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AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL TOURISM AND ITS ROLE IN MUSEUMS AND HERITAGE SITES

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(Museum Emphasis)

By

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AND ITS ROLE IN MUSEUMS

A THESIS APPROVED FOR THE
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL STUDIES

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Introduction

Purpose Statement

This thesis seeks to sort out the issues of authenticity in cultural tourism products and the effectiveness of marketing as it relates to cultural tourism. Further, this thesis will examine how the association of images with a place (i.e. a cowboy icon used to market Wyoming on a Web site) further magnifies the issues of authenticity and stereotyping. Through researching the issues surrounding cultural tourism, I have concluded that it is more valuable for individuals to visit cultural sites, even if the issues are simplified, than to dismiss these sites as inauthentic and discourage people from learning about different ways of life.

Research Questions

The thesis seeks to answer the following two questions:

1. What are the problems and benefits of cultural tourism for historic resources, communities and museums?

2. How can the problems associated with cultural tourism be eliminated, or minimized, so that cultural tourism has a positive impact on historic resources, communities and museums?

The term cultural tourism has become a buzz word for museums and heritage sites in recent years. The definition of cultural tourism varies as much as opinions of its merits and faults. One journalist described it as a far reaching concept, "travel for personal enrichment."[1] Others define cultural tourism more narrowly. For instance

[1] G. Donald Adams, "Cultural Tourism: The Arrival of the Intelligent Traveler,"

the president of Lord Cultural Resources Planning and Management Inc. defines it as "visits by persons from outside the host community motivated wholly or in part by interest in the historic, artistic, scientific or lifestyle/heritage offerings of a community, region, group, or institution."[2] Most research, documentation and analysis of cultural tourism is just emerging. The term was virtually unheard of until the early 1990s. The issues that surround cultural tourism are intriguing and complex, and several of these issues will be addressed in this thesis.

Individuals in the museum field, as well as heritage sites and living history sites, typically embrace the concept of cultural tourism. This is illustrated by a survey of the articles in professional publications such as *Museum News*, as well as the National Trust for Historic Preservation's publication entitled Getting Started: How to Succeed in Heritage Tourism, which dismisses the negative impacts of cultural tourism by calling it a "clean industry."[3] The 1999 American Association of Museums national conference was held in Cleveland, Ohio, a city recognized for regenerating itself through its cultural resources. On the opposite end of the spectrum is academia, in which those who study the tourist industry often criticize cultural tourism for being too superficial and offering the visitor an inauthentic experience revolving around stereotypical images of a place.

To understand the format and direction of this thesis, it is important to provide the reader a survey of available resources on the subject of cultural tourism. Much of the academic analysis of cultural tourism is based on two classic works

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Museum News (November/December 1995): 32.

[2] Gail Dexter Lord, "Cultural Tourism: The Success Story," *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14, no. 4 (1996): 25.

[3] National Trust for Historic Preservation, Getting Started: How to Succeed in Heritage Tourism, (United States: National Trust

criticizing the tourism industry. The first work is entitled The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, in which author Daniel J. Boorstin is critical of the tourism industry for homogenizing the travel experience: "a nearby vacation spot can give [a traveler] Old World charm, and also that if he chooses the right accommodations he can have the comforts of home in the heart of Africa."[4] Although originally published in 1961, Boorstin's analysis of the tourism industry is cited in many articles that have focused on cultural tourism in recent years.

The other standard work for students of the tourism industry is Dean McCannell's The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class which was published after Boorstin's work, and is critical of Boorstin's analysis. Published in 1976, The Tourist examines the relationship between tourism and modern society. Like Boorstin's book, The Tourist is cited often by those doing an academic analysis of tourism. Both of these books prove useful in providing theories that will be explored throughout this thesis.

This thesis also incorporates articles from professional museum publications such as the American Association of Museum's *Museum News* and *History News* published by the American Association of State and Local History. These articles lack critical analysis by emphasizing economic rewards. This thesis relies heavily on articles from a journal entitled *Annals of Tourism Research*, which publishes works from around the world. The diversity of views and issues offered in articles from the *Annals of Tourism Research* provide a comprehensive analysis of cultural tourism. The journal also gives insight into nations that have been dealing with travelers

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for Historic Preservation, 1993), 3.

attracted to their cultural resources for decades, and even centuries. In the United States, cultural tourism is a form of marketing for communities whose industrial and/or agricultural economies have declined, but in many other places in the world culture is tied to the very image of a place. Other academic journals have been incorporated as well. Several books which consist of a compilation of essays are useful for providing varying perspectives, as well as guides to other resources.

A final work, published in 1998, that provides a more recent perspective on tourism than Boorstin and MacCannell is the book Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, who in recent years has been an outspoken critic of the direction museums are heading in terms of competing with other tourist attractions. She asserts "museums are experiencing a crisis of identity as they compete with other attractions within a tourism economy that privileges experience, immediacy, and what the industry calls adventure."[5] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, like Boorstin, fears that "tourists travel to actual destinations to experience virtual places."[6]

Although there are many issues and questions that surround cultural tourism, only a few will be examined in this thesis. Foremost is the issue of what cultural tourism promises versus the reality. As stated several times, many in the museum and heritage industries herald cultural tourism as THE solution to declining state and federal aid, as well as increased competition for leisure time. The arguments against creating a tourist Mecca include the impact tourism has on infrastructure, the

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[4] Daniel J. Boorstin, The Images: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in American (New York: Vintage Books, 1987), 80.

[5] Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998), 7.

creation of primarily low-paying service jobs, and the alienation of locals. Even more dire consequences can result if tourism is "too successful." My home town, Aspen, Colorado, has undoubtedly been successful at attracting tourists, upon whom the town depends for its livelihood. At the same time, property values have become so high that local doctors, lawyers and other professionals cannot afford housing in the town itself, let alone those in the low-paying service industry. This phenomenon is occurring throughout the western United States, where tourism is booming. Although Aspen does not fall into the category of a town struggling to attract visitors through cultural tourism, the town was redeveloped after World War II not only as a ski town, but also as place for the mind and spirit. Therefore Aspen serves as a good example for the positive and negative aspects of tourism. Chapter one of this thesis examines the positive outcomes of adopting cultural tourism in a given locale.

Chapter two deals with criticism of cultural tourism. Discussion is primarily centered around academic criticism of historic sites and museums, and the assertion that the content of the narrative at many of these sites is so simplified that the experience becomes inauthentic and superficial. Further, it is asserted that this simplification also perpetuates stereotypes, which creates expectations for both the visitor and the locals. Although each community seeks to demonstrate their uniqueness through cultural tourism, the result often is homogeneous with other sites in the region. For example, in the Ozarks region of the United States, the proliferation of the "hillbilly experience" has homogenized the region as well as

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[6]Ibid., 9.

created a negative stereotype. This perpetuation of images is examined further in chapter three. Several well written articles used for research are incorporated in this section of the essay.

Also included are issues related to the Internet and the media. Because the Internet is visually based, and depends on images to communicate messages, an analysis of how this impacts cultural tourism and tourist expectations is needed. This chapter fuses the research that I have surveyed for the thesis with my own theories regarding the influence of images and stereotypes on visitors' expectations and experiences.

The final chapter reexamines the issues discussed in the thesis and draws some conclusions as to what can be done to resolve these issues, as well as what type of conduct should be adopted when embracing cultural tourism. The foremost issue addressed is the issue of authenticity. For example, many academics who question the authenticity of heritage sites fail to devise any solutions. Are they arguing that nothing is better than a simplified narrative? Further, this chapter outlines remedies to the ills that plague cultural tourism, and draws conclusions as to whether or not cultural tourism is a useful endeavor. As argued above, I feel that an educational experience is better than sacrificing that experience in the name of authenticity. Ideally, of course, is to create an educational program that the visitor can understand, yet avoids using stereotypes and clichés.

The term "museum" typically implies a cultural institution that collects, exhibits, and preserves artifacts for the purpose of educating existing and future generations. But, there are numerous different types of museums that serve various

purposes. Not all museums necessarily collect, and there are great differences in how various types of museum operate. Although art museums, science centers and zoos may be used as part of a "package" to advertise cultural tourism in a given place, the study of cultural tourism usually revolves around history museums and heritage sites. It is these institutions that market the notion of traveling to another time and place, and it is these institutions that are typically criticized for being inauthentic. Therefore, this thesis primarily focuses on history museums and heritage sites. The interpretation and creation of history seems to lend itself best to the examination of issues surrounding cultural tourism.

Finally, something needs to be said about the method of research used to write this thesis. An argument can be made that the use of surveys of museum visitors (the more scientific approach) would be the most effective method. But this approach was not used for several reasons. First, many of the works incorporated in this thesis include results from surveys that I can use to draw my own conclusions. Secondly, it is not my intent to draw conclusion through visitor interviews at an individual site. Rather, I seek to outline universal issues related to cultural tourism, and reconcile arguments for and against cultural tourism.

In two articles, Alf H. Walle, professor of tourism and tourism marketing at University of Nebraska, discusses the merits of qualitative research versus quantitative research. "Researchers--including those in tourism--often need to utilize diverse forms of evidence and information when the feelings of people are being studied and researched."[7] I have concluded, as did Walle, that qualitative analysis

[7]Alf H. Walle, "Quantitative Versus Qualitative Tourism Research," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 3 (July 1997), 525.

can provide a different dimension than quantitative research. Therefore, the conclusions of this thesis are based on, and backed up by, other academic research and case studies related to cultural tourism.

Chapter One: The Benefits of Cultural Tourism

As pointed out in the introduction, cultural tourism can have many positive effects on a community, including economic benefits, as well as improved community morale, and the preservation and rehabilitation of a community's historic buildings. Cultural tourism is viewed by many museums as a means to increase revenue, attract a larger visitor base and earn recognition as an economic force by the community at large. Getting Started: How to Succeed in Heritage Tourism, published by the National Trust, cites many instances in which heritage tourism contributes significantly to local economies. Some of these examples are discussed later in this chapter. Cultural tourism can provide a plethora of benefits to a community, including a heightened awareness of local history, and attraction of visitors who spend more money than traditional tourists. Cultural tourism is considered a "clean industry"--one that does not cause health and environmental problems in communities. Visitors are also enriched by cultural tourism through learning about an area's history and culture. Further, "one of the most promising features of heritage tourism [a sub-category of cultural tourism which emphasizes an area's built environment such as historic buildings] is its use of cultural resources as the key attraction, not just a veneer of 'local color' to embellish mass tourism and recreation."[8] Heritage tourism is more specific than cultural tourism, in that it specifically addresses historic preservation and history, whereas cultural tourism is a

[8]Patricia Atkinson Wells, ed., Keys to the Marketplace: Problems and Issues in Cultural and Heritage Tourism, (Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1996), 134.

broader term to address many cultural aspects of a given region. This chapter explores the benefits of planning, developing and marketing cultural tourism.

Profile of a Cultural Tourist

One of the first points that advocates make when discussing cultural tourism involves the nature of cultural tourists. "Studies have shown that visitors of the 1990s and beyond are likely to be better educated; more mature; more affluent; more often, women; more inclined to stay near home; and more demanding in regard to the quality of their experiences."[9] National Trust statistics support this assertion by pointing out that "visitors to historic sites stay an average of a half-day longer and spend an average of $62 more than travelers who do not visit historic sites."[10] Author Kathleen Brown, in the article entitled "Tourism Trends for the '90s" asserts that cultural tourists require "minimal infrastructure," unlike manufacturing industries and agriculture which require and destroy large quantities of land and the environment, and cultural tourists are aware of the need to support local heritage sites.[11] Heritage tourism is viewed as a watershed by many in the museum field because the demographic profile of the typical cultural tourist includes the baby boomers, who are affluent, educated and will be nearing retirement, and more leisure time, in the next decade. According to a Travel Industry Association of America survey, in

[9] T. Allen Comp, "Heritage Tourism Comes of Age," *History News* (May/June 1993), 9-12.
[10] Getting Started, 3
[11] Kathleen Brown, "Tourism Trends in the '90s," *History News* (May/June 1993), 4-7.

planning their next visit 46% of those surveyed were including a visit to historic sites in their plans, and 43% were attending a cultural event or activity.[12]

The Potential for Cultural Tourism

The predictions for cultural tourism's future have been so positive that an organization called Partners in Tourism, which includes American Association of Museums, the National Trust and the National Endowment for the Arts was formed in the early 1990s. "The partners' purpose is to advance the role of culture and heritage and national, state, and local travel and tourism policy and practice, resulting in sustainable places that will educate, elevate and entertain the visitor."[13] An article under the "Hot Topics" button of the American Association of Museum's Web site discusses the evolution and role of the Partners in Tourism. In August 1998, the group commissioned a survey to determine the length of time travelers extend their trips because of cultural activities. The results of the survey backs up much of the information about the demographic make-up of cultural tourists discussed above. Partners in Tourism have also developed four priorities for cultural tourism in the United States that emerged through regional forums. These priorities are discussed below.

