advantages than disadvantages.

4. Images and Implications for the Cultural Tourism Experience

The starting point of this analysis is the relationship between cultural tourism and the images of the city. The icons, the architecture, the itineraries, the people, the gastronomy, the customs and traditions, the names and the scenic spaces of the city of Madrid are evaluated by cultural tourists. The study of the subjects visiting Madrid City, and their gaze of the cultural artefacts are the central dimensions of this research. As a consequence of the intellectual focus concede to the experience, the sensorial basis of the perception and enjoyment of the city (sight, hearing, smell, and touch) play a major role on this paper.

In this sense, the cultural tourism system adapts itself to the visitors and leads them to the needs of the market. Following Molina (1991), who states that "the tourists are the 'raw materials' that generate utilities and neither them nor the local residents benefit integrally from this 'industrial' model, which establishes scenarios, material and immaterial, starting off to a limited experience and knowledge".

In this design, representations lack the capacity for creating authentic experiences (MacCannell, 1976), and show few activities that could be freely chosen and performed according to a intrinsic motivation. However, [cultural] tourism turns up as a powerful option of expanding the points of view (the gaze of Urry, 1990), as well as the environmental awareness, and to compare effectively the different realities that strengthen globalisation and homogeneity. Cultural tourists must consume visually the environment visited, picking up the images that are aesthetically constructed according to the classic beauty norms and the expectations extracted from the potential cultural tourist. Hence, the daily life is decorated with behaviour guidelines, emotions, and colours that transfigure and convert it into a form of being, into a landscape, manufactured in order to create economic benefit (Santana, 2003).

To illustrate that, the author has considered the following concept proposed by Santana (2003) to complement the conceptual framework of Richards (2001) for this research. In particular Santana designs two main subsystems, one static the other dynamic, where the tourism images are made-up (see Figure 2). He considers that any area or territory contains, generally, a set of physical, social and cultural

elements capable of being promoted-activated as suitable resources to attract tourists. Six different kind of images are taken into consideration by Santana:

1. *The self image*: formed by the residents of themselves and the spaces-territories where they coexist and develop their main daily activities.

2. *The image built for selling*: is traced by the interests of the institutions and business companies of the area, and very few by the residents.

3. *The promoted image*: modifies, not drastically, the last image ("built") by local institutions and business companies in order to be adapted to the needs and requirements of the market.

4. *The image re-created by tour-operators*: is formulated through a combination of products of a destination, as well as other destinations (even opposite) with the intention of creating new products and sometimes services.

5. *The sold image:* by travel agents which could modify substantially the last image ("re-created"), as most of them have not been to the destination offered, and have to interpret this destination with the data provided by the tour operator or their experience and skills as a seller.

6. *The image perceived by the tourist*: is the real image found by the tourist during their visit.

STATIC SUBSYSTEM

DESTINATION AREA

POTENTIAL RESOURCES

Own image (perceived by the residents of themselves and the area. Influence of all images.

Creation process of tourism products

Image built for the selling: contribution of institutions, business companies and residents

Image promoted (different of the previous one. Could be modified according to products and different combinations of them. Contribution of the institutions and business companies).

ENCOUNTERS

Image perceived by the tourist (confluence of all kind of images)

DYNAMIC SUBSYSTEM

THE MARKET

Image re-created by tour-operators: Formulated by the combination of products of one or more destinations. Creation of new products.

Image sold by travel agents to potential tourists

(Source: adapted from Santana 2003: 115)

Figure 2   Images in the tourism system

5. Why Madrid?

Concerning tourism, Madrid has a quite wide range of resources: museums, theatres, musicals, expositions, parks, bars, discos, shopping centres, etc. Existing resources are bundled together to sell the city as a 'cultural city', a 'sports city', a 'fun city', etc. In this sense, large cities have always attracted visitors. According to KPMG Consultants (1996), Madrid was the fourth more visited city in Europe in 1996. The number of tourists to Madrid has steadily increased since then, and the visitor economy has become more important. The significance of tourism to Madrid is a growth industry and should be encouraged in line with the *'European framework for action for sustainable urban development'* (namely, URBAN (2000-06) initiative). Then, it is important to understand how Madrid is changing and how it is responding to the change that is taking place, in order to place tourism on a more sustainable basis, capable of delivering a quality experience for the tourist. In other words, the central challenge for Madrid as a destination is how can the tourism activity and its growth expected [4% yearly according to Figuerola (1999)] for the next two decades, be managed in such a way as to ensure that it respects the limits of its resource base and those resources' capacity to regenerate, whilst being commercially successful.

With regards to cultural tourism, in the study of Van der Borg (1994 in Richards 2001: 48) Madrid scored 14 out 19 as the main perceived cultural tourism destinations in Europe (see Figure 3). It must be mentioned that, according to this study of Van der Borg, Barcelona captured more attention in terms of culture than Madrid, showing a more successful policy on management, interpretation and marketing of cultural resources.

Then, Madrid, which was Cultural Capital of Europe in 1992, has turned into one of the most visited regions for cultural reasons of Europe thanks to its old city centre, its important cultural heritage, its bustling nightlife and the open cosmopolitan character of its people (Consejería de Economía y Empleo, 2000). In fact, Madrid shines in a cultural dimension with the "Walking of Art", where the museums Prado, MNCARS and Thyssen-Bornemisza trace an itinerary comparable to the "Museum District" (London), the "Island of the Museums" (Berlin) or the "Mall's Museums" (Washington). Empirically, Madrid is a metropolis where it can be identified the three products categories commented as the conceptual framework of this research, that is: heritage, arts and creative industries.
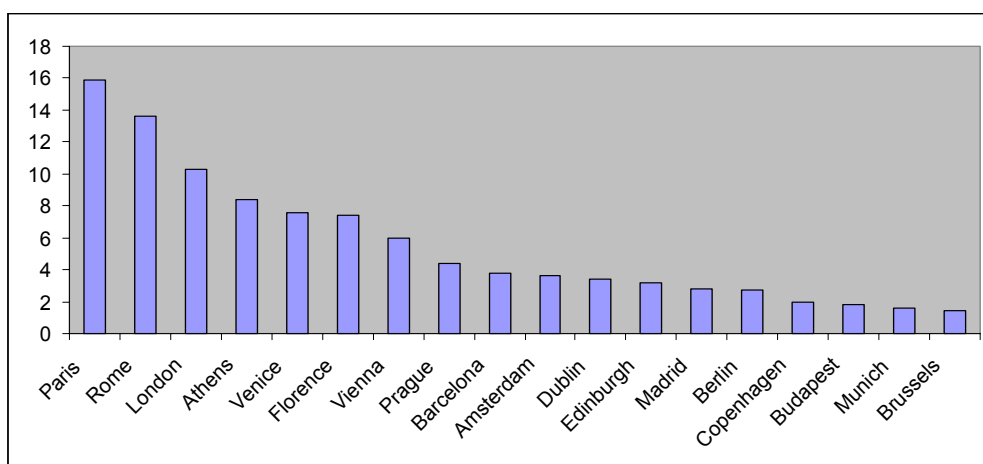
Figure 3   Ranking of European cities as cultural destinations

In this sense, the selection of the MNCARS in Madrid, seems to be appropriate as the research focuses on cultural tourists interested in contemporary culture. Indeed, the aim of the MNCARS (2005) is 'to encourage public access to the various manifestations of modern and contemporary art in order to increase knowledge and promote formation… of the plastic arts'. With the new enlargement of the MNCARS, the total area of this museum is approximately 78.000 m^2 (with 26.892 m^2 corresponding to the new enlargement)[2]. Furthermore, more data showing the great importance that the MNCARS plays in the contemporary cultural scenario of Madrid, is the increase (10%) in the number of visitors during 2005 in regards to 2004: from 1.445.253 persons to 1.590.099, achieving its biggest attendance since its opening in 1996([3]).

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[2] Data extracted from the oficial website for tourism of Madrid City Hall: www.esmadrid.com (Culture – MNCARS).

[3] Data extracted from the website: http://www.lukor.com/not-por/0601/02171521.htm.

6. Methodology

6.1 Questionnaire Design

In order to achieve the objectives seen above, a 28 survey-questionnaire has been undertook at "National Museum Centre of Art Reina Sofia" (MNCARS) in Madrid. The questionnaire applied has been adapted from the one used by the "Association for Tourism and Leisure Education, ATLAS" (www.tram-research.com/atlas).

ATLAS is an international organisation which is considered as a leader cultural tourism project for research:

> 'ATLAS provides a forum to promote staff and student exchange, transnational research and to facilitate curriculum and professional development. ATLAS currently has members in more than 70 countries.' (ATLAS, 2005).

The survey instrument has been adapted to the characteristics of Madrid from the original ATLAS questionnaire. The original questionnaire of ATLAS is composed of 24 questions, so the researcher has added 4 questions to the questionnaire in order to analyse the cultural tourist´s opinion about prices, occupancy, the environment and the concept of culture. The questionnaire is composed basically by closed-questions which must be ticked on the appropriate box; some questions asking for numerical data; some questions to rate the importance of something using the type Attitude statements/Likert scales´ ranging from 1 (disagree/unimportant) to 5-10 (agree/important); and one opened-question about the respondents´opinion of culture.

The questionnaire, which normally takes over 8 minutes to be completed, is divided into two sections: general information about Madrid City as a cultural tourism product, and the cultural tourist itself. In the first section, general information about the city of Madrid is sought from the survey such as visitor motivation, activity at the destination and marketing data:

Activity at the destination:

- Attractions visited

- Accommodation used

- Form of travel arrangement (package/independent)

- Booking channels (travel agent/tour operator/ National Tourist Office-NTO)

- Length of stay

- Expenditure at the destination

Visitor motivation:

- Motivation type

- Previous visit

- Holiday type

- Global image of the cultural destination

Marketing data:

- Use of media, internet

In other words, the aim of this first section of the questionnaire is to study **the motivations, consumption patterns and destination image** of cultural tourist visiting contemporary attractions in Madrid. In this first section, there is a development about the nature of the study of cultural tourism from the cultural 'content' of tourism (high culture, popular culture, etc.) towards the 'context' in which culture is consumed (as part of a process of learning about a city, as a process of distinction, repeat visitors versus first time visitors, etc). In terms of cultural tourism policy, a similar shift can perhaps also be identified in the emergence of 'cultural programming' of cities in place of cultural planning. Another emerging area of work in this first section of the questionnaire involves the concept of 'place' - which indicates that the study of cultural tourism is following the spatial turn in the social sciences. Closely linked to place is the idea of distinctiveness, which seems to have been posed as an alternative to authenticity in some cases. Participation is also an emerging concept which seems closely linked to place - since the participation is usually the residents of a particular location.

In the second section, the researcher asked about the **cultural tourist itself:** their socio-demographic profile and their opinion about culture.

Socio-demographic profile:

- Employment (including cultural occupations, civil servant)

- Education

- Area/country of residence

- Gender

Opinion about culture:

- Prices of culture

- Level of interest regarding the environment

- Heritage, arts and creative industries

6.2 Definitions about Some Terms Applied in the Questionnaire

A number of questions regarding definitions used in the questionnaire have been posed during the writing-up of the research. The author has tried to provide answers to the main ones here:

- Visitors included in the survey

As in previous ATLAS surveys, the questionnaires are designed to cover all visitors to a site or event, including local residents, domestic and international tourists. Surveying all visitors allows to analyse the relationship between different visitor groups and to contrast motivations, behaviour and background of local residents and tourists.

- Madrid City

The questions which refer to the area in which the survey is being conducted, refer to Madrid City, and not to the "Autonomous Community". The extent of the 'area' is therefore Madrid City.

6.3 Translating the Questionnaire

When translating the questionnaire, the author has tried to ensure that the translation is as close possible to the original, which was the English version. In this sense, all questions have been translated in the form in which they appear in the English version of the questionnaire. No changes in the wording or in the order of the questions were made in order to avoid serious problems with comparability and

coding. The questionnaire was translated into 4 languages: English, Spanish, French and German.

6.4 Sampling

The total visitor population consists of all visitors to the cultural attraction being surveyed MNCARS who are 16 years or older. In principle, only visitors over 16 years of age should be interviewed. A category for ages under 16 has been included on the questionnaire, because sometimes it is not possible to exclude respondents under 16. To be reliable, the author has taken a sample of 200 respondents. The questionnaires have concentrated on all kind of visitors: residents, national and international tourists. The way in which this has been achieved was as follows: where interviewers have been used, visitors have been interviewed on exit from the MNCARS. Visitors have been selected on a random basis- for example by approaching every tenth visitor to leave the museum. If a group of visitors is approached, the selection of the respondent from within the group has also been randomised. For example, the next birthday' principle has been used. Members of the group have been asked 'who is the next person to have a birthday?'. The person with the birthday date nearest the interview has then been interviewed. This has provide a random sample of the respondents within groups, and has avoided bias, such as the tendency for men or older people within groups to take over the task of answering the questions.

6.5 Conducting the Questionnaires

The questionnaire is designed to be used either by an interviewer or through self-completion. Interviewer-completed questionnaires will give a higher degree of accuracy and may generate a higher response rate. Visitors are more likely to be willing to be interviewed if they know why the survey is being conducted, and if they are sure that their responses will remain anonymous. For that, the author required the help of two more interviewers (total of 3), who were specially trained for this data collection. The interviewers therefore said that the survey was being conducted on behalf of "ATLAS Cultural Tourism Project" with the co-operation of MNCARS, for the performance of this research. Some interviewees wanted to have more background information on the survey, so they were told to have a look on the official web-site of ATLAS.

Interviews were held wherever possible over different days and time periods to ensure that all visitor groups were sampled. In particular, the questionnaires were carried out from Wednesday 25th May to Monday 30th May 2005 (both including). The time-table selected corresponds with the opening hours of the MNCARS, namely, from 10.00 to 21.00. A mixture of weekends and weekdays has been therefore included in the sample, providing there are sufficient midweek visitors to provide reasonable returns. Regarding the place, the interviewers carried out the questionnaires at the way-out of the museum where apparently the visitors have more time to complete them.

While it was important to try and interview all visitors approached, there have been inevitably visitors who have refused to be interviewed. Most of them, have said that they did not have time to be interviewed. On this sense, some common objections were overcome. The interviewers pointed out that the questionnaire only takes 5 minutes to complete (which is certainly the case for the basic questionnaire). Where foreign visitors refused on the basis of not being able to speak the language, they were offered a copy of the questionnaire in their own language to fill in themselves (Spanish, English, French and German). If visitors did refuse, a record has been kept, so that the total refusal rate could be calculated for the survey.

An alternative way of dealing with visitors who did not have time to complete a questionnaire on site was to send them a follow-up email to allow them to respond to the questionnaire over the Internet. This was just an idea, as no one did on this way, and obviously not ideal, as visitor opinions may have changed after their return home.

6.6 Self Completion or Interviewed Questionnaire

33 of the questionnaires were completed by self completion, and 167 were conducted by an interviewer. The average time of completing a questionnaire was 8 minutes. On this point, the visitors had the time and the space to be able to fill the questionnaires comfortably. A table was provided to allow people to fill the questionnaires, and if not, clipboards were used as substitute. Sufficient suplies of pen were available, allowing the fact that a number of visitors were completing the questionnaires at the same time, and that some visitors 'forgot' to give theirs pens back.

The interviewers tried to ensure that the questionnaires were completed as fully as possible. On this point, the researcher conducted 200 questionnaires in the way-out of MNCARS from Wednesday 25th May to Monday 30th May 2005 (both inclusive). In fact, the researcher approached 281 people, and only 81 people refused to answer

and 200 questionnaires were collected in total, so the response rate was 71%. Although, in the collected questionnaires some data were missing, above all in those which have been self-completed.

7. Main Findings

This section presents some of the findings obtained in the survey of 200 cultural tourists at MNCARS. These findings presented are those which are more related with one of the proposed line of this expert meeting: **"cultural tourism and images".** In this sense, the analysis has been divided into different topics: (1) the socio-demographic profile of respondents; (2) the conditions of access and visit of the cultural tourists; (3) the expenditures during the visit; (4) and the assessment of Madrid and its image by cultural tourists.

7.1 Socio-Demographic Profile of Respondents

The profile of the cultural tourist visiting MNCARS is based on the questions related to the socio-demographic aspects of the questionnaires. In this sense, the distribution by gender diplays a bias towards female, with a considerable difference: 62% female and 38% male (see Figure 4). The age for these cultural tourists is towards a younger age profile, with 63% of the sample under 30 years old, and 37% over 30 years old (see Figure 5). The category of age predominant is the group between 20 and 29 years old, with 52,5% of the total population for this research.
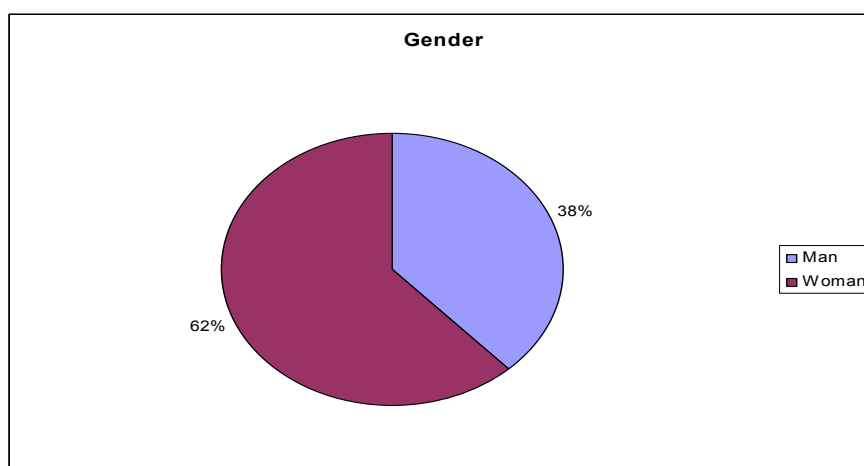
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 4   Gender

Age (%)

Age group	Value
40 or more years	18
30-39 years	19
20-29 years	52,5
15-19 years	10,5
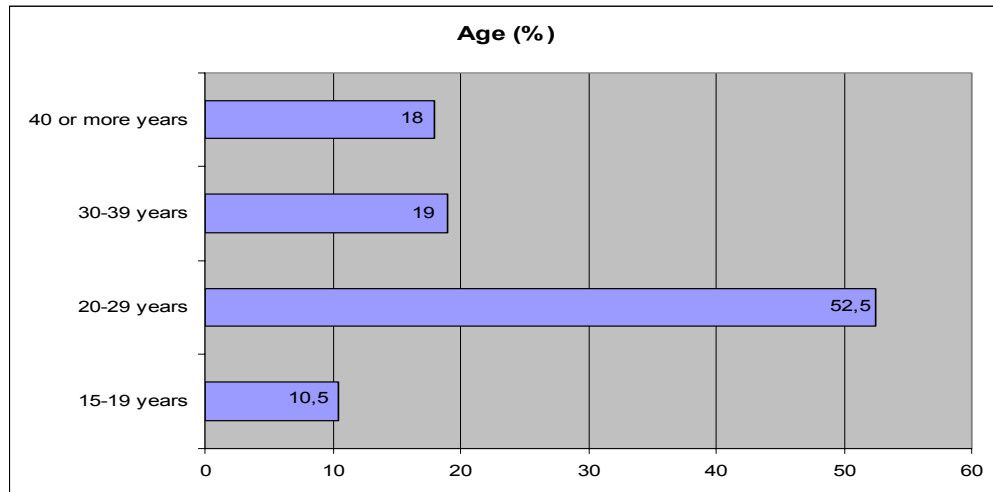
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 5   Age