The first priority is creating quality partnerships, which is a major premise of most articles about planning cultural tourism. The Partners for Tourism recognize that many nonprofit organizations do not have the funds for national campaigns to

[12]"Cultural Tourism," 32.

advertise their cultural tourism activities. The second priority of the Partners in Tourism is telling an authentic story. The third priority is to involve the community in the development of cultural tourism. Planning for cultural tourism must include community involvement to prevent locals from feeling isolated and resentful of tourists. Finally, the Partners in Tourism seek to acquire "credible and consistent research demonstrating the social and economic impact of cultural tourism."[14] It is evident from these priorities that there are some reservations about the effects of cultural tourism on communities and the composition of cultural tourism materials.

A critical factor in cultural tourism is the transformation that a community can undergo once a plan to market and adopt cultural tourism is implemented. The primary benefit of cultural tourism is increased revenue due to an increase in tourist activity. The National Trust cites numerous examples in Getting Started of increased revenue due to garden tours, museums and festivals in towns throughout the United States. But advocates are quick to point out this is not the only benefit of a well planned and executed cultural tourism endeavor. "Local governments and chambers of commerce have turned to heritage tourism as a way to improve community pride, identity, and economic development."[15] Not only do locals reap economic benefits, but often important historical buildings are renovated, locals can take advantage of the same attractions as tourists, and often, an area itself is revitalized, re-instilling self value in a community.

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[13] American Association of Museums, "Partners in Tourism," [cited February 15, 1999, *www.aam-us.org/cultural.htm*].

[14] American Association of Museums, "Building a Common Agenda for Tourism," [cited February 15, 1999, *www.aam-us.org/tourism_agenda.htm*].

[15] Keys to the Marketplace, 109.

Success Story: Cleveland, Ohio

As mentioned in the introduction, the American Association of Museums held their annual conference in Cleveland, Ohio, a leader in cultural tourism in recent years. The article "Reborn in the U.S.A.," in the November/December 1995 *Museum News*, examines the urban revival of the city due to the emergence of several museums. A second article on Cleveland is included in the January/February 1999 *Museum News* as a pre-conference promotion. In the article "In the Comeback City," author Amanda Kraus examines the cultural institutions that have recently emerged in the city as well as other prestigious institutions that have been maintained through private efforts for years. The author explains, "two high-profile newcomers, the Great Lakes Science Center and the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum, are credited with the spurring of redevelopment of the North Coast Harbor and increasing the city's tourism."[16] The Director of Communications at the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum boasts that the museum has "helped to transform the image of Cleveland from the dying rustbelt to the rock and roll city."[17]

The author discusses the long history of cultural institutions in Cleveland and points out that most were founded by philanthropists rather than with government dollars. But, in 1995 the city of Cleveland and Cuyahoga County contributed an astounding $66 million to the total cost of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum. This was an unprecedented amount which has paid off for the city.[18] Yet, "that

[16]Amanda Kraus, "In the Comeback City," *Museum News* 78, no. 1 (January/February 1999), 53.
[17]Ibid.
[18]Ibid.

decision has been alternately hailed for jump-starting Cleveland's tourism and decried for taking tax dollars needed for human services."[19] Although this chapter focuses on benefits, it seems appropriate to point out that although the North Coast Harbor in Cleveland is thriving, other areas are dilapidated and badly in need of restoration, and, further, the school system is troubled.[20] Despite criticism, the city has a $2.7-billion development plan that includes the addition of an aquarium, and dining and shopping areas to the thriving North Coast Harbor.[21] The success of such endeavors has prompted many states to include arts and culture as part of the promotion of their state.

Aspen, Colorado: The Quintessential Cultural Tourism Town

Used as an example for many of the negative aspects of cultural tourism throughout the thesis Aspen is, nonetheless, probably one of the foremost towns that adopted cultural tourism ideology long before the term was ever used. After World War II, a wealthy couple from Chicago, Walter and Elizabeth Paepcke, partnered with a European ski instructor to develop the area into a ski resort. Yet, the Paepcke's envisioned much more than a ski town, they wanted a year-round resort in which the mind and spirit are exercised as well. In 1949, the Goethe Bicentennial was held in a make shift tent, and such prominent people as Albert Schweitzer and Arthur Rubenstein were speakers. From this single event the Aspen Music Festival, Aspen Design Conference, Aspen Institute, and several other prominent institutions

[19] Ibid., 53-54
[20] Ibid., 60.
[21] Ibid. 53.

were formed. And, most have survived into the 21st century. In the mid-1980s summer visitors attending cultural events surpassed skier numbers during the winter. Cultural tourism contributed as much to Aspen's development as did skiing.

Positive Impacts of Cultural Tourism on Museums

A final benefit of cultural tourism in reinvigorating a community is the emergence of innovation, creativity and excitement in a profession that has for decades been viewed as conservative as well as elitist and exclusionary. Museums recognize that they need to earn more revenue, get more people in the door, plus most museums compete with places like amusement parks, and activities such as outdoor recreation and shopping for leisure time. This has forced the profession to become innovative and to create not only educational exhibits, but exciting ones as well. Interestingly enough, the showmanship aspect that museums have adopted in recent years is also the source of criticism from academics which is discussed in chapter two. But positive changes have occurred in museums in which staffs have recognized the need to create institutions that attract a broader range of people.

Placing an emphasis on the visitor, or customer, is the biggest change that has occurred in museums. Although it may not be considered a benefit by some in the museum world, this has allowed museums to increase their visitor base and revenues, as well as distance themselves from the elite, stuffy image they have had for most of the 20th century. Museums have learned theme parks' secret which places "emphasis on staff training, building and sustaining corporate culture, clearly defined standards of behavior, and monitoring of staff performance [which] results in a consistently

high level of customer service."[22] Another important factor related to customer service that museums are learning is how people interact. Museums are often viewed similar to libraries, where people feel the need to whisper and contemplate rather than socialize. They are told to be quiet, and don't touch. Places such as Disneyland realize that people often want to spend their leisure time in groups. Recently museums such as the Minnesota Historical Society have taken steps to make museums a more comfortable place to socialize. At MHS, "exhibit developers continually challenged themselves to create experience that would serve, not separate families."[23] In extreme cases, there are heritage sites which have turned into theme parks. Authors Peggy Teo and Brenda S.A. Yeoh, in their article "Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism," explore the development of a high-tech theme park on the grounds of a historic garden. But, the power of "real" things, the mystique of the original, is what makes museums unique from theme parks. Although entertainment is an important part of attracting visitors, the primary mission of museums is to protect "collections of real, meaningful objects that support educational goals" which differs greatly from theme parks' primary objective of making a profit.[24]

With that in mind, museums seeking to take advantage of cultural tourism must ask themselves what potential they have to attract visitors. In an article entitled "Standing Out in the Crowd," author William T. Alderson contemplates what it takes to become a successful tourism destination. Much of what Alderson describes is common sense, having an attractive site with well researched exhibits that "should

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[22]Ann Mintz, "That's Edutainment," *Museum News*, (November/December 1994), 33.

[23]Ibid., 35.

focus on the human story that can be told with objects."[25] But, Alderson also makes some interesting observations about museums. He claims that one of the best forms of advertisement for museums is word of mouth. Further, he suggests museums must be able to distinguish publics to whom their exhibits and stories appeal. To attract visitors, a museum must have an unusual story; almost every town has museums devoted to prominent town citizens, but to be successful, museums must appeal to more than the local population. Finally, Alderson asserts that museum visitors are more interested in human stories as they relate to artifacts rather than information about artifacts themselves.

One of the best examples of a museum changing its programming to attract visitors is the University of Alaska Museum in Fairbanks. In an article entitled "A Delicate Balance: A University Rethinks its Relationship with the Tourism Industry," director and author Aldona Jonaitis describes what steps were taken to attract more visitors when the museum was removed from the Fairbanks City Tour, depriving the organization of $100,000 in revenue. The museum played upon tourists' expectations of the area to attract them to the museum. The staff recognized that "many tourists come to Alaska to see its natural splendors and experience its Native cultures."[26] With that in mind, the staff developed programming on Alaskan Native culture and the northern lights.

The program on Alaskan Native culture included performance events in which Native athletes performed traditional athletic feats. The aurora is not visible

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[24]Ibid.

[25]William T. Alderson, "Standing Out in a Crowd," *History News*, (May/June 1993).

[26]Alonda Jonaitis, "A Delicate Balance: A University Museum Rethinks its Relationship with the Tourism Industry," *Museum*

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during the main tourist season, but by combining slides of the northern lights, with research from the Geophysical Institute and Native American folklore about the lights, the staff was able to create a successful and educational program on one of the most interesting aspects of Alaska. At the same time, the museum had a controversial exhibition on the detention of Japanese-Americans and Aleuts during World War II to which visitors were also exposed. The change in programming resulted in an increase in visitors, and revenue, and combined with an increase in admission fees by $1 per visitor, more than made up for the $100,000 deficit. The director concludes the article by stating, "In the future, we will continue providing programs and exhibits founded in solid research, maintaining our integrity while responding to the very real demands of tourists whose support contributes significantly to our budget."[27] The University of Alaska museum is a great example of an organization able to increase revenue by adapting its programming to meet visitor expectations and need to be entertained, yet maintain its educational mission by providing quality interpretation.

The benefits of cultural tourism have been outlined in this chapter. The cultural tourist has a different profile from the typical tourist, one that includes longer stays, spending more money, and having higher expectations for a quality experience. Further, the number of cultural tourists are expanding because of the aging of baby boomers, as well as the increasing number of people looking for a quality experience rather than fun in the sun, or a week on the slopes. Cultural tourism also provides distinct benefits to communities, as illustrated by the discussion on Cleveland, and its

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News, (November/December 1995), 39.

transformation from the "Mistake on the Lake" to "The Comeback City."[28] Finally, decreased government support, and competition from places such as theme parks and outdoor recreation, has served as a wake-up call to museums and other cultural institutions which are now looking closely at cultural tourism as a means to increase revenue. Hand-in-hand with this has been a transformation in the way museums think about potential customers, how they market their sites and how the information itself is presented to visitors. Cultural tourism has created some very positive outcomes for individuals, institutions and communities that have adopted such strategies. Nonetheless, critics have begun to voice their concern about cultural tourism, echoing the observations of Daniel Boorstin and Dean MacCannell decades earlier. Some in the museum field and academia complain of exploitation, inauthentic experiences and selling out to commercialism. Chapter two explores the above criticisms and costs associated with cultural tourism.

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[27] Ibid., 58.

[28] "In the Comeback City," 50.

Chapter Two: The Problems with Cultural Tourism

The goals formulated by Partners in Tourism described in chapter one--to create partnerships, preserve cultural integrity, involve the community, and to acquire facts and figures regarding the social and economic impacts of cultural tourism--are a reaction to criticism that cultural tourism falls short of being an enriching, authentic experience. Some critics argue that cultural tourism can often perpetuate stereotypes of a place--such as the example mentioned in the introduction of people who live in the Ozarks being viewed as hillbillies, perpetuated by many retail stores, restaurants and other attractions in the area. Even though community involvement is important for the success of a site, some places continue to develop cultural tourism spaces without the participation of community members, creating resentment and a poorly formulated plan. What kind of community can tourism be expected to create? In Aspen, the bulk of jobs available are in the service industry, which means they are low-paying, seasonal jobs requiring few skills and offering little fulfillment; this creates resentment among locals towards tourists and is also detrimental to the Aspen community due to the transient nature of the people filling those jobs.

A final concern addressed in this chapter is the actual effectiveness of cultural tourism. The potential benefits of cultural tourism, as outlined in chapter one, are challenged in this chapter which deals with the reality of institutions choosing to adopt such a strategy. Although the above question is a thesis in itself, I

would like to briefly look at what are perhaps inflated expectations for cultural institutions and communities.

Poor Planning: The Mark Twain Sesquicentennial

The first criticisms I would like to look at are those related to lack of involvement by a given community, as well as negative impacts on communities due to tourism. "Poorly managed cultural tourism settings, defined with only the visitor in mind, may make locals feel like caged bears or subservient display items."[29] The problems that can arise due to lack of community involvement when planning a cultural tourism enterprise are illustrated well in a book entitled White Town Drowsing, in which the author, journalist Ron Powers, visits his boyhood home of Hannibal, Missouri during the planning of the Mark Twain Sesquicentennial. The Sesquicentennial was planned with little involvement from the community. The mayor at the time had visions of grandeur, and the elite citizens that made up the Sesquicentennial committee believed people from around the world would descend on Hannibal in the summer of 1985 to indulge in a series of festivities related to Mark Twain and the town he wrote about in this literature. "The Mark Twain Sesquicentennial Commission laid out its vision: a leviathan celebration that would sprawl over seven months, from May through November of 1985, fueled by a budget of $5,075,000."[30] This figure, that was frequently used during the initial planning of the event, was more than half of the annual operating budget for the town of

[29]Patricia Atkinson Wells, ed. Keys to the Marketplace: Problems and Issues in Cultural and Heritage Tourism. (Middlesex: Hisarlisk Press, 1996) 7.
[30]Ron Powers, White Town Drowsing, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986), 99.

Hannibal and implied the involvement of contributors and clientele with more resources than Hannibal's local supporters and residents.[31]

What resulted from the secretive meetings and lack of community involvement was nothing short of a disaster. The Sesquicentennial committee overspent by $100,000 due to being over-ambitious and poor marketing (despite the fact that the Sesquicentennial event had expenditures that cost less than $500,000), the mayor was ousted from office and the "international" event fizzled. This was due to both lack of community involvement and poor marketing on the part of the committee. The result was a local event, complete with a fun run and beautiful baby contest, with the highlight being an *Air Supply* concert.[32] What White Town Drowsing so adeptly illustrates is that problems can arise if a community is not part of the planning process for cultural tourism and events.

Because the very nature of a town can be transformed due to the influx of visitors and planners, those involved in cultural tourism development emphasize time and time again the importance of allowing the community to give their opinion on changes and improvements related to cultural tourism. Otherwise, the result will be a project that is not backed by the community, locals who feel isolated and resentful of tourists, and the resulting project will be less than satisfactory for all involved. Although not a cultural tourist destination the town of Moab, Utah has boomed since the late 1980s thanks to an increased market in outdoor recreation, bringing hikers, mountain bikers and those interested in seeing nearby natural wonders to the town and surrounding area. Because of tourism, the once defunct mining town is now

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[31] Ibid.

enjoying a booming economy from March through November, but this boom has also created low-paying seasonal jobs, large hotels that sit almost empty during the off-season and a population that resents the tourists. "Places with tourists have too many of them; places without have too few."[33] Cases such as these are even more dramatic in third world countries where natives are expected to play the part for tourists expecting exotic experiences and peoples. "The 1990s has witnessed growing controversy regarding the role of tourism as a vehicle for development in the Third World."[34]

Natives Meeting the Expectations of Tourists

One example of natives accommodating tourist exceptions is illustrated in an article from the *Annals of Tourism Research.* In the article entitled "Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage," author Bob Simpson examines the transformation of a family of mask makers when they shift from making traditional Sri Lanka masks for ritual to making the masks for tourists. Not only did the relationship of the family change relative to the community, but the manner in which the masks were produced and the product itself was changed as a result of the shift from religion to mass marketing. Simpson asserts that in a tourist economy the masks are taken out of context, therefore the masks lack the details that tie them to tradition. Further, "what is successfully presented for consumption by outsiders also

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[32]Ibid., 289.

[33]Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 166.

[34]Ibid., 65

redefines the parameters of legitimacy and authenticity for indigenous audiences."[35] Many fear that the infiltration of Western businesses and tourists into Third World countries is a serious threat to those countries, their values and their ways of life. Simpson concludes his paper by stating "tourism is destructive in that it engenders the emptying of meaning from cultural practices and the desacralization of ritual objects; but, at the same time, it is also generative in that it stimulates the creation and recreation of new meanings for traditional practices."[36] The question each community must ask themselves is if what they gain is worth what is lost. Often times it is not.

A contributor to the book Keys to the Marketplace: Problems and Issues in Cultural and Heritage Tourism, Keith Hollinshead, examines the effect tourism has had on Aboriginal Australia in recent years. Many of the issues with Aboriginal Australians can be compared to Native Americans in the United States. Tourist marketers often view Aborigines as backward and meager, therefore they are often not consulted, or given much consideration in terms of how they fit into Australia's tourist economy. Hollinshead compares the impact of tourism on developing societies to imperialism.[37] Hollinshead is also critical because Aborigines are often grouped together without differentiating tribes, regions and traditions, very much like American Native Americans. Hollinshead suggests to avoid many of the problems that occur with Westerners invading Third World countries and developing societies,

[35] Bob Simpson, "Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage," *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993), 170.
[36] Ibid., 180.
[37] Wells, 20.

tourism must be done in such a manner that "*the scale* of tourism development is adapted to suit the cultural and resource realities of *each* local situation."[38]

Authenticity and Homogeneity

Two issues that are closely related are authenticity and homogeneity. Authenticity in tourism is an important issue for many in academia, and in institutions such as museums. Many fear that as museums attempt to compete with other activities for leisure time they have lost sight of their original mission. Ann Mintz, in an article written for *Museum News* entitled "That's Edutainment!" examines the trends in museums to take on blockbuster exhibits, IMAX theaters and other entertainment oriented activities because of the need for earned income. " "Edutainment" is museum jargon for the combination of education and entertainment. One of Mintz's fears is that "audiences drawn by blockbusters become accustomed to elaborate, highly designed traveling exhibits."[39] By making exhibits sensationalist and enticing, museums have threatened the very integrity that differentiates them from Disneyworld. Tourism has been criticized for several decades as appealing more to expectations than realities, and now that many museums are opting for cultural tourism, they too have drawn fire for being inauthentic.

Two books written several decades ago have been the basis for criticism of cultural tourism. In The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, historian Daniel J. Boorstin dedicates an entire chapter to modern tourism. In the chapter

[38]Ibid., 24.

"From Traveler to Tourist: The Lost Art of Travel," Boorstin asserts that the modern conception of tourism is a pseudo-event, where travelers expect to have the modern conveniences of home in the most exotic of places and we expect local destinations to offer a bit of the unusual. An excellent example of this is the town of Leavenworth, Washington, which decided in the 1960s to become an "authentic" German town to attract tourists. In an article entitled "Bavarian by Law," the author describes how zoning laws were enacted to force local businesses and developers to create Bavarian style buildings, and the town celebrates many German festivals and traditions. Ironically, Leavenworth has no significant ties to Germany, but altered its image to attract tourists, which has been successful.[40] The author concludes: "Many residents are conflicted about the town's transformation, because it contradicts their faith in unrestricted resource development and obscures the town's actual history. On the other hand this 'old world' economic and cultural conformity has proved very profitable and created the most recognizable place in the area."[41] I believe Boorstin would view Leavenworth, Washington as an exceptional example of a "pseudo-event."

Boorstin describes the transformation from traveler to tourist, and the emergence of travel agencies and democratic travel to make his point. He believes there is a distinct difference between a traveler and a tourist. "Formerly travel required long planning, large expense, and a great investment of time" as well as

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[39] Mintz, 33.

[40] Andrea Robbins and Max Becher, "Bavarian by Law," *Contact Sheet 98* (1998), 4.

[41] Ibid.

being an adventure.[42] A tourist is a pleasure seeker. Boorstin is also critical of modern museums, which he asserts have been created to make it convenient to see exotic and unfamiliar artifacts by putting them all in one place. "But," he asserts, "to put it together the art commissioners have had to take apart the very environment, the culture which was once real, and which actually created and enjoyed these works."[43] To Boorstin, art and artifacts in museums are taken out of context from their existence, and this creates an inauthentic experience. Boorstin also agrees with several other critics of tourism and cultural tourism, that "the tourist seldom likes the authentic product of the foreign culture; he prefers his own provincial expectations."[44] Much of the concern regarding authenticity steams from marketing and visitor expectations, which are discussed in the next chapter. Nonetheless, Boorstin seems to blame the tourist for his or her low expectations and disillusionment, while others look to cultural institutions and marketing efforts for accountability.

Dean MacCannell, author of The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, disagrees with Boorstin's assertion that criticizes tourists "for being satisfied with superficial experiences of other peoples and other places."[45] MacCannell sees a link between the nature of modern society and mass leisure, especially tourism. To MacCannell, tourism is a way in which modern society is able to relate to the world and an information society. But, MacCannell is also critical of the inauthentic aspect of the tourist experience. He asserts that modern society is more concerned about

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[42] Boorstin, 84.
[43] Ibid., 101.
[44] Ibid., 106.

the idea than with the actual experience, emphasizing symbols more than reality. And, he regards artifacts in museums as symbols of the past rather than authentic pieces. He asserts, "the term 'tourist' is increasingly used as a derisive label for someone who seems content with his obviously inauthentic experience."[46] Regardless, MacCannell sees tourism as a means for modern societies to understand their surroundings, "the more an individual sinks into everyday life, the more he is reminded of reality and authenticity elsewhere."[47]

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett: The Agency of Display

It is this notion that reality lies elsewhere, or in another time period, that has allowed cultural tourism its modest success, as well as predictions of success in the future. Anthropologist Benita J. Howell points out that "popular interest in cultural conservation encourages countless groups and localities to discover, create, or rehabilitate 'traditions' that serve their social, political, or economic ends," such as the mask makers in Sri Lanka.[48] It is the "creation" of tradition, the fusion of cultures and the simplification of history that has caused some in academia to question the authenticity and the value of the education that cultural tourism provides. One of the most vocal and prominent critics of cultural tourism in recent years is Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, whose book Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage is a compilation of essays and lectures scrutinizing the

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[45]MacCannell, 10.
[46]Ibid., 94.
[47]Ibid., 160.
[48]Benita J. Howell, "Weighing the Risks and Rewards of Involvement in Cultural Conservation and Heritage Tourism," *Human Organization: Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology* 53, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 153.

"agency of display" in museums, fairs and other tourist attractions. She takes issue with the display of ethnographic objects, arguing "one man's life is another man's spectacle."[49] Although she emphasizes the nature of display historically, she does devote one section to modern museums and the increasing importance of marketing and visitor numbers. She believes that this shift has created the inauthenticity of which she is so critical. To her, museums create real scenes but make them "better" in some way.[50] She has levied criticism at the creators of Ellis Island and Plimoth Plantation, and others have made similar comments about places such as Colonial Williamsburg and the Henry Ford Museum/Greenfield Village. They contend that these places are idealistic representations of actual places. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett calls Plimoth Plantation an "extraordinary experiment in virtuality."[51] When these places and societies actually existed, things were not clean, pristine and tranquil, as visitors see things today. There were trials and tribulations; sicknesses, starvation and real struggles existing at these places. Yet, today's visitors see misrepresentations, making the average cultural tourist believe that "the good old days" really did exist. Something pointed out in another text is that "at Colonial Williamsburg, manure on otherwise clean streets signifies something about the way Americans generally think of life in 'their past.' Life was more organic--closer to nature."[52] One of the most fascinating aspects of studying history is that "the good old days" never really did exist, and many academics fear that this is not being

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[49] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 47.

[50] Ibid., 132.

[51] Ibid., 189.

[52] Richard Handler and Eric Gable, The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 4

conveyed to visitors of heritage sites and museums.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett also worries that places such as Plimoth Plantation help create a master narrative of the history of the United States, one which ignores the contributions of different ethnic groups and societies. She is able to articulate many of the issues that critics of cultural tourism have pointed out in a chapter entitled "Ellis Island." She examines the representation of Ellis Island as being the gateway to the United States and a symbol of freedom. "Ellis Island, now a repository for patriotic sentiment, has been incorporated into a recreational geography of national parks and monuments, alongside Colonial Williamsburg, Plymouth Rock, and the Grand Canyon."[53] The irony is that Ellis Island stopped being utilized because xenophobic policies resulted in the site no longer being useful. To Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Ellis Island does not represent freedom and the American melting pot, but "a stranglehold of restrictive immigration policy, a heritage unworthy of shameless pride."[54] Using Ellis Island as a representation of American immigration ignores those who came by force, under duress and who were already here and displaced. Also, years of racists policies by denying Asians, Africans and Latin Americans legal entrance into the United States is ignored by the symbolism associated with Ellis Island. The ease in which one can get their name put on the American Express Wall of Honor at Ellis Island, "obscures the very real obstacles to obtaining a visa and green card."[55] Current immigration policies fly in the face of the exhibitions at Ellis Island.