Based upon the principle, that occupation is linked to educational attainment, the results suggest that the groups of cultural tourists possess high levels of educational attainment. Three quarters of the sample (75%) have a bachelor degree and a master or doctoral degree (see Figure 6). More than half of the respondents are employees or self-employed (52%), following by students (38%), and finally by the collective of unemployed, retired and housewife (9,5%) (see Figure 7). Regarding the occupation, there is a predominance of professionals, such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, etc., with a percentage of 40.3% (see Figure 8). Technical professions (e.g. technicians, nursing, etc), clerical and administration post account for nearly one in four (22.5%) of the sample. Moreover, there are more respondents working on services, sales, craft or the industries of construction or agriculture (17%) than directors or managers (12.9%). With reference to the public service administration, only 6% declares to work as a civil servant, whereas the absolute majority 89% expresses to get enrolled in the private or "non-governmental organisation" (NGO) sector (see Figure 9).
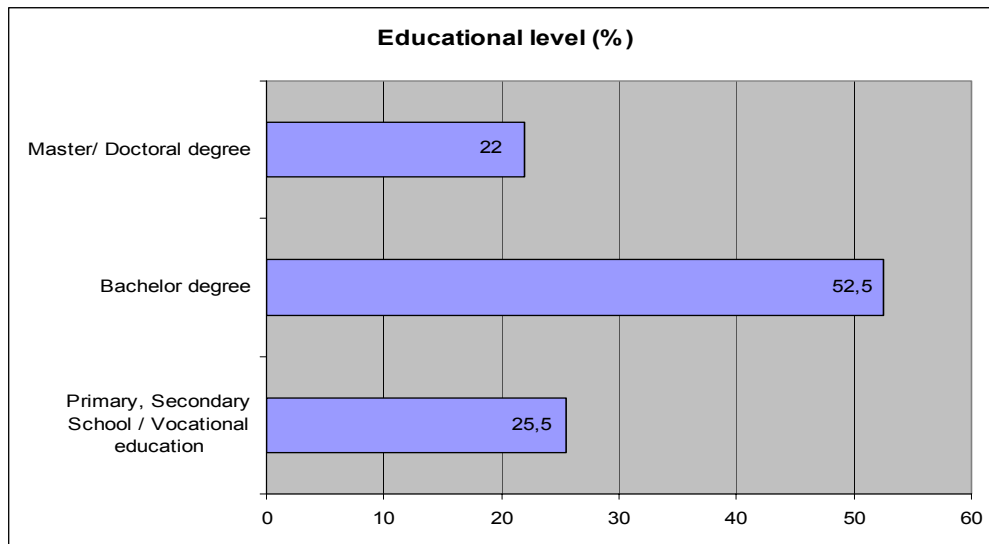
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 6   Educational level
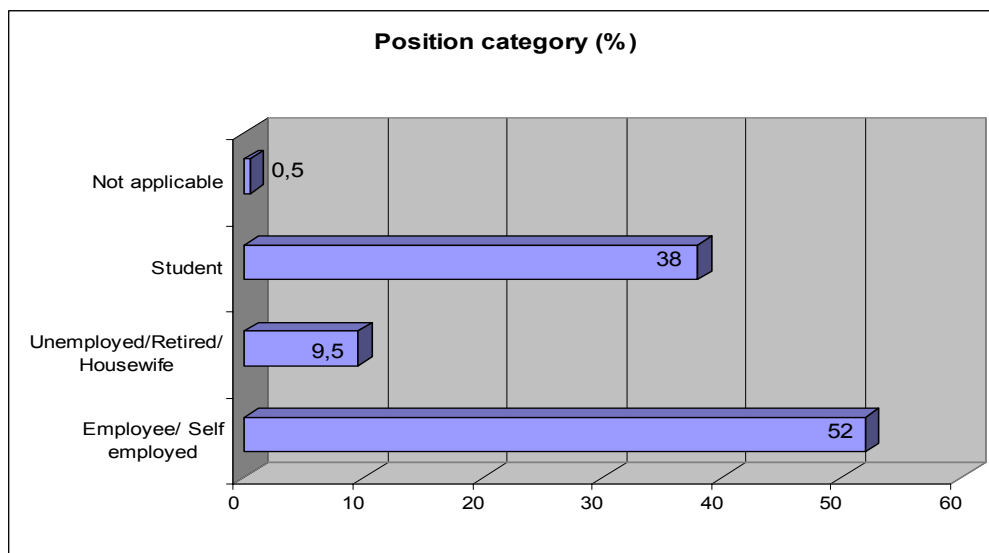
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 7   Position category
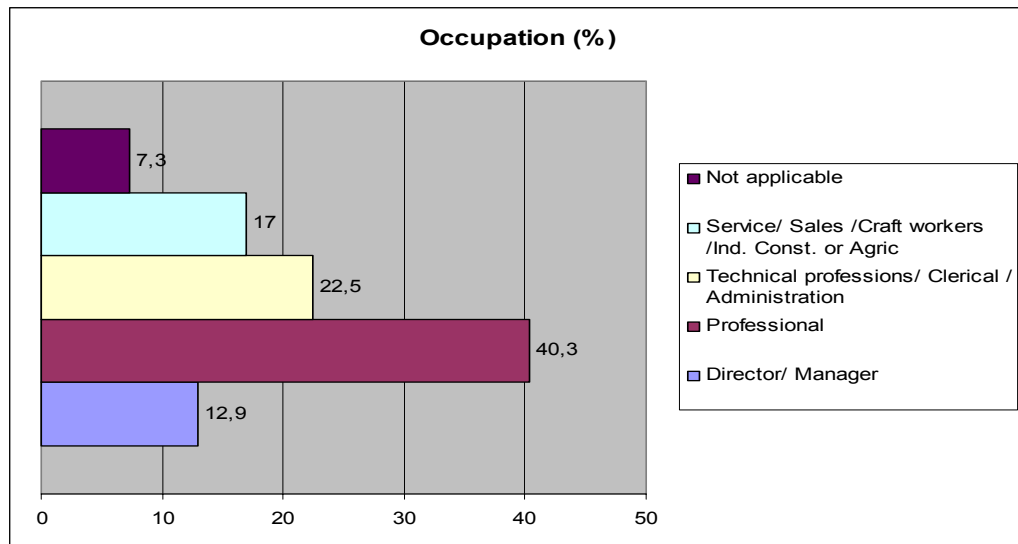
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 8   Occupation
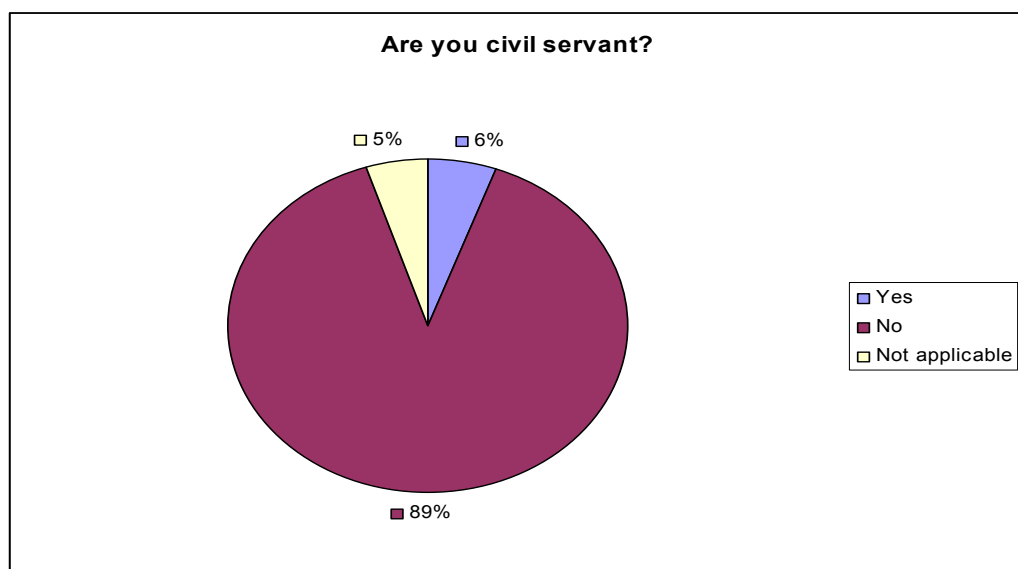
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 9   Are you civil servant?

Figure 10 shows the household income group of the visitors to the MNCARS. In this sense, it must be pointed out that there is a significant percentage of respondents which do not provide data about their incomes (33.5%). Several arguments can

explain this: lack of knowledge of the household incomes above all, *inter alia,* students that live with their families; no incomes at all (e.g. unemployees without any subsidiarity); respondents that think always in another currency instead of Euro and do not want to make the conversion (even if a Table of currency conversion is available; see Appendix A); fear to say their income face to the interviewer; or respondents that do not want to provide data because of personal reasons. However, skipping the "not applicable data", there is no a big distance between the group with more respondents of the sample, that is those who earn 5,000 Euro or less (13%), and the group with less respondents that is those who earn between 30.001 and 50.000 Euro (8.5%). The rest of the groups are relatively equally proportional (between 10% and 12%).

Household gross income group (%)

Category	Value
Not applicable	33,5
More than 50.000 euros	11
30.001-50.000 euros	8,5
20.001-30.000 euros	10
10.001-20.000 euros	12
5.001-10.000 euros	12
5.000 euros or less	13
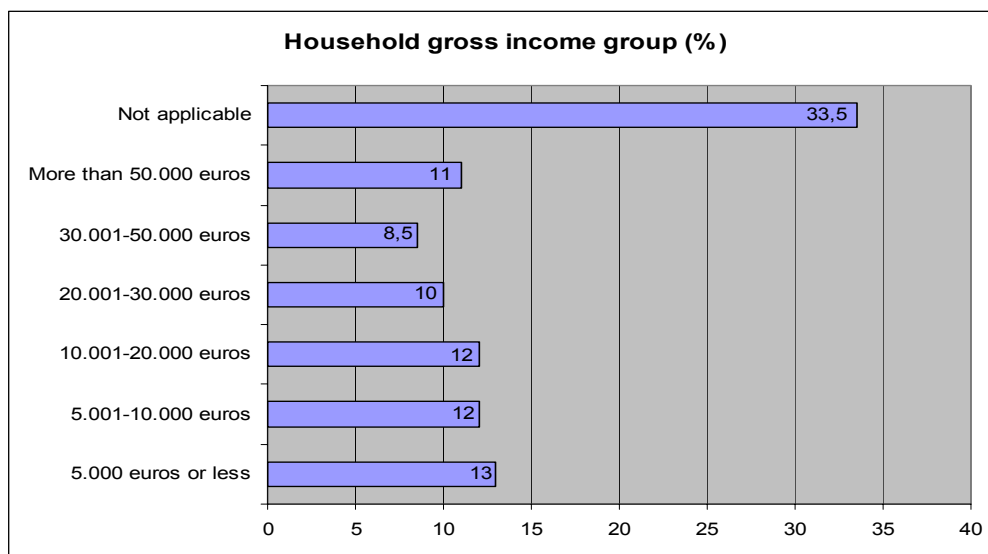
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 10   Household gross income group

7.2 Conditions of Access and Visit of the Cultural Tourists

Analysing the information regarding the conditions of access of the tourist to Madrid and the characteristics of their visits, it can be commented that basically the respondents use local transport (47.5%) (see Figure 11). Bus, metro and taxi are indeed the preferred means of transport to move around Madrid. Walking is as well considered by cultural tourists (32.9%) obviously within local residents, whereas one out ten takes a plane (10.1%), above all international visitors.

Means of transport used (%)
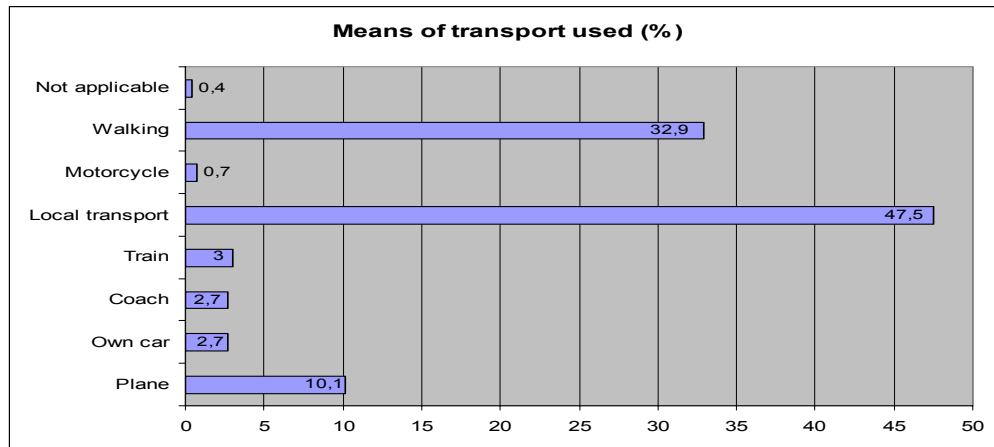
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 11   Means of transport used

Figure 12 expresses the place of residence of the visitors. More than half of the tourists come from abroad (58%), and the rest 14% comes from another parts of Spain, and 28% are local residents. Going deep to the nationalities of those who come from abroad, the two main groups of visitors are Americans (23%) and French (20%) (see Figure 13). Others "source-countries" of cultural tourists are the United Kingdom (16%), Germany and Italy (both 8%). The rest of the respondents are grouped under the categories of "Rest of Europe" (12%) and "Rest of the World" (13%). On this point, the author has tried to incorporate as many nationalities as possible on the sample, in order to increase the reliability of the research.
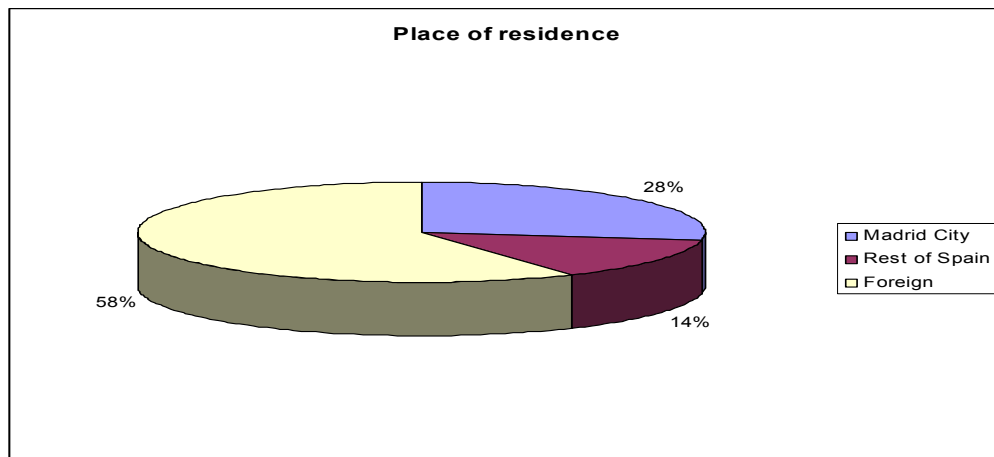
Place of residence

(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 12   Place of residence

Place of residence for foreigners

13%

20%

12%

8%

France
Germany
Italy
United Kingdom
United States
Rest of Europe
Rest of the World

8%

23%

16%
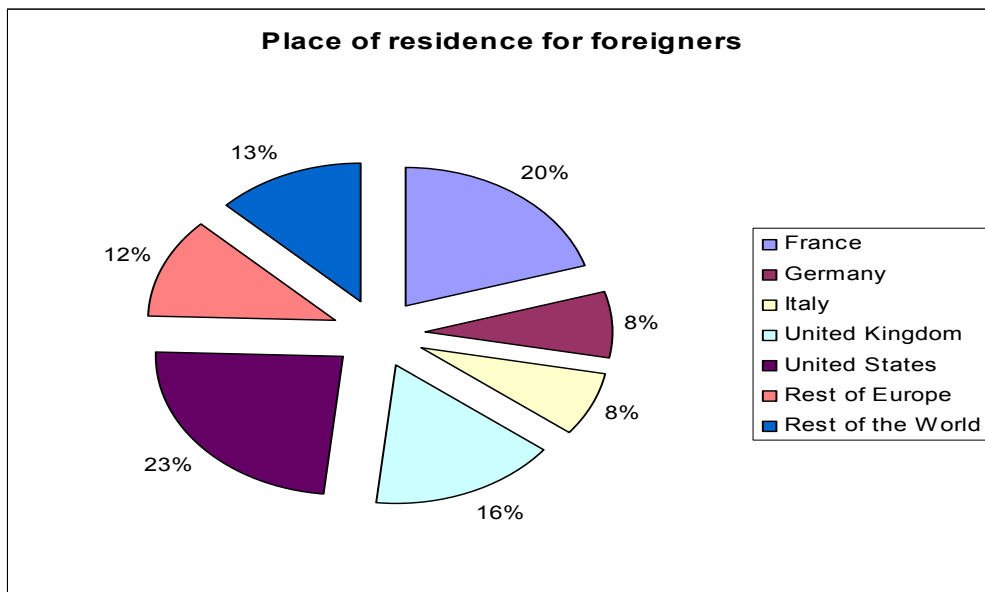
Figure 13   Place of residence for foreigners

Concerning the organisation of the travel and the accommodation chosen by the tourists coming from outside Madrid, just 5% decided to use an "all-inclusive package" (see Figure 14). The rest of this group, booked transport and accommodation separately. Most of them booked their transport through Internet (21%) or via a travel agent (11%). The rest prefer to arrange it by themselves (7%), or they even get transport without any booking in advance. The type of accommodation, where they stay the night, is mainly the hotel (40.7%) (see Figure 15). Staying at "Family and Friends" is the second most used type of accommodation for these cultural tourists (32.4%), and the third type is youth hostels (11.7%), where above all young visitors stay Furthermore, considering just the visitors outside from Madrid, almost half of them (43.8%) spent at least three nights in Madrid, hence it means a minimum stay of four days (see Figure 16).
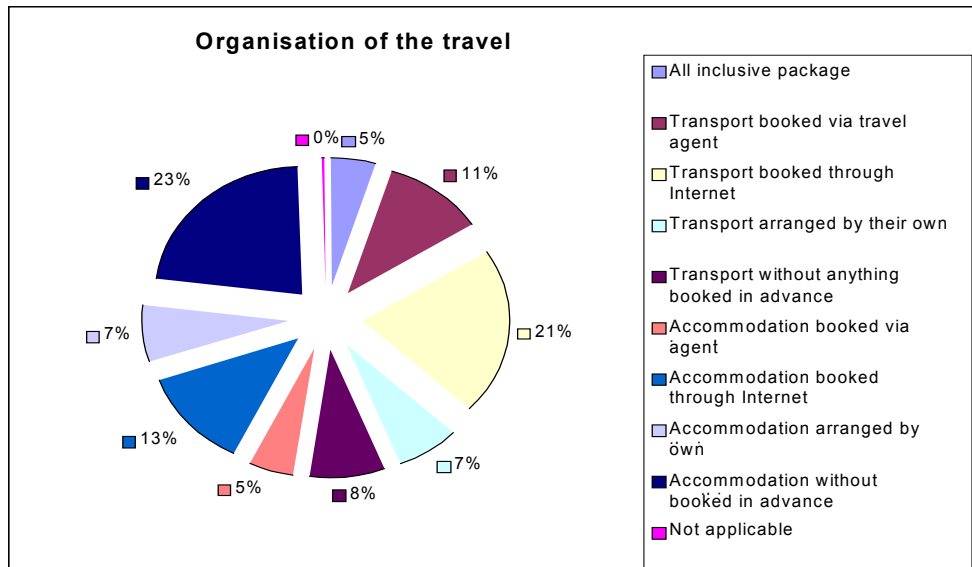
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 14   Organisation of the travel
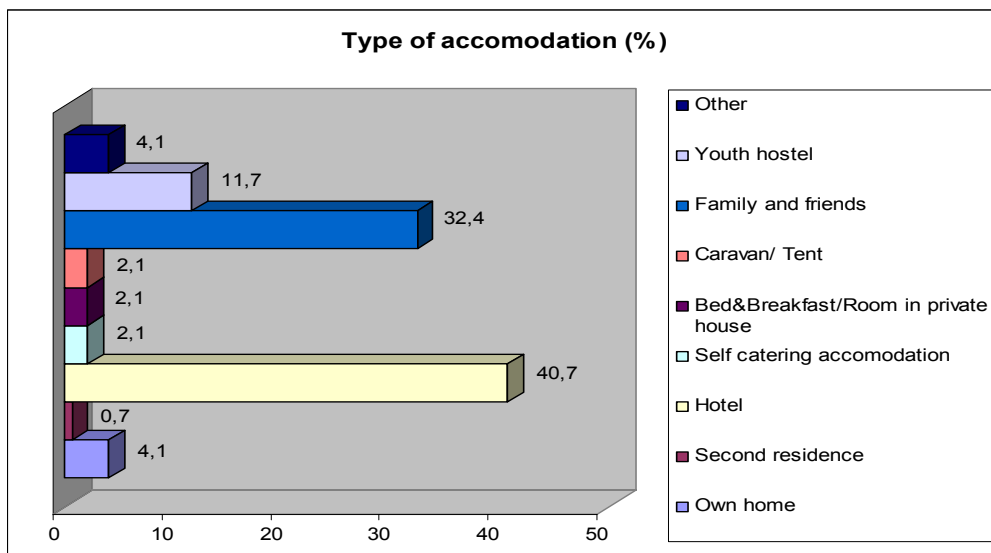
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 15   Type of accommodation

Number of overnights
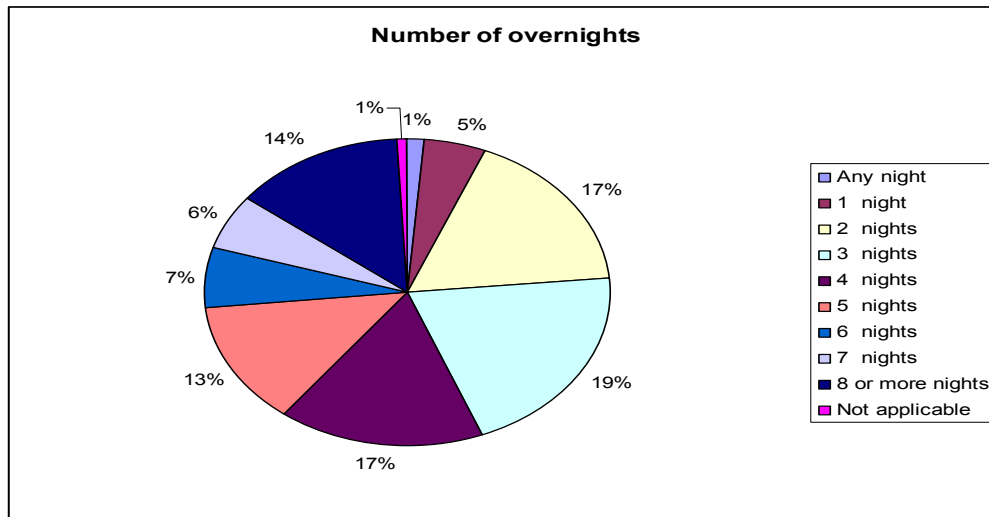
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 16   Number of overnights

Referring to the source of information to organise the visit before getting Madrid, one third contacted friends or family (31,25%) (see Figure 17). Near similarly, another third used the Internet to get some practical information about Madrid and its tourism product (30,83%). The last third used guidebooks (18.75%), or has already been previously in Madrid (7.08%), or used brochures (3.33%), or contacted a travel agent directly (2.91%). On this point, it must be mentioned that just 1.25% enters in a Tourist Information Centre to collect some information for their visit.

Source of information to organise the visit before getting Madrid (%)
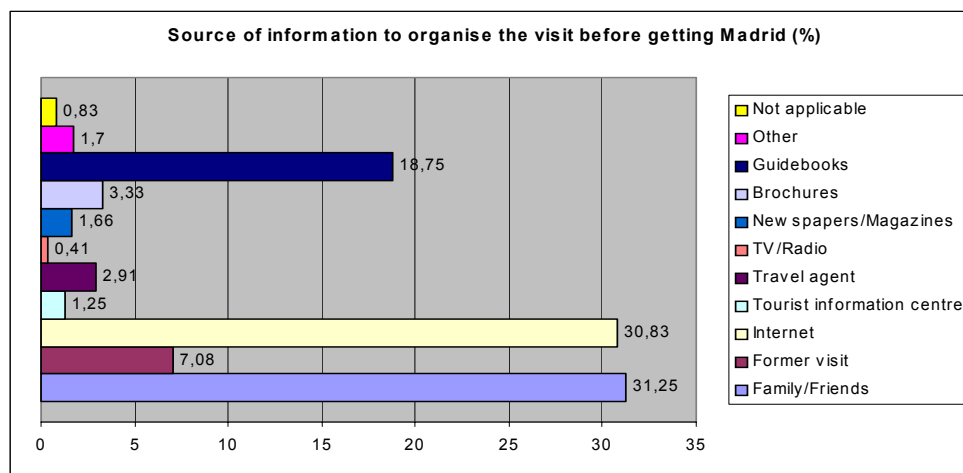
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 17   Source of information to organise the visit before getting Madrid

Referring to the source of information used in Madrid, over one in four of the tourists (26.76%) gets advices from "Family and friends" to organise the visit in the city (see Figure 18). Followed by a considerable percentage of visitors that consult guidebooks (19.24%) or visit a "Tourist Information Centre" (17.84%). The use of brochures is represented by 14.08%, in certain way because tourists look specific information on an event than the city properly. On the other hand, the use of Internet is reduced to 9.85% compared with the information consulted before. TV and radio and newspapers and magazines (around 3%) are considered informative regarding tourists purposes. To sum up, most of the tourists have consulted different sources of information before and while in the destination.
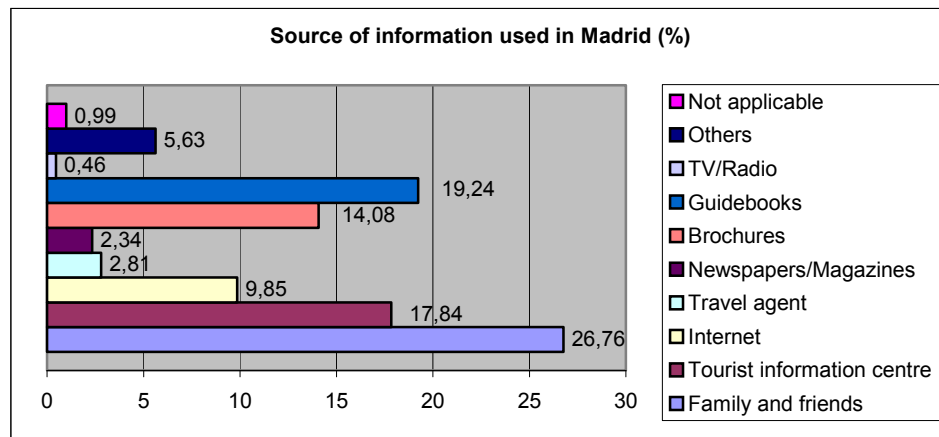
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 18 Source of information used in Madrid

7.3 Expenditures During the Visit

Figure 19 describes the economic impact of the cultural tourist visiting Madrid in its individual perspective. For that, the author has used the mean in order to establish the expenditure average per person during the visit. Thus, the total expenditure of the visit is 322.23 Euro per tourist. In this point, as it has been outlined above (see Figure 16), the average number of days spent in Madrid is four; so with a simple division, the average expenditure per day is 80.55 Euro.

On the other hand, the subgroups of these expenditures are as follows: the highest sum of money spent by the tourist is on travel or transport (101.84 Euro); secondly, the tourist pays out on accommodation (81.38 Euro); thirdly, the visitor consumes more on shopping (61.84 Euro) than on food and drinks (53.54 Euro); finally, the

tourist buys attractions admissions (23.63 Euro) revealing an interest in leisure activities.
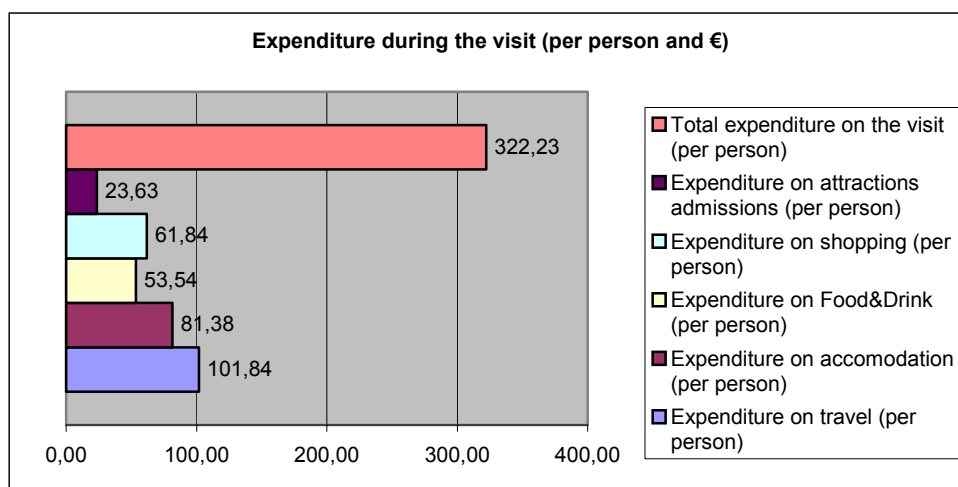
Figure 19   Expenditure during the visit (in constant Euros of 2005)

7.4 Assessment of Madrid and its Image by Cultural Tourist

The visitors approached answered different questions about the general assessment of Madrid as a tourist destination (scored from 1 to 10) and its image (scored from 1 to 5). The results of these questions indicate a high appraisal for the components and the quality experience of the visit, but above all about the city as a tourist destination. Indeed, the mean of the scores is 7.76 and the percentage of respondents that qualify Madrid with more than 7, is 85% (see Table 1). Clearly it can be said that the majority of the cultural tourists to Madrid are quite satisfied with the visit.

Table 1   Assessment of Madrid as a destination

	Assessment of Madrid as a destination
	(Score from 1 to 10) (1=awful; 10=excellent)
7 or more (%)	85
Mean	7,76

The assessment of the image of Madrid was realised according to the identification of several general descriptive elements of a city with the terms ranged from "very little" to "very much", scored from 1 to 5 (see Figure 20). The main characteristics for Madrid (that is the biggest percentages of the level "very much") refer to "Museums and cultural attractions" and "Lively atmosphere". The first feature "Museums and cultural attractions" is logical if it is taking into consideration the fact that the questionnaires have been carried out at the way-out of a museum. However, it could be interpreted as the tourists are "greatly motivated" by Madrid's culture. The second concept "Lively atmosphere" demonstrates that the tourists apart of being "greatly motivated" by the culture of Madrid, they are equally attracted by intangible aspects as the atmosphere. On the other hand, the elements that characterised Madrid less (that is the biggest percentages of the level "very little") according to the respondents are "Festivals and events" and "Customs and traditions". The interpretation could be as follows: the first concept "Festivals and events" suggests that the cultural tourists are critical about the organisation and programming of these festivals and events (not enough, bad quality, etc); the second term "Customs and traditions" which are elements of the heritage shows that Madrid is apparently more connected with arts and creative industries; in other words, with the contemporary culture.

Authentic sights (%)

Not applicable	2,5
5-Very much	20
4	35,5
3	34
2	5,5
1-Very little	2,5

Historic architecture (%)

Not applicable	2,5
5-Very much	30,5
4	32,5
3	24,5
2	8
1-Very little	2

Museums and cultural attractions (%)

Not applicable	1,5
5-Very much	40
4	37
3	18
2	3
1-Very little	0,5
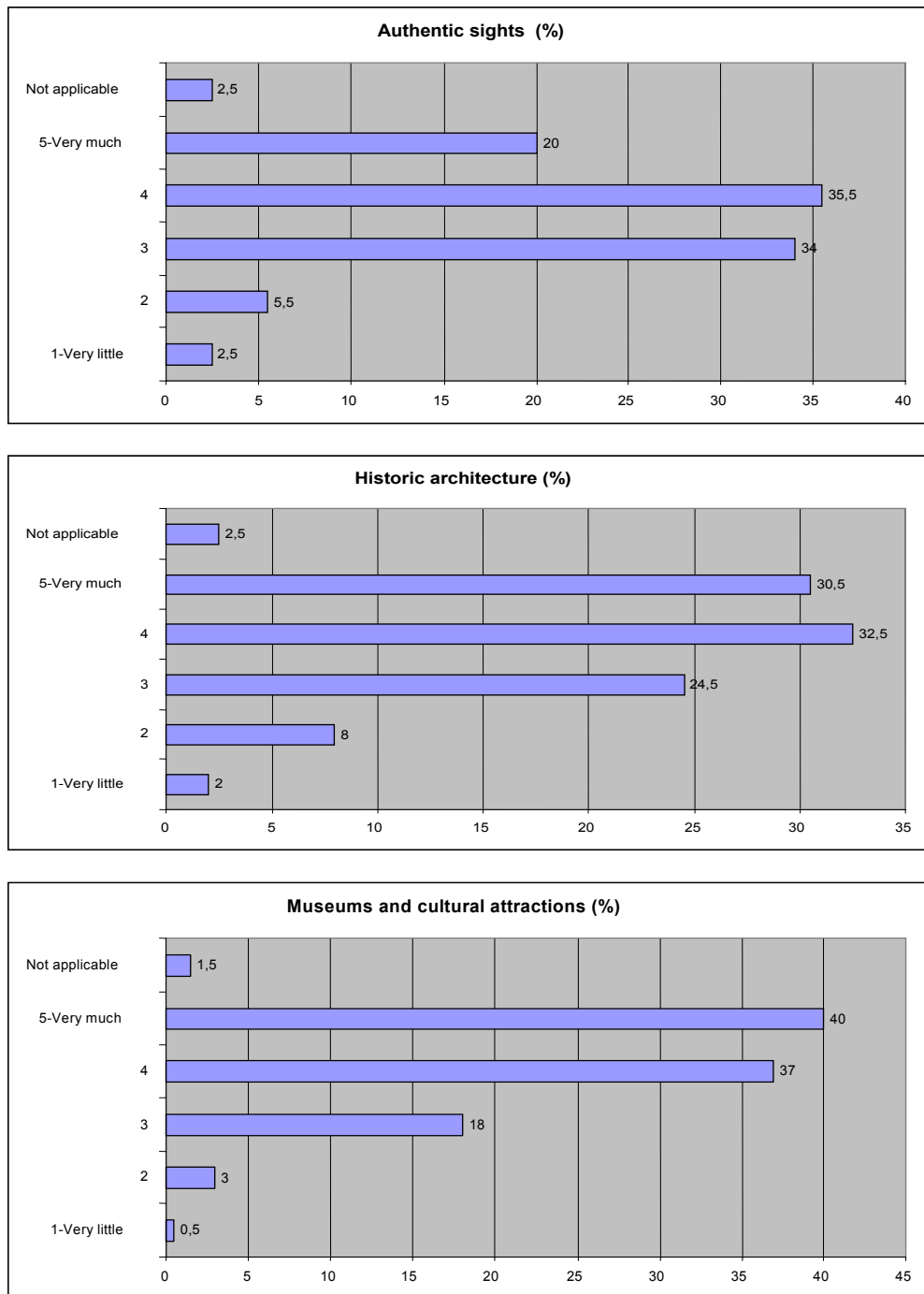
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 20   Image connected to Madrid
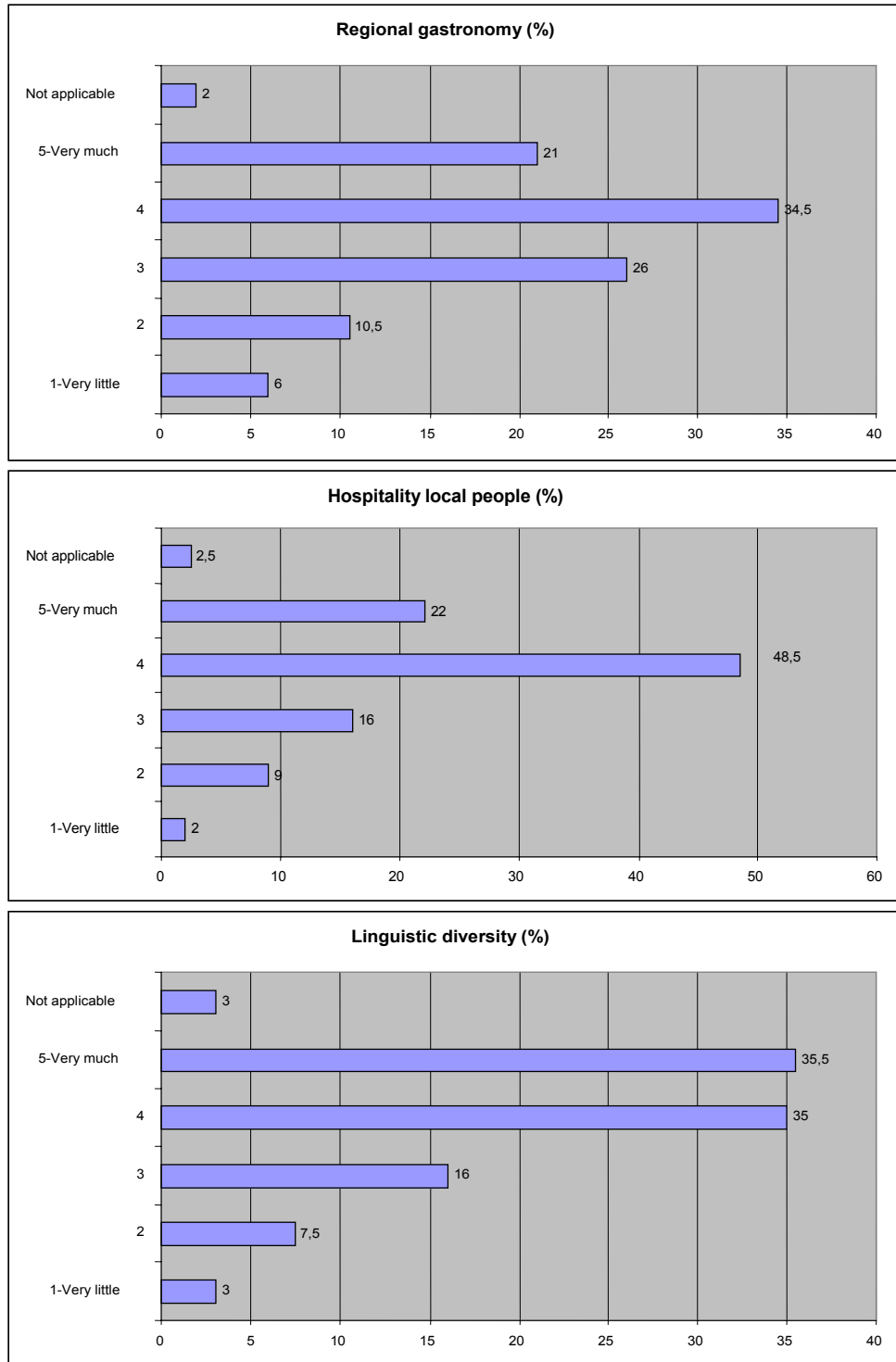
Regional gastronomy (%)

Category	Value
Not applicable	2
5-Very much	21
4	34,5
3	26
2	10,5
1-Very little	6

Hospitality local people (%)

Category	Value
Not applicable	2,5
5-Very much	22
4	48,5
3	16
2	9
1-Very little	2

Linguistic diversity (%)

Category	Value
Not applicable	3
5-Very much	35,5
4	35
3	16
2	7,5
1-Very little	3

(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 20 (suite)   Image connected to Madrid

Culturally distinct Madrid (%)

Not applicable	4,5
5-Very much	21
4	35,5
3	28
2	8,5
1-Very little	2,5

Multicultural city (%)

Not applicable	4
5-Very much	24,5
4	43,5
3	21
2	5
1-Very little	2

A fashionable place to be (%)

Not applicable	3
5-Very much	19,5
4	35
3	28,5
2	10,5
1-Very little	3,5
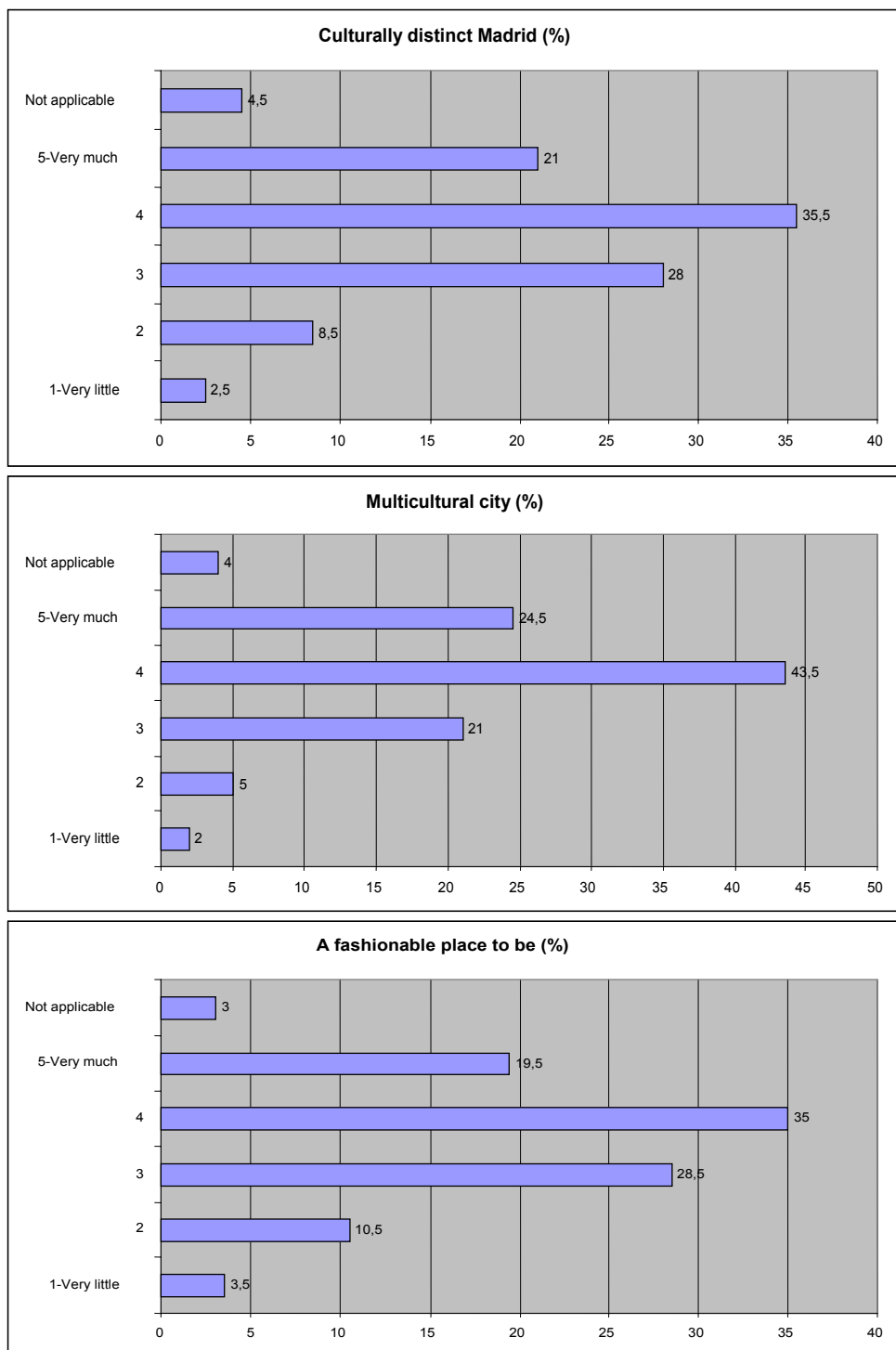
(Source: Own elaboration)
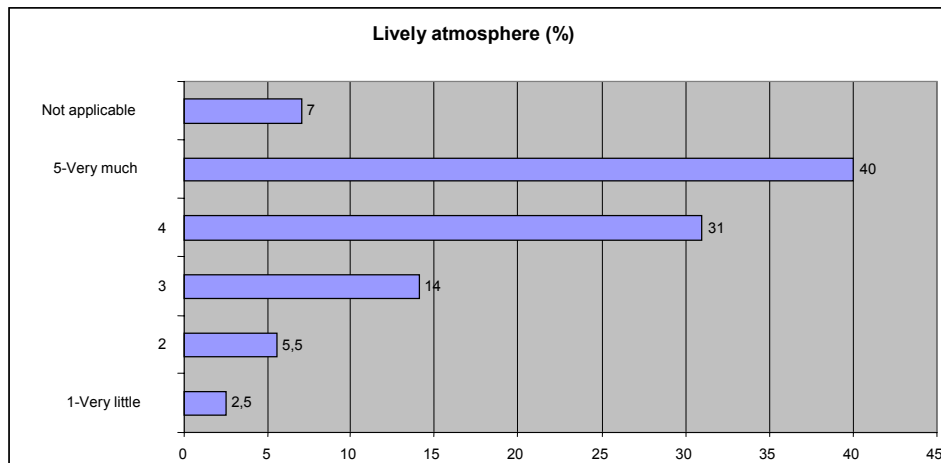
Figure 20 (suite)   Image connected to Madrid

Figure 20 (suite)   Image connected to Madrid

An interesting aspect to be analysed in particular is the perception of the culture in Madrid from an economic point of view. Indeed, the cultural attractions have a fundamental cultural and social value, but they have also an important economic dimension. Certainly, on the supply side, the economic profit is the main driving force for tourism development. On the demand side, the economic situation is the main "push or pull" to consume tourist products. In this sense, a question raising the perception of the prices of cultural attractions in Madrid was established (see Figure 21). The majority of the visitors consider that the prices are not expensive (52%). The rest of the respondents are divided into those who consider the prices "normal" (28%) and those who really think that the prices are expensive (19%). These results should be crossed with the level of incomes of the respondents in order to fill the gap of missed data studied earlier on Figure 10. Thus, if the majority of the visitors consider the prices of cultural attractions are not expensive, it means that they have enough income to afford visiting cultural venues and facilities.
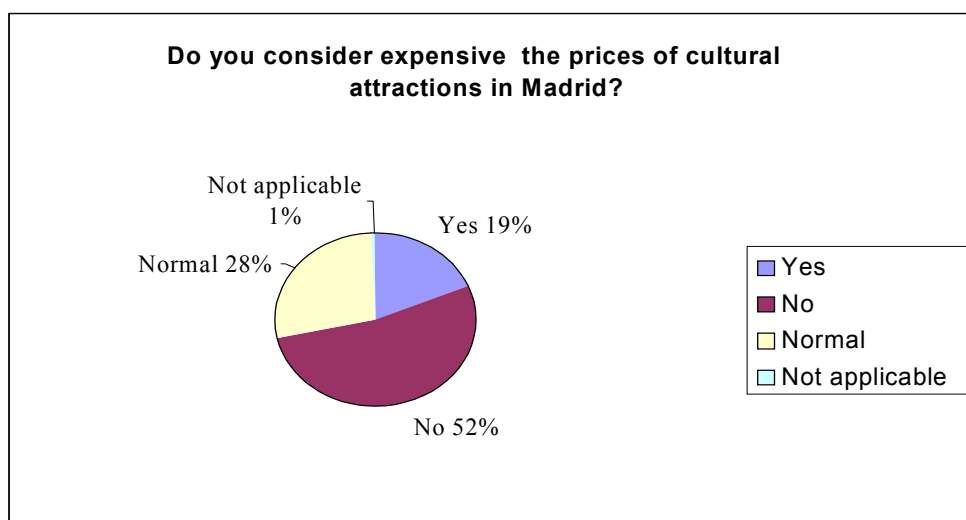
Figure 21   Prices of cultural attraction in Madrid

Finally, one of the questions of the survey proposed a list of twenty-four cities, from Europe and from the rest of the world, which have an international status more or less similar as Madrid. In fact, most of them are as well metropolis and the capitals of their respective countries. The question was to tick on the box of the five cities most suitable to spend a cultural holiday. It can be observed on the Figure 22 that the most preferred cities are the group of those with a tourist and cultural attractiveness consolidated *per se,* without the need of celebrating any especial event. This ranking is composed by cities such as Barcelona, Florence, Amsterdam, Berlin, Athens and London. Regarding the case of Madrid, it is situated on the eleventh position on the list. General speaking, it can be considered as an intermediate result. But, if we take into consideration that this position on the list is above Paris (fifteenth position) or Rome (the last position on the twenty-fourth), it shows that the tourism institutions and organisations of Madrid are doing well in terms of cultural marketing, as at first sight most of the people would relate Paris or Rome more with culture than Madrid. Another aspect to be highlighted is the fact that among the "top ten" cities of the ranking, there is a *status quo* between cities more engaged and dynamic with contemporary culture such as Barcelona, Amsterdam, Berlin or London; and cities which main add value is the heritage such as Florence, Athens or Istambul.