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[53] Ibid., 177.
[54] Ibid., 178.
[55] Ibid., 181.

Other issues can be dissected from Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's essay to summarize much of the criticism levied by critics. Foremost is the notion of creating an idealistic, universal symbol of a place that may only have tradition and heritage for a small percentage of America. The flaw is not the celebration of one aspect of American immigration, but the misrepresentation that it tells everyone's story. A second issue is ignoring the negative aspects of a place or time, such as the restrictive and racist immigrations policies which factored into the functioning of Ellis Island and let to its demise. Further, commercialization that occurs at a heritage site allows people to take a little bit of a place in the form of a key chain, T-shirt or postcard, and leave with a permanent record of the place. Finally there is the lack of connection between the past and the present. The overly patriotic nature of the Ellis Island exhibition illustrates that those involved with the project clearly did not want to stir up any controversy by relating history to present circumstance. And, who can really blame them? As was demonstrated by a botched exhibition of the Enola Gray at the Smithsonian, in which World War II veterans protested the compassion shown towards Japanese victims of the atomic bombs in the exhibition, controversy may not be the best thing for publicity, marketing and visitor numbers.

Authenticity at Colonial Williamsburg

Although Kirshenblatt-Gimblett eloquently states her case from an academic perspective, she fails to incorporate any visitor comments or analysis. In contrast, authors Richard Handler and Eric Gable spent two years doing field research, including talking with visitors, administrative and curatorial staff, and volunteers at

Colonial Williamsburg for their book entitled The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg. Handler and Gable are very critical of what they call "new social history" at Colonial Williamsburg (i.e. the inclusion of minorities and women in the tale of the settling of America) because in the end they conclude that new social history has not changed the actual story line, but has just added a few detours. They assert that the programming that includes slavery at Colonial Williamsburg is still interpreted in the context of a white man's world. Colonial Williamsburg is the quintessential example of "edutainment" and has been on the cutting edge of living history for several decades. Yet, the authors feel the institution's obsession with authenticity has created mediocrity in the analysis of history, suggesting "the teeth of critical history" have been pulled at Colonial Williamsburg to create interpretations that are politically correct and are "just the facts."[56]

Although Handler and Gable cite many examples of how the goals of authenticity, educating and entertaining people often conflict, the primary strength of their analysis is to examine visitor comments and perspectives. One interesting thing the authors point out is that visitors often have a difficult time viewing Colonial Williamsburg as a museum. As in many tourist locations, the staff at Colonial Williamsburg enjoys relaying stories of clueless visitors who think that the live squirrels are mechanical.[57] And, although this is a joke, the authors found that these sort of visitors do exist at Colonial Williamsburg, mistaking it for a theme park because of the "Disneyesque" nature of the site, the commercialization (i.e. the

[56] The New History, 84.

plethora of gift shops), and the fees. This is an image Colonial Williamsburg has been trying to combat by emphasizing authenticity. Yet, on the opposite side of the coin, there are visitors who come with a critical eye, examining every detail for inaccuracies. The staff has dealt with complaints of inauthentic padlocks, sterile surroundings (hence the introduction of horse manure), and inconsistencies in interpretations. As pointed out above, what this has led to, according to Handler and Gable, is a mediocre interpretation of life at Colonial Williamsburg, creating confusion and misunderstanding among visitors.

Does Cultural Tourism Benefit Communities?

Another issue I would like to briefly discuss is the actual effectiveness of cultural tourism and its impact on individual communities. It was illustrated in chapter one with the discussion of Cleveland, that cultural tourism can truly aid a community in attracting visitors and increasing revenue. But to what degree and how much effort must be put in such a project to be effective? How many local governments can afford to contribute $66 million to a museum, heritage site, or any other cultural entity? If $66 million is what it takes to create a quality museum and attraction for visitors, then this is way out of the league for many communities, including an extremely wealthy small city such as Aspen. It is obvious from articles written by both critics and advocates of cultural tourism that quality planning, community involvement and an enticing result are critical to successful cultural tourism endeavors, but most communities in the United States, Third World

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[57] Ibid., 28.

countries, or even some of the established European cultural centers, do not have the resources to coordinate such a project. As was demonstrated by Ron Powers, a poorly planned effort proved disappointing and ineffective for Hannibal, Missouri.

Although much of the criticism described in this chapter is valid, very few remedies were suggested by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, or others who have taken issue with the way many museums and heritage sites present history, and past or different cultures. Solutions for confronting some of the criticism will be discussed in a later chapter. It is a difficult situation, because staff planning exhibits do not want to lose visitors by creating dreary, critical exhibitions which are unsuitable for children and disturbing for adults (although the Holocaust Museum has been commended for shocking exhibitions); however, overly simplified exhibits that rely on symbolism and clichés create very inauthentic experiences for visitors. The importance of recognizable images, and the development of visitor expectations as related to an image are also important factors when discussing places such as Ellis Island, the Statue of Liberty and other American symbols of freedom. The development of such images, how they are used in marketing, and how these images have been transformed as our society becomes more visually oriented with the emergence of the Internet is explored in chapter three.

Chapter Three: Images, Expectations and Mass Media

As demonstrated in the discussion about Ellis Island, images and symbolism are an important marketing mechanism for cultural tourism. These images also create visitor expectations. Ira Silver, in his article "Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries," asserts "marketed images of indigenous people tend to portray predominantly what Westerners have historically imagined the Other to be like."[58] Chapter three explores the nature of these images and symbols, how their use and power create visitor expectations, and how marketed images can often alter the self-perception of natives trying to meet those visitor expectations. These points are best illustrated by examining the tourist-local relationship in Third World countries, where societies have often been more exploited than those in the United States, but, several articles regarding images and stereotypes in this country are used as well. Further, the perpetuation of images in magazines, travel guides and on the Internet has created another series of complex issues related to tourism.

African-American Images at the Turn-of-the-Century

In his chapter on tourism, Boorstin cynically states, "The tourist seldom likes the authentic (to him often unintelligible) product of the foreign culture; he prefers his own provincial expectations."[59] Many students of tourism agree. Silver suggests that an examination of tourism marketing illustrates more about what marketers and tourist operators think visitors expect to see rather than what really exists. The

[58] Ira Silver, "Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries," *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993), 302.

impacts of images on tourist expectations may be best exemplified by a historical example. In an article entitled "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations," author Wayne Martin Mellinger examines postcards generated around the turn-of-the-century marketed to Northern whites visiting the South. These postcards depict stereotypical roles of African-Americans at the time: picking cotton, the "mammy," and other derogatory images. What Mellinger's article illustrates is that similar portrayals, such as women in tropical climates being exotic and natives of some Third World countries being "savage," may be as shameful as we approach the 21st century as the images of African Americans at the beginning of the 20th century.

Mellinger, a student of Dean MacCannell, thinks tourism is based on a tourist's search for authenticity, which the average tourist believes is not a part of contemporary society. The author also asserts that "ethnic tourism is consistently an asymmetrical relationship between relatively well-off First-World people and relatively-impoverished Fourth-World people."[60] In his article the impoverished Fourth-World people are blacks in the South at the turn-of-the-century. Mellinger asserts that the postcard images were really symbols of a simpler past, and did not actually portray the way of life for African Americans in the South during this era.[61] He believes these postcards "actively serve to position black subjects in a racist regime of representations that preserved and defended the racial privilege of

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[59]Boorstin, 106.

[60]Wayne Martin Mellinger, "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations," *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994), 759.

[61]Ibid., 760.

European Americans."[62] Most of the postcards produced during this era were staged by photographers, and they "tended to choose stereotypical images in order to make their product accessible to the widest audience."[63]

The use of images to market a place can be paralleled in modern society as well. Enticing images of Native American culture are often used to market Santa Fe; grace, hospitality and a simpler way of life are used to portray the South; and cowboy images are often used in association with areas of the Rocky Mountains. Although the latter two examples are not necessarily exploitative, Native Americans in Santa Fe, and other places throughout the Southwest, are often exploited and live an impoverished existence despite the romanticized images. Mellinger was able to parallel the images of African Americans in postcards at the turn of the century to modern tourism marketing: "tourists inhabit a mass-mediated culture in which the proliferation of hegemonically-scripted discourses, including television programs, feature films, travel books, brochures, and postcards, act as powerful tour guides that can produce ideals, identities, and role models for tourists, and define their situations, set their agendas, and establish the boundaries of their gaze."[64] What planners and marketers of cultural tourism must keep in mind is that the marketing strategies they use may create the same sort of stereotyping as mass tourism marketing.

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., 765.
[64] Ibid., 777.

Interpreting Niagara Falls

Ernest Sternberg, in his article "The Iconography of the Tourism Experience," explores the interesting phenomenon of creating an image of a place. Tourism is an "iconically loaded product," and Sternberg concurs with Boorstin that tourists visit a place because of an image they hold.[65] In his article, Sternberg uses Niagara Falls as an example of how important it is that "tourism enterprises...appeal to the tourist's fond desires and imaginative associations."[66] In the case of Niagara Falls, Sternberg asserts it is a poorly designed tourism enterprise, and the region is suffering financially because of the "shortfall...in the composition of the touristic experience it offers."[67] Sternberg sees two steps to creating a "tourist icon." The first step is staging, or creating a setting. In this case it is Niagara Falls, which is considered a natural wonder, but has been given face lifts over the years to maintain the picturesque ambiance. The second step is create a theme around the attraction. Niagara Falls has several different themes, such as romance, danger and being a natural wonder, on which an image is built. According to Sternberg, the tourism draw of Niagara Falls is lacking because of competing themes and poor staging. Further, because the Falls are the only quality attraction to the area, they do not draw the ideal tourist to the area (i.e. cultural tourists who stay longer and spend more money), but only attract people for day trips or those passing through.

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[65] Ernest Sternberg, "The Iconography of the Tourism Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (1997), 952

[66] Ibid., 951.

[67] Ibid., 952.

Sternberg asserts, "planners have to develop the iconographic skills of staging and thematization through which to better develop the touristic content."[68] Yet, despite the implications of manipulation in the above statement, Sternberg is concerned about authenticity and its role in tourism marketing. He asserts that authenticity is not an issue at Niagara Falls, because no one can dispute that the Falls are not real, despite their alteration in the past. Sternberg also suggests that personal reflection is perhaps more important than authenticity: "tourism products can be made meaningfully multi-layered, so that they divert at one level, but disturb, disorient, and intellectually stimulate on another."[69] More on the idea of personal reflection and educating versus the importance of authenticity will be discussed in a later chapter. What Sternberg illustrates for the purpose of this chapter is the importance and power of the creation of an image of a place.

Images and Stereotyping

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, Ira Silver's article "Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries," explores the impact of marketing images on visitors and natives of a given place. Silver asserts: "for tourists authenticity is not necessarily determined by gaining a genuine appreciation for another culture but rather verifying a marketed representation of it."[70] This is illustrated by the fact that marketing and brochures usually do not reference industrialization and modernization in Third World countries, preferring to reference

[68] Ibid., 965.
[69] Ibid., 967.
[70] Silver, 303.

the exotic nature of a strange and foreign land and a place which is unscathed by modern problems. Also, "touristic representations of indigenous people do not merely reinforce cultural stereotypes. They also often promote the notion that natives exist primarily for the consumption of Western tourists."[71] Silver illustrates his point by examining a series of images in tourist brochures and advertisements for places such as the Caribbean, Papua New Guinea and Trinidad. According to Silver tourism is only one facet of a complex relationship between the West and the Other.[72]

Not only do marketing images of tourist destinations influence the visitor, but they also shape the way natives interact with tourists. "While natives do stand to gain economically from certain touristic encounters, they can only do so by performing a set of traditions derived largely from the Western imagination."[73] As is the case with the portrayals of African-Americans in postcards at the turn of the century, many of the images created to appeal to tourists devalue the natives. They are often portrayed as savage, simple and primitive. Native Hawaiians are expected to do the hula, women of the Caribbean are portrayed as "exotic," and in many Third World societies locals are expected to demonstrate their "savagery." And because tourists expect to see natives in these sorts of roles, the natives often have to perform many of their "traditions" for Westerners only. This situation is made worse by the fact that "most natives are positionally unable to affect how images of authenticity are constructed and marketed" because of their financial positions and social status--

[71] Ibid., 305.
[72] Ibid., 309.
[73] Ibid., 310.