The most suitable cities for a cultural holiday (%)

Barcelona
Florence
Amsterdam
Berlin
Athens
London
Buenos Aires
Istambul
Lisbon
New York
Madrid
Budapest
Dublin
Hong Kong
París
Cape Town
Cracow
Glasgow
Edimburgh
Brussels
Moscow
Antwerp
Oporto
Rome

0   5   10   15   20   25
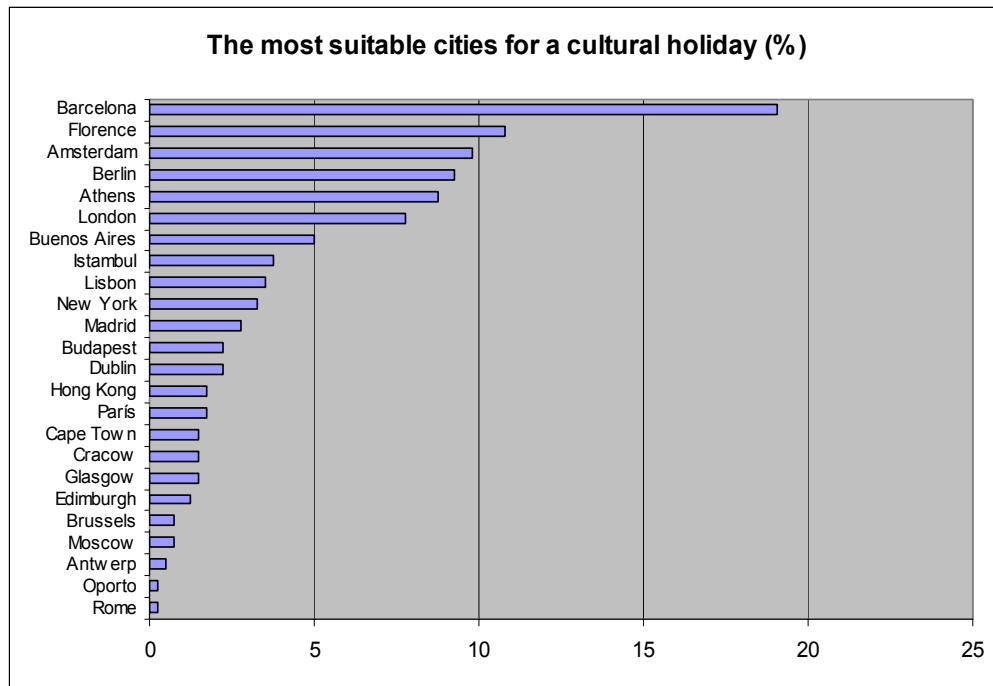
(Source: Own elaboration)

Figure 22   The most suitable cities for a cultural holiday

8. Conclusion

The cultural tourist visiting the MNCARS is characterised in general by having a high-level education, as 74.50% of them finished a bachelor degree or post-graduated course. They are youth persons on their twenties with annual incomes ranged between 5,000 and 20,000 Euros. This highlights the importance of students in the cultural tourism market. Most of them have a job on the private sector, predominantly as professionals (doctor, lawyer, teacher, etc) with no connection to the culture.

Mostly, they have arranged the trip by themselves: the transport through Internet and the accommodation without any booking in advance. In particular, most of the visitors use the local transport or walk to visit the different cultural attractions in Madrid. The accommodations preferred, are the hotels or the houses of friends and relatives, and the information used for the visit to Madrid is extracted fundamentally from Internet or personal recommendations from "family and friends". Finally they prefer to perform firstly cultural holidays, whereas "sun and beach" is in the second place. Connecting those results with the conceptual framework detailed earlier, it

can be said that the *perceived image* of the tourist is not distorted by the dynamic subsystem, neither tour operators (*image recreated*), nor travel agents (*image sold*). The *perceived image* of cultural tourists is consequently **aseptic**, with no influence of the tourism market, as most of them arrange the visit to Madrid on their own.

Regarding the economic impact, the total expenditures of the cultural tourist has been determined in 322.23 Euros for the visit. The sub-terms of these expenditures are mostly spent in transport, accommodation and shopping. Food, drinks and tickets admissions are the other sub-terms. Accordingly, the average of spent nights in Madrid are four, so with a simple division, the expenditure per person and per day is approximately 80 Euros.

In terms of the cultural visitors' assessment of Madrid City, an outline can be established of the main images of Madrid as those which are included in the outer circle defined in section 3. Indeed, cultural tourists distinguish Madrid by its "lively atmosphere" and "linguistic diversity". The result of "museums and cultural attractions" is not taken into consideration for this analyse as the author considers this feature is logical by the fact that the questionnaires have been carried out at the way-out of a museum. Hence, it means that the *image perceived* by cultural tourists visiting Madrid is related to artefacts that are connected with lifestyles and the spirit or ethos of the city, as the atmosphere or the language. Indeed, cultural tourist images of Madrid are associated with environment experiences and not really with identity symbols in this environment. They want participate, experience and share tourism activities, not to contemplate them. Locals, consequently, must play an important role in the *image built for the selling*. This image as a whole is composed basically by elements that are consumed on the same moment where produce, and therefore more related to the creative industries and the outer circle. In this sense, cultural tourism in Madrid promotes and gives an incentive to new performances, so ensuring a good future for the creative industries. The only thing is to consider if they will be more orientated as experiences (authenticity, reality) or as experiments (simulation, more abstract).

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Chapter 11
Cultural Identity and Tourism Development in Salvador: Building the City Image

Gloria Lanci[1]

Abstract

This paper focuses on city image research in the city of Salvador, capital of the Bahia state, in Brazil. The investigation is conducted under a broader project entitled "Cultural Tourism and Urban Development" which addresses the urban renovation programmes in the historical district of Salvador and the use of urban heritage and public space to promote tourism. The study will be able to identify how urban heritage as a visual force can be viewed as a means of enhancing the attractiveness of the city, itself considered an important component in building competitiveness, and how inherited urban forms are envisaged as part of the city image for different social groups, including residents as well as tourists.

Tourist cities need to succeed in an increasingly competitive market and face the challenge of high investments not only in the financial framework but also in human capital in order to preserve identity and cultural traditions while stimulating creativity and innovation. According to this, the tourist market operates on the city image through advertising campaigns for making known particular aspects of the landscape, culture and urban facilities, which contribute to create labels able to clearly identify places. In this paper we will examine some aspects of the recent urbanisation process of Salvador, the relations between city image and the urban tissue and the branding of the city's labels in the Brazilian context. The purpose is to analyse a set of urban and cultural features that have consequences for tourism development in Salvador and how such development can produce impacts on urban design, **or vice versa**.

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Brazil has been marketed as a 'tropical' destination where sun-sand based tourism is still relevant for tourist industry. However, as culture increased its role in urban development, most of the historical centres experienced an urban renaissance as tourism brought to the light of day abandoned buildings, forgotten neighbourhoods and even entire cities. The combination of architecture and history became a key factor for economic development in such tourist centres. Indeed city marketing strategies often take advantage of an already built image of the place – inherited culture, traditional events, built environment – working on emphasizing positive features of local culture.

The image of Salvador has been framed around a marketing strategy that understands urban heritage and culture as a means to foster the urban tourism base for different audiences. Salvador brings together a unique blend of European and African cultures which printed on the urban fabric and on local people a distinguished culture: baroque churches and buildings, African sanctuaries, religious syncretism, particular gastronomy, music and festivities. Being the first capital settled in the country Salvador has had its image blurred with the Brazilian identity itself: for example, to celebrate the five hundred years of Brazil's discovery (2000) the slogan "Bahia, o Brasil nasceu aqui" (Bahia, where Brazil was born) was followed by views of the city, its people and its cultural displays and manifestations.

As a special feature the old town called 'Pelourinho' is itself a stage of one the most ambitious urban renovation programmes in the country. This neighbourhood has been under renovation since 1992 and most of its built heritage is now restored, housing museums, hotels, restaurants and shops. The ongoing process of urban renewal in Pelourinho has been characterized by the city's tourism development during the last twenty years, clearly reflecting a shift to a more culturally oriented strategy. The particular experience of the Pelourinho renovation programme also caused some critical voices to appear that were concerned about gentrification and mass-consumption, revealing the option for a 'spectacularisation' that could threaten the local cultural identity and consequently the programme's sustainability.

Pelourinho is exhaustively advertised as the place to experience the 'cultura baiana' provided by the lively ambience of its quarters. Such aspects have been explored by local government and entrepreneurs when creating the label 'City of Joy' which mixes up concepts of 'multi-racial society', 'exotic land', 'friendly people', 'cultural diversity' and 'authenticity'. This approach is often taken as naïf and ideological, noticeably putting aside negative attributes of low social-economic development and inequities. Nevertheless this "happy city" image is often regarded as a crucial point in

the decision-making arena and used as a tool to achieve the successful implementation of projects designed to increase the urban landscape appeal.

Recent initiatives such as the shaping of the Cluster for Entertainment, Culture and Tourism and the Forum on Creative Industries – which proposes to establish an International Centre on Creative Industries in Salvador – show a trend on following a new paradigm of tourism development that goes beyond the "traditional" labels, indicating that the process of city image building is playing an increasing role in the public policies.

Introduction: Representing the city

> The notion of the 'city', the city itself, is a representation. It is a gloss on an environment which designates by fiat, resting only on an assertion of the self-evidence that a given environment is 'a city'. As an object of research, the city is always *aporetic*, a 'crisis-object' which destabilizes our certainty about the 'real'. [2]

Cities evoke images which manifest themselves in literature, photographs, movies and historical documents. The urban environment is full of meanings, which are commonly approached by subjective perceptions rather than objectives standards.

Although image building can lead to criticisms of their ideological features, interposed between us and reality, it is true that images are effective in establishing a strong bond with the city and, in a certain way, perceiving it as a whole as they provide 'instantaneous' perceptions of the reality – even partial ones. Images are not only fictional descriptions of the city but part of a social agreement on what a city represents for society and individuals, meaning a way to know its functioning, its urban life and to register the collective history of its inhabitants.

Representations can be understood as a product of incorporating images; in this process the borders between "the imagined" and "the real" can constantly be modified. Images imply a mental conception apprehended and established by the individual who summarizes its knowledge, its evaluations and preferences of the environment where s/he lives. Due to its subjective character, the resultant urban image is partial (it does not represent all the city, but fragments) and simplified (it represents selected information chosen by the observer), also being able to be a

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[2] SHIELDS, Rob. A guide to urban representation and what to do about it: alternative traditions of urban theory, p. 227.

product of individual and collective character: people who share similar situations in time and in space, exposed to the same percipient experiences, tend to compose similar mental pictures.

Symbolic versions of the reality constitute a rich source of material for study and at the same time a treacherous field for the critical and objective analysis of the city. Indeed many times images of the city take the place of the reality : we are more likely to adopt 'slogans', which often are a simplification and a short, easily remembered statement, rather than try to better understand the complexity of the urban space in order to express what we see and feel. After the first visit one would be able to describe a city as 'exciting' or 'peaceful', 'dynamic' or 'stagnant', the 'paradise on earth' or the even 'worst place to be' (though the last would be a fairly unlikely reaction.

Environmental perception and image building is a key issue in tourist places since their landscapes must 'catch' tourists attention. In this way representations play an important role in 'orienting' the tourists' view towards particular visual aspects, most often picture-postcards that could be a small historical village surrounded by evergreen panoramas or a contemporary architectural masterwork depicted in brightly lit cities. Beauty, harmonious compositions, colour balance and so on are features usually selected to be photographed by tourists and, for the same reason, used to illustrate tourist catalogues. Taking this into account we have to consider the role of the market acting as a link between the imagined and the real place through advertising city representations.

In contemporary urban life places with cultural significance – the historical quarters, monuments, streets and districts of leisure and entertainment – play a significant part in economic development. Places with great tourist appeal have a priority in urban planning schemes in order to protect visual qualities of physical space since they show landscape features and cultural atmosphere, translating into colours, forms and sounds what is more representative of the city's identity.

Intending to merchandise "culture", private entrepreneurs often support governmental initiatives for urban renewal by recovering historical buildings, cultural venues and public spaces. On the other hand, they receive from the public agencies the necessary funding for new businesses such as restaurants and bars, art galleries, theatres, cinemas and all sorts of enterprises that boost tourism and leisure, attracting visitors.

Urban renewal can imply camouflage and removing 'undesirable' elements; in the same way, "desirable" aspects are emphasized or simply invented, sometimes without any relation with local history and culture. The creation of these new landscapes for the tourist consumption brings to light a touchy question: do such enterprises contribute effectively to the maintenance and survival of the local landscape and culture? Further, what is the limit to be observed by publicity and marketing campaigns between the "authentic / real" and the "imagined / fake"?

Some authors argue that "city marketing" and "spectacularisation" are strategies that mask the reality, sidetracking people's attention from the real problems related to the urban and social development, concentrating the focus of interest on short-term economic results (Harvey, 1998; Featherstone, 1996; Rojek 1993). Such criticisms stretch back to the 1960's, as is the case of Guy Debord's manifest[3] where he states that spectacle in contemporary life is a natural consequence in a society that values most the appearances to the detriment of the being. What this society produces is called by him "authentically spectacular". The 'spectacularisation' of the cities, therefore, can be understood as the mere result of changes in social and cultural contexts where economic policies support the production of the "real" of idealized cities.

On the other hand city governments argue that changes of the physical space and investments in strategic sectors for the maintenance or alteration of their cities' images produce more immediate and positive effects for public finances, stimulating economy and creating jobs. That has been mostly the case with cities that bet on culture and tourism as a strategy for local development.

The decay and recovery of a cultural heritage: Salvador and its historical centre

Salvador was the first colonial capital in Brazil, founded in 1549. In the following two centuries the city occupied the position of second city of Portuguese Empire (after Lisbon) and the main port in the South Atlantic. Although the capital was later moved to Rio de Janeiro, in 1763, the city of Salvador kept a significant place in the economy of the country due to its strategic position and infrastructure, built on export of primary and manufactured goods, mainly concentrated around the sugar

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[3] DEBORD, Guy. *The society of spectacle.*

cane industry. Such wealth was responsible for the construction of an exuberant colonial city, mostly based on the Portuguese baroque architecture style.

Until the end of the 19th century the city experienced a dynamic urban development, but the consequences of the rapid industrialisation in the Southeast Region (chiefly in the cities of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro), the decline of sugar cane market and the end of slavery, which had provided the labour force for more than three hundred years, brought about economic depression and stagnation. The scenery changed when oil was discovered on *Baia de Todos os Santos*[4] in 1950's, initiating an industrial development that reflected later on in urban modernisation and demographic explosion at the same time, placing Salvador among the biggest metropolises in Brazil[5].

Along the 20th century the social-economic organisation in the urban space was rearranged. The most drastic effects could be observed in the historical centre of Salvador, which had been steadily abandoned by the middle and upper classes in the first decades. These effects were intensified during the 1970's, when traditionally central urban activities were relocated to new quarters in the Northeast part of the city, e g the main bus station, the *Iguatemi* shopping mall and the Convention's Centre. Indeed, the public administration offices of Bahia's government were transferred to a modern huge complex in the outskirts of the city, alongside the *Paralela* motorway and nearby the international airport. Altogether these movements attracted investments that formed a business district characterized by modern buildings and urban infrastructure. By the beginning of 1980 this new "centrality" was settled, turning its back to the old town.

The degradation in *Pelourinho* – as the old town is called – is also regarded as a consequence of a range of factors that have been present in most of the capital cities in Brazil: the growing process of urban sprawl, the lack of public investments in housing programmes and urban infrastructure, and poverty combined with social-spatial exclusion. City centres became problematic areas for local governments, and for the middle class a dangerous, unsafe and dirty neighbourhood to be avoided. This very negative image was even stronger in Salvador. Most of the colonial buildings were fairly run-down by the end of 1960's when the poor homeless began to invade as squatters. Prostitution and drug trafficking also took place in the dark alleys, elevating the crime rates and fear.

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[4] Literally means "All Saints Bay".

[5] Salvador has 2.443.107 inhabitants according to the Demographic Census taken in 2000, setting the city in the third position on the national population ranking.

Despite the physical decay a powerful cultural movement started to take place in Salvador, based on the very traditions of the Carnival expressed in African-Brazilian music and dance that had been fermenting since the 1950's. This cultural renaissance was mainly centred on musical groups known as *blocos Afro*. The first of these groups – *Filhos de Gandhi* - was founded in 1949; to be followed by *Ile Ayie* (1974), *Olodum* (1979), *Muzemza* (1981), *Araketu* (1989), *Timbalada* (1996), among others. These groups had enormous success in the national musical scene and even abroad as *Olodum* stood out internationally through concerts in North America, Europe and Japan, exporting the black culture of Pelourinho and Bahia. The musical movement impacted positively on the image of the city but the big turning point came just after the urban renewal projects undertaken by the State of Bahia government in the 1990's.

The threatened architectural heritage had been a preoccupation of governments for quite a long time. The richness of the buildings wasted by lack of maintenance contrasted with the attempts to recover the ancient glamour of the colonial settlement. Indeed between the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1990's around 25 projects and plans were elaborated in order to renovate the area; none of them was successful (Gomes, 2000). Most of these projects were quite ambitious and foresaw a wide list of urban and social programmes to reverse the degradation process. In 1985, the historical centre of Salvador was listed by UNESCO as Cultural World Heritage, hence the claims and pressures on the local authorities to take more effective measures also increased. The city was awarded a respectable title; it was the second city in Brazil to receive it[6]. Salvador was already reputed as a tourist destination by that time and such opportunity should not be lost. Therefore a new programme was launched in 1991 by the State government of Bahia to recover partially the historical centre; in 1994 the inauguration of the "new Pelourinho" took place with many festivities, revealing a totally remodeled landscape: clean, colorful and safe.

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[6] The first cultural heritage site list by UNESCO in Brazil was the city of Ouro Preto, in 1980.

The 'land of happiness': branding the city image

In a text for the 2006 edition of the tourist guide 'Guia Unibanco Brasil: Nordeste' the Angolan writer Jose Eduardo Agualusa states:

> The Brazilian Northeast region, in especially Salvador da Bahia, became in the last decades a sort of happy Africa, an Africa that worked out, despite of the terrible crime on its origin – the slavery.

This perception of Salvador as the heart of African-Brazilian culture is very common in the country as the city and the surrounding region concentrate until nowadays the large African descendent population. The idea of the 'cradle of Brazil' refers to historical roots but also to a sentiment of cultural identity and, even more, cultural authenticity. The images linked to that are those of a friendly harmonious multi-racial society forged by overcoming the contradictions of a past of slavery and colonial domination.

The constitution of this so called 'city of joy' has its fundamentals in the preservation of *Candomble*, the African religion brought to the country by the Slaves. Images of black religiousness in Brazil, particularly in Salvador, involve an atmosphere of possession rites, altars to a pantheon of African gods, hypnotic drums, rhythms and dance steps. These aspects are often associated with magical power of their practitioners and a range of superstitions. This idea is mostly due to the complexity of the religion whose liturgy associates components of natural elements (plants, minerals, weather features), particular gastronomy, symbolic instruments and colours.

Candomble rituals take place in sacred sites called *terreiros* and in Salvador there are hundreds of them spread across the city. On special occasions a ceremony is prepared to celebrate and worship the *orixas* – the deities of Candomble. While the preparation is restricted to the initiated the ceremony itself is open to the public – including tourists. In fact the Salvador tourist office provides information on Candomble services, offering a monthly schedule of the main events. Usually these ceremonies entail hours of celebration, always at evening, involving dance performances, chants, music and meals offered in honour of the orixa.

In Brazil it is common to say that one can light a candle to the orixa and another to the saint in the same altar, in order to ask for divine protection and spiritual comfort. In Salvador this syncretism with the Catholic religion is very present in public festivities, the most important ones taking place between December and March, during the summer season. The Candomble orixas often have a counterpart

among the Catholic saints so these festivities are attended by both audiences. One of the most impressive events is *Lavagem do Bonfim*, when the stairs in front of the catholic church *Nosso Senhor do Bonfim* (our lord of Bonfim), the saint corresponding to the orixa *Oxala*, is washed by *baianas do Candomble* with perfumed water.

The city image is also much entwined with narratives provided by local artists and intellectuals who became the "voices" of Bahia's myth and magic. Such poetic visions came from a small, well defined circle of friends among who four names stand out: Jorge Amado, Pierre Verger, Carybe and Dorival Caymmi. Their work influenced the minds of locals and tourists in the second half of the 20th century while still being influential nowadays.

Jorge Amado (1912-2001) is one of the best-known and successful Brazilian writers who had his work translated into more than 40 languages. Most of Amado's novels feature the everyday life in Salvador and the characters are often portraits of poor black people, fishermen, sailors, prostitutes and street vendors. Much of his work was adapted for Brazilian TV, bringing him immense popularity. Jorge Amado was considered part of the city heritage, its 'ambassador', and his books a translation of Bahia's soul.

In a tourist guide written by him in 1945 he invites the outsiders to visit the 'uncharted' Salvador, initiating each paragraph with an appeal to pay attention to particular aspects of the local culture: the drums heard in 'mysterious night', the *saveiros* (typical boats found in Northeast region) raising their sails, the *sarapatel*, *acaraje* and *vatapa* (typical local food) found on the streets, the 'uncountable' number of churches and colonial houses where poor people lived. The text contains two statements that later became powerful slogans for the city promotion:

> *Vem, a Bahia te espera* (Come here, Bahia is waiting for you)

> *A Bahia e um estado de espirito* (Bahia is a state of mind).

The French photographer and anthropologist Pierre Verger (1902-1996) disembarked in Bahia in 1946, leaving the turbulent post-war Europe to find a peaceful, almost paradisiacal place in the South Atlantic. We can wonder how such contrast influenced his later work, thousands of photographs that he shot in the city, mainly picturing the people, the port, the popular festivities and the African rituals. Seduced by the local culture and landscape Pierre Verger lived in Salvador until his death in 1996. In the meanwhile he managed to visit some African countries a couple of times. He was an active practitioner of Candomble and well accepted in the

rituals, even participated in those not open to strangers – quite amazing considering his status as a white European man. Some testimonies of other artists and intellectuals give us an idea how remarkable his contribution to building the image of Salvador and its inhabitants is:

> *"Verger played an extremely important role in the recovery of the African memory in our culture"* *(Gilberto Velho, anthropologist).*

> *"He was one of those foreigners who ended up incorporating the "bahianism". The archives bequeathed by Verger are indispensable to any study on the State of Bahia" (Darcy Ribeiro, sociologist).*

> *"He was a bridge between Europe, Africa and Brazil. Nobody managed as he did to understand the soul and the culture of Bahia. This Frenchman, who undertook so much research on Africa, became the most Bahian of any of us. He was a fundamental Bahian" (Jorge Amado, writer).*

Photos by Pierre Verger taken in the1940's. Source: Pierre Verger Foundation, Bahia.

Women during the Candomble ritual (on the left); view of Pelourinho (on the right)

The Argentinean visual artist Hector Julio Bernabo, known as **Carybe** (1911-1997), was, like Pierre Verger, another "adopted son" of Bahia. He visited Salvador for the first time in 1938; twelve years later he settled there as a permanent resident. Being deft in many art techniques and very prolific Carybe left many works that are now scattered in public places and buildings, as panels, murals, sculptures, paintings and engravings. Carybe's main theme was the orixas of Candomble, which were depicted

by him so often and in so diverse contexts that they became a sort of 'official' iconography of those gods. This preference was certainly related to his own integration on the Afro-Bahian culture and religious beliefs.

Dorival Caymmi (1914) has a distinguished place in Brazilian popular music, being the most well known name among Bahia's composers. One of his greatest successes and, at the same time, a turning point in the musical scene was *O que é que a baiana tem?* (What does baiana have?) which was recorded by Carmen Miranda and launched in the Carnival of 1939. The instantaneous fame achieved was followed by a long and creative career marked with very popular and unforgettable songs, based on traditional Carnival rhythms and melodies. The seashore and poetic landscapes of Salvador are recurrent themes in his songs. He made a name as 'the most bahian among bahians" although living in Rio de Janeiro since 1939. He enjoyed a lifelong friendship with Jorge Amado and influenced many other musicians as well, including a second generation of Bahia's composers as Caetano Veloso and Gilberto Gil.

Photos by Pierre Verger taken in the 1940's. Source: Pierre Verger Foundation, Bahia.

**Fishermen dragging a fishing net in Itapua beach (on the left);
the musician Dorival Caymmi (on the right)**

The "culture-entertainment" tourist strategy

Actions and programmes to develop tourism in Salvador became a priority for local government in the 1990's. Salvador received special attention from the State

government since the city is the gateway for the whole Northeast region; the aim was to enhance the existing tourist attractions and at the same time to develop other sectors, taking advantage of the city's potentials. Cultural tourism, business events and nautical activities were defined as the most potential tourist profile of Salvador.

According to this the urban regeneration programme of Pelourinho must be seen as part of a wider strategy, offering alternative attractions beyond the traditional sun-sand tourism. Nevertheless there is a continuous flow of investment into facilities for beach holiday makers. Many public spaces along the coastline were renovated, provided with cycling paths, showers, gardens and nocturnal lighting. In a more emblematic project of this 'new age' of public policies for culture and tourism a 'cultural' shopping mall was built on the sands of *Jardim de Alah* beach, through a public-private partnership. Firstly, it raised a discussion on the lack of environmental concerns of the project, placed in a protected area; secondly, the 'cultural' label was not very appropriate for a set of shops, restaurants and cinemas, despite the fact that some of these shops would host handcraft artists. The question was pretty much how the concept of 'culture' should be understood in this case: is that 'true' culture or 'mere' entertainment?

The administrative organisation was reformulated as well and in 1995 Culture and Tourism were united under the same secretary at the State government level. In the meanwhile Pelourinho gained the status of a real tourist 'product', being advertised in the media as locus of 'cultura baiana', the place were one can meet the authentic African roots and experience the atmosphere of 'the magical drums', echoing Jorge Amado's invitation in his tourist guide published forty years before.

Pelourinho was placed as a focal point in the tourism development strategy mainly because the physical renovation was planned to become a showcase of public policies. Due to its extension and approach, not considering housing an issue and removing the squatters, the project received lots of negative criticism. Apparently the locals, meaning the poor black population who were living in the ruined buildings of Pelourinho, did not take part in the discussion that was restricted to architects, urban planners and political opponents (Gomes, 2000). Just after the inauguration of the first phase, attended by celebrities like Jorge Amado, it was pointed out that there existed the contradiction of promoting a place as the black heart of the city while pushing out of its main cultural heritage: people. In this view Pelourinho became a non-place, an illusion for tourists' entertainment (Azevedo, 1994).

The renovated quarters of Pelourinho: an open air "shopping mall"….

Source: Gloria Lanci, 2006

…and buildings inhabited by squatters still waiting for the urban renovation works

The social and economic impacts of the urban regeneration programme and the shift promoted by the State of Bahia government towards a more culturally oriented tourism still need to be better studied. General statistics show positive figures in the number of tourists but very little is known about how many of them enjoy the local culture beyond the coastline attractions and even less about their habits, preferences and image evaluation.

Conclusions: "Brazil, a way of life"

The statement above is placed on the web home page of the Ministry of Tourism and is followed by a description of what is considered the cultural identity of Brazil:

> *Brazil was formed from the mixture of skin colours, flavours, sounds and cultures. It is made up of small portions taken from every corner of the world, from the many people who settled here, the result of which is a happy atmosphere and the Brazilian way of living. Brazilian people are proud of their nation, and feel proud to show the country to all visitors, all the good and beautiful things our tropical country has to offer: Brazilian music; popular and religious parties; our architecture – Cultural and Historical Heritages of Humanity; the diversified cuisine of every region and city; the rich archaeological and paleontological sites found all over the country; its indigenous nations – the true roots of our "brazilianess"; and much more. Add to all those rich attractions our hospitality and care: this is the cultural essence of our people.[7]*

It is worth pointing out that Salvador's unique culture is not detached of Brazilian context: the marketing campaigns and the images promoted by the tourist office and tourist operators create a sort of 'mythology' about its inhabitants, people that are responsible, in the first instance, for the 'magical' experience of visiting the city. However the everyday reality of poverty and violence of a Brazilian metropolis can not be disregarded, mainly because those aspects impact negatively on the urban landscape and tourist sites. Although tourist operators always highlight the positive, affirmative and hopeful features of "the city of joy" it is difficult not to be concerned about many urban problems like pollution, physical degradation, heavy traffic and deficient infrastructure.

This conflict appears in the case of Salvador as a tourist city advertised by its culture and urban landscape where urban development is a sensitive area of intervention. The growing tourist market has been pushing local governments and public agents to invest more in the urban landscape in order to re-invent or reinforce the city image. The inherited visual forces are reproduced and emphasized beyond their 'natural' appeals, the idea being not only to show off the inherited features of the city but also to recreate post-cards. Frequently the marketing strategy adopted plays with oppositions, e g Salvador is 'magical', in opposition to ordinary unattractive cities, Salvador is a never-ending-party city, in contrast to quotidian ones, it is above all a

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[7] Ministry of Tourism. 2006.
    http://www.braziltour.com/site/gb/tour_produtos/materia.php?id_tour=1312

leisure place and this is very true when 'work cities' are shown as places to escape from.

As we showed in this paper Bahia's cultural identity was 'blessed' with the artists' view as the local pride was certainly reinforced through their works. In the same way the musical movements helped poor black people to recover self-esteem and, mainly to youth, an opportunity to have a job, an income and more dignity. Nowadays Salvador's Carnival is quite a well established cultural industry that crosses the national borders, being part of the entertainment business. On the other hand the blocos Afro still keep strong ties with local communities and many of them have projects for the social inclusion of the poor.

In this context the experience of Salvador can drive policymakers to rethink their strategies. Following the enthusiasm around culture and creativity as triggers for urban development it is reasonable to say that Salvador has a good chance to perform in the competitive market of cultural tourism. But it is also clear to see that this market can be tricky for the city if the local government and tourist stakeholders continue to overlook the difficulties and challenges of poverty reduction, violence and the low levels of formal education – which are depicting an image closer to the country's reality than to the magic land dream.

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PART 4:

Cultural Tourism as a Means of Reinforcing Collective Identities

Chapter 12
Cultural Tourism and (Cross) Cultural Identities: Understanding Nationalism

Joachim Kappert[1]

In the last couple of years, economic globalization has created a new point of departure in the discussion on 'nationality'. The notion 'national' has become fashionable again, as a counterpart of economic outsourcing, reassuring the importance of 'national' symbolism, language and territory. The background to these tendencies can be found in the traditional perspective of nationality. This paper highlights some historic developments which have led to that understanding. The current discussion evokes thesis on ethnicity and nation-building, based on a widespread nationalist mythology.

The modern view of nationality bases on the pluralistic concept of society, recognising attached identities linked to religion, language, age, profession, aesthetics, etc. This transcultural approach should be used by the tourism industry as a peaceful and mutual way to develop communication between cultures. The tourism industry is a main factor in international cultural exchanges and has to focus on these issues in order to develop a broader understanding between peoples. The very idea of travelling is to achieve knowledge and to get emotional about cultures and places different to the accustomed. Travelling implies an open mind, a certain ability of fearlessness and adaptation to tolerate and enjoy other cultures.

Global society, civil society organizations and United Nation agencies are faced with a series of challenges that should be approached based on principles of prevention, resolution and reconciliation. Meanwhile, conflicts in the 21st century are directly attributable to values spread by Western culture focussing on the accumulation and dominance of capital, and to the social and behavioural differences generated by

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these values. Conflict prevention must be based on an adjustment of values and the recovery of a culture of life-oriented sustainability of the type that is both traditional and natural. Rising questions about 'nationality' leads to notions commonly interpreted as 'culture' or 'identity'. This paper tries to evidence academic perspectives and findings on that matter, as well its implications on the tourism industry.

As Greg Richards (1996) stated, cultural tourism has become recognized "as an important agent of economic and social change in Europe, as politicians proudly refer to cultural heritage as motor of economy." Truly, the application of words like 'proudly', 'motor' and 'cultural heritage' are carefully chosen, deducing that cultural heritage, under the supposition to work as an economic motor, makes (us) proud. This is even true for cultural (national) heritage sites such as medieval military castles (many of them recognised as Unesco World Heritage) or even recent concentration camps (e.g. the former KGB-prison in Liepaja, Latvia), as they are turning themselves into 'motors' of the local economy. Quickly, the attached tourism industry appears to be advancing in all countries and regions, occupying the spaces vacated by other industries, and claiming strategic locations (Corijn/Mommas, 1995), thus turning cultural heritage in a nearly omnipresent feature of modern tourism and economy. However, just as labour forces are facing growing global competition, the question of (cultural) identity rises again. Outsourcing of labour force, migration currents and the eternal gender question - again analysts focus on economics as on philosophy (Craik 1997; Dahrendorf 1991; Gellner 1993; Leggewie 1990).

"Research on nationalism" has acted as a vehicle for the transport of mythology and stereotypes into academia. Substantial elements of nationalist mythology can be traced in important academic literature of rather recent date. The methods of social sciences are sufficiently developed to filter nationalist mythologies and stereotypes out of academic productions, at least to a high extent nationalism and national identity.

What is 'national'?

The traditional concept of nation as a single culture was developed in the late 18th century by Johann Gottfried Herder and is characterized by three elements. Firstly, every culture determines the act and objects in an unmistakable way of precisely this culture. Secondly, culture is always the "culture of the folk" (Herder, 1966). Thirdly, every culture is distinguishable and remains separate from other folks' cultures.

The members of a *nation* share a 'group feeling', based on their *national identity*. Although the quality of feelings associated to *national identity* vary from person to person, the *nationality* is a rather significant identity category in the process of social classification. The acknowledgement of *national identity* is supported by the existence of *national symbols* (flags, national anthems, costumes, kings and presidents, VIPs and sport teams, ...) capable to provoke intense emotional reaction in citizens. Although the intensity of emotional perturbations and the quality of feelings associated vary substantially within the citizens, these symbols have great impact in the 'national conscience'.

In most cases, the 'national feeling' is supported by sharing the same *national language*. But this is not convincing, as there are countries (e.g. Switzerland, Belgium, India, African states) with several national languages. On the other hand, the same language (e.g. French, English, Arabic) is spoken in several countries. It is important to remember that the 'linguistic union' is a quite recent phenomenon in many countries. It was common to have numerous idioms (dialects), mutually incomprehensible, in many countries. When Italy became united in 1861, only 2.5% of the population spoke Italian (Zank, 2004). The diffusion of school education and the development of communication tools, as radio and television, promoted the linguistic unification. The believe in the existence and necessity of cultural homogeneity has provoked policies to foster this homogenization: for example, some countries forced their linguistic homogeneity (e.g. Germany, Spain, Italy). Many countries suffered waves of linguistic purification in an effort to eliminate foreign words of the 'mother tongue' (e.g. France).

The *national feeling* is also based on the existence of a *national territory*. The 'political community' continues rooted in state institutions with sovereignty over the 'national territory', based on the power of legislation on 'rights and duties' of the citizens and on the power to use police force to apply the constitution. The political-juridical administration and the economic market are predominately linked to the *national territory* (even in the countries of the European Union, in spite of the proclaimed 'European Union spirit'), so that *national boundaries* have a tremendous impact in our way of life: the fact that a majority of citizens is much more interested in 'national news' than in 'international news', which is not only related to linguistic boundaries.

The traditional Perspective of Nationality

The *cultural homogeneity*, as consensual conception of society, is appointed as

common ground for *national identity*. This ideal 'cultural uniformity' is understood as basis of the *national* character and the *identity profile* of its members – the consensual conception of society.

This way to conceive *national identity* has its roots in 'nationalistic mythologies'. Rising from the traditional idea of the existence of values, norms, attitudes and common interests of the group members, the 'nationalist movements' suppose the similarity of certain temper and behaviour patterns, allegedly characterizing all the members of a nation.

The myth of the existence of a 'national character' is supported by stereotypes associated with different nations. Frequently the nationalists underline that not all members of a nation exhibit the 'typical characteristics' of the nation, declaring them as 'traitors' (internal enemies of the national community; social-democratic movements; therefore, were classified as 'non-patriotic' and internationalism was regarded as a threat) or 'bad examples' of national identity, regarded as 'unique character', as well as nationalists believe in the 'national grandiosity', the self-evaluation based on the necessity of 'positive distinction' (Zank, 2004). The belief in the existence and necessity of a 'cultural homogeneity' has resulted in policies which foster homogeneity. The belief in the specificity of a national culture has had political implications such as frequently trying to defend it from external intrusions.

The *cultural constancy* is also appointed as a tenet of 'national identity'. This cultural constancy is understood as basis for stability of the 'national character' and its permanence is the typical profile of its members during the times, therefore a static concept of society. Many nationalists defend the ancestry of certain behavioural patterns, apparently characterizing all members of a nation. This belief is frequently supported by policies which impede alterations in iconography and symbols of a nation. 'National symbols' prevail inalterable during a long period of time (the 'national flag' of some countries is centuries old) and are frequently fiercely defended (many people feel indignant by a proposal to change the letter of the national anthem, or to sing it in another language, e.g. Portugal, USA).

The *cultural harmony* is also appointed as a tenet of national identity. Underlining that the members of a nation share the same 'national interests', traditionally the conflicts between divergent national position are considered not desired and dysfunctional for the nation in the concept of a harmonic society (Hedetoft, 2002).

The belief in the cultural harmony is intimately associated to the belief of 'cultural uniformity' of the group. Underlining that the members of a nation share the same

myths and the same history, the existence of a 'common memory' is appointed as basis of 'social cohesion'. The belief in the *cultural unity* has inspired many nationalists to use an organic analogy: the nation is understood as a plant or a person, composed by organs which cooperate and grant survival. The analogy of a 'living organism' leads to the concept of a nation as a 'determined entity', essentially stable and united.

Nationalism in History

Nationalism and national movements in Europe enjoyed widespread legitimacy in the late 19th century. To be a "nationalist" or a "patriot" was not a euphemism, or a rather aggressive or wistfully nostalgic label, but was becoming the epithet of modernist, future-oriented respectability. "The national" was positive ideology, representing an ideal unity of the social, the cultural and the political – in fact, of people and state, though the "nationalization of the masses" (Mosse, 1975) had reached different levels and had penetrated differently into the hearts and minds of different social and regional sections of the population in the various European countries.

This conception of 'national identity' is the basis for nationalist mythologies. Through the traditional idea of existence of common values, norms, attitudes and interests of group members, the nationalist movements imply a similarity of temper and behaviour.

Nationalism today has a political container (the nation-state) which works as a naturalized reference-point and umbrella for citizens' national identities, and pivots around a series of "banalities" (Billig, 1995) that frame people's social and cultural lives and feelings of belonging – thus conditioning their practice as well as their mental dispositions. It is also subjunctive, since people harbour images of a better, fairer, more humane, communitarian and also more functional nation-state, and often cultivate national traditions and cherish memories of the national past. Nationalism, in the meaning of imagined communities, still has a profound impact on popular imagination. But the conception of a 'national culture' as a sphere or island, accordingly with the logic, does nothing other than collide with other 'national cultures'. It comes to a clash, as already Herder realized, as cultures of this kind must ignore, defame or combat one another.

Nationalism in the Political Debate

All elements of this traditional concept have become outdated today. Modern societies are differentiated within themselves. There are vertical differences in society: the culture of a working-quarter, a well-to-do residential district, and that of the alternative scene, hardly exhibit any common denominator (Welsch, 1996). There are also horizontal divisions: gender division, differences between male and female, or between straight and lesbian and gay can constitute quite different cultural patterns of life forms. The traditional concept of culture proves inadequate as it cannot cope with the inner complexity of modern cultures.

The traditional concept of culture is a concept of inner homogenization and outer separation at the same time. In other words, as a consequence of its very conception, it is a sort of cultural racism. The appeal to cultural identity of this kind finally threatens to produce separatism and to pave the way for political conflicts and wars.

Increasingly nationalism and nationalist discourses articulate a series of *defensive* dimensions: sentimental attachments, heritage and tradition (our way of life), protector against (too much) transnationality (economic patriotism), safeguard against the decoupling of national masses from their elected elites (information and media), barrier against unwelcome immigration (xenophobia), display case of moral virtues and norms (religion) and superior qualities (e.g. in the sports arena), and a space of historically constructed homeyness and rootedness (ignoring migration). Nationalism attempts to resist, reshape or constrain the consequences of "globalization" for the nation-state and its national identity.

As globalization advances, accompanied by social disruption, grows the ideological impulse to revitalise patriotic feelings. The reaction to globalization is national and not socio-emancipational. In the United States, Samuel Huntington's *"Who are we?"* (2004) is a best-seller. In the United Kingdom, New Labour politicians are giving lectures on '*Britishness*', the French government speaks of '*patriotisme économique*', and German social-democrats condemn the '*locust's plague of transnationality*'. Denmark provides the world with a '*culture canon*' in spite of the polemic and plainly xenophobic publication of the Mohammed-cartoons, launched under the cover of free expression of speech, but fostering common negative stereotypes against non-Christian religions. Several European countries voted their 'most important citizen' and the result was a selection of post-war politicians with the laudable exception of

Belgium, whose citizens voted for Jacques Brel. And France and the Netherlands will hold referendums to say that they are not Europeans, but first of all French and Dutch! Several countries prepare a new codex for immigration. The construction of 'nation' is on the test, as in Germany, where the media campaign '*Du bist Deutschland*' mobilised millions of citizens for interior nationalist marketing. This makes the current debate on immigration so interesting: The German *Einwanderungsfragebögen* are not for Indian, Russian or Turkish immigrants, but for the German citizens to prove whether they pass the test or not. The debate is not on the loyalty of immigrants, but on the loyalty of Germans (Matussek, 2006). The most intriguing question in times of currents of migration and in inquiries of immigration is: Who are we? What is our 'homeland'?

Ethnicity and 'Nation-Building'

Post-Cold War events have brought factors to the surface that are almost demanding to be recognised when examining the roots and influences of nationalism. Namely, ethnicity, emotions, the importance of a civil society, the differences between rural and urban cultures within modernity, and the differences in consciousness amongst different peoples.

Each route taken towards nation formation is unique, or at least each individual group would like to believe theirs is unique. In fact each nationalism does contain its own unique combination of characteristics often represented by the ideals of civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism are ideal types not found in isolation in practice, which had largely been proved by attempts of 'nation-building' in the recent years. All these attempts, whether in Somalia, Afghanistan or Iraq failed, whereas the separation of a 'nation' into subcategories resulted in independent states (e.g. Ethiopia, USSR, Yugoslavia), now recognising themselves as 'nations' with strong nationalist emphasis.

A cultural threat may arise not just from societal change or breakdown, but also as a consequence of an 'alien culture' dominance. This was certainly the case with the Republic of Ireland reacting against the dominance of the British Empire, likewise with the Basque region in Spain. Examples may be given also by the Sudan Darfur region, the Kurdish region and the Israeli-Palestinian territorial conflict.

Nationality versus Melting Pot

Many if not most cultural features in Europe have been cross-national: Christianity, patterns of nationalist mythology, anti-Semitism, post-materialism. Consequently, all European countries have been 'cultural cocktails'. The nations have been particular only in the sense that the exact specification and specific weights of the ingredients have been different from country to country. But all countries have been cultural melting pots.

The claim that nations have been culturally heterogeneous, is hardly original, but, it is necessary to underline banalities. There have never been patterns of behaviour or moral or cognitive beliefs which were common for a whole nation. To suppose the existence of such a 'national identity' is therefore the step where national mythology and national stereotyping begins. As to the group feeling and the corresponding symbols, nations have in fact been united. In this sense commonness actually has existed. The error has been to extrapolate this common group feeling to an (imaginary) union of values, norms and beliefs (Zank, 2004).

Nationalist Mythology

Reiterating Smith's (1991) identification of "memory, value, myth and symbolism" as the distinctive subjective features of a community, we can locate that which motivates nationalism. Myths are most indicative and insightful to a society's nationalistic direction. Myths are needed for external consumption and internal mobilisation. The elites use myths, and fashion new ones, "by their own ideals and the logic of the ethnic situation" (Smith, 1991), to successfully steer the society along the quickest path to cultural harmony. When the road is to be short, the elite will use whatever is most promising and popularly appealing to divert attention from other issues and achieve their goal. The most direct route to generating popular mobilisation is to appeal to the emotions of the people. Therefore, the old cultural notion of inner homogeneity and outer delimitation engenders chauvinism and cultural fundamentalism.

Nevertheless, Nations show cultural homogeneity. In nationalist mythology, the "-ness" of a nation has been something unique, and therefore, all nations are "very special". As many scholars (e.g. Max Weber) have pointed out, hetero-stereotypes and auto-stereotypes have been mutually supporting each other. The idea of a

particular "-ness" of a nation has been a myth, but this does not mean that this idea has been unimportant. On the contrary, liberating the "-ness" from external oppression or defending it against foreign intrusions has constituted powerful motives for human action. And, ironically, the idea of a homogeneous "-ness" actually contributed to bringing about a certain homogeneity (Zank, 2004).

Another pillar of nationalist mythology has been the contention that the "-ness" has been constant over time, "very old", almost eternal, and, by implication, with a long life ahead. "Eternal" characteristics were attributed both to other groups and to one's own. But in fact, one of the most essential features of modern times has been cultural change.

Another pattern which is often found in nationalist mythology is the use of biological analogies. Already in the eyes of Johann Gottfried Herder, nations were like plants or persons, with a soul and a definite life span. Thus, the biological analogy expresses the second main tenet of nationalist mythology, the constancy over time, which fosters 'claims' of the land of the forefathers (e.g. Israel). Biological analogy gives an over-harmonic picture of an imaginary society. It also allows the ideological implication that every member should see him/herself as part of a whole, and accept her/his place in it.

We speak of myths when central tenets of nationalism such as the homogeneity of the "-ness" or its 'eternal character' become uncritically reproduced. Authors simply assume that qualitative observations are representative. This is a methodological sin which allows national stereotypes to filter into academic productions!

History is a cultural battlefield where various actors construct competing views. There is consensus on a number of fields, mainly about "what has happened" (which military hero conquered what), but much disagreement when it comes to the question "why did it happen" (the origins of change). Furthermore, there is a huge body of historical literature which is produced by journalists, by amateurs, or by actors of various kinds who produce collective memories. Political parties and fringe groups (e.g. ultra-nationalists, religious fundamentalists) are at times quite productive too. Also the movie industry has become a powerful producer of historical versions, sometimes hopelessly (or deliberately!) fictive. And among the population at large, personal memories and the oral tradition are as divergent and contradicting as the personal experiences have been.

In a functional view, a myth might contribute to cultural harmony. But modern nations owe their harmony not to homogeneous beliefs, but to mechanisms such as

equal rights, common laws and socialisation through a national educational system, thus identifying their culture. Compared to traditional calls for cultural homogeneity the concept is progressive, but its all too traditional understanding of cultures threatens to engender regressive tendencies which by appealing to a particularistic cultural identity lead to ghettoization or cultural fundamentalism.