Western travel agents control the nature of the touristic encounter.[74] But, the notion of locals satisfying touristic expectations is not only limited to disadvantaged Third World countries. Much of the imagery of the "Wild West" is pervasive throughout the American Southwest. Despite the fact that Aspen never had any gun fights, and was an industrialized silver mining town rather than a stereotypical town as displayed in classic Western films, the image of the Wild West exists in several tourist attractions, including "dude" ranches, bars and restaurants, and local folklore. And, as pointed out earlier in this chapter, cultural tourism is not sheltered from this type of marketing and creation of images.

Images and Authenticity

The relationship between the local and the tourist has serious implications for the issue of authenticity. If the tourist is expecting something that is non-existent except in the advertisement, and the native is willing to play up to those expectations, then the touristic experience is obviously nothing more that an act. Also, sheltering tourists from the "ugliness" of a place--the poverty, industrialization and modernization--allows the tourist to walk away from a place with a skewed image. A tourist spending a week in Aspen will fly home thinking it is a "playground for the rich" (as it has been called), with no real sense of community, and consisting only of second-homes and upscale shops. Their image of Aspen has been carefully shaped by the town's largest employer and income generator, the Aspen Skiing Company, whose mantra is over-the-top customer service and "world class" experiences. These

[74] Ibid., 317

tourists are not going to see the locals who hold down three jobs to live in a place they love, the local transportation issues the town struggles with, or the growing housing problem which is forcing not only people who work in the service industries but doctors, lawyers and other professionals to bedroom communities thirty, forty and fifty miles away from Aspen. Perhaps the Aspen Skiing Company is not obligated to educate the mass tourist. These tourists simply want to enjoy their vacation skiing. But, cultural tourism advocates are obligated to be much more scrupulous in their touristic endeavors.

Images and Promotional Materials

Critics of tourism marketing like to point to travel guides, advertisements and brochures as a primary source for perpetuating stereotypes and inauthentic portrayals. As Silver points out, "because most tourists rely upon travel literature for information about the Third World, their understanding about indigenous peoples seems to derive most immediately and explicitly from images marketing in travel magazines, advertisements, and brochures."[75] And, what these images portray is an idealized society. What Silver fails to notice, is that the "real" images of countries such as Thailand and Mexico would not be inciting to tourists--as tourists do not want to vacation somewhere that the image is poverty and suffering. What the travel industry does is isolate the tourist as much as possible from the problems of Third World countries they visit and one of the ways they do this is to mask the problem in printed material by providing beautiful images and dreamy language.

[75] Ibid., 303.

Bill Bramwell and Liz Rawding, in their article entitled "Tourism Marketing Images of Industrial Cities," examine the use of images used to promote five industrial cities in England. The authors explore the use and impact of images used by marketing organizations in promotional materials through three different disciplines: geographical studies, marketing and critical sociology. Bramwell and Rawding call these types of images *projected place images* and define them as "the ideas and impressions of a place that are available for people's consideration."[76] Most of the cities examined are appealing to business tourists, as opposed to cultural, heritage or mass tourists, nonetheless the authors made several interesting points. The first of these is that "tourists seek out differences when they travel, directing their attention to features of cultural, heritage, and landscape which separate them off from their own everyday experience."[77] Basically, images in promotional materials often show some of the exotic--something above and beyond the everyday experience of the average tourist.

Another interesting point that Bramwell and Rawding make is that often marketing images maintain the status quo. They suggest that "images may serve to strengthen dominant ideologies or further individual or group interests."[78] Although not in the scope of discussion for the article written by Bramwell and Rawding, the notion that images are used to reinforce the power structure that exists can have a huge impact on societies in which there is a large disparity between those with power and those without. This concept also illustrates how natives who do not hold power

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[76]Bill Bramwell and Liz Rawding, "Tourism Marketing Images of Industrial Cities," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 1 (1996): 202.
[77]Ibid., 203.

can be undermined by the use of images. For example, the promotion of aborigines in Australia has a great impact on that sector of Australian society. Yet, typically aborigines are not in a position of power to assert their views and ideologies through promotional material and fall victim to whatever promotional devices are used.

Images and the Tourist

Nowhere are staged images and the marketing machine more apparent than while actually being a tourist. A recent trip to Puerto Vallarta illustrates many of the issues discussed here and demonstrates how mass marketing and media shape the touristic experience. On a charter flight, the "Things You Should Know About Mexico" explains the tipping protocol, gives advice on drinking the water, and explains to the reader that purchasing items from beach vendors is discouraged by the tour company. This last point illustrates both a lack of understanding on the part of the tour company for a group of people who are terribly poor and for which this is their only livelihood, as well as the fact they are probably getting money from the established businesses.

Once in Puerto Vallarta, the tourist is confronted with a barrage of stereotypical "Mexican" images, including a women dressed in a colorful dress with her hair in a bun with a rose in it standing in front of Hard Rock Cafe soliciting customers. The visitor is brought through town the longer route, winding through the streets that contain T-shirt shops, silver stores and other tourist retailers, rather than the express route which travels through the "local" part of town with rotting,

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[78] Ibid., 214.

half-standing buildings. That route is only used by taxi drivers on the way out of town. The resorts that visitors typically stay at are one stop shops--5 different restaurants, a store that carries everything from bottled water to bathing suits, and several boutiques which carry native folk art, jewelry and pottery. A visitor would never even have to leave the hotel and visit the downtown area. And, why would they?

In town, one is bombarded with people wanting to sell goods, give jeep tours and take the visitor deep sea fishing. Destinations such as Puerto Vallarta offer very little in the way of arts, culture and interaction between natives and tourists. One exception to this is a "fiesta" on Sunday afternoons two blocks from the Our Lady of Guadalupe cathedral. Americans expect the waiters, bell boys and maids to speak English--yet, we would balk at the idea of Germans expecting us to know their language while visiting the United States. As a student of cultural tourism, the author was very sensitive to the images and marketing that implied "the natives are here for you and are willing to accommodate the American dollar any way we can." Mexican resorts, and all tourist destinations, must decide what is in the best interest of their communities. The must decide if they should allow another culture to dictate their conduct.

Images and the Internet

The final issue I would like to explore in this chapter is the role of technology, namely the Internet, multimedia presentations and CD-ROMs, in the creation of images and marketing cultural institutions. In the article "Seeing is

Believing--The Role of Living History In Marketing Local Heritage," author Josey Petford examines the use of living history, its relationship to interactive multimedia technology and the impact of both on the heritage industry. Both living history and multimedia programs offer a higher level of interactivity than traditional exhibits and presentations by combining images and sound. Yet, Petford makes several interesting assertions about the impact of multimedia on the heritage industry, the way it markets itself and its relationship to authenticity. Living history has been heavily criticized for being inauthentic, yet multimedia has not been the subject of the same sort of scrutiny.

She asks, "how much more authentic or real is multimedia history?"[79] One of the shortcomings of multimedia history is that, although it is interactive and can present a vast amount of information, it is "a centralized form of knowledge."[80] The likelihood of images being used to manipulate a viewer's perspective and expectations is great in multimedia technology. Also, Petford fears the implications of CD-ROMs being able to preserve elements of culture. She asks, "why bother to preserve elements of a culture if it can be stored on CD...so much more efficiently than the real thing?"[81] Petford eloquently describes the problems with such a medium:

> The lives and culture of the Amazonian Indians offer important insights into the ways of the exotic other and it would be a tragedy if the stories and traditions of their culture were lost, but if these can be captured for posterity like a butterfly on a pin there is no reason to stop cutting down the forests and destroying the people because

[79]Teri Brewer, ed., The Marketing of Tradition: Perspectives on Folklore, Tourism, and the Heritage Industry, (Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1994), 18.
[80]Ibid., 19.
[81]Ibid., 20.

> at the end of the day we can establish a theme park, put them in a museum to interpret their culture and beam the results around the world via the multimedia experience.[82]

The most important phenomenon related to the age of the personal computer is that "technology increasingly invades our lives and as it does so, it not only changes many of our traditional methods of working but is also starting to influence the way we see and relate to the world."[83] Mass use of the Internet and personal computers promises a new way of educating ourselves, a means which is heavily dependent on images. In the case of CD-ROMs and multimedia presentations, Petford is very perceptive in pointing out that information extracted from these mediums come from a centralized location. Petford believes that computers provide us with many mind-blowing opportunities to educate people, expose them to different places, cultures and lifestyles, and allow them to learn at a level not possible through a written publication or audio recording. Yet, Petford cautions the reader that the modern world could very easily suffer consequences similar to those that resulted from the industrial revolution, but this time "breathing interpreters will be replaced by virtual ones behind the head set and it does seem that the future we are looking into may contain more pixels than persons and more software than sites."[84]

The Internet as a potential source of information and for educating the public presents many exciting opportunities. A Web site can reach an audience that is unwilling or unable to personally visit a museum. Yet, there are many possible problems. One of the biggest threats to the Internet being an quality tool for museums, as well as CD-ROMs and other technological instruments, is the inability

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[82]Ibid., 20.

of most museum personnel to control that media. There are few staff people who have the base knowledge, let alone the time, to create a Web site for their given institutions. That job is often contracted out to Web site professionals, who are untrained in the museum field yet are creating sites to educate museum audiences. The Aspen Historical Society allowed a Web site to be created by a company for free in exchange for promoting their company. Despite giving accurate information to the designers at the development stage of the Web site, the Historical Society ended up yanking the site off of the Internet because it did not portray the message and image the organization was seeking in terms of layout, design and style.

Another detrimental and challenging aspect for the Internet to be an effective tool for museum marketing and cultural tourism is the inaccuracy of much information on the Internet and the lack of quality control. It is impossible to tell how many sites are simply frauds. Prior to the Louvre launching its own Web site, an art fanatic apparently launched a site using the venerable institution's name without their knowledge. Many cultural institutions in Aspen have allowed another well-meaning Web development company to create Web sites for them, yet the company has been so bogged down with profitable accounts they have been unable to maintain the sites to keep them current and accurate. In larger museums this is not as big of an issue because they may have a capable and dedicated staff and accessibility to their data. But, all museums that wish to develop Web sites must create an effective system of maintaining quality control and make sure they have the ability to access their information, to monitor accuracy and interpretation. Also, a

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[83] Ibid., 14.

system should be established to certify museum Web sites to assure they are sanctioned by the American Association of Museums, or at least the museum they assert to represent.

In summary, images are powerful tools in marketing tourism. Although the majority of this chapter has not focused specifically on cultural tourism, the same pitfalls that mass tourism has fallen in to can serve as a caution for the fledgling field of cultural tourism. Cultural tourism is even more accountable for images used to portray the programming and marketing of museums and historical sites because of the very nature of the product. Cultural tourism seeks to celebrate other cultures, places and times, and therefore can very easily fall into the trap of stereotyping the people and regions through images portraying a different or past way of life. Further, as more museums continue to jump on the technology bandwagon, these stereotypes may become more distorted. Petford cynically states: "museums, having to compete in the open market, cannot afford to let reality get in the way of profits."[85] Museums must control the information they, or their representatives, distribute to audiences to assure they are not inadvertently misrepresenting themselves. Museums that desire to create an image of themselves to attract cultural tourism must be careful not to create unrealistic expectations that tourists are expecting to have met and that natives, locals or museum personnel are expected to fulfill.

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[84] Ibid., 22.
[85] Ibid., 18.

Chapter Four: A Critical Analysis and Look at Solutions

The last three chapters have presented some of the problems and benefits of cultural tourism. In this chapter some of the criticism levied at tourism will be examined as a starting point to look for solutions. Further, conclusions will be made to reconcile differing views on cultural tourism, how it affects a community and how problems can be overcome. One of the biggest difficulties museums face is the issue of authenticity. This chapter will discuss a balance between authenticity and personal enrichment. Further, several well planned exemplary cultural tourism endeavors that respect community autonomy and have backing of a given area's citizens will be discussed. Also at issue is the quality of an attraction. Cultural tourism is not effective if all a town has to offer is several run-down buildings. Myriam Jensen-Verbeke points out that quality museums equal quality visitors and a quality cultural tourism program. Along with this is an examination of tourist motivations for visiting museums and heritage sites, which is something many students of cultural tourism believe has not been fully capitalized upon. Finally, this chapter will examine the nature of the tourism market and how cultural tourism fits into that market while providing quality programming.