The modern Perspective of Nationality

The *cultural diversity* is appointed as tenet for the variety of attitudes linked to *national identity*. The fact that *cultural heterogeneity* of citizens of one country and the plurality of *attached identities* (religious, political, linguistic, age group, professional, aesthetics, etc.) in citizens of different countries, underlines the variety of *identitary affiliation* of citizens who share a same *identity group* – the *pluralistic concept of society*.

Transculturality is a consequence of the inner differentiation and complexity of modern cultures. Cultures today are extremely interconnected and entangled with each other. Lifestyles no longer end at the borders of national cultures, but go beyond these, are found in the same way in other cultures. The new forms are a consequence of migratory processes, as well as of worldwide material and immaterial communications systems and economic interdependencies. It is here, of course, that questions of power come in (Welsch, 1996), which may distort the concept and introduce a bias.

The pluralistic concept of society is implicit in the constitutions of democratic states, as democratic organizations grant the liberty of expression (religious, political, ethnical, sexual, etc.) and the equality of citizens before the law. The extension of the *principle of equality of rights and duties of citizens* for all the population was a long and conflictual process (women only achieved the right to vote in the 20th century). The conviction of equality of political rights for all members of a country (civic conception of nation) has fostered policies which grant the respect for freedom of opinion and organization of all citizens.

The concept of transculturality aims for a multi-meshed and inclusive, not separatist and exclusive understanding of culture. It intends a culture and society whose pragmatic feats exist not in delimitation, but in the ability to link and undergo transition.

Images of Identity in Tourism

The promotion of tourism destinations is mostly done through a sophisticated web of marketing, merchandising and identification. The rather simplistic traditional concept of nationality and society can easily be integrated in marketing slogans, which are also held very simple and suggestive. Tourism marketing adopts traditional clichés and often enhances them. The modern concept of society underlines more the cultural and especially transcultural aspects, which entered also in tourism marketing, as culture is without doubt one of the central interests in choosing a tourist destination. However, the importance of cultural tourism has sometimes been overestimated, as 'cultural tourists remain a minority within the overall cultural visitor population' (Richards & Queiros, 2005). The expectations and images of a place often determine the understanding of its 'culture'.

The way in which other places and people are imagined may be described as relational and dichotomous: on the one hand containing an 'us' bias which is the point of departure identity-wise of the image holders, on the other hand a 'not-us' or 'them' bias which acquires meaning in the light of 'us', thus fed by prejudice, stereotypes and subjectiveness.

If one tells us, as the old concept of culture did, that culture is to be a homogeneity event, then we practice the required coercions and exclusions. We seek to satisfy the task we are set and will be successful in so doing. Whereas, if one tells us or subsequent generations that culture ought to incorporate the foreign and do justice to transcultural components, the we will set about this task, and then corresponding feats of integration will belong to the real structure of our culture. The 'reality' of culture is, in this sense, always a consequence too of our conceptions of culture (Welsch, 1996).

The *hostile image* of the 'other' is absolute as 'they' are perceived as incompatible with 'us', and especially in times of war these images exist because the 'other' constitutes apparently a threat. Furthermore, the immoral and hostile traits ascribed to these 'others' also function as the justification of a hostile attitude towards and treatment of them, the 'spiral of hatred'.

Friendly images of other people and places belong to the discourse of international politics, diplomacy and tourism, and is used for establishing and maintaining friendly relations between different countries and cultures. 'They are like us' is the basic tone of this 'other' image and rests on a notion of compatibility between 'us' and 'them'.

Apart from being an official discourse with a designated purpose, friendly images of other places also exist in the population as a consequence of the increasing globalization and international contacts. Information follows a degree of insight and understanding, though it should be stressed that a sense of compatibility is likely not to materialise in case of 'us' and 'them' having highly different values and world-views. The Egyptian TV-Spot on Red Sea Resorts with a Western style bikini-girl with endless legs at Hurghada beach, may serve as an example of that contradiction.

Having an *exotic image* of another place and people implies romantic, seductive, fascinating, in short positive characteristics to these and is founded on a wish to identify with and become part of the 'other'. This wish for identification seems, however, to exist outside the sphere of every-day life, for example in relation to tourist travel, as the 'other' in this context is seen as a compensation for lacks in the daily life. Exotic images of other people and places are in a sense manifestations of people's desire for escapism – 'they' are filled with characteristics which 'we' believe to have lost: purity, honesty and a straightforward way of living. It seems plausible to talk about different degrees of exoticism, ranging from pure exoticism in relation to unknown and highly different (i.e. non-western) cultures, which may, indeed, be attractive because they have a dangerous tinge, to semi-exotic cultures which in their heritage, mentality and/or present day customs appear to be out of the ordinary but in relation to aspects like societal structure and political system are quite alike the culture of the image holder. The cultural tourism offer also exploits and explores preconstructed notions of what the cultural tourism experience 'should be' (Clarke, 2003). The problem of this industry-biased approach is the often overwhelming dependency on visitors, thus adopting 'exotic' features to a more understandable way for the foreign visitor. But wherever an individual is cast by differing cultural interests, the linking of such transcultural components with one another becomes a specific task in identity-forming. Work on one's identity is becoming more and more work on the integration of components of differing cultural origin. And only the ability to transculturally cross over will guarantee us identity and competence in the long run (Welsch, 1996)

Conclusions

The obvious flaw in the concept of globalization is assuming that cultures are becoming the same the world over (Featherstone, 1990). Globalization is a concept of uniformization - preferably following the Western model – and of uniformization

alone. From the viewpoint of globalization, particularisms are just phenomena which are retrograde and whose destiny is to vanish.

But particularisms cannot in fact be ignored. The 'return to tribes' is shaping the state of the world just as much as the trend towards a world society. The rise of particularisms is a reaction to globalization processes, creating explosive situations, because the particularisms often refine themselves through the appeal to cultural identity to nationalisms producing hatred, purification actions and war.

As concerning as one may find these phenomena, we won't be able to get by without taking seriously the demand of a specific, though multiple, identity. People don't want just to be universal or global, but also specific and of their own. This desire is legitimate, and forms in which it can be satisfied without danger are to be determined and promoted. Future cultural forms will have to be such that they also cater for the demand for specificity. The concept of transculturality goes beyond these seemingly hard alternatives. The globalizing tendencies as well as the desire for specificity and particularity can be fulfilled within transculturality. It promotes not separation, but exchange and interaction.

The question of identity suffers changing with the times. After a period of nation-states with highly monostatic ideologies, modern states recognise the pluralistic conception of society. In this sense, cultural diversity is seen as motor of development and mutual understanding. But still, the 'national' label has an important position in countries' marketing, as psychological manifestation and as historic mythology, related to the current fears of the population.

In the tourism industry, we are dealing with regions and people. We should be aware of the impact of 'national' labels and focus on places and its inhabitants with their specific singularities and learn to appreciate them, thus promoting the pluralistic conception of society and apply techniques of tolerance and mutual understanding, leading to a concept of transculturality

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Chapter 13
Tourism and Identity in Catalunya

Greg Richards[1]

Introduction

Identity, by definition, is based on groups distinguishing themselves and being 'different'. This process was implicit in the project of nation-building during the 19th and 20th centuries, as 'nations' tried to forge coherent identities for themselves both internally and externally. The internal coherence was most often achieved by selecting particular cultural symbols which could unite the nation, particularly a single language. Externally, it was equally important to be able to claim elements of culture which validated the coherence of the nation and its claim to sovereignty. Flags, anthems, armies, national airlines and other symbols have all been utilised to this end.

The selection of symbols related to the identity of a nation or region is also very important from the perspective of tourism. Tourists arguably search for difference, and therefore symbols of identity almost by definition create that difference. Those elements that distinguish a culture are also often seen by tourists as 'authentic' elements of the culture. When in Italy you have to eat pizza, in the Netherlands you go in search of windmills, etc.

However, there are two basic problems with this apparently neat synergy between the desire to forge national identity and the tourist desire to consume different identities. Firstly, the identities that nations create are very rarely representative of the identities of all their inhabitants, and are usually contested and often rejected (as is the case with 'Spanish' symbols of identity, such as bullfighting or Flamenco). Secondly, the selection process also creates the suspicion among tourists that what they are being sold is not the 'real' identity of a place, but rather a watered-down (or over-embellished) version of the 'true' or 'authentic' version.

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The relationship between culture, identity and tourism has long been a concern in cultural tourism (eg Ashworth and Larkham, 1994; Robinson and Boniface, 1999). However the dominant discourse has been one of tourist erosion of culture as local people seek to develop their culture into an economic resource, at which point culture becomes 'commodified' and somehow devalued. More sophisticated analyses of these issues have pointed out, however, that commodification need not touch the essential cultural values of a community, that all cultures change, and through changing, new aspects of that culture come to be accepted as 'authentic' by tourists and locals alike (Cohen, 1988).

One way in which the impact of tourism on culture is supposed to be minimised is that the culture consumed by tourists is in effect specially produced for them – a pseudo culture which matches the tourist image of the culture in question. In contrast to the false image projected for tourists, local people hang on to their 'real' culture and traditions, or as some would see it, their identity. Definition and ownership of identity remains with the local community, whereas tourist images are globally traded commodities.

The idea of identity being somehow distinct from tourist image is now being challenged by tourist destinations seeking to use 'identity' as a basis for tourism development. In the case of Catalunya, an Autonomous Community and culturally-defined 'nation' within the Spanish state, this idea has been taken to its logical conclusion in the development of 'identity tourism'.

This paper examines the concept of identity tourism and how it is being developed in Catalunya. It seeks to understand how this concept might differ from other models of cultural tourism, and what elements of identity are actually being used to develop tourism.

Catalan identity

Catalunya is an Autonomous Community of Spain, which arguably has a distinct cultural and linguistic identity stretching back over 1000 years. The Cortes Catalanes, the Catalan Parliament, is arguably the oldest democratic legislative body in Europe.

The development of the Catalan state was an important underpinning for the development of the Catalan language, which boasts a rich and long literary tradition. The language is seen as one of the important 'fets diferencials', or distinguishing features of Catalan culture, which include: sardanas, castellers, diables and gegants.

As Giner (1984) shows, these symbols have been solidified in Catalunya in an atmosphere of adversity, where the country has always been threatened, occupied or repressed by larger neighbours, principally Spain and France. This position gives a particular weight to symbols of national identity:

> The people of such small 'advanced' stateless nations must find their collective identity by falling back on the institutions of their civil societies, as public and state institutions are alien and often hostile to them. This search for a common identity and strength results also in the conscious participation of the people in many symbolic acts of ethno-cultural affirmation. In this respect Catalonia must be one of the very few industrial countries where the progress of technology and capitalism has not meant the relegation of a vast number of traditional festivities, dances and ritualistic games of all sorts either to remote rural areas, or to certain pockets of the popular classes. Some of these rituals, like the sardana, the national dance, in which rich and poor, old and young, men and women, participate in one single unbroken circle, have still not retreated from the busiest squares and thoroughfares of Barcelona, Perpignan, Tarragona, to this day. Others, like the competitions between human towers (castells) once confined to certain areas seem to be actually spreading now, benefiting, rather than suffering, from the attention they receive from the media.

The physical symbols of identity are bolstered by a number of supposed social traits, principally a proverbial fondness for hard work, careful spending and profitable investment, which also play a prominent pan in their self-image. These traits are also used to contrast Catalunya with with neighbouring Spain, where the national culture is pictured as lazy, backward and profligate (particularly in terms of the money 'wasted' on expensive fiestas, in contrast to their more sober Catalan counterparts). The distinction between Catalunya and Spain became particularly important after the final defeat of the Catalan state by the Spanish armies in 1714, when Catalunya was absorbed into Spain. Widespread discrimination against Catalan culture and economic interests were institutionalised after the Spanish Civil War, when General Franco banned the use of Catalan language and cultural symbols.

Paradoxically, however, Franco's repression of cultural expression may ultimately have had the opposite effect. Deprived of normal channels of cultural, civic and political expression, civil society in Catalunya built up extensive informal networks to keep the culture alive. Whereas in other places traditional culture was being eroded by the onslaught of modernity, in Catalunya it was conserved by being driven underground. This also ensured a dramatic resurgence of Catalan culture once democracy was restored.

This can easily be seen from the veritable explosion of cultural production in Catalanuya in the past 30 years. The total number of registered museums in Catalunya is now 107, 41% of which were opened after the death of Franco (table 1)

Table 1: Date of opening of Catalan museums

Period	No. of museums opened
Before 1900	8
1901-1950	27
1951-1975	28
1976-2002	44

As Crespi (2002) shows, the restoration of democracy has also given a major impulse to the development of Catalan cultural events as traditions have been recuperated. Her data shhhow that of the 'traditional' cultural events staged in Catalunya today, on average about 70% were actually established in the last 25 years (table 2)

Table 2: Origin of Festas in Catalunya

	Pre 1970	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000
Setmana Santa (holy week) Processions	64%	2%	21%	13%
Carnival	6%	31%	50%	13%
Pessebres vivants	4%	14%	32%	49%
Medieval fairs			5%	95%

Source: Crespi (2002)

In political terms, Catalunya is now fighting for recognition as a 'nation' within the Spanish state. The use of the word 'nation' in the new Catalan Statutes was one of the main areas of debate surrounding the text of the document adopted in 2006. Of course, there is resentment over the idea of Catalunya projecting itself as a nation within a nation on the part of Spanish nationalists, who want to preserve the territorial integrity of Spain. The Catalan political response has been to say that Catalunya doesn't want any special treatment, but is simply asserting its historic and cultural rights. These rights are partly based on the idea that Catalunya was a nation state which predated the Spanish state, and partly on the idea that Catalunya has a distinctive language and culture which it must preserve.

The 'equal but different' image that Catalunya projects for Spanish consumption does not always fit with the external image. To the outside world, Catalunya likes to project itself as a modern, entrepreneurial, sophisticated nation which is more part

of the north than the south. This idea also links to the positioning of Barcelona initially as the Paris of the South, and more recently as the Capital of the West Mediterranean – a cosmopolitan bridge between north and south, culturally and economically (Monclús, 2000). The promotion of Barcelona as a modern metropolis in contrast to the rural hinterland has been a particularly important element in the policy of successive socialist administrations of the city since the restoration of democracy. The division between modernity and tradition also reflected a political divide between Barcelona, the socialist stronghold, and the hinterland controlled by the centrist nationalists. The cultural policy of the nationalist regional government (the Generalitat) tended towards more conservative views of culture and Catalan identity, often diametrically opposed to the cosmopolitan culture of Barcelona.

The election of a socialist-led left wing coalition to the Government of Catalunya in 2003 Seemed to tip the balance away from the traditional centrist concern with tradition towards more development of the creative industries and contemporary culture. A new body was formed to promote the 'creative industries' in Catalunya, representing a break with previous models of cultural development centred on traditional culture and Catalan language.

However, the decision to put the tourism portfolio for both Catalunya ad Barcelona in the hands of Esquerra Republicana (ERC) the left wing republicans, opened new opportunities for collaboration in the area of tourism policy and marketing. For example, Catalan President Pascual Maragall said in a recent interview that it 'made no sense' to promote Barcelona and Catalunya separately:

> No tiene sentido que Barcelona y Catalunya se promocionen por separado. Dentro de nuestro gran objetivo, que es la creación de la `Marca Catalunya´, Barcelona está llamada a jugar un papel prioritario, debido al grado de conocimiento que en Europa y en el resto del mundo se tiene de ella. Disponer de una marca fuerte significa reunir dentro de una denominación identificable una oferta amplia y atractiva de recursos turísticos. De este modo, un turista norteamericano que visite Barcelona, sabrá que la ciudad forma parte de un conjunto más grande, que es Catalunya, que dispone de una oferta amplia y variada, pero con unos elementos comunes y reconocibles.
>
> Maragall, Turismo y Ocio.net 2004

This approach has led to the development of a 'Catalunya Brand', within which Barcelona is seen as playing a leading role. At the same time, the need to make Catalunya distinctive led to the decision to concentrate on important elements of

Catalan identity in tourism policy and promotion. These include major elements of traditional popular culture, such as castellers, correfoc and sardanas, but also the creation of 'new' arts and crafts objects 'typical' of Catalunya as well as the development of Catalan creativity. In all these developme nts the central idea to emphasise the distinctiveness of Catalan language and culture. This is a different usage of the term 'identity tourism' from that proposed by Pitchford (2006), who sees it as comprising both ethnic and heritage tourism, Catalan distinctiveness is not based on ethnicity, and identity is tied to a wide range of cultural elements, including heritage. Most importantly, it also includes the 're-invention' of tradition, or the creative innovation of new elements in traditional culture.

For example, in Barcelona, the ICUB has promoted the development of music as a means of diffusing the creativity of the city. In 2005, there will be two major themes being promoted internationally through the year of the book and the year of gastronomy (which is actually due to last two years). These elements of Catalan culture are being actively promoted by politicians as well as tourism authorities:

> El conseller de Comerç, Turisme i Consum, Josep Huguet, ha apostat per enfortir la Marca Catalunya amb elements identitaris com la gastronomia "per passar de ser una potència turística de fet a una de dret". Huguet ha viatjat a Londres amb motiu de la presència catalana a la World Travel Market, una de les principals fires turístiques del món. El conseller ha manifestat que aquest "és l'escenari idoni per promocionar Catalunya, tant perquè és una de les principals fires internacionals del sector turístic com perquè se celebra al Regne Unit". Josep Huguet ja va reconèixer recentment, en la seva primera compareixença al Parlament, que la Marca Catalunya no ha arrelat a l'estranger.
>
> (Avui, November 2004).

Identity tourism is also enshrined in the strategic plan for tourism in Catalunya, which is due to run from 2005-2010. This plan is a direct application of the principles enshrined in the tourism law of 2002 to the development of tourism. The basic elements of the plan include the development of cultural identity::

> as an objective of the country as well as for commercial motives, identity (history, language, heritage, landscape, culture, traditions, style of life) has to guide tourism activities, planning, product development, promotion and exploitation.

This provides an interesting variation on the usual view of the relationship between tourism, identity and culture, since the relationship is usually seen in terms of a

partnership, in which there is a mutually supportive use of identity as a resource to attract tourists, and tourism as a source of income to support the cultural symbols of identity. In the Catalan case, cultural identity is placed firmly in the driving seat.

As such, the Catalan concept of 'identity tourism' may provide an interesting model for other regions. The basic question that this paper attempts to address, however, is how the development of identity tourism actually relates to the current situation of tourism and culture in Catalunya.

In examining this issue, extensive use is made of studies of cultural tourism in Catalunya carried out over the past few years. Much of this research is based on the experience gathered from previous rounds of the ATLAS Cultural Tourism Surveys (Richards, 2001). Some new extensions of the ATLAS methodology have been made in the Catalan case, however, particularly in the study of destination image.

The following section presents some of the background to the research, providing a review of tourism in Catalunya, and subsequent sections evaluate the relationship between symbols of Catalan identity and the images held by visitors and tourism intermediaries. This information is important in helping us to assess the extent to which the Catalan identity promoted by 'identity tourism' is likely to appeal to existing tourist markets.

Tourism in Catalunya

Catalunya is one of the most important tourist regions in the world, with over 12 million foreign tourist arrivals and 5 million Spanish tourists visiting every year. In addition, Catalan domestic tourism generates a further 15 million trips, amounting to a total tourism volume of over 30 million trips annually. Catalunya now accounts for 26% of all tourism to Spain, making Catalunya the 16th largest tourism destination in the world. In spite of the objectively strong position of Catalunya in the global tourist market, however, its image as a discrete tourist destination is relatively weak. Many tourists visit the country, but relatively few probably realise they are in a place called 'Catalunya'.

The low profile of the country has been a problem not just in terms of the development of tourism, but also politically. The Catalan desire to differentiate itself from Spain has found expression in all fields of cultural, social and economic activity, including tourism. Until the 1970s, Catalunya was subjected to strong central control which meant that tourism policy was directed from Madrid. The aim of the Franco

regime was to use tourism as a means of earning foreign currency and creating an acceptable international image for the regime at a time in which Spain was politically and culturally isolated.

The Spanish policy of developing international tourism was incredible successful, with foreign visitor numbers rising from less than 700,000 in the 1950s to 34 million a year by 1973. This growth was stimulated largely by the economic prosperity of the major origin countries in Northern Europe, coupled with increasing leisure time and educational levels (Richards, 1998). Most of this tourism growth was concentrated in coastal areas, such as the Costa Brava, the Costa Daurada and the Costa Blanca and Costa del Sol. The rapid development of these areas led to a number of problems, including environmental degradation, uncontrolled development and high levels of seasonality. The dependence on package tourism from a limited number of origin countries with powerful tour operating companies tended to compound the problem of a model of low price, standardised tourism products which attracted low spending tourists with little concern for the culture or environment of the destination (Barke and Towner, 1996).

In Catalunya, the tourism product followed the pattern set in other coastal regions of Spain, with a heavy concentration of low value beach tourism along a relatively thin coastal strip, and little tourism development in the interior. Some diversification was possible thanks to the presence of the Pyrenees, which provided opportunities to develop winter sports and mountain recreation. However, as competition increased from other beach destinations in the Mediterranean, the need to develop more alternative products increased. This need was even greater in Catalunya than in some other Mediterranean destinations, because the original advantage of being one of the earliest mass tourism destinations eventually turned into a disadvantage. By the 1980s the ageing hotel stock was becoming less competitive relative to newly developed destinations, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, and the accommodation mix was not always well suited to changing consumer demand, such as the growth of self-catering. These factors helped to stimulate a push towards diversification of the product and a search for more quality tourism.

As Maria Abellanet (2006) noted recently, the problerms of the Catalan tourism model developed in the 1980s led to a push towards new products, such as heritage, gastronomy, design, fashion, architecture and creative tourism:

> Un dels problemes del model turístic actual és la concentració i la saturació física i temporal. La creació d'oferta turística diferent del model de sol i platja passa per desenvolupar productes turístics vinculats al patrimoni natural i cultural del país, i a aquelles

manifestacions culturals pròpies que poden generar un fort interès, com gastronomia, disseny, moda, arquitectura i formació entre d'altres.

Catalunya has been extremely successful in diversifying its tourism in recent years, managing to develop new markets alongside 'traditional' sun, sea and sand tourism, such as cultural tourism to Barcelona, conference tourism and festival tourism. This development has been helped by the post-Franco renaissance of Catalan culture and identity, which have helped to position Catalunya as a destination in its own right, rather than simply the hinterland of the Costa Brava. Tourism promotion for Catalunya has also tried to emphasise the cultural differences between Catalunya and Spain. This type of strategy mirrors that adopted by other autonomous communities in Spain (notably Galicia), but Catalunya seems to have been particularly successful in this respect.

The most recent period of tourism development has seen a diversification of the product away from the predominant 'fordist' style mass coastal tourism towards a more diverse 'postfordist' model (Edwards and Llurdes i Coit 1996; Preistley and Mundet 1998). 'New' tourism products, such as heritage tourism, industrial tourism, activity-based holidays and gastronomic tourism have been developed, particularly to try and spread tourism to new areas of the country. Inland areas once dependent on industries such as mining or textile manufacturing have been forced by global economic restructuring to seek new forms of development. Very often leisure and tourism have played an important role in this functional shift. Edwards and Llurdes i Coit (1996) and Saurí-Pujol and Llurdes i Coit (1995) examine the development of tourism at the Cardona salt mines, arguing that this is a prime example of the change in function of such areas from production-related to consumption-based uses.

Edwards and Llurdes i Coit (1996) also argue that Cardona, as an inland location, suffers from its relative isolation from other tourist attractions. They also note the different context of heritage tourism in Spain, where the predominance of beach tourism has led to a relative neglect of cultural heritage for tourism. There is also a 'predominance of a very narrow concept of heritage, or at least of "worthwhile" heritage', which is due to 'a highly traditional interpretation of aesthetics and beauty, and to the promotion of certain periods in the nation's history and the styles and way of life of the upper classes'. This tendency to ignore certain types of heritage was also remarked upon in the case of the Basque Country by Green (2001), where he notes that until recently industrial heritage was still considered to be unworthy of preservation.

The development of heritage tourism and industrial tourism in Catalunya has been a relatively recent phenomenon compared with Northern Europe, where the 'heritage boom' started in the 1970s (Hewison 1987). In Catalunya, for example, an article describing industrial tourism as a 'new' form of tourism appeared in La Vanguardia in November 1999 (Aymerich 1999).

This underlines that the diversification of the Catalan tourism product has tended to concentrate on certain lines of development. In particular, Barcelona has emerged as the new engine of Catalan tourism. For example, tourism to Barcelona increased by 130% between 1990 and 2002, while tourism to the rest of Catalunya grew at about half this rate. There is little sign of this gap being closed, as tourism increased by 18% in Barcelona between 2000 and 2002, compared with 11% for Catalunya as a whole. This widening gap between the different regions of Catalunya, and particularly between Barcelona and the rest of the country is a major problem for tourism planning and management.

Tourist attention seems to be steadily more fixated on the image of 'hip' Barcelona, which has become the fourth most popular city break destination in Europe and now accounts for 30% of foreign tourism to Catalunya (Anton Clavé 2002). The coastal resorts also continue to attract large numbers of visitors, although the competition from other sun, sea and sand destinations is growing. On the other hand, the interior of the country, which in many ways is the heartland of Catalan tradition and popular culture, receives just over 5% of all tourism. This pattern is reproduced in the cultural tourism products offered by foreign tour operators in Spain. Gomez et al. (2001) show that Catalunya hardly features as a destination for touring holidays in Spain, but Barcelona is the most popular 'city only' destination, being offered by over 21% of tour operators.

Many tourists therefore probably remain unaware of the richness of Catalan culture beyond the major global icons such as Picasso, Dalí, Gaudí and Miró, all of whom are also used to promote Spain abroad. The increasing separation of Barcelona from Catalunya is heightened by the concentration of the major icons in Barcelona (with the possible exception of Dalí, who attracts close to a million visitors a year to Figueres). Particularly for foreign tourists, the image of Catalunya as a country and destination in its own right is overshadowed by the dominant image of Barcelona as a 'cultural capital' or by the Costa Brava as one of the Spanish 'costas'. As Anton Clavé (2002) points out, such images are difficult to change, even with the onset of new models of tourism. This fact has tended to hinder efforts to develop new cultural

tourism products in the Catalan hinterland, particularly those based on traditional Catalan culture rather than the outposts of 'global' culture, such as Figueres.

Catalan culture therefore remains an abstract concept for most tourists, and many visitors are probably not even aware they are in Catalunya. This is confirmed by numerous observations at Catalan festivals visited by tourists, which indicate that there is little understanding of the cultural phenomena they are consuming. Only when accompanied by 'local' friends is there a reasonable chance that tourists will understand the full context of what they are seeing (Richards, 2004).

The cultural image of Barcelona and Catalunya

Even though many tourists are probably unaware of the details of the culture they are immersed in, there is little doubt that people perceive Catalunya and particularly Barcelona to be cultural places. A large part of the reason why tourists find Barcelona attractive is because of the lively street culture, which produces a specific 'atmosphere' in the city. Arguably this aspect of the 'assemblage' of Barcelona is also produced at least partly through planning and urban development.

As Marshall (2000) notes, Barcelona has become well known in Europe for its ambitious programmes of planning and urban regeneration, undertaken under the leadership of the city council. It has been claimed that a 'Barcelona model' of planning has been formed, whether in local urban planning, or in overall city strategic planning, or both, and with this a distinctive approach to urban governance. Arguably the Barcelona Model has now been extended into the field of tourism as well, with Barcelona becoming a reference point for the development of tourism in other cities, particularly in the field of cultural tourism. Duran (1999) argues that 'Barcelona strongly believes in cultural tourism'. He attributes the recent tourism success of Barcelona is due to:

a) Favourable economic situation

b) The impact of the 1992 Olympics

c) Activities and facilities developed post-Olympics

d) General and tourist promotion of the city, which is innovative and creative

e) The tourist product of Barcelona has a clear cultural element.

The desire to capitalise on the success of the Barcelona Olympics in particular has been crucial in developing the tourism trajectory of Barcelona in the past decade. Duran (2002) argues that the post-Olympic period was marked initally by a desire to do something different, which in the immediate aftermath of the Olympics was marked by the staging of the Miro Year in 1993. Also in 1993, Turisme de Barcelona was established as a public-private partnership body to promote Barcelona, with the backing of the Municipality, the Chamber of Commerce and major tourism businesses. Duran (2003) shows how Turisme de Barcelona has developed the tourism product, including the introduction of the call centre (1995), Bus Turistic (1997), Shopping Line (1999) and more recently the *Barcelona es Cultura* (Barcelona is culture) programme (2000). The latter emphasises the change in direction in the promotion of Barcelona, away from a primarily business tourism destination in the 1980s to a fully fledged leisure tourism destination in the 1990s. The number of tourists more than doubled, but the problem was that many of the visitors were being attracted from nearby resorts on the coast. These visitors only came for the day, and did not spend much in Barcelona. A desire to develop higher value, longer stay tourism led to an emphasis on cultural tourism. Duran (2003) says: 'since 2000 we have promoted Barcelona as a cultural tourism destination. Cultural tourism is more respectful of the environment and generates more return'.

One of the other possible secrets of success for Barcelona has been its ability to re-invent itself. For example, Gdaniek (2002) looks at the development of Poble Nou, a former industrial part of Barcelona, where as in the de-industrialising neighbourhoods of many big cities, the `new' economy and the `cultural' economy have started to replace the `old' economy, bringing new life into a declining district but also causing conflicts of land use, housing or the preservation of architectural heritage. The latter is an important part of regeneration and marketing policies of city governments, whereby the `new' economy not only emerges from the old but the physical space of the old industrial quarter becomes the tool and setting in which the city can re-present itself and its success story of transformation and regeneration.

Even with the development of new tourism areas and models, however, tourism flows remain geographically concentrated and thematically restricted. For example Sola Morales (2003) analyses the many different cultural itineraries available in Barcelona. Most of these (87%) are described in guide books, the rest are provided as guided tours or signposted routes. The locations for these itineraries are concentrated in the old city, the seafront and the Eixample, which together account

for almost half of the routes. Outside these areas, only Gràcia seems to be a relatively popular location, probably because of the location of Parc Guell in this district.

Table 3: Areas of Barcelona covered by itineraries

Area	%
Cuitat Vella	25
Eixample	17
Maritime area (Port Vell, etc.)	17
Gràcia	13
Sants/Montjuic	10
Les Corts/Sarriá/Sant Gervasi	8

Source: Sola Morales (2003)

This concentration of tourism and tourism products in the historic core of Barcelona creates significant problems of overcrowding and capacity constraints as the major cultural attractions. The concentration of tourists in the historic core of the city is also likely to have an effect on tourists' images of the city, as they are unlikely to come into contact with the newer neighbourhoods in the suburbs or the industrial districts of the city.

The geographical concentration is also reflected in the themes of the routes, which tend to feature the historical, architectural and artistic aspects of the city. Although 'urbanism' is featured in many routes, this basically refers to the modernist extension of the city or the Olympic facilities. On the other hand, popular customs and literature, two important underpinnings of Catalan identity, as almost totally absent.

Table 4: Themes of Barcelona itineraries

Theme	%
History	23
Architecture	22
Art	22
Urbanism	19
Generic Barcelona	3
Popular customs	1
Literature	1
Other	1

Source: Sola Morales (2003)

In spite of the relative success of diversification strategies, however, the economic problems of the conventional tourism model are still evident. In 2001, for example, the average total spend of foreign tourists entering Catalunya was only €652 per person, of which less than half (€341) was actually spent in Catalunya.

Even though the satisfaction with the cultural product in Catalunya is just as high as the satisfaction with the beach product (both scored 9 out of 10 in 2001), the consumption of cultural products still lags behind the traditional beach product. The realisation that culture is still relatively weakly developed in the tourism product has led to a number of initiatives to support new cultural products.

Diversification of the product has also been achieved by developing new aspects of the intangible heritage. For example Palau I Saumell (1999) describes the emergence of gastronomic tourism as part of the 'new tourism'. This trend was recently cemented in the designation of the Barcelona Year of Gastronomy in 2005/2006, which attracted over 100,000 visitors to its many events. There has also been more attention for the many festes (fiestas) held in all parts of Catalunya, many of which are important tourist attractions (Richards 2004). Cultural events have become an important part of the tourism product in Catalunya, not only because of efforts to diversify the tourism product, but also because of locally-driven processes of economic development and the ready supply of events.

However, among most politicians in Catalunya, there is a clear desire to create awareness among visitors that they are in a country called 'Catalunya'. Similar sentiments are also reflected at local level, as the tourism policy of Barcelona aims to:

> Stimulate the promotion of cultural tourism in the city based on respect, knowledge and diffusion of our identity and the incorporation of new global creative tendencies.
>
> (Barcelona Tourism Policy 2004)

However, as the following analysis of the specific efforts at tourism promotion and their impact on tourists indicates, such efforts have yet to filter through into a concrete link between tourism and identity in Catalunya.

Image promotion

One of the best ways to judge what image is actually being promoted to tourists is to look at the promotion material used by tourist boards and other travel

intermediaries. This allows us to evaluate the 'induced image' or desired image that the tourism industry is trying to create in order to attract tourists.

An analysis of 12 public and private sector websites promoting Catalaunya indicates that the creation of a specific 'brand' for Catalunya is a difficult undertaking, since the linkage of individual products with a broader Catalan umbrella is relatively weak. There is a certain continuity in the use of logos (most notably Turisme de Catalunya) in local and national promotional materials, but the effects of this are unclear. The fact that policy makers and marketeers do not seem unduly concerned by the current state of affairs, but are more concerned about the position of specific products, does not indicate a rapid change in this situation (Richards, 2004).

Content analysis of guide books and tourism promotion sites featuring Catalunya indicate that the main elements of Catalan identity linked to the development of 'identity tourism' are not currently well represented.

Catalunya descriptions in guide books

Word	Number	%
Coast	38	10,3
Catalonia	37	10,0
Pyrenees	20	5,4
Barcelona	19	5,1
Old	17	4,6
Mediterranean	15	4,1
Mountain	14	3,8
Great	14	3,8
Beautiful	14	3,8
Beaches	13	3,5
Famous	12	3,3
North	11	3,0
Small	10	2,7
City	10	2,7
Spanish	9	2,4
Spain	9	2,4
Gothic	6	1,6
Monuments	6	1,6
Regions	6	1,6
Language	5	1,4
Traditional	5	1,4
Brava	5	1,4
Province	5	1,4

The image presented of Catalunya in the guides is dominated by the coast and the mountains, often specified as the Mediterranean or the Pyrenees. Specific cultural elements of the image, such as monuments or the Catalan language, are not mentioned very frequently.

A further analysis was made of the image held of Catalunya by those working in the travel industry through a survey of travel agents in the Benelux in 2005 (Welles, 2006). A questionnaire survey which generated over 200 responses showed that most respondents associated Catalunya with Barcelona and 'sun, sea and sand', and that they could not distinguish clearly between Catalunya and the rest of Spain.

Even though the travel agents thought that Catalunya had a great deal of cultural heritage, this was linked mainly to the city of Barcelona, and very rarely with the independence and identity of Catalunya. The only clear cultural distinction between Catalunya and Spain was made in terms of the gastronomy. In terms of the unprompted associations of travel agents with Catalunya, it is clear that Barcelona (38,9%), sun, sea and sand (14,8%) and Spain (9,6%) were most important.

Table 5: Travel agents in the Benelux: Unprompted associations with Catalunya

%	Answer 1	Answer 2	Answer 3	Total
Barcelona	38,9	10,4	6,5	55,8
Sun, sea and sand	14,8	13,4	13,5	41,7
Spain	9,6	3,6	3,1	16,3
Gastronomy	6,2	11,1	10,1	27,5
Natural environment	6,2	9,8	8,8	24,9
Culture and history	5,2	7,5	5,4	18,1
Independence, language, identity	4,9	10,1	6,7	21,8
Costa Brava	4,7	6,7	5,4	16,8
Positive associations	1	2,1	3,4	6,5
Beautiful cities	1	2,1	1,6	4,7
Sport	1	2,6	1,3	4,9
Gaudi, Dali, architecture	0,8	7	6,5	14,2
Negative associations	0,5	1,6	1,6	3,6
Other	1	1,8	3,9	6,7
Missing values	4,1	10,1	22,3	36,5

Visitor images of Catalunya

In order to see how far the images held by visitors related to the promoted images of Catalunya, visitor surveys were conducted in 2004 at cultural sites in Barcelona, Tarragona and Sitges. A total of 228 surveys were completed, 130 in Sitges and 98 in Tarragona. The vast majority of the surveys were completed by foreign tourists. The data were collected via self-completion questionnaires handed out and collected by a surveyor. The questionnaires included questions on the motivations, activities, travel mode, expenditure and socio-demographic background of the visitors. The prompted and unprompted image of the visitors was measured using closed and open questions. In particular, different elements of the image identified by Gartner (1993) were operationalised through three open questions:

– *What are the first words that come into your mind when you think of the region of Catalunya? (maximum 4 words)*

– *What words would you use to describe the atmosphere or feel of the region of Catalunya? (maximum 4 words)*

– *Is there anything about Catalunya that you think is unique?*

These questions are designed to measure the cognitive, affective and unique components of destination image, respectively.

The Image of Catalunya

Visitors to areas outside Barcelona were asked to give their impression of the image of the country and the tourist products that they most associated with it.

In terms of first associations with the destination, visitors were most likely to mention sun, followed by Barcelona. This reflects the tendency of respondents in such surveys to name physical elements of the image first (Richards and Wilson, 2004), as well as the domination of these two products in Catalan tourism. It is interesting that Spain is not particularly strongly associated with the image of Catalunya, which suggests some element of distinction on the part of visitors.

First associations with Catalunya
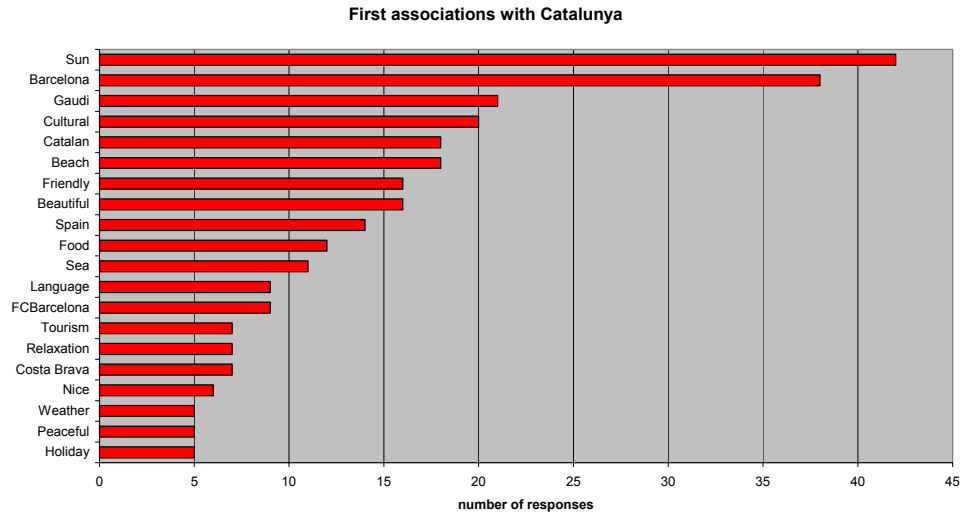
When asked about what is unique about Catalunya, respondents were most likely to mention Gaudí, and the Catalan language. So even though there is a relatively low level of association of Catalan culture and language with tourism products, some visitors clearly have experience of Catalan culture and recognise the differences in terms of language and culture.

In terms of tourist products, Gaudí was also viewed as being most important, followed by Catalan culture in general. This indicates that tourists have a fairly diffuse picture of Catalan culture as a whole, and are less able to separate individual elements. This indicates that people do not associate sun and beach so much as a 'product' of Catalunya as they do with the physical elements of image. Culture is therefore more likely to be identified as a 'product' to be consumed than sun.

Product elements recognised by visitors to Catalunya 2004

Gaudí
Catalan culture
Sun and beach
Cultural attractions
Lively atmosphere
Dalí
Gastronomy and Wine
Spanish culture
Roman history
Modernism
Music
Traditional festivals
Rural tourism
Skilled craftspeople
Theme parks
Forum Barcelona 2004
Design
Winter sports
Dance events
Golf
Industrial heritage
Jewish heritage

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70
% respondents

It is interesting that some specific cultural tourism 'products' developed by the Generalitat and local government, such as industrial tourism and Jewish heritage, do not feature strongly in the mage. It is also notable that golf tourism, seen as an important growth market by many municipalities, does not have a high profile among 'cultural' tourists.

In the first place, although there is a clear desire on the part of the Generalitat and Turisme de Catalunya to raise the profile of the country through the creation of a Catalunya brand, this has so far had little impact. Most of those directly involved in tourism administration are more concerned to promote specific products than an umbrella brand, because this is not directly related to the needs of tourists.

As a result, many of the images associated with the promotion of Catalunya are drawn either from global icons such as Gaudí, or are based on themes more directly related to specific activities or discrete locations or geographical areas within Catalunya. The most obvious example of this is Barcelona, which combines a strong use of global images with specific promotion of the city as a destination, largely isolated from the idea of Catalunya.

The images which find their way into the tourism information systems via the Internet and guide books are therefore also very selective. In general, Catalunya is associated with natural features such as the coast and the Pyrenees, and culture is not very strongly presented, especially not Catalan culture. Barcelona is more strongly related to tangible heritage (particularly Modernist heritage), but the city is also frequently presented as a Spanish city rather than a Catalan city.

The encoding of images by the public and private sector has a direct influence on the images received and decoded by visitors, although other factors also have an influence. For Catalunya as a whole, first associations are dominated by sun and warm weather and Barcelona. This reflects the dual nature of the tourist experience of Catalunya, divided as it is between the coast and Barcelona. In contrast to the images presented in the guide books, tourists tend to place more importance on culture, and recognise the Catalan as well as Spanish nature of that culture.

Visitors also tend to concentrate on a fairly narrow range of tourist products in Catalunya, with Gaudí being particularly important. This tends to confirm the impact of the thematicisation of Catalunya, which has replaced most of Catalan history with a handful of global icons. This strategy has been successful in attracting tourist attention, particularly for Barcelona, but at the same time has concentrated that attention on a relatively small part of Catalan culture.

It is significant that many visitors identify Catalunya strongly with 'lively atmosphere' and being 'friendly'. This underlines the importance in the minds of visitors of the less tangible and more everyday aspects of culture. These aspects are of course among the hardest to actively promote in tourist markets, and are heavily dependent on actual experience of the destination. This creates a problem in terms of transmitting these images to non-visitors.

The broad view of culture taken by visitors is underlined by the image of Barcelona, which is seen not only as a cultural and historic, but creative as well. Although this creativity does not necessarily have a direct relationship with 'Catalan' culture, there is little doubt that the cultural dynamism of the city built up over the past 25 years has contributed to this image. This is particularly interesting given the fact that creativity is not a particularly strong element of either the desired image of the policy makers or the images transmitted by tourism intermediaries. This again underlines the important mediating effects of visitor experience in image formation.

Conclusions

The fact that the unprompted image of Catalunya is not strongly associated with Spain, but far more strongly with the city of Barcelona, indicates that Catalunya has to some extent succeeded in differentiating itself as a separate entity from Spain. However this does not necessarily mean that the identity of Catalunya or the content of Catalan Culture is very clear for visitors.

Although 'culture' was mentioned in a general way as being part of the image of Catalunya, very few specific symbols of Catalan identity were identified. Most importantly perhaps, Catalan language was not a particularly strong association for most visitors. Instead, far stronger associations were made with 'globalised' elements of Catalan culture, in particular Gaudi and Dali.

For most cultural tourists visiting Catalunya, it seems that Catalan culture is often experienced in the form of 'accidental cultural tourism', through chance encounters in the street rather than a purposeful search for specific elements of Catalan identity. This is the way that most visitors experience the central elements of Catalan identity as posited by Turisme de Cataulunya and others – the sardana, castellers and diables. However, some of the much more intangible traits of Catalan identity remain essentially hidden from view – the hard working, careful Catalans can only really be appreciated as such in contrast to their more ebullient, profiligate neighbours.

This underlines the point that identity is most often defined with reference to those outside the group – 'we are X, and we are not Y'. For the Catalans, not being Spanish is perhaps the single most important part of their identity defined in this way. This is a message that reaches tourists through unofficial channels, such as the stickers in English at major tourist sites proclaiming that 'Catalaonia is not Spain', the banners positioned carefully for TV at Barca matches and even spoof tourist information signs talking about 'Spanish repression'. However, these signs of identity seem to register even less in the tourist image of Catalunya.

It seems that the link between image and identity in Catalan tourism is still a long way from the situation desired by the policymakers. The chosen signs of identity, if they are to be perceived and consumed more widely by tourists, must also be made available to tourists in a way in which they can readily relate to. While Gaudi and Dali are easily consumed symbols of Catalunya because of their integration into international circuits of cultural consumption, the same is not yet true of sardanas and castellers.

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Chapter 14
Cultural Tourism in the Northern East Region of Portugal

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Introduction

Demand for travel and tourism has gone trough several changes, not only because of the changing at a worldwide level that has changed people ways of living, but also because of the physical and psychological needs that those changes created in everyone. All of us feel the need to change, being that a temporary or definite change. The only way in which people can be free from everyday life is to run away from it (Andrade, 1999). Tourism is the only industry that allows this activity of change. At the end of the 1980s, some changes occurred in the demand for tourist destinations, with some destinations less crowded and with more quality of service being preferred to those destinations with overcrowded resorts and beaches. This

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represents a sea change in the nature of tourism demand and means that people needs have changed and it is on this basis that tourism must focus, trying to analyse knew trends in demand.

In this study we try to understand people motivations when they visit interior rural areas, with low people density with several natural and cultural resources. Particularly we focus on cultural motivations and since the region of the present study is a border one we try to assess how this border proximity can influence cultural tourism.

Theoretical background

When we try to understand tourism demand we must identify what leads people to action. Boniface and Cooper (1994) refer to a range of key influences that can be identified directly related with the growth of the new tourist: trip frequency has increased; new destinations are within the reach of mass market; the media and pressure groups have taken interest in the responsible consumption and development of tourism, raising the profile of sustainable tourism; deregulation in the tourism sector has allowed the individual consumer access to efficient direct reservation systems; concentration in the industry has meant that one group of companies can offer a complete range of travel options; emergence of the knowledge-based society creates a demand for authentic and well-interpreted experiences; changing demographics in many key tourist generating regions with ageing populations, smaller household sizes and higher discretionary incomes all combine to change lifestyles and the nature of tourism needs.