A Critical Look at the Theories on Cultural Tourism

Perhaps the best place to begin looking at solutions for cultural tourism is in critical theories on cultural tourism, and tourism in general, espoused by Boorstin, MacCannell and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett. As pointed out in chapter two, Boorstin, in

his book The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, is extremely critical of the tourism "machine" in America, and throughout the world. Boorstin asserts that although Americans are probably the most traveled people of our time, it has made little impact on our thinking. Further he asserts that travel experiences are pseudo-events because they are structured in such a way that they are what we expect and not as they really exist. What Boorstin fails to do is explain what he expects from American tourists. People who travel to Europe, or other foreign countries, are impacted and learn from there experiences despite the fact that some of the experience may be contrived. And, travelers do see the issues surrounding foreign countries such as crime, poverty and pollution, often they just do not allow these issues to impact their vacations.

MacCannell, in his book The Tourist, criticizes Boorstin for asserting that tourists are satisfied with superficial travel experiences. A sociologist by background, MacCannell asserts "the empirical and ideological expansion of modern society [is] intimately linked in diverse ways to modern mass leisure, especially international tourism and sightseeing."[86] He suggests that tourism is to modern society what religious symbolism is in primitive societies. The fallacy with this assertion is that not every person in modern society can participate in tourism; typically it is limited to the more privileged classes. In primitive societies, certain classes may have been excluded from certain aspects of religious ceremony, but everyone in a given society was aware of the religious symbolism associated with that society. In modern society, only those who are traveled and well educated are

[86] MacCannell, 3.

aware of the symbolism associated with tourism. Also, because of the nature of MacCannell's text, a highly analytical work which draws on numerous sociological and philosophical examples, it was difficult to find much information applicable to this thesis, which seeks to use concrete examples to illustrate points being made.

"Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience," written by Ning Wang, contains many valid arguments counteracting some of the assertions made by Boorstin and MacCannell. He questions authenticity's "usefulness and relevancy because many tourist motivations or experiences cannot be explained in terms of the conventional concept of authenticity."[87] Wang argues there are three different types of authenticity: objective, constructive and postmodern/existential authenticity. Objective authenticity is what Boorstin and MacCannell base their criticisms on--typically a museum linked usage of the term "authenticity." Constructive authenticity relates to authenticity as it relates to social construction--the notion of authenticity is based on societal values. Wang believes there is also a postmodern authenticity which relates to the *experience* rather than authenticity in the traditional sense. "It constitutes an alternative source of authenticity which has nothing to do with the issues of whether [a] dance is the exact re-enactment of [a] traditional dance."[88] Rather, what is important is the cathartic experience for the tourist. Wang also asserts that advances in technology have made traditional authenticity irrelevant. Because the same song in the dance can be played over and over again the original authenticity is lost but it is replaced with an "authentically good time."[89] What

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[87]Ning Wang, "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience," *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999), 349.
[88]Ibid., 359.
[89]Ibid., 353.

Wang's paper represents is a paradigm shift from the assumptions about authenticity asserted by Boorstin and MacCannell.

A final work that will be critiqued is the more recent work of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Destination Culture, which was discussed extensively in chapter two, and which was extremely critical of tourism, museums and heritage. Although the essays in Destination Culture are diverse, the themes throughout the book are, first, that even though tourists travel to real places they have virtual experiences because of "the agency of display," and, second, the given society on display is exploited. She argues, "heritage and tourism are collaborative industries, heritage converting locations into destinations and tourism making them economically viable as exhibits themselves."[90] The fallacy in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's critique is that she is taking extreme examples of "the agency of display," such as putting humans on display at world fairs (as was typical and accepted in the late 19th century), or exhibiting human remains, and universalizing them. She also fails to recognize the notion of humans on display to demonstrate a different culture, as she points out the Jewish community did to espouse their own culture and religion in the 19th century, is no longer acceptable to mainstream modern society. Yet, what is valuable in Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's extreme perspective is she cautions us that things that are acceptable today may be abhorrent to future generations.

[90] Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 151.

Conclusions about Museums, Heritage Sites and Authenticity

Much of this thesis has dealt with the issue of authenticity at historic museums and sites. As pointed out by Handler and Gable in The New History in an Old Museum, despite Colonial Williamsburg's emphasis on authenticity, the organization receives complaints from not only critics of the site, but average visitors as well, about lack of authenticity. These complaints can range from being broad (the town is too clean), to detailed (one man complained that none of the locks on the buildings were authentic to the time period being interpreted). Yet, Handler and Gable illustrate Colonial Williamsburg's desire to be authentic has eclipsed the interpretation of the site. For example, the interpretive guides' focus on the details of their costumes often overshadows their interpretation of the site. Despite heavy criticism from students of MacCannell and Boorstin about heritage sites and museums being authentic, a balance must be found between an authentic presentation of the past, and creating a quality interpretation in which visitors walk away having learned something.

Ernest Sternberg, in the conclusion to his article *The Iconography of the Tourism Experience* about Niagara Falls, presents the reader with an interesting interpretation of authenticity. "Boorstin and MacCannell view themselves as cultural critics, uninterested in--indeed disparaging of--the practical making of touristic settings."[91] Sternberg identifies two strands of thinking regarding authenticity--the first is the notion of real versus fake, the original versus a copy. He believes this argument is undermined by the fact that some tourism is about make-believe. Even

[91] Sternberg, 965.

Coloniai Williamsburg, which is a real place, has a great deal of make-believe with scripted scenes and interpretations. One of the major attractions of Williamsburg is that visitors can *make-believe* they are in the 18th century, but they are fully capable of distinguishing their experience from actual life in the 18th century.[92] For example, Colonial Williamsburg recently implemented a program in which a group of five "slaves" appeal to visitors for help before being hauled off by colonists for meeting illegally. Although visitors often try to intervene in the confrontation, they are fully aware that the scene is an act and are applying their 20th century values to the situation.

Sternberg's second strand of thought examines authenticity in a more existential sense. "Does the attraction serve to fool and confuse visitors, making it more difficult for them to infuse meaning into their own lives?"[93] What Sternberg is saying is that achieving complete authenticity through any sort of staging and interpretation is impossible. What planners and museum designers should strive for is to create an environment in which visitors can achieve personal enrichment and walk away from the exhibit or site with the feeling of having had an enriched learning experience. He asserts cultural sites "can be authentic even if the genre through which they communicate happens to be fantasy rather than historical realism."[94] Again, at Colonial Williamsburg and other living history museums, the medium through which life in the 18th century is interpreted is purely fantasy, yet the visitors

[92] Ibid., 966.
[93] Ibid., 967.
[94] Ibid.

are able to walk away from the experience knowing something about what life was like three centuries ago.

Visitor Motivation

The desire for enrichment is further evidence that visitors want to be educated while visiting a museum. A study done by LORD Cultural Resources Planning and Management, Inc. which evaluates visitor motivation in attending "cultural products," examines why visitors are motivated to visit museums and heritage sites. The study generated two articles, "Cultural Tourism and Business Opportunities for Museums and Heritage Sites" by Ted Silberberg and "Cultural Tourism: The Success Story" by Gail Dexter Lord. Both articles assert that museums and heritage sites have not fully utilized their marketing power to attract visitors to their given area and institutions. Silberberg and Lord point out that in a 1982 *Travel and Leisure* survey, the majority of those surveyed emphasized pleasure and having fun when planning a trip, when in 1992 that emphasis shifted to cultural opportunities. The authors call this a shift from "escapism to enrichment."[95]

Silverberg and Lord also point out that there are different levels of motivation for people visiting museums and sites. A small percentage of people will visit every site, museum and other cultural attraction at a given location no matter how good or bad the programming, and will have found it enriching. Other people will be motivated to go to a museum only if they have heard great things about it and know they will be entertained. Silberberg points out, "you get cultural tourism by bringing

[95]Ted Silberberg, "Cultural Tourism Opportunities and Business Opportunities for Museums and Heritage Sites," *Tourism*

together the travel motivator with the personal motivation."[96] Both articles conclude that partnership with the commercial tourism industry is the effective way of achieving the maximum benefit from the societal trend of cultural tourism being a travel motivator. "A cultural tourism destination may be created by understanding the great variety of travel motivators and personal interests of tourists so that cultural facilities and events may capitalize on opportunities to attract the large number of people who are not greatly motivated to visit cultural attractions but who have some level of interest."[97] To successfully market cultural tourism then, museums and heritage sites must balance education and entertainment to attract a broad audience, and must provide enrichment to satisfy that audience.

Community Involvement

Myriam Jensen-Verbeke and Johan van Rekom, in their article "Scanning Museum Visitors: Urban Tourism Marketing," point out that "museums can indeed be viewed as potential strong pull factors in the urban cultural tourism attraction."[98] Nonetheless, many of the problems arising from cultural tourism endeavors result from the transformation of the community and often, resentment of the citizens of that community. Much of this animosity can be avoided with quality planning and citizen involvement. Several successful programs can be explored to illustrate the effectiveness of good planning. "Power Relations and Community-Based Tourism Planning," by Maureen G. Reed, explores the tourism planning process for

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Management 16, no. 5 (1995) 364.

[96]Ibid., 363.

[97]Gail Dexter Lord, "Cultural Tourism: The Success Story," *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14, no. 4 (1996) 28.

Squamish, Canada, near the booming resort communities along Canada's western coast in which the community was consulted in the development of a resort. She is primarily concerned with "power relations" and how, if at all, these relations were diffused through a community process. Reed is not completely enthusiastic about the community-based process in this sense, because there were only 19 volunteer community members--a poor representation of a community of 13,000 people. Further, "representation in the advisory committee was biased in favor of new residents engaged in business and professional services" rather than "old timers" who associated more with the logging industry.[99]

Nonetheless, the Squamish project is useful in this study for several reasons. Foremost, citizens were given the opportunity to provide their input into a project backed by the government and a large private developer. As pointed out in the National Trust's Getting Started, one of the five principals of cultural tourism involves community support and involvement. The advisory committee developed 30 proposals, some of which dealt with specific projects such as a proposed ski resort while others addressed broader planning issues. The committee sought to examine the public process for development rather than analyzing a private developer's actions. "In Squamish, the community-based tourism planning process introduced new interpretations of tourism and coexisted with a more conventional approach to economic development."[100] Reed had lofty expectations if she believed a panel of 19 citizens should come to a consensus on specific issues. The value of

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[98]Myriam Jansen-Verbeke and Johan van Rekom, "Scanning Museum Visitors: Urban Tourism Planning," *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996), 374.
[99]Ibid., 577-578.

citizen groups in the public process is to demonstrate and develop community values, priorities and visions, not to come up with a detailed plan. Reed acknowledges that "the development of tourism requires a slow process of community-building," but this process would be slower if community groups were expected to outline specific details.[101]

Barry Jean Ancelet, in the article "Cultural Tourism in Cajun Country: Shotgun Wedding or Marriage Made in Heaven?" is more supportive of community-based planning for tourism development. Ancelet examines the nature of tourism in Louisiana not including big tourist attractions such as New Orleans. Tourism is always looked at as a way to benefit the economy because tourists bring in new dollars. But, "the real trouble has been how to get masses of visitors to [southern Louisiana] easily and efficiently, without disturbing the cultural ecology."[102] The author suggests that Louisiana is lucky to be far behind in tourist development, so the state can learn from the mistakes of other places, avoiding a "Cajunland" and the multitude of problems involved in expanding tourism without a well planned vision. Many of the celebrations and events in Louisiana have built-in systems to protect against being overrun by tourists. The festivals in the big cities feed on the chaos of masses of people. Yet, many of the more rural events are too tiring (i.e., an all day horseback ride), which, by the nature of the events, discourage visitors from doing anything more than observing. Often it is important for locals to be able to protect such sacred activities. There have also been measures taken by local communities to

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[100]Ibid., 586.

[101]Ibid., 587.