Demand determinants are multiple and complex, depending intrinsically on the travel motivation. Middleton (1994) classifies the main determinants of demand for travel and tourism into eight major groups: economic factors and comparative prices; demographic including education; geographic; socio-cultural attitudes to tourism; mobility; government and regulatory; media communications; information and communications technology. We will focus on this classification trying to identify each factor in each group. The first group of determinants analyse the relationship between the average disposable income of a country population and the volume of demand that it generates for holidays and leisure trips. It is likely that travel and tourism expenditure in the main generating countries will tend to rise and fall in line with the economic cycles of growth and recession that affect all countries. A higher income level leads to a change in the way people live, expressed in the family

environment. In tourism, consumer expectations raise in what concerns the level of services and goods offered. The major tourism-generating countries, which represent 80% of tourism, have high levels of *per capita* incomes, which underlines the relationship between welfare and travel frequency (Foster, 1992). Demographic factors are used to identify the main changes in population characteristics that influence demand for travel and tourism, such as, ageing population, social class and household income, household size and composition, divorce and remarriage and the experience of further and higher education. These shifts produce changes and affect production that had traditionally been oriented to family holidays mainly thinking in children needs. As far as age is concerned, people aged over 55 years, working or not, represent an important population that influenced the tourist market until the end of the twenty century. Educational level affects demand since as the level of qualifications increase, propensity to travel either for business or leisure travel also increases.

In terms of geographic factors, climate and scenic attractions at a world scale are two of the principal determinants that influence tourism development and holiday travel. Climate is made up of several factors, of which temperatures and humidity are the most significant for human well-being, while others strongly influence recreational activity. The optimal climate for tourism is the Mediterranean type and it explains the north-south tourist flows. Size of communities also influences tourism. Cities, towns and their suburban communities typically generate more tourism per capita than the populations of smaller communities. Cities and towns also attract a larger number of visitants, comparing to rural areas, because of accessibility and facilities available.

Socio-cultural attitudes affecting tourism are related to the fact that attitudes are not only based in facts; they generate from ideas, fears, expectations and beliefs which, in turn, arise from experiences. Attitudes towards tourism are intimately related to the desired quality of life and how to achieve it. They vary according to different national cultures and are promoted by the popular media. For example, million of people from northern climates believe that lying on beaches and suntan has something of therapeutic. Another common belief is that holidays are "rights" and necessities for relieving stress rather than luxuries; business or leisure travel are symbols of an economic and social status that serve to indicate an aspirational position in society.

Concerning personal mobility factors, private cars have fostered volume and types of tourism businesses over the last two decades, especially for domestic tourism. However due to extensive road congestion and pollution some destinations have

limited their use. Coach and bus operators have found many niches to exploit for international tourists as well as for the more traditional holidays based on coach tours. Such schemes are likely to develop further. Air transportation is also very common in tourism travel especially over larger distances.

Government and regulatory factors are related to the fact that governments intervene in markets for four principal reasons that directly influence demand and supply and often have a particular impact on travel and tourism. The first is to ensure fair competition between suppliers (prevent the formation of monopolies, cartels or oligopolies). The second is to ensure that costumers have choices and rights against suppliers. The third is to influence such market patterns through governments control, for example, the timing of school holidays or the issuing of visas. The fourth is relatively new, but is expected to have a particular impact on travel and tourism, is to ensure that proposed project developments and existing business practices do not damage the environment. Government and regulatory factors are also very important in transport regulation, tour operation and hotels, computer reservation systems (global distribution systems can potentially inhibit competition trough the way they are set up and operated) and in the new regulation for environment.

Mass-media communications have a major influence over demand for travel and tourism through the massive exposure to colour television and, more recently, the World Wide Web (common in all countries with developed economies). Over the last decade cable-TV, space satellite and the web have provided international images of places and events, as well as a continuous stream of films identifying places and standards of living. The cumulative impact of thousands of hours of television-watching that has had a major influence in travel demand and has modelled social attitudes to tourism in the main generating countries cannot be underestimated.

Finally information and communications technology exerts a growing influence over tourism demand due to the fact that in the United States and in several countries of Europe almost half of all households have internet access at the turn of the century and within a decade access will be available to virtually all with high propensities to engage in travel and tourism.

Motivations play a major role in decision taking process. Everyday life creates a need to escape, to change. That need reflects on the physic and psycho of each person. People need to leave behind everyday places and persons and search for new environments, to build, integrate and discover new values, capable of sustain aspirations (Andrade, 1999) Personal motivations have an effect on travel and are relevant to understand patterns of demand for tourism and travel. Middleton (1994)

groups motivational factors in professional, physical and psychological, cultural, social, ethnic and interpersonal, entertainment, leisure and religious motivations. McIntosh *et al.* (1995) also identify motivations for travel and tourism demand using a pyramid of needs similar to Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Those motivations are triggered by physiological (biological), safety, social / status (esteem) and actualization needs. Andrade (1999) in turn chooses another classification: desire/need to escape, sense of adventure, status acquisition, need of calm, cultural motivation and commercial motivation. Although from different authors groupings of motivations are different they present similarities in what concerns its nature. *Physical* motivations are identified by biological needs. *Cultural* motivations appear as an educational value through participation in festivals, theatre, music, museums, etc., or through visiting destinations rich in history, costumes, uses and traditions. *Social/interpersonal* motivations are triggered for the desire to meet new people, establish friendship relations, visiting friends and relatives, visiting birthplace, etc. *Status* motivations concern needs related to ego and personal enrichment (Moniz, 1993). In certain less developed countries human resources are promoted only because they have travelled to more developed countries associated with a "higher" cultural level (Andrade, 1999). Hereby it is the desire of recognition, attention, esteem, and good reputation that the tourist wishes for. *Professional* motivations, either public or private, have a professional reason (business travel, educational travel, conferences, research, etc.). *Entertainment/recreational and leisure* motivations are related to the sense of adventure inherited in each person, since "adventure" in what tourism is concerned refers to an individual psychological state rather than events themselves. Visiting theme parks, participation in sport events, etc., are among others, some of the activities intimately related to those motivations. Finally *religious* motivations, in turn are related with the desire to attend religious events (pilgrimages, festivities), visit sanctuaries, churches, chapels, monasteries, etc..

At the start of the twenty-first century the pace of change is accelerating around the world as the globalization of economies forces businesses to respond. Demand for tourism and travel has also changed and motivations vary according to each market segment. There is a trend to first choose the activities people want to engage in according to the main motivation to travel. The second step is to choose the destination. However the decision making process is highly complex, varying according to needs, motivations and possibilities of each tourist consumer.

Nowadays tourists have changed their values particularly in what concerns the environment and different cultures. The *old mass tourism* has given place to a new

tourism where changing values are generating demand for a more environmentally conscious and nature-oriented holidays. Sun and beach resorts which have for long been one of the main attractions for tourists start to be replaced for other destinations such as rural areas where natural environment is still intact. Also the new tourist wishes to run away from everyday life and look for new cultural environments, in order to explore new values, and new ways of living. Cultural motivations turn into enrichment in what education is concerned through the participation in cultural events, such as festivals, theatre, music, museums, etc. or through visiting destinations rich in history, costumes and traditions which, in fact, attract the cultural tourist.

The present study focus on cultural tourism, cultural motivations and also on how cultural tourism can be promoted. Before dealing with cultural motivations we must define cultural tourism. According to Richards (1996) the Cultural Tourism Research Project of the European Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS) defined cultural tourism in a conceptual and in a technical way. The conceptual definition refers to cultural tourism as "the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs". The technical definition refers to cultural tourism as "all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama, outside their normal place of residence."

As we have already discussed the rapid pace of cultural and social change is making the application of such definitions increasingly difficult. It is necessary to explore the changing nature of cultural tourism and try to understand how cultural tourists can be classified. McKercher (2002) proposed a model that allowed identifying five discrete cultural tourism market segments. The model segments the cultural tourism market according to two dimensions: first, the importance of cultural motives in the decision to visit a destination and the second the depth of experience. The author argues that using the operational definition of cultural tourist as "someone who visits, or intends to visit a cultural tourism attraction, art gallery, museum or historic site, attend a performance or festival, or participate in a wide range of other activities at any time during their trip, regardless of their main reason for travelling" (op. Cit., 2002:30) will not provide the right means of understanding the cultural tourism market. Using the model McKercher was able to identify five types of cultural tourist ranging from the purposeful cultural tourist who is highly motivated to travel for cultural reasons and who seeks a deep experience, to the incidental

cultural tourist who visits cultural or heritage attractions, but who is not motivated to travel for this reason and who as a shallow experience. Later McKercher (2003) tested the five types of cultural tourists representing five benefit-based segments, against a variety of trip, demographic, motivational, preferred activity, awareness, cultural distance and activity variables. According to the author there are significant differences between the groups, suggesting that the model may be effective in segmenting the cultural tourism market.

Although very interesting it is not the purpose of this study to test the model but only to assess the dimension of cultural tourist among all tourists that came to the frontier region of the Bragança District. We also intend to study how the proximity of the border influences cultural tourism so we established two hypotheses that we intend to test:

– Hypothesis 1 – Cultural motivations are the main reasons to visit the border region of the Bragança District;

– Hypothesis 2 – The proximity of the border influences cultural tourism.

Methodology

The aim of this study is the analysis of the demand for travel and tourism in the district of Bragança, concretely in the bordering municipalities of the district. We define the border region because we also intend to assess how the proximity of border influences demand for cultural tourism. The universe of analysis is all the visitors to this area.

The Bragança district is located on the Northern Portugal bordering with Spain in several municipalities that will be object of our study: Bragança, Miranda do Douro, Vimioso, Vinhais, Mogadouro and Freixo de Espada à Cinta. The region does not reveal such a strong development in the tourism sector as other regions in the country do. In fact the northern region faces some threats that come mainly from the lack of entrepreneurial conscience and even civic one, for the opportunities in tourism, which, in turns, can only result in a reactive attitude in what concerns taking advantage of those market opportunities. The region has, nevertheless, considerable opportunities in terms of the numerous tourist resources, essentially based on the Douro river and the magnificent landscapes, but also in the scope of the new tourist thematic with great developing potential, as it is the case of nature tourism, gastronomy and all opportunities related to new products development associated

with the territory. The region also has considerable cultural heritage resources: archaeology (pre-historic engravings, castors ruins, roman ancient towns, bridges, ancient roads, etc.); ethnography (the unique Mirandês language, traditional music and folklore); architecture (religious and traditional); handcrafts and gastronomy.

The questionnaire was chosen as a technique to obtain data and was distributed for all the hotel units, museums and "culture houses" of the municipalities referred to above. The questionnaires were delivered personally in the second week of July and 120 questionnaires were collected in the second week of August. The questionnaire which allowed us to obtain data was built based in a model questionnaire from a previous major study about tourism supply and demand in the Bragança district (Esteves, 2002). After some adjustments it was the basis for the questionnaire of the present survey. The questionnaire was structured in several sections that yield information on four major topics: the respondent main personal characteristics, motivations to visit the region, motivations in the case of a second visit and the importance of some demand related factors in choosing the destination. The data were analysed with the assistance of the Statistical Program for Social Sciences (SPSS). A frequency analysis was performed to identify the sample's descriptive statistics and the Chi-Square Test, the Spearman Test and the Pearson's R Coefficient of Correlation were used to test the second hypothesis.

Data analysis and results

The results show that 53% of the respondents are male, 36% single against 53% married, 32% ageing between 20 and 30 years, 24% between 30 and 40, 21% between 40 and 50 and 22% above 50. In what concerns jobs 23% are specialists of the intellectual and scientific jobs, 15% are administrative personal and similar and 11% are vendors or persons working in the service sector. Also 26% chose "Other" as an answer and was referred by students, housewives and retired persons. The educational qualifications are mainly higher education (51%) or secondary school (31%). Respondents came mainly from Portugal (58%) and Spain (23%) and are mainly passing through (43%) or staying some days (39%). In what concerns accommodation respondents stay mainly in travel inns/hotels (59%) or in family/friends houses (15%). Respondents referred travelling with girlfriend /boyfriend (50%), in family (30%) or alone (16%). Concerning the main reason for the visit respondents referred *Curiosity in knowing knew places/ people* (37%), *Visiting monumental and historical patrimony* (36%) and *Leisure/ entertainment /Diversion* (35%) (See Table 1). Concerning recurrent

tourists *Visiting friends and relatives* is the motivation more often referred (39%) along with *Environment and natural landscape* (32%) (See Table 2). Respondents were finally asked to classify the importance given to several factors when choosing the holiday destination. *Hospitality /people are friendly* (92%), *Historical and cultural patrimony* (91%) and *Nature/ countryside* (90%) were the most important factors referred by respondents (see Table 3).

Since one of the main goals of the present study is to assess how travel motivations are related to cultural tourism we will now focus on the cultural tourist. In order to identify and characterise the cultural tourist we assume that the cultural tourist is the one who referred as a travel motivation one of the following motives: local pilgrimages/ religious events/ cultural events in general; curiosity in knowing new places/ people; visiting monumental and historical patrimony; getting to know other ways of living /costumes and traditions of the region (the "non-cultural tourist" is the one who does not refer any of these motives). Having this defined the results show that 58% of the respondents are cultural tourists. In what concern the characterisation of these cultural tourists, 57% are female, 30% single against 61% married and 58% ageing between 20 and 40 years. Concerning jobs 45% are specialists of the intellectual and scientific jobs or administrative personal and similar. The educational qualifications are mainly higher education (60%) or secondary school (25%). Cultural tourists came mainly from Portugal (52%) and Spain (22%) and are mainly passing through (46%) or staying some days (36%). Only 17% referred staying for weeks. In what accommodation is concerned the cultural tourist stays mainly in travel inns/hotels (53%) or in family/friends house (15%). Finally cultural tourists travel mainly in family (41%) or with girlfriend /boyfriend (52%). Table 1 compares the main reasons referred by cultural tourists and by all respondents to visit the region.

Table 1 – Motivations referred by cultural tourists and by all respondents to visit the region (the question allowed more that one answer)

Motivations	CT	AR
Escape from the big urban centres	20	15
Leisure/ entertainment /Diversion	41	35
Searching for environment quality	23	18
Visit relatives/friends	12	24
Business	0	8
Local pilgrimages/religious events/ cultural events in general	16	9
Curiosity in knowing knew places/ people	**64**	**37**
Gastronomy	30	18
Visiting monumental and historical patrimony	**62**	**36**
Getting to know other ways of living / costumes and traditions of the region	38	22
Other	2	4

CT – Cultural Tourist; AR – All Respondents

The results expressed in Table 1 show that cultural motivations are the main reasons to visit the destination along with the motivation *Leisure/ entertainment /diversion.* These results also allow us to confirm Hypothesis 1 – Cultural motivations are the main reasons to visit the border region of the Bragança District. As it will be expected cultural motivations are more often referred by cultural tourists.

Concerning the first visit to the region only 21% of the cultural tourists referred visiting the region for the second time or more (against 52% referred by all respondents). This indicates that cultural tourist is not so often recurrent than other types of tourists and that probably patrimony and cultural features of the region are not attractive enough to promote another visit. For those who were visiting the region for the second time or more the motivations to return to the region are expressed in Table 2.

Table 2 – Motivations of cultural tourist that visit the region for the second time or more (the question allowed more that one answer)

Motivations	CT (%)	AR (%)
Leisure/ Entertainment /Diversion	36	26
Environment and natural landscape	48	32
Visiting friends and relatives	24	39
Business	0	12
Local pilgrimages/religious events/ cultural events in general	**16**	**6**
People hospitality	20	11
Gastronomy	40	18
Monumental and historical patrimony	**48**	**18**
Quality of products / services	12	6
Other	8	6

CT – Cultural Tourist; AR – All Respondents

As the results on Table 2 show a cultural motivation (*Monumental and historical patrimony*) is still one of the more often referred by the cultural tourists as a motivation to return. They also often return because of the *environmental and natural landscape,* the *gastronomy* and because of *Leisure/ Entertainment /Diversion*. Once again cultural motivations don't seem to be so predominant in recurrent cultural tourists. Nevertheless cultural tourists, compared to all respondents, register higher percentages in what concerns the cultural motivations (*Local pilgrimages/religious events/ cultural events in general*; *Monumental and historical patrimony*).

Trying to assess how the proximity of the border influences cultural tourism the respondents were asked to say if the proximity of the border influenced in any way the decision to visit the region. In what the cultural tourists are concerned 49% answered "Yes" (against 48% if we consider all respondents and 40% if we consider the non-cultural tourists). In order to test the statistical relation between the two variables (*cultural tourist* and the *proximity of border influences the decision to visit the region*) we used the Chi-Square Test. The Chi-Square Test allow to test if there is a relation between two nominal variables establishing the null hypothesis (H_0 - variables x and y are independents) and the alternative hypothesis (H_1 – There is a relation between the variables x and y) where a significance level less than 0,05 allows the null hypothesis to be rejected and to conclude that there is a relation between the two variables (Pestana and Gageiro, 2000). The significance level of the

Chi-Square Test in this case (0,856) does not allow us to reject the null hypothesis and say that there is a relation between the cultural tourist and the fact of the proximity of border influence the decision to visit the region.

Furthermore if we cross the respondents who referred visiting the region because it is a frontier region with those who referred a cultural motive to visit the region we can see that 42% referred *visiting monumental and historical patrimony* (against 36% from all respondents), 24% referred *getting to know other ways of living/costumes and traditions of the region* (against 22% from all respondents), 31% referred *curiosity in knowing new places/people* (against 37% from all respondents) and 4% referred *local pilgrimages/ Religious events/cultural events in general* (against 9% from all respondents). Results are not significantly different from all respondents which indicate that persons who visit the region because it is a frontier region do not base the visit mainly in a cultural motive. We also applied the Chi-Square Test to assess if the respondents that referred *visiting the region because it is a frontier region* with those who visit the region to *visit monumental an historical patrimony*. Establishing the null hypothesis (H_0 - variables x and y are independent) and the alternative hypothesis (H_1 – There is a relation between the variables x and y) again a significance level in the Chi-Square Test of 0,348 does not allow us to reject the null hypothesis and conclude that there is a relation between the two variables.

Still in what concerns the characterisation of the cultural tourist Table 3 shows what are the most important factors when they choose a holiday destination (results from those who expressed opinion). We can conclude that there are no significant differences among answers between the two types of respondent although *cultural factors* have more importance to cultural tourists. Proximity of the border is the factor who registers more difference in answers with the cultural tourist giving it more importance. In order to test the statistical relation between the two variables (*Historical and cultural patrimony border as an important feature of the destination* and the *proximity of border as an important feature of the destination*) we used the Spearman Test. Using the order values of the observations instead of the observed values the Spearman Correlation Coefficient measures the intensity of relation established between the two variables. The association is stronger as it diverges from zero, being in maximum one (Pestana and Gageiro, 2000). In this case the Spearman Correlation Coefficient is 0,284 and shows that there is a weak positive association between the two variables, which is statistically significant because the level of significance of the test over the correlation (0,0) is less than 0,05. We will now use the Pearson's R Coefficient of Correlation which is a measure of association based in the Chi-Square

that allows assessing the association between two variables, being that association negative when the variation between variables goes in opposite ways and positive when goes in the same way and it can assume values between –1 and 1. Besides by convention it is suggested that Person's R less than 0,2 reveals a very low association; between 0,2 and 0,3 low; between 0,4 and 0,69 moderate; between 0,7 and 0,8 high and finally between 0,9 and 1 a very high association (Pestana and Gageiro, 2000:146).Pearson's R value is of 0,347 which represents a low positive association between the two variables statistically significant at a significant level of 0,003 (less than 0,05).

In the attempt to assess how the proximity of the border influences cultural tourism we can discuss, in another perspective, how the *Neighbour* (person who lives near the border) relates to cultural tourism. The results show that 17, 8% of the respondents leave in a city near the frontier with Portugal. From those only 38% are cultural tourists (against 58% if we consider all respondents). Table 4 shows how each cultural motivation relates to *Neighbours* and the level of importance given to cultural factors in the choice of a holiday destination.

Table 3 – Importance given to the different factors of destination

Factors of the destination	Limited/ Moderate Importance (%)		Strong/Very Strong Importance (%)	
	CT	**AR**	**CT**	**AR**
Accommodation capacity	17	17	83	83
Food quality and diversity	27	21	73	79
Hospitality /people are friendly	10	8	90	92
Diversions/ entertainment	36	32	64	68
Handicraft/ Arts and traditions	**12**	**21**	**88**	**79**
Local cultural features	**18**	**22**	**82**	**78**
Historical and cultural patrimony	**6**	**9**	**94**	**91**
Nature/ countryside	8	10	92	90
Guest houses accommodation	33	37	67	63
Proximity of the border	**35**	**44**	**65**	**56**

CT – Cultural Tourist; AR – All respondents

Table 4 – Cultural motivations and level of importance given to cultural factors by all respondents and by Neighbours (those who referred living in a city near the frontier)

Motivations	Yes		No	
	N (%)	A (%)	N (%)	A (%)
Local pilgrimages/religious events/ cultural events in general	0	9	100	91
Curiosity in knowing knew places/ people	19	37	81	63
Visiting monumental and historical patrimony	24	36	76	64
Getting to know other ways of living / costumes and traditions of the region	5	22	95	78

Factors of the destination	Limited/ Moderate Importance (%)		Strong/Very Strong Importance (%)	
	N	A	N	A
Handicraft/ Arts and traditions	15	20	85	80
Local cultural features	16	30	84	70
Historical and cultural patrimony	5	16	95	84

N – Neighbour; A – All Respondents

Table 4 shows that *Neighbours* don't have cultural motivations when they travel to this region. In what concerns the importance of the different factors of destination, those which are related to cultural tourism are referred to have strong or very strong importance by a large number of neighbours but the results are not significantly different from the results of all respondents.

From the analysis of these last results and according to the statistical tests applied we can reject the second hypothesis that the proximity of the border influences cultural tourism.

Conclusion

The main conclusions from this study show that tourists of the border region of the Bragança District come mainly for cultural purposes. Recurrent tourists came mainly to visit friends and relatives and because of the environment and natural landscape. The most important features of the destination in what concerns its choice are people hospitality, historical and cultural patrimony and nature and countryside.

Recurrent cultural tourists coming to the region are not so often recurrent than other types of tourists what could indicate that patrimony and cultural features of the region are not attractive enough to promote another visit. This is probably an issue that recalls attention from all the municipalities involved and from all entities with responsibilities in promoting tourism in the region. In what concerns the influence of the border proximity in cultural tourism the results show that there is not a relation between the cultural tourist and the fact that the proximity of border influences the decision to visit the region. In fact persons who visit the region because it is a frontier region do not base the visit mainly in a cultural motive. The results also show that respondents who consider the proximity of the border important are not particularly related to those who consider the cultural aspects of the destination important. Furthermore cultural tourists do not visit the region because it is a border region more the other types of tourists do. Another perspective to analyse the importance of the border in visiting the region is to assess how *Neighbours* behave. The results show that they don't have cultural motivations when they travel to the region. In conclusion, the results show that the proximity of the border does not influence cultural tourism.

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