[102]Barry Jean Ancelet, "Cultural Tourism in Cajun Country: Shotgun Wedding or Marriage Made in Heaven?" *Southern*

create a centralized area for tourist activities, so that locals involved in Mardi Gras festivities can proceed with their own traditions without being inundated with tourists. Several projects concerned primarily with filling the cultural tourism niche have been successful as well. At a project called Vermilionville, modeled after Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts, a limited budget forced the organization to use local resources, including products and people, "giving the community a real stake in the project."[103] The author also discusses a National Park Service endeavor which required the expertise and skills of folklorists and cultural anthropologists in the programming. Understanding the Cajun society requires a multidisciplinary approach and input not only from those familiar with the culture, but from those part of the culture, as well.

Unlike the pioneers portrayed at Colonial Williamsburg, Cajuns are a living culture who preserve their tradition through music, storytelling and ritual. Their input and participation is crucial to providing a congenial cultural tourism environment in southern Louisiana. One final benefit to the nature of Louisiana's emerging cultural tourism is the use of French in some of the programming. A National Park official expressed concern over a show about Cajun culture which was done in French rather than English. Initially the audience was overwhelmingly local, but has since become tourist-based. The tourists "are sitting alongside Cajuns and Creoles from the area who are laughing and responding appropriately to the presentation, so the visitors ask what's so funny and what's going on, creating a

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Folklore 49, no. 3 (1992), 258.
[103]Ibid., 261.

conversation that may never have taken place otherwise."[104] Ancelet concludes by stating that inevitably cultural tourism is going to happen, and those concerned about the output should get involved to create the best product possible, told as accurately as possible and with the support of the community.

Efforts of the National Park Service

The National Park Service has been forward thinking regarding incorporating the "untold" story at many of their sites to give visitors a greater understanding of the issues surrounding a particular place. In a Park Service publication entitled Diversity and Cultural Resources the Associated Director of the Cultural Resource Stewardship and Partnerships, a division of the National Park Service had the following to say about infusing cultural diversity in museums and heritage sites:

> When we interpret a Civil War battlefield site, we should do more than talk about military strategy. We ought to address the institution of slavery as the root cause of this war. When we look at a plantation house, we need to cover more than the role of the state's "leading families". We need to include the role of African American slave and servants who built and maintained the property. When we look at an immigration station on the West Coast, we should talk about more than monumental government architecture. We need to talk about the Asian immigrants who came to America to seek a better life.[105]

In the same publication, Holly Beachley Brear's article *The Alamo's Selected Past* illustrates how interpretation at historic sites can be exclusionary and explores the challenges facing those who would like to see more diversity. Unlike the National Park Service mission sites, the Alamo is managed by the Daughters of the Republic of Texas who, despite that fact that the Alamo was the first of five Catholic

[104] Ibid., 264.

[105] U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service, *Diversity and Cultural Resources*, no. 8 (1999).

missions established in San Antonio, focus on a 13-day period in 1836 when a small group of United States patriots tried to defend the Alamo compound against a much larger Mexican army and died doing so.[106] There is little substantial information about the mission era at the site and Catholic ceremonies are not allowed to be performed in the church, only ceremonies related to the 1836 struggle. Over the last 30 years, the Daughters have been heavily criticized for the narrow interpretation of the Alamo and have begun to listen. They have added a Alamo Wall of History which is a timeline of the history of the Alamo. Despite the efforts made, the church is still the focal point of most visitors' trip to the Alamo, but also remains dedicated to the heroes of 1836 with no interpretation of its Spanish Colonial history. Even though this example cannot be cited as a success story to infuse more diversity and authenticity into the site, it does illustrate the challenges many historic sites hold and how a group is trying to deal with that challenge.

In conclusion, there really are no perfect solutions for creating *the* authentic historic site or museum. What administrators, curators and interpreters should strive for instead is educating tourists so they can walk away enriched. Students of MacCannell and Boorstin should give cultural tourists more credit. Cultural tourists are more educated, more affluent and more curious than the average site-seeing tourist. And, perhaps what is most important is the experience. Logically, the cultural tourist is able to ascertain the difference between the fantasy staging of a living history museum and actual life "way back when." Furthermore, as pointed out by the articles that used information from the LORD Company, what cultural tourists

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[106] Ibid., 9.

are seeking is an enriching, entertaining attraction, not the ultimate in authenticity. The citizen group in Squamish may not have solved all the community's problems, but was able to give input in the direction of development in the community and broader community issues. In southern Louisiana, many of its communities have been very successfully in creating events that please both the local audience and visitors. A community is well on its way in creating an effective and respected cultural tourism program when the issues of authenticity and community involvement are taken into consideration.

Conclusion

As this thesis has illustrated, there are many unanswered questions and unsolved problems regarding cultural tourism and its role in museums and heritage sites. Much of the research described in this thesis clearly demonstrates that there is merit to cultural tourism, and that now is an ideal time to create a strong marketing program based on cultural tourism. As pointed out in the National Trust's Getting Started, cultural tourism contributes major dollars to many regions' economies. Research done by the LORD Company illustrates that people vary in degrees of motivation to visit museums. Museums must focus "on widening the appeal of culture from the small percentage 'greatly motivated' to larger percentages 'motivated in part,'" because unlike a decade ago, many people are seeking enrichment while traveling on vacation rather than escapism.[107]

This is very good news for museums and heritage sites. As described in chapter one, some institutions are taking full advantage of the trend, and doing very well. The city of Cleveland has re-created itself with the inception of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum and Great Lakes Science Center, and many other areas have followed suit. A recent *New York Times* article describes how the philosophy of "edutainment" was used in the expansion of the Center of Science and Industry in Columbus, Ohio, which was moved from Veteran's Memorial Hall to a newly designed, state of the art building with a $125 million price tag.[108] Yet this thesis also examined the problems that can be encountered in developing and implementing

[107] Lord, 28.

cultural tourism--many problems that can result in serious consequences. Some of the biggest issues are lack of authenticity, and creating a tourist market that is too overwhelming and poorly planned and managed.

Getting Started outlines five ideal goals that should be sought when adopting cultural tourism to marketing a region. In Getting Started, the National Trust suggests that these goals are what separates cultural tourism from tourism in general. These goals will summarize what potential cultural tourism has if well thought-out and implemented with the intention of educating people. Cultural tourism advocates should balance preservation and protection with promotion. Also, growth management and the capacity of historic, natural and cultural resources must be kept in mind. Authenticity must be ensured. Promoters must be culturally sensitive without exploiting ethnic cultures. Finally, an understanding of boundaries in terms of what locals want to share with tourists, and what needs to be kept sacred, is important to the longevity of a cultural tourism endeavor.[109]

Although the above goals are challenging, each one addresses many of the pitfalls of tourism in general, and cultural tourism if not carefully planned and controlled. Cultural tourism can be a great benefit to museums in an age when they must find additional revenue to make up for the loss of government supplements, and challenges to distinguish museums from theme parks when places like Disneyworld are collecting real artifacts. Cultural tourism can only be successful if it is done with integrity, and strives for goals such as those outlined above by the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Getting Started cautions: "when you prepare for visitors, be

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[108] *New York Times*, February 25 1999.

sure that the choices you make also improve your community for the long term."[110]

Summary of Thesis Conclusions

The following are the critical conclusions to be drawn from this thesis:

- Museums and heritage sites have a greater obligation than the mass tourist industry to present authentic experiences that take into account a diverse audience, and histories of all ethnic groups and both genders.
- Images in the media and on the Internet have a significant impact on visitor expectations.
- Cultural tourism is beneficial to historic resources, communities and museums if well planned, and implemented in a manner that is sensitive to the community and historic resources.

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[109] Getting Started, 9.
[110] Ibid., 32.

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Lantos, Lauren. "Reborn in the U.S.A." *Museum News*. (November/December 1995): 41-63.

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Moscardo, Gianna. "Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 376-397.

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Powers, Ron. White Town Drowsing. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986.

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Reed, Maureen G. "Power Relations and Community-Based Tourism Planning." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 3 (July 1997): 566-591.

Richards, Greg. "Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 261-283.

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Silver, Ira. "Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries." *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993): 302-318.

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Sofield, Trevor H.B. and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (April 1998): 362-392.

Squire, Shelagh J. "The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21 (1994): 103-120.

Stebbins, Robert A. "Cultural Tourism as Serious Leisure." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1996): 948-950.

Stebbins, Robert A. "Identity and Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (April 1997): 450-452.

Sternberg, Ernest. "The Iconography of the Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1997): 951-969.

Teo, Peggy and Brenda S.A. Yeoh. "Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1 (1997): 192-213.

Teo, Peggy and Shirlena Huang. "Tourism and Heritage Conservation in Singapore." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no 3 (1995): 589-615.

Towner, John. "Tourism and Culture." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1994): 1017-1019.

U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service. *Diversity and Cultural Resources*, no. 8 (1999).

van der Borg, Jan, Paolo Costa and Giuseppe Gotti. "Tourism in European Heritage Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 306-321.

Wall, Geoffrey. "Preserving Nature and Cultural Heritage." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 3 (1995): 704-706.

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Walle, Alf H. "Quantitative Versus Qualitative Tourism Research." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 3 (July 1997): 524-536.

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Wells, Patricia, ed. Keys to the Marketplace: Problems and Issues in Cultural and Heritage Tourism. Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1996.

Zeppel, Heather. "Managing Quality Cultural Tourism." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 4, no. 2 (1996): 112-113.

Appendix I: Annotated Reference List

Adams, G. Donald. "Cultural Tourism: The Arrival of the Intelligent Traveler." *Museum News*. (November/December 1995): 32-37.

Discusses the advantages of partnerships and collaborations to attract more visitors to a site, town or region.

American Association of Museums. "Building a Common Agenda for Tourism." *www.aam-us.org/tourism_agenda.htm*, [cited February 15, 1999].

Extract from AAM's new book Partners in Tourism: Culture and Commerce and how cultural tourism is an extension of museums' educational mission.

American Association of Museums. "Partners in Tourism." *www.aam-us.org/cultural.htm*, [cited February 15, 1999].

Discusses the mission and composition of the organization Partners in Tourism.

American Association of Museums. "27 Million U.S. Travelers Lengthen Their Trips Because of Culture." *www.aam-us.org/lengthen_trip.htm*, [cited February 15, 1999].

Examines the results of a survey on how long tourists extend visits for cultural activities. Also discusses the demographic make-up of cultural tourists.

Ancelet, Barry Jean. "Cultural Tourism in Cajun Country: Shotgun Wedding or Marriage Made in Heaven?" *Southern Folklore* 49, no. 3 (1992) 256-266.

Article on careful cultural tourism planning in southern Louisiana.

Anderson, William T. "Standing Out in the Crowd." *History News*. (May/June 1993): 14-17.

Examines the potential of cultural tourism and what the impacts are on historic sites, museums and historical interpretation. No negative discussion about the impacts of tourism.

Aspen Daily News. 1999. Colonial Williamsburg Tries to Depict Reality of Slavery, July 28.

Article on a new program on slavery at Colonial Williamsburg.

Bendix, Regina. "Tourism and Regional Culture." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 1 (1994): 173-175.

Summary of a conference. Lists a few resources.

Boorstin, Daniel J. The Images: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America. New York: Vintage Books, 1987.

Book cited by many experts in the field, especially when discussing authenticity. The author describes the evolution from traveler to tourist, and discusses how tourists expect the comforts of home in exotic places. In an unrelated chapter the author describes the power of "image."

Bramwell, Bill and Liz Rawding. "Tourism Marketing of Images of Industrial Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 1 (1996): 201-221.

Authors discuss the use of images to market industrial cities in England to tourists. Provides interesting perspective and useful quotes.

Brewer, Teri, ed. The Marketing of Tradition: Perspectives on Folklore, Tourism, and the Heritage Industry. Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1994.

Book is compilation of papers presented at a British Folklore Society conference. Not really relevant to my topic. I have copied one article, "Seeing is Believing--The Role of Living History in Marketing Local Heritage" by Josey Petford because could be useful. It discusses the authenticity issues in living history and multimedia.

Brown, Kathleen. "Tourism Trends for the '90s." *History News*. (May/June 1993): 4-7.

Article defines cultural tourism and looks at the demographic make up of cultural tourists. Author points out that thus far heritage sites and museums have not maximized the potential of cultural tourism trends.

Bushell, Robyn and Jafar Jafari. "Developing Cultural Tourism Opportunities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 4 (October 1996): 954-955.

Overview of a conference dealing with the development of cultural tourism opportunities. Very little substance.

Comp, T. Allan. "Heritage Tourism Comes of Age." *History News*. (May/June 1993): 9-12.

Looks at the benefits of the boom in cultural tourism in various programs such as historic preservation and increased opportunities for local historical agencies.

Crang, Mike. "Magic Kingdom or a Quixotic Quest for Authenticity." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 415-431.

Justification for reenactments. Discusses the educational value of reenactments for both the participant and audience.

Ehrentraut, Adolf. "Heritage Authenticity and Domestic Tourism in Japan." *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993): 262-278

Article does not focus on authenticity as much as visitor motivation.

Gable, Eric and Richard Handler. New History in an Old Museum. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997.

Examination of the philosophy, politics and operation of Colonial Williamsburg. Authors have a conservative perspective of historical interpretation, but provide good information in terms of visitor, employee and administrative interviews and interpretation. Comprehensive analysis of a site that prides itself on being authentic.

Harrison, Julia. "Museums and Touristic Expectations." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1 (January 1997): 23-39.

Article examines the role of Bishop Museums in Hawaii's tourism economy.

Hollinshead, Keith. "Heritage Interpretation." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 1 (1994): 183-185.

Summary of a conference and discusses the goals and aims of the Heritage Interpretation International organization.

Howell, Benita J. "Weighting the Risks and Rewards of Involvement in Cultural Conservation and Heritage Tourism." *Human Organization: Journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology* 53, no. 2 (Summer 1994), 150-159.

Useful article. Beginning has good analysis of authenticity; end is not really relevant because it discusses the role of anthropologists in cultural tourism projects.

Hughes, Howard L. "Redefining Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 3 (July 1996): 707-709.

Author discusses the broad definition of "cultural tourism" and concludes the definition needs to more exclusive.

Hultsman, John. "Just Tourism: An Ethical Framework." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 3 (1995): 553-567.

Article looks at how an ethical framework can be instituted in the tourism industry, but not what ethics are needed in the industry.

Hunter-Jones, Philippa. "Sustainable Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (April 1997): 477-478.

Discusses a conference on sustainable tourism held in the UK. Addressed whether or not the conference was effective.

Iovine, Julie V. 1999. Current Interactive Science Center; Shades of "Indiana Jones" and Shipwrecks to Lure the Young. *New York Times*, February 25.

Article on a new science center in Columbus, Ohio, with an emphasis on "edutainment."

Jafari, Jafar. "Cultural Tourism and Regional Development." *Annals of Tourism Research* 19, no. 3 (1992): 576-577.

Summary of a conference on the article's title. At the end of the article, Jafari describes several conclusion made during the conference.

Jamal, Tazim B. and Donald Getz. "Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 1 (1995): 186-204.

Emphasis on the need for comprehensive planning when marketing tourism and trying to attract tourists.

Jansen-Verbeke, Myriam. "Tourismification of Historical Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 3 (July 1998): 739-769.

Short but good article on ways to analyze planning and marketing for historic cities.

Jansen-Verbeke, Myriam and Johan van Rekom. "Scanning Museum Visitors: Urban Tourism Marketing." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 364-375.

Article focuses on visitor research in museums and the value of good museums attracting visitors to locations.

Jonaitis, Aldona. "A Delicate Balance: A University Museum Rethinks its Relationship with the Tourism Industry." *Museums News* (November/December 1995): 38-39.

Article describes how a museum in Alaska was able to reconnect with the community and increase visitors after losing a large chunk of funding.

Kalcik, Susan. "The America's Industrial Heritage Project: A Model for Cultural Tourism." *Pennsylvania Folklife* 43, no. 2 (1994), 50-59.

More of a human interest story on what a town that has been de-industrialized has done to increase revenue.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. Destination Culture: Tourism, Museums, and Heritage. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Book is an examination of authenticity, stereotypes and the nature of display in museums and other cultural destination from a progressive thinker in the field. Many essays were very helpful, whereas others were extremely academic and abstract.

Kraus, Amanda. "In the Comeback City." *Museum News* 78, no. 1 (January/February 1999), 50-61.

Examines the revival of Cleveland after the creation of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame Museum and the Great Lakes Science Center.

Lantos, Lauren. "Reborn in the U.S.A." *Museum News*. (November/December 1995): 41-63.

Author looks at the revival of the city of Cleveland after the opening of the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame and Museum.

Lindberg, Kreg and Rebecca L. Johnson. "The Economic Values of Tourism's Social Impacts." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1 (January 1997): 90-116.

Discusses surveying using the "Contingent Valuation" method which is a very complicated process that yields very obvious results.

Lord, Gail Dexter. "Cultural Tourism: The Success Story." *Visions in Leisure and Business* 14, no. 4 (1996): 25-36.

Article is a summary of positive outcomes of developing tourism in a region. Gives a very positive spin on what can happen if cultural tourism is adopted by a region. Taken from a marketing perspective.

MacCannell, Dean. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Along with Boorstin's book is considered an professional standard and MacCannell considered an innovator in the tourism research field.

Mehrhoff, W. Arthur. "The New Frontier: A Case Study of Cultural Tourism." *Canadian Review of American Studies* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1991) 251-261.

Uses St. Louis arch as an example of symbol that creates Boorstin's "pseudo-events."

Mellinger, Wayne Martin. "Toward a Critical Analysis of Tourism Representations." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21, no. 4 (1994): 756-779.

Author discusses how images influence tourists and reinforces stereotypes by discussing popular postcards of Southern African Americans at the turn-of-the-century.

Mintz, Ann. "That's Edutainment." *Museum News* (November/December 1994): 32-35.

Article looks at the movement of theme parks toward museum exhibits and education programs, and museums trend towards providing flashy, technological exhibits to attract more visitors.

Moscardo, Gianna. "Mindful Visitors: Heritage and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 376-397.

Article deals with the importance of quality interpretation.

National Trust for Historic Preservation. Getting Started: How to Succeed In Heritage Tourism. United States: National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993.

Provides a superficial overview of cultural tourism and its benefits to communities looking to increase revenue. Fails to address problems that can arise from an increase in tourist activity.

Nuryanti, Wiendu "Heritage and Postmodern Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 249-260.

Touches on issues of authenticity, how cultural tourism differs from mass tourism and tourism in postmodern society. Looks at the essence of heritage and feels much of the value in heritage is in the interpretation rather than in preservation.

Powers, Ron. White Town Drowsing. Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1986.

Powers describes the ill-fated planning of the Mark Twain Sesquicentennial in Hannibal, Missouri. Good case study and example of what happens when a community is excluded from the planning process.

Prentice, Richard C, Stephen F. Witt, and Claire Hamer. "Tourism as Experience: The Case of Heritage Parks." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 1 (1998): 1-24.

Using surveying methods creates what the authors claim is scientific evidence related to the visitor "experience."

Reed, Maureen G. "Power Relations and Community-Based Tourism Planning." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 3 (July 1997): 566-591.

Article looks at the stakeholders and decision makers in tourism policy for Squamish, British Columbia.

Richards, Greg. "Production and Consumption of European Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 261-283.

Academic look at the nature of tourism in postmodern societies and how tourism is treated in policies.

Robbins, Andrea and Max Becher. *Contact Sheet* (1998).

Magazine primarily consists of photographs of a contrived German town in Washington state and Germans who dress up as Native Americans for various festivals in that country. The small amount of text draws some interesting conclusions.

Robb, John G. "Tourism and Legends: Archaeology of Heritage." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 3 (July 1998): 579-596.

Looks at the problems with interpreting a site such as Tintagel, which has alleged connections to King Arthur yet there is not scientific data to back up the claim.

Salamone, Frank A. "Authenticity in Tourism: The San Angel Inns." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (April 1997): 305-321.

Author compares the two San Angel Inns, located in Mexico City and Epcot Center, and demonstrates how the expectations of consumers influences the ambiance of each restaurant.

Seale, Ronald G. "A Perspective from Canada on Heritage and Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 484-488.

Looks at the relationship between heritage tourism and natural heritage resources.

Silberberg, Ted. "Cultural Tourism and Business Opportunities for Museums and Heritage Sites." *Tourism Management* 16, no. 5, 361-365.

Similar to Gail Dexter Lord article, analysis is based off of same research.

Silver, Ira. "Marketing Authenticity in Third World Countries." *Annals of Tourism Research* 20 (1993): 302-318.

Discusses how marketing images influence tourists' perceptions of a country and its native people, and how they also influence natives desire to give the tourists what they want.

Simpson, Bob. "Tourism and Tradition: From Healing to Heritage." *Annals of Tourism* 20 (1993): 164-181.

Good article. Discusses the transformation of Sinhalese mask from an object of ritual to one of commodification. Also looks at how a family was impacted by capitalizing on the masks.

Smith, Russell Arthur. "Tourism, Heritage and Environment." *Annals of Tourism Research* 20, no. 2 (1993): 379-381.

Article is a conference summary.

Sofield, Trevor H.B. and Fung Mei Sarah Li. "Tourism Development and Cultural Policies in China." *Annals of Tourism Research* 25, no. 2 (April 1998): 362-392.

Good article on the development of tourism in China in the last two decades. Briefly examines the fate of traditional culture in China during the 20th century.

Squire, Shelagh J. "The Cultural Values of Literary Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 21 (1994): 103-120.

Author discusses interview and surveys of people who visited Beatrix Potter's farm in rural England. The Hill Top farm is used as an example of literary tourism, and how people's perception of a place because of literature influences their perceptions.

Stebbins, Robert A. "Cultural Tourism as Serious Leisure." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1996): 948-950.

Similar to Stebbins article listed below.

Stebbins, Robert A. "Identity and Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 2 (April 1997): 450-452.

Author does a comparison of between cultural tourism and mass tourism. Comes across as being elitist and that cultural tourism is for a special type of tourist.

Sternberg, Ernest. "The Iconography of the Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1997): 951-969.

Article uses Niagara Falls as an example of an tourism icon. Also illustrates the problems with the Niagara Falls "image," and how the images have hurt the tourist economy in the area.

Teo, Peggy and Brenda S.A. Yeoh. "Remaking Local Heritage for Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 1 (1997): 192-213.

Authors explore the development of a historic garden in Singapore into a high tech theme park. They surveyed visitors and locals, and interpreted the results of the survey. Makes some good points about authenticity and the value of heritage.

Teo, Peggy and Shirlena Huang. "Tourism and Heritage Conservation in Singapore." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no 3 (1995): 589-615.

Article discusses the lack of community involvement when the Civic and Cultural District in Singapore was restored and revitalized.

Towner, John. "Tourism and Culture." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (October 1994): 1017-1019.

Summary of a conference entitled "Tourism and Culture: Towards the 21st Century." Article lists several potential resources.

U.S. Department of the Interior: National Park Service. *Diversity and Cultural Resources*, no. 8 (1999).

Contains several interesting articles on an effort to infuse cultural diversity into National Park Service museums and heritage sites.

van der Borg, Jan, Paolo Costa and Giuseppe Gotti. "Tourism in European Heritage Cities." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 2 (1996): 306-321.

Article examines the impact of tourism, positive and negative, in urban areas.

Wall, Geoffrey. "Preserving Nature and Cultural Heritage." *Annals of Tourism Research* 22, no. 3 (1995): 704-706.

Summary of a conference. Author sees tourism as an opportunity to gain greater control and management over natural and cultural heritage.

Walle, Alf H. "Habits of Thought and Cultural Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 23, no. 4 (October 1996): 874-890,

Discusses value of qualitative research and analysis of literature related to tourism.

Walle, Alf H. "Quantitative Versus Qualitative Tourism Research." *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 3 (July 1997): 524-536.

Walle discusses alternative ways to research tourism from a marketing, quantitative perspective.

Wang, Ning. "Rethinking Authenticity in Tourism Experience." *Annals of Tourism Research* 26, no. 2 (1999): 349-370.

Provides some good counter-arguments to both MacCannell and Boorstin.

Wells, Patricia, ed. Keys to the Marketplace: Problems and Issues in Cultural and Heritage Tourism. Middlesex: Hisarlik Press, 1996.

A collection of essays from a variety of experts involved in cultural tourism. The book examines cultural tourism in the United States, Europe, Africa and Australia.

Zeppel, Heather. "Managing Quality Cultural Tourism." *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 4, no. 2 (1996): 112-113.

Review of book entitled "Managing Quality Cultural Tourism."

